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Britain and Transnational Progressivism

Edited by
David W. Gutzke

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Contents

Abbreviations

BWTA	British Women's Temperance Association
CCB	Liquor Traffic Central Control Board
Cmd.	Command Paper
GAHEW	Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women
IWSA	International Woman's Suffrage Alliance
LCC	London County Council
MP	Member of Parliament
NAWSA	National American Woman's Suffrage Association
NCL	National Consumers League
QMS	Queen Margaret College Settlement
PPSG	*Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow*
SCWT	Scottish Council for Women's Trades
WCTU	Woman's Christian Temperance Union
WTUL	Women's Trade Union League

Introduction

F. M. L. Thompson

Economic historians have always appreciated that the Declaration of Independence did not sever the commercial links between Britain and North America, and the concept of the Atlantic Economy has been central to understanding the postcolonial development of the economies of the United States and Britain. Other historians, more inward looking, have on the whole been more impressed by the separate paths taken by political, institutional, social, and cultural developments in the two countries and have not been much concerned with looking for signs of a continuing transatlantic trade in ideas, policies, and programs. The Atlantic Economy rested broadly on the mutually beneficial exchange of British manufactured goods and American raw materials and food—cotton and wheat—and a basically one-way flow of emigrants and capital that irrigated American economic growth. That growth opened up the West, and it also transformed much of the United States into an urbanized, industrialized country—so much so that powerful American business interests came to regard Britain not as a complementary trading partner so much as a competitor to be kept at arm's length by highly protectionist policies in the postbellum years, peaking in the 1890s with the McKinley and Dingle tariffs. Hence, although the interdependence and dovetailing of the two economies was weakening in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the similarities between them were growing stronger. Because Britain was the first industrial nation, it was not surprising that it was also the first nation to experience the new social, administrative, and health problems spawned by industrialization and by the crowding together of masses of people in sprawling towns, as well as being the first, slowly and in fits and starts, to make attempts to deal with these issues, whether by voluntary or governmental action. As a result, the experience built up over the century since the 1780s was available to be drawn on by later developers.

The United States was, of course, a very early "later developer" in the sense that by the 1820s, mill towns were growing in New England that were not unlike the mill towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and that by the 1850s, several branches of American industry—agricultural machinery, woodworking, and small arms manufacture, for example—were technologically more advanced than their British counterparts. Nevertheless, as long as the frontier remained open, the dominant American self-image was of a unique, open, democratic, egalitarian, pioneering society, looking west rather than east, and as different as could be from an old world advanced industrial society. By the 1880s, however, it had become increasingly difficult to ignore that this vision of America as an essentially rural and small town classless society was a myth, and that the reality was that the United States comprised a society with extremes of wealth and poverty, with overcrowded slums and insanitary towns, with a propertyless proletariat and an exploited womanhood, and with an underclass of the destitute and unemployable. In fact, in some respects, this was a society with even more acute social problems than its European counterparts. For a while in the 1890s, the implications for transatlantic traffic in social reform ideas and remedies were obscured by the Populist reaction of small town America, the Midwest and the South, which held that America's problems were home-grown, caused by the stranglehold exerted by the sinister eastern financial interests that were "crucifying America on the cross of gold."[1]

Once this gale of frustrated and misguided grassroots anger had blown itself into a political dead end, the ground was well prepared for heightened concern—on both sides of the Atlantic—with living and working conditions and for the development of a two-way traffic in ideas for social reform. This can be hailed as the emergence of transatlantic Progressivism, although it should be borne in mind that contemporaries used that label sparingly and at times in a restricted sense. In essence, Progressives were non-Marxist, nonsocialist social reformers who argued that government, whether central or local, ought to play an active interventionist role in improving living conditions and eliminating exploitation. It was this positive interventionist attitude that distinguished progressives from reformers with a social conscience who held that voluntary philanthropy was the way to achieve moral and social improvement, although there was an interface between voluntarism and progressivism that could blur this distinction. In Britain, despite its reputation for laissez-faire policies, ad hoc state intervention had been practiced since the time of Edwin Chadwick, largely without any theoretical or philosophical basis, sometimes in the name of protecting vulnerable and defenceless women and children, sometimes in the cause of public health, sometimes to protect the consumer from fraud, sometimes to safeguard the safety of

the public, and sometimes simply in response to powerful popular protests, so that government reached into the lives of people at many levels. These interventions, however, were largely a matter of government regulation of the conduct of enterprises, patrolled by inspectorates, rather than of government provision of goods or services. This further step, a more decisive breach with laissez-faire, was taken at the local level and is generally associated with Joseph Chamberlain's "invention" of municipal socialism as mayor of Birmingham in the 1870s, when the city acquired gas and water companies, which it proceeded to run profitably. Birmingham had in fact been preceded by Manchester, Glasgow, and Leeds in the provision of municipal gas, but Chamberlain's rhetoric in the gas takeover, arguing that monopolies created by statutory (private act) powers ought to be in the hands of the public and run for public benefit, was influential in turning a business arrangement into a social reformer's creed. Trams could later be added to gas-and-water municipalization under the provisions of the 1870 Tramways Act, which gave local authorities the option of acquiring private companies by compulsory purchase after 21 years in business; the new field of electricity supply also became a municipal possibility from the 1890s.

These practical working models of social reform were accompanied, and inspired, by a large body of criticism of modern living conditions and of analyses of unbridled industrial capitalism and its social effects, together with schemes for remodelling society. These schemes ranged from the backward-looking and pessimistic Ruskin or Morris, who were appalled by the horrors, ugliness, and inhumanity of raw industrialization and yearned for a return to some golden preindustrial age; to persuasive observers of the contemporary scene—with all its miseries and grubby philistinism, as well as its redeeming liberalism—of whom the most influential was Charles Dickens; to the optimists who had theories for the regeneration of society through organization and public service, notably Karl Marx, but more congenial for the educated classes, the less bloody and revolutionary Sidney Webb, J. A. Hobson, or in the literary field, G. B. Shaw. This body of literature and thought was well known in America, and although it would be difficult to show that it was more influential in forming the views of American urban reformers than, say, the German critics of laissez-faire, the frequent contacts of these American reformers with their British counterparts, many of which are described in detail in this book, suggest very strongly that the American ideas for social regeneration owed a great deal to British examples and influences.

By far the most decisive influence, however, traveled in the opposite direction, coming from America to Britain in the shape of Henry George. His lecture tour in Britain in 1884 injected new life into the long-standing but intermittently active movement for land reform and made the single tax, or

the more ambiguous land value taxation, into the dominant motif in the land question in Britain over the next 30 years. Land value taxation in turn became the defining policy of the Progressive party on the London County Council (LCC)—the only organized group in Britain that actually adopted the Progressive label. The first elections to the LCC, established in 1888, were held the following year, and the Liberal party decided not to participate directly in deference to a belief that national party politics should not become involved in local government. The London Liberal and Radical Union, with considerable overlapping membership with the radical London Municipal Reform League, thereupon resolved to field candidates for the council who would subscribe to "a Progressive policy in all matters."[2] Thus was born the Progressive party, a coalition of leftish liberals and radicals with a sprinkling of more establishment Liberal figureheads such as Lord Rosebery and Lord Hobhouse, which held power in London until it was defeated in 1907, a defeat attributable largely to a ratepayers' revolt against the rising cost of implementing the Progressive measures that had been adopted by the LCC.

London, having been without any effective metropolitan authority, devoted much of this rate-financed expenditure to catching up with such earlier progressive cities as Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow. Gas-and-water municipal socialism eluded the LCC, not for want of the aspiration of the Progressives to acquire public utilities but because Conservative governments refused to give the LCC powers that other city governments had long enjoyed. London's trams, however, were acquired in 1896, and new spheres of heavy expenditure were developed with slum clearance and rehousing schemes. Some of the LCC's street improvements were partly financed by the central government's acceptance of the principle of betterment levies—special rates on the increase in riparian site values created by the construction of Kingsway, Holborn, for example. Major expenditure, however, was devoted to a comprehensive survey and valuation of the entire LCC area in preparation for land (or site) value taxation, which in the event was never imposed: This valuation, completed in 1896, lay unused and neglected for close to a hundred years until it was exploited by an econometric historian to calculate who owned which pieces of late Victorian London.[3] Much the same fate awaited the much more expensive and ambitious valuation of the entire United Kingdom under the 1909–1910 Finance Act. This valuation was the first step toward collecting land taxes on the unearned increment and undeveloped land, the most controversial part of the 1909 budget, and was directed by the same E. J. Harper, a convinced Georgeite single-taxer, who had been the LCC's chief valuer and who had convinced Lloyd George somewhat glibly and misleadingly that it would be simple and inexpensive to conduct a valuation that separated site value (and ground ownership) from

the value of buildings and structures. In the event, this separation of site and structure proved contentious, complicated, and much litigated, and the valuation was not completed until 1916. A paltry amount of the 1909 land taxes was actually collected, amounting to less than a third of the cost of making the valuation, and they were repealed in 1920. Unused for more than 60 years, the records of this great valuation are so complicated that although historians have been alerted to their existence, no one has yet had the courage to attempt to reconstruct a domesday of landownership as it existed in the early twentieth century.[4]

Taxation of land values was central to the Progressive's platform in the 1898 LCC elections, and when the terminology of progressivism moved on to the national stage in Britain after the 1903 Lib-Lab Pact between Herbert Gladstone and Ramsay MacDonald, forming what came to be called the progressive alliance between radical-liberals and the nascent Labour party, taxation of land values was perhaps the primary objective of the radical tendency among the New Liberals and leading Labour men such as Keir Hardie, Philip Snowden, and MacDonald himself.[5] Something like three quarters of the rank-and-file Liberal MPs in the Edwardian Parliaments were land taxers, the most militant being members of the Georgeite Land Restoration League or the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, and they regarded the 1909 taxes as merely the first installment of their full program. Despite the ultimate failure to devise, enact, or collect anything approaching the single tax, the impact of Henry George was indeed decisive for the development of a coherent and organized Progressivist movement in Britain and for the shaping of British politics in the decades before 1914. This ranks as an overwhelmingly American influence on the formation of British Progressives, although was some reverse flow as land taxers from the United States came to appreciate the apparent progress toward a workable system made in Britain by central government and cities such as Glasgow, Manchester, Salford, and Liverpool, which sought land value taxation powers, as well as London.

The major British influences on the thinking and practices of American Progressives indeed came from the practical examples of progressive policies in action. Municipal ownership and management of public utilities was perhaps the prime example, and Chapter 2 demonstrates the great impact that Glasgow's municipal tramway system had on a stream of visiting Americans, Progressive urban reformers, presidential candidates William Jennings Bryant and Woodrow Wilson, and simple tourists. Greatly admired for their efficiency, cleanliness, low fares, and profitability, the Glasgow trams contrasted sharply with the private enterprise street railway monopolies that in many American cities were badly run and expensive. It is worth remarking,

however, that municipal trams in Glasgow and anywhere in Britain owed their existence to the foresight embodied in the 1870 Tramways Act, with its provision for compulsory purchase by local authorities at a reasonable valuation after a 21-year term of private operation—a provision that reflected a principle in statutes conferring compulsory purchase powers on private monopolistic companies, which long antedated any progressive era. It was, for instance, a provision in all post-1844 acts for making railways and had never been invoked in practice chiefly because it did not apply retrospectively to railways established before 1844. All the same, turn-of-the-century Glasgow deserved its reputation among American Progressives as an outstanding model of efficient, honest, public-spirited city government endeavoring as far as its means allowed to look after all its citizens, which was in contrast to the corruption, self-interest of the governors, and neglect of the poor found in many American cities. As many of the American visitors were of Scottish descent, it was natural for them to find that Glasgow was the exemplar of a well-managed city, superior to those of the English. In truth, the public baths, washhouses, swimming pools, parks, museums, and libraries, as well as the admirable trams, so much admired in Glasgow might have been found in many English cities being run equally efficiently and for public service—not private profit—and something like Manchester's municipal swimming pools and Turkish baths might even have been found to be superior to Glasgow's. Early 1900s Glasgow was perhaps being viewed through rose-colored spectacles. Its slum clearance and rehousing projects were not as radical and ambitious as the LCC's efforts, and the tinder that was set alight in Red Clydeside during the First World War was already present.

There was a great deal more to Progressivism than good civic administration, and at the national level in Britain, old age pensions, free school meals, wages boards for sweated industries, and health and unemployment insurance for selected industries—to single out major social reforms of the New Liberalism—were financed by the first steps in redistributive taxation. All these were marked, noted, and inwardly digested by American Progressives; Chapter 2 sets the scene and charts the lines of transatlantic transmission of ideas. Progressivism also had a very strong moral dimension, which provided as much of its motive power as did the public service ideal. The drive for better city government and cleaner people and streets was also a mission to cleanse the city of immorality and vice. Many evangelicals and nonconformists held that drink and drunkenness were at the root of immorality, prostitution, crime, and poverty, although there was a profound disagreement as to the causes of poverty with the rational investigators among progressives, who held overcrowding and low wages to be primarily to blame. Most of the Progressive party on the LCC, for example, were pledged to the temperance

cause, had links to the United Kingdom Alliance, and pursued aims of reducing the number of pubs or local option—or maybe outright prohibition. The New Liberals in the progressive alliance in Parliament were heavily dependent on the nonconformist vote in the 1906 election, and for them also, temperance was one of their important objectives, although as the actual achievements of the 1906–1914 Liberal Government suggest that it was less important to the leadership than land value taxation or many other social reforms. Temperance had a long history, arguably going back to the eighteenth-century gin age, and attracted an organized movement from the 1820s, so that by the time it was taken up by progressives, it was a familiar cause in Britain. As Chapter 2 shows, it was a cause given renewed impetus and popular support by help from the strong American prohibitionist movement, their publicity material, and their itinerant visiting lecturers. Nevertheless, in the context of Anglo-American cross-fertilization of ideas, reform movements, and propaganda, temperance is a long-term nineteenth-century phenomenon, the continuous presence of which only ended with the collapse of prohibitionism on both sides of the Atlantic in the twentieth century and in which the Progressive Era was an interlude of heightened activity.

This was a period when the enlightened self-interest of several large-scale capitalists was leading them toward a version of welfare capitalism in their businesses. Rowntree's New Earswick in York, Cadbury's Bournville in Birmingham, and Lever's Port Sunlight in Cheshire became the best known examples of company settlements in which the employers not only provided clean and healthy working conditions in their factories, along with facilities such as canteens and changing rooms, but also built model housing estates for their workers, complete with a full range of community buildings and services; in other words, a late-nineteenth-century modernized version of such midcentury company estates as Saltaire and Akroyden in woollen Yorkshire. Other members of the middle classes, mainly from the professions, became concerned with social reform from a different kind of self-interest: the need to satisfy their social consciences and, perhaps, purge guilt feelings at the contrasts between their own comfortable lives and the wretched conditions of the poor. Beatrice Potter (Webb), who was in fact the daughter of a wealthy businessman, was unusual in explicitly acknowledging her sense of social guilt, which she called "self-consciousness of sin," but was not so unusual in seeking to expiate this guilt through good works, slum visiting, and efforts to improve the moral as well as the material state of the poor.[6] Slumming extended all the way from voyeuristic visits by society ladies to the East End to systematic social investigation, often by men and women who went to live in the slums to gain direct experience of the conditions, with somewhere-in-between missionary efforts intended to redeem and civilize the ignorant

and "heathen" populace. There also had been efforts to solve the problems of overcrowding through "philanthropy at five per cent" since midcentury,[7] with model dwellings—famously those of the Peabody Trust—and through Octavia Hill's piecemeal approach through careful management and renovation of existing housing. Well-known and influential in the United States, Octavia Hill was "bitterly opposed to municipal socialism and subsidized housing" and sought to improve the characters and morals of the slum-dwellers through cleaner, whitewashed, housing and cleaner, whitewashed, souls.[8]

This missionary impulse to bring Christianity to the neglected and amoral slum-dwellers was the motive impelling university graduates to settle in the East End and establish residences in which religion and morals would rub off on selected East-Enders through association with these educated men and women. The profound shock caused by the publication of Andrew Mearns's *Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in 1883 directly inspired the establishment of the most famous of these East End settlements, Toynbee Hall, less than a year later. It was soon to be followed by more such communities. The settlements, as chapters 6 and 7 show, rapidly became an Anglo-American movement, and at least outside London became institutions offering scope for powerful and dedicated women to excel. They became, too, an important Progressive institution, although it has to be remembered that the prototype, Toynbee Hall, began life committed to the idea that the moral regeneration of sinful individuals through religious awakening was an essential part of rescuing the poor from their own immoral, promiscuous, and incestuous lives. This Charity Organisation Society philosophy remained the guiding principle of Toynbee Hall under Canon Samuel Barnett. He was warden until 1906 and, in a confusing and muddled way, never abandoned the belief that individual character was the key to social reform but nevertheless attracted to Toynbee Hall reformers such as Robert Morant, William Beveridge, and R. H. Tawney. These reformers rejected individualist explanations of social problems and argued for institutional reforms such as free secondary schools, university extension lectures, old age pensions, minimum wages, and training for the unemployed, which were indeed core progressive policies. The progressive input of the settlement movement, however, owed much to the example of its most important American exemplar, Hull House in Chicago, and the work of its founder Jane Addams, who made Hull House into a center of urban reform, inspired hundreds of similar settlements in the United States, and despatched many disciples across the Atlantic. These disciples especially went to Glasgow, where the Queen Margaret Settlement similarly repudiated the Charity Organization Society approach. The settlement movement, starting out from an individualist base, was thus captured by the progressive philosophy, although its impact on actual living conditions was a great deal less

significant than its influence on the young dons and university graduates who spent a spell in one of the settlements.

After some false starts in the 1860s and 1870s the settlement movement had been successfully launched by one of the most influential pieces of muckraking ever written, *The Bitter Cry*. As Chapter 6 shows, this technique of dramatically exposing social problems was adopted with great effect by a group of female British muckrakers, active from the 1880s to 1914, who have very rarely been recognized as such by historians. This comparative invisibility was in part a result of the reluctance of British investigative journalists and observers to find themselves identified with their brash and sometimes woefully distorting sensationalist American contemporaries of the early 1900s, who were dubbed muckrakers by Theodore Roosevelt. In part, though, it is because the British muckrakers were a collection of individuals with individual axes to grind, rather than a group with shared outlooks and aims—apart, of course, from the fact that there was money to be made from sensational revelations, as long as publishers could be found. The influence on public opinion—and administrative and legislative action—of the exposures of incest in the slums, the white slave traffic, the malnutrition of children, the adulteration of food, conditions in sweated industries, or childhood drinking, for example, cannot be questioned. These exposures furnished progressives with plenty of ammunition, but the muckrakers hardly presented a united front or a coherent program for social reform: Some still put their faith in moral outrage and character improvement; some looked to government intervention; some were anti-Semitic, others simply antialien; some were eugenicist, and others expected the residuum could be saved. George Sims, for example, gave added force to the wave of indignation in the wake of *The Bitter Cry* with his 1883 pamphlet *How the Poor Live*, exposures that contributed to the reform of London government and the emergence of the Progressive domination of the LCC. The same George Sims contributed to the ratepayers' revolt and the downfall of the Progressives with his vitriolic *Bitter Cry of the Middle Classes* in 1906–an attack on municipal socialism and the millions of public money spent "to the grave injury of the ratepayer, in endeavouring to combat the great natural law of the survival of the fittest" and encouraging the degeneration of the race by protecting and succoring the socially—and presumably biologically—unfit residuum.[9] His message to his readers was that they should hasten to join the Middle Class Defence Organization and the Association for the Protection of Property Owners. This was about as reactionary and far removed from Fabian-style Progressivism as one could get. Sims was, in truth, no great thinker, but a popular playwright and sponsor of the George R. Sims Hair Restorer who dabbled in sensational journalism as a sideline[10]. There were some strange bedfellows

among the so-called Progressives, and George R. Sims' inclusion in the Progressivist camp is a suitable illustration of the need to regard Progressivism as an extremely broad church that embraced members of diverse and sometimes mutually contradictory opinions about the way forward—in both Britain and the United States—for their industrialized and urbanized societies. The diversity helps to explain why historians of Britain in this period have generally failed to call it a Progressive Era to match the accepted description of the age of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson in American historiography, but this book clearly invites a reassessment of the way we look at the late Victorian and Edwardian world.

Notes

1. William Jennings Bryan's famous "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on July 9, 1896.
2. John Davis, *Reforming London: London Government Problem, 1855–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 118.
3. Peter H. Lindert, "Who Owned Victorian England? The Debate over Landed Wealth and Inequality," *Agricultural History* 61 (1987), app. B3.
4. Avner Offer, *Property and Politics, 1870–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 198–199; Brian Short and Mick Reed. *Landownership and Society in Edwardian England and Wales: The Finance (1909–10) Act, 1910 Records* (Brighton: University of Sussex, 1987).
5. Antony Taylor, *Lords of Misrule: Hostility to Aristocracy in Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Britain* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 67, 122.
6. Quoted in Norman Mackenzie, ed., *The Letters of Sidney and Beatrice Webb: Apprenticeships, 1873–1892* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1: 2.
7. The historical context of this expression is discussed in Michael Harloe, "Social Housing and the `Social Question': Early Housing Reform and its Legacy," *Breaking Chains: Social Movements and Collective Action*, ed. Michael Peter Smith (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1991), 3: 94.
8. Anthony S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 183.
9. Quoted in Offer, *Property and Politics*, 306.
10. Philip Waller, "Altercation over Civil Society: The Bitter Cry of the Edwardian Middle Classes," *Civil Society in British History: Ideas, Identities, Institutions*, ed. Jose Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 115–34.

CHAPTER 1

Historians and Progressivism

David W. Gutzke

For the years 1870–1914, the concept of Progressivism—which is integral to understanding U.S. history—appears in no standard surveys of British history. This is even true of recent studies of Anglo-American attitudes.[1] Given the interest of scholars in other Anglo-American cultural connections in the nineteenth century—abolitionism, revivalism, immigration, temperance reform, and political ideology—what explains this paucity of research?[2] Perhaps, British historian C. L. Mowat reflected, it is because historians in each country write history differently. In the United States, historians conceptualized reform as emanating from a constellation of ideas, whereas those in Britain viewed it as entirely isolated from other issues, and thus as the product of individuals or organizations.[3] Though American historians studied reform as a form of a history of ideas, they ironically failed to see the cultural exchange between Progressives in each country. Abandoning this compartmentalized approach to studying these years and using Progressivism as an organizing concept produces an entirely new way of seeing these years, both in Britain and the United States.

Though the term Progressive is most commonly associated with the United States, it in fact appeared first across the Atlantic. In 1889, Liberal, Fabian, and socialist members of the London County Council (LCC) were referred to collectively, if awkwardly, as Progressists, a term that eventually metamorphosed into Progressive. Reformers unconnected with the LCC such as Clementina Black and members of the Fabian Society likewise used the term to describe themselves. So did Manchester Liberals, who in promoting a Progressive alliance with the Independent Labour Party from the

mid-1890s became the forerunners of the much more heralded New Liberals in the Edwardian Liberal Party, which party created a rudimentary welfare state. The philosophic basis for state intervention in part came from the *Progressive Review*, founded in 1896. In the postwar era, brewers who espoused the improved public house became self-described Progressives. Americans, in contrast, emulated the British and appropriated the term, which became fashionable in the United States in the 1910 elections.[4]

Ironically, American, not British, scholars first appreciated the link between Britain and U.S. Progressivism. In his 1956 article, Arthur Mann pointed to Britain as the source of some ideas for U.S. Progressivism, most notably settlement houses and municipal reform.[5] Samuel A. Barnett's Toynbee Hall, established in 1884, became a Mecca for U.S. reformers, with Robert A. Woods, Stanton Coit, Vida D. Scudder, and Jane Addams in the vanguard, first as visitors and then as founders of settlement houses in Chicago, Boston, and New York by 1892. Impressed by the municipal reform begun in the 1870s in Glasgow, Manchester, and Birmingham, American writers such as Robert A. Woods, Albert Shaw, Frank Parsons, and Frederic C. Howe trumpeted these accomplishments in widely read books. Such was the interest in the topic that an American press published Charles Gross' *A Bibliography of British Municipal History* in 1897. Three central ideas—municipal autonomy, public ownership of utilities, and social engineering by college educated experts—attracted American admiration and guaranteed emulation. As Mann observed, "there was scarcely an urban reformer [in America] who did not support these ideas." Yet, transcending them in importance were British social critics, extending from Thomas Carlyle and Charles Dickens to Walter Besant, John Ruskin, and William Morris, whose attack on the ills created by industrialization undermined faith in laissez faire economics. These men provided the social critique that U.S. Progressives would appropriate in their own assault on societal injustices.[6] However, U.S. historians ignored Mann's thesis for well over a quarter of century.[7] Morton Keller, for instance, in an article in 1980 in a comparative history journal, saw Britain and the United States in the early twentieth centuries as having "surface similarities and underlying differences"—not as being joint participants in a shared international movement of reform. For both countries, Keller said, these years marked an interesting "distinctive historical convergence," and nothing more.[8]

Meanwhile, two British historians went beyond the Mann thesis in arguing that Britain did not simply serve as the source for many ideas subsequently embraced by U.S. Progressives. First C. L. Mowat in 1969 and then Peter Clarke in 1974 contended that Britain had a genuine Progressive movement before World War I and portrayed 1906–1911—the years

when legislation laid the foundation of the welfare state—as critical. Clarke equated the movement with the New Liberalism, the ideology of the Liberal Government. A revisionist political philosophy reconciling individualism and collectivism, New Liberalism enabled the Liberal and Labour Parties to cooperate politically in what contemporaries called a Progressive alliance. However, not all Progressives even then belonged to the Liberal Party, and not all Liberals themselves deserved the label. In fact, only a small but vocal group, with assured access to publicity, really qualified as bona fide Progressive Liberals.[9]

Because of how scholars developed the concept, British Progressivism could not evolve as a separate historical topic outside this framework of social welfare legislation. Political parties advanced a Progressive ideology, thought Mowat and Clarke, so historians became fixated on Parliament and national politics. Not surprisingly, as Progressivism was deemed synonymous with the New Liberalism, which historians in turn saw as part of the broader linear evolution of the welfare state, researchers had no reason for inquiring whether British Progressivism displayed as wide a chronological time span and varied motivations as its American counterpart. Neither Clarke nor Mowat put British Progressivism in an international context benefiting from much cross-fertilization. As a result, Mann's earlier emphasis on what made British reforms distinctive for Americans aroused no comment.

It was Kenneth O. Morgan who broke new ground in a 1976 article in which he asserted that Britain and the United States participated in a transatlantic Progressive movement. Similar to Mann, Morgan stressed how British settlement houses and cities with far-flung municipal functions fascinated America Progressives. For Morgan, Britain chiefly acted as a social laboratory on which American Progressives could draw for inspiration, reassurance, ideas, and experience. Between 1898 and 1917, he wrote, "Britain provided much of the momentum for the American Progressives," but U.S. reformers, he cautioned, had an "episodic and often indirect"—even minimal— influence on Britain. Morgan's contribution was significant but limited: He still narrowly interpreted British Progressivism as a response to the concept of social justice, with an ideology rooted firmly in the New Liberalism, which flourished after 1902.[10]

Attempts to offer a wider perspective were ignored and even critically reviewed. Bernard Aspinwall's *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820-1920*, published in 1984, offered voluminous evidence of how Glaswegians engaged in an extensive dialogue with U.S. Progressives through conferences, migration, and visits. [11] As a transatlantic laboratory for Progressive ideas, American reformers turned repeatedly to Glasgow for guidance, reassurance, and inspiration. For two decades (1894–1914), Aspinwall argued,

"Glasgow's trams were at the centre of an American debate about the quality of social, economic and political life." Symbolizing the city's astonishing success as a municipal trader, Glasgow's tramways became a mecca for American Progressives, fostering further cross-fertilization. As Aspinwall pointed out, "the reputation and accomplishments of the various municipal enterprises under professional control responsible to the elected council seemed the solution to the American ills." Albert Shaw, associated with W. T. Stead as the editor of the *American Review of Reviews*, joined fellow American F. C. Howe in trumpeting the city's accomplishments.[12] Notwithstanding this important contribution, British historians continued to overlook the topic altogether.[13]

It was left to American historians to build on the critical work of Mowat, Clarke, Morgan, and Aspinwall and to place Britain within an international context of Progressivism. Two monographs fundamentally advanced scholars' understanding. In 1986, James T. Kloppenberg explored how reformers in three European countries—Britain, France, and Germany—and America evolved a new form of voluntary action that recognized the individual's capability to modify the environment and establish an ethical society. Instead of reformers being divided geographically by their attitudes to socialism, they became part of a transatlantic discourse. "Moderate social democracy emerged in Europe for many of the same reasons, and made possible the appearance of quite similar coalitions, as those behind the more far-reaching American Progressive reform measures," Kloggenberg argued.[14] Despite this more promising point of departure, his thesis failed to stimulate further research for more than a decade.

Finally, in a new synthesis in 1998 that drew heavily on previous British historiography, Daniel T. Rodgers argued that both Britain and the United States were part of what he called a transatlantic Progressive moment involving continental Europe as well as Australasia. Rapidly interconnecting world markets eradicating national borders and a new appreciation of shared ancestry promoted Rodgers' North Atlantic Progressive connection in the late nineteenth century. As networks of international markets proliferated, urbanization accelerated, and working-class antagonism intensified, a new social politics emerged in the 1890s that endured for the next quarter of a century. Labor unrest in the 1880s and 1890s provided the catalyst for change in the United States, with Americans forced, on one hand, to confront rising class antagonism, and to abandon, on the other, exceptionalism—a staunch faith in the cultural differences of their new-world republic compared with old-world monarchies. Similar to previous scholars, Rodgers believes in the unevenness of the transatlantic Progressive exchange: "Nothing defined it for American participants more than its massive asymmetry."[15]

Expanding on previous scholarship, Rodgers added healthier cities and town planning as topics in the nexus of transatlantic Progressivism, a view with which Axel Schäfer's concurrent study of German influence on American reformers agrees.[16] In one critical respect, however, Rodgers dissented from the previous literature: his Progressives possessed neither a motivation nor an ideology (and hence formed no "movement"). For Rodgers, timing—not any historical theory—explained striking differences in transatlantic social politics.

Yet, as Robin Einhorn reflects in his critique, "historians and political scientists even slightly familiar with scholarship on the US Progressive Era published during the last 20 years will be surprised to find that Rodgers ignores its primary findings: the importance of group identities and differences."[17] Indeed, years earlier in two articles published in 1970 and 1983, American historian Louis Galambos had advanced a new thesis that U.S. Progressives were primarily middle class, professional, and religious because of new organizations with "a bureaucratic structure of authority." Formal, large-scale, and national associations displaced informal, small-scale, and local or regional bodies in the late nineteenth century. Labor, professional, reform, and business groups all evolved similarly. "These organizations," Galambos remarked, "could and did conflict, but they nevertheless shared certain modes of orientation, certain values, and certain institutionally defined roles." With this bureaucratic shift came new values in which efficiency, continuity, methodical regulation, and collective action acquired preeminence, argued Robert H. Wiebe, a leading proponent of this "organizational school"—a perspective that gained widespread acceptance in U.S. historiography from the late 1960s. Wiebe's new middle class shared an overwhelming desire to achieve "its destiny through bureaucratic means."[18]

Though Galambos, Wiebe and other historians of this school were reinterpreting the nature of U.S. Progressivism, their thesis also applied to Britain. The organizational impulse that they identified had critically transformed the British social sciences. New legislation that mandated training and created large numbers of jobs in local government, civil service, public health, teaching, lecturing, writing, journalism, social work, and social administration drove the British middle classes into political activism beginning in the 1880s. Between 1881 and 1911, women's biggest increases came in medicine, local government, the civil service, writing, and social services, vastly outstripping the rise of just 42 percent in overall national female employment (see Table 1.1).[19] Comparative positions for men also multiplied, again vastly exceeding the 48 percent national rise for total male employment.[20]

Table 1.1 Expansion of some occupations, 1881–1911

	Medicine (%)	Local government (%)	Civil service (%)	Writing (%)	Social services (%)
Women	1808	544	485	276	261
Men	63	204	196	113	307

As the state expanded into new areas, public sector training correspondingly grew. To meet this perceived need, the Webbs—themselves quintessential examples of the nonpartisan, new professional middle classes who extolled the role of trained experts—facilitated the founding of the London School of Sociology and Social Economics in 1902. "Sociology and social science," Eileen Janes Yeo argues, "became ways of jumping on the bandwagon of progress steaming in the direction of social justice for all, yet retaining a position in the driver's seat for educated and trained middle-class professionals." Soaring numbers of middle-class positions in the social sciences thus led to professionalization, fostering the reformist impulse identified by the Galambos thesis. This new white-collar group was committed as much to professional public service as to infusing their own bourgeois values in the lower classes. For them, social justice and social control marched together. In this sense, there were strong parallels between the United States and Britain. As Arthur Link and Richard McCormick recently comment on U.S. Progressives, "justice to them meant giving all elements of society the benefit of their expertise; control meant authorizing them to take whatever steps they thought necessary to achieve that justice."[21]

Middle-class Progressives viewed society's ills from a distinctive perspective. "Professional reformers," wrote Wiebe, "applied specialized knowledge to their campaigns. A new faith in facts and statistics, in scientific argumentation, also influenced such areas as the law."[22] This was equally true of Britain. As a force for social change, the discipline of science loomed large in Progressive thinking. Christian Socialists such as Dr. Chadwick, member of the Christian Social Union's Executive Committee, displayed this outlook with a pamphlet entitled *The Scientific Mind in Social Reform*.[23]

However persuasive as interpretations of Progressivism, neither the "organizational school" nor Rodgers' transatlantic thesis adequately explains the influential role of muckrakers in exposing, condemning, and publicizing societal evils. Both views also fail to account satisfactorily for fundamental late Victorian changes in the understanding of poverty and its causes, in the relationship between the individual and state responsibility, and in the acceptance of a new obligation of the better off in society to the less fortunate.[24] Both perspectives, moreover, minimize not only reformers' personal

motivations but also gender, class, ethnicity, and race as powerful concepts shaping Progressivism in differing geographic contexts. More attention needs to be paid to such shared problems as slums, monopolies, and prostitution as common elements of a transnational Progressive exchange.

More specifically, the transatlantic cultural matrix went well beyond settlement houses, town planning, municipalization, and New Liberal social legislation (1906–1911). In part because of the cross-fertilization between Britain and the United States, a Progressive school of historians, who invoked the past for guidance to understand and transform the present, arose in each nation at the turn of the century. Campaigns promoting Scottish prohibition, improved public houses, women's employment, and child welfare, as well as those attacking maternal drunkenness, sweating, and immigration, obviously both influenced and were influenced by U.S., Scandinavian, and Australasian Progressives' beliefs, writings, experiences, and policies. Muckrakers, too, such as American Jack London and Britons Robert Sherard and W. T. Stead, looked abroad for pressing social ills to investigate or, like Olive Malvery, borrowed imagery and ideas from their U.S. counterparts.[25]

There is another sense in which Rodgers' thesis must be reexamined. Progressivism was not Anglo-centric. It was not simply a question of *Atlantic Crossings*, primarily from Britain to the United States, with an occasional glance to the continent and Australasia, as Rodgers portrayed. In light of how historians have reconceptualized the writing of history in the last two decades, Anglo-American Progressivism must be seen as part of the "'new worlds' beyond the Americas," as U.S. historian Ian Tyrrell maintains in a recent essay.[26] The cultural exchange of ideas, concepts, and people extended to Canada, Australasia, and Africa. Moreover, the process of transmission was not just linear, from one nation-state to another, but was often, in ways subtle and unexpected, from Britain and then to a second country, which in turn affected yet a third nation.[27] As British historians, we endorse Tyrrell's assertion that "more than at any time since the turn of the century, American historians are alive to the potential for a historiography that transcends national boundaries."[28] Our essays, we believe, reflect this conviction.

This volume of essays therefore aims to write transnational history, bringing a new perspective to the study of an old but central theme in U.S. historiography. That these essays address a neglected theme is apparent in the comments of one practitioner of the "new British history," who in 1999 could observe that "the greatest potential for the convergence of British and American history lies in the study of the eighteenth century."[29]

One critical caveat is warranted. Cross-fertilization ensured similarity, not interchangeability. "Settler societies" participating in the progressive exchange

were unlike each other in many ways.[30] Then, too, there was the vital question of timing. In a recent essay, Daniel Rodgers puts considerable weight on this factor. "Timing not only . . . creates certain policy traditions, administratively and intellectually institutionalized grooves and patterns that resist sudden change; it continuously changes the field of intellectual and political possibilities."[31] In the transplanting of settlement houses to Canada, for example, timing proved crucial: They arrived before industrialization had transformed urban life. Without urban ills, Progressivism emerged later in the 1920s. Accordingly, Canadian settlement houses lacked the political activism of their counterparts south of the border and defined overriding issues quite differently. Canadian reformers did not frame issues in the context of social justice until much later.

Yet such differences do not invalidate our thesis that numerous countries participated in what Rodgers' calls "social politics." The focus here, however, is by no means limited primarily to an Anglo-American world. To sharpen analysis and heighten relevance, our approach is deliberately comparative among settler societies, primarily in the British Empire. Comparison is possible because such countries, as Marc Bloch and other scholars have insisted, shared similar traits: common cultural heritages, assumptions of racial superiority, parliamentary government, capitalist markets, and the institutions of the common law.[32]

The following essays advance a revisionist thesis: Britain had its own form of Progressivism during the years 1870–1939, much wider in scope than historians have hitherto appreciated. In many senses this Progressivism, though not always identical, was still remarkably similar to what unfolded elsewhere in the transnational community. This similarity indicated the ideas, research, and remedies that moved back and forth across the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans in a cultural exchange, influencing and enhancing the nature of Progressivism on a worldwide basis. Though strongest between Britain and the United States, cross-fertilization enveloped not only Western Europe and Scandinavia but also in Australasia, Canada, and even Africa and Japan. Finally, cross-fertilization with Canada, New Zealand, Japan, and Africa affected some topics—notably town planning, settlement houses, the garden city, and civic reforms—in ways previously unrecognized by most historians.

Notes

1. Fred M. Leventhal and Roland Quinault, eds., *Anglo-American Attitudes: From Revolution to Partnership* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

2. See for example, Frank Thistlethwaite, *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1959); Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1978); Howard Temperley, "The British and American Abolitionists Compared," in *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*, ed. Martin B. Duberman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 343–61; Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972); Henry Pelling, *America and the British Left: From Bright to Bevan* (New York: New York University Press, 1957); Clifton K. Yearley, *Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on American Labor, 1820–1914* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957); Robert Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).

3. C. L. Mowat, "Social Legislation in Britain and the United States in the early Twentieth Century: A Problem in the History of Ideas," *Historical Studies* 7 (1969): 81–82.

4. Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 127, n. 1; Liselotte Glage, *Clementina Black: A Study in Social History and Literature* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1981), 39; James Robert Moore, "Progressive Pioneers: Manchester Liberalism, the Independent Labour Party, and Local Politics in the 1890s," *Historical Journal* 44 (2001): 1003–4; Peter Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 171, 397–98; Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 122, 140; Sydney Nevile, *The First Half-Century: A Review of the Developments of the Licensed Trade and the Improvement of the Public House during the Past Fifty Years* (London: n.p. 1949); Sydney O. Nevile, "The Improved Public-House Movement," *House of Whitbread* 3 (1926): 2; David Blaazer extends the thesis of a prewar Progressive movement into the 1930s, portraying supporters of the Popular Front as the survivors of Edwardian Progressivism or its heirs. Marc Stears, *Progressives, Pluralists, and the Problems of the State: Ideologies of Reform in the United States and Britain, 1909–26* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); David Blaazer, *The Popular Front and the Progressive Tradition: Socialists, Liberals, and the Quest for Unity, 1884–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 20–23, 25.

5. Arthur Mann, "British Social Thought and American Reformers of the Progressive Era," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 42 (1956): 672–92.

6. Ibid., 684–89.

7. Morton Keller, "Anglo-American Politics, 1900–30, in Anglo-American Perspective: A Case Study in Comparative History," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): 458–77; Melvyn Stokes, "American Progressives and the European Left," *Journal of American Studies* 17 (1983): 5–28.

8. Keller, "Anglo-American Politics," 464, 477; also see Benjamin R. Beede, "Foreign Influences on American Progressivism," *Historian* 45 (1983): 529–49.

9. Peter Clarke, "The Progressive Movement in England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1974): 159–81; Mowat, "Social Legislation"; Michael Bentley, *The Climax of Liberal Politics: British Liberalism in Theory and Practice, 1868–1918* (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), 138–45.

10. Kenneth O. Morgan, "The Future at Work: Anglo-American Progressivism, 1890–1917," in *Contrast and Connection: Bicentennial Essays in Anglo-American History*, ed. H. C. Allen and Roger Thompson (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976), 245–71.

11. For one unfavorable review, see David Smith in *Albion* 17 (1985): 123–24. Altogether *Portable Utopia* was reviewed in just two other scholarly journals, the *Journal of American History* 17 (1984): 393, and the *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 685.

12. Bernard Aspinwall, "Glasgow Trams and American Politics, 1894–1914," *Scottish Historical Review* 56 (1977): 70–72, 76; Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820–1920, with a Comprehensive Biographical List of the Scots and Americans who Created the Connection* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 151–52, 157–58, 168–70, 175–76, 178.

13. It was reviewed in only one scholarly journal for British historians, *Albion*. See note 11.

14. James T. Kloppenberg, "In Retrospect: Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America*," *Reviews in American History* 29 (2001): 469–70; James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); also see E. P. Hennock, *British Social Reform and German Precedents: The Case of Social Insurance, 1880–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 28–36.

15. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1998), 69–71; Robert Einhorn, Review of *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*, by Daniel Rodgers, *Journal of Economic History* 59 (1999): 1142.

16. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 3, 4, 51; Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," 113–32; Axel R. Schäfer, *American Progressives and German Social Reform, 1875–1920: Social Ethics, Moral Control, and the Regulatory State in a Transatlantic Context* (Stuggart: F. Steiner Verlag, 2000), 5.

17. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 7, 32, 47, 50–52, 55, 58–59, 198, 250, 254, 407; Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," 113–32; Schäfer, *American Progressives and German Social Reform*, 5; Einhorn's review, 1142; also see John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890–1920*, 2nd ed. (New York: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

18. Louis Galambos, "The Emerging Organizational Synthesis in Modern American History," *Business History Review* 44 (1970): 280, 282, 284, 287–88; Louis Galambos, "Technology, Political Economy, and Professionalism: Central Themes of the Organizational Synthesis," *Business History Review* 57 (1983): 485–91; Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967), 166; also see Samuel P. Hays, "The New Organizational Society,"

in *Building the Organizational Society: Essays on Associational Activities in Modern America*, ed. Jerry Israel (New York: Free Press, 1972), 1–15. The thesis has been recently restated in Chambers, *Tyranny of Change*, 140, 151.

19. Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: River Oram Press, 1996), 209–10, 216–19.

20. See ibid., 218.

21. Clarke, *Social Democrats*, 119; Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain the United States and France, 1780–1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981), 86; Yeo, *Social Science*, 210, 216–19; E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Fabians Reconsidered," in *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm (London: Basic Books, 1964), 250–71; Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1983), 85.

22. Robert H. Wiebe, "The Progressive Years, 1900–17," in *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*, ed. William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson Jr. (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), 435.

23. Minute Book, November 4, 1910, 35, MS 4032, Christian Social Union, Lambeth Palace Library.

24. Thomas L. Haskell, "Taking Exception to Exceptionalism," *Reviews in American History* 28 (2000): 161; Nancy Schrom Dye, "Where Have All the Progressives Gone?" *OAH Magazine of History* 1 (Winter/Spring, 1986): 14.

25. Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (London: Pitman, 1903); Robert H. Sherard, *At the Closed Door: Being the true and faithful account of an Experiment in Propria Persona of the Treatment Accorded to Pauper Emigrants in New York Harbour by the Officials of the American Democracy* (London: Digby, Long & Company, 1902); W.T. Stead, *If Christ came to Chicago! A Plea for the Union of All who Love in the Service of All who Suffer* (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894); Olive Christian Malvery, *The Soul Market, with which is included "The Heart of Things"* (London: Hutchinson, 1907), ch. 5, "The British `Jungle.'"

26. Ian Tyrrell, "Beyond the View from Euro-America: Environment, Settler Societies, and the Internationalization of American History," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (London: University of California Press, 2002), 168–69. For an overview of the development, see the forum, "The New British History in Atlantic Perspective," *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 426–524.

27. Peter Coleman's intriguing study of the impact of New Zealand's social policies on the United States overlooked entirely how these ideas sometimes became further diffused to Canada and Britain. *See* Peter J. Coleman, *Progressivism and the World of Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987).

28. Ian Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History," *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 1055.

29. David Armitage, "Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?" *American Historical Review* 104 (1999): 442. Rodgers' study had just appeared

the previous year, but even so the historical literature on Anglo-American cultural exchanges in the nineteenth century was considerable. See Tyrrell, "American Exceptionalism," 1050–51.

30. *See* Chapter 2, 25.

31. Daniel T. Rodgers, "An Age of Social Politics," in *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, ed. Thomas Bender (London: University of California Press, 2002), 264–65.

32. Tyrrell, "Beyond the View from Euro-America," 169–70; Marc Bloch, "A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies," in *Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe: Selected Papers*, ed. Marc Bloch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 44–81.

CHAPTER 2

Progressivism in Britain and Abroad

David W. Gutzke

Moral outrage, shame, guilt, and the need for social justice propelled thousands of individuals into political activism from the 1870s until the end of World War I.[1] For them, reform, not self interest, was uppermost in their minds. In the United States, such men and women were recognized as belonging to a group called Progressives; in Britain, though they shared similar motives, the name had limited meaning outside Edwardian national politics and the London County Council.[2] Yet some reformers in Britain did appropriate the name, and more important, thousands more deserved it.[3]

Well educated, overwhelmingly from the middle and upper classes, and born in Britain or the Empire, Progressives dedicated themselves to attacking social ills arising from industrialization with government intervention. Their attitude to the government separated them most from their mid-Victorian counterparts. Abuses had been identified and deplored for decades in Britain, but never before had critics turned to the government for legislation as a remedy.[4] Philanthropy and charity—the twin traditional responses to social distress in an era of laissez faire—were now discarded as inadequate, the problems being too large in magnitude for case-by-case treatment. Regardless of their country of origin, Progressives shared many similar traits: a nonpartisan outlook, respect for university-trained experts and the collection of statistical evidence, and uncanny skills as coalition builders among unexpected allies. They offered moral uplift, order, discipline, scientific inquiry, efficiency, and environmentalism as antidotes for urban problems and social justice as a new standard of fairness for class reconciliation.[5]

Progressivism represented a response to the ills of urban industrial society in which reformers from the 1870s sought to humanize the city and ameliorate widespread social problems.[6] Rejecting individualistic solutions as insufficient, new white-collar, nonpartisan, middle-class professionals drawn into diverse coalitions instead proposed to apply their scientific expertise to solving society's ills with government intervention. With their piecemeal approach to change, satisfying white-collar jobs, and dread of disorder, Progressives pursued reforms aimed consciously at preserving the socioeconomic status quo: They had no well thought-out concept of the government as a redistributor of wealth or as a vehicle for restructuring economic institutions.[7] Abuses of power and wealth therefore caused attacks on unregulated capitalism—not on capitalism itself. These people were reformers, and, though not Marxists, in Britain included diverse types of socialists, from the Fabians to Samuel Barnett.

Progressives hence became activists in response not to political ideology but to causes. Abundantly armed with fertile ideas, Progressives nonetheless lacked an overarching ideology of agreed reforms. They saw the individual as the product of the environment, which they sought to reorder to reshape behavior. An ability to fashion short-lived coalitions across political, social, and religious lines to pursue specific goals distinguished Progressives from other reformers and contributed powerfully to their success.[8] With their nonpartisan approach, defiance of party labels, and pragmatism, Progressives proved extremely elusive to put on a political spectrum.[9]

Our essays contend that there was something recognizable as Progressivism in Britain that was comparable to its better-known American counterpart. Does it make sense to group the disparate group of British reforms under the rubric of Progressivism? The hypothesis can be demonstrated in several different ways. One way is simply comparative. Parallels can be drawn between the arc of reform in Britain and similar developments in the United States that addressed "the social question" in various ways.[10] Although the United States arrived at a high level of state intervention somewhat later, movements in both countries attempted to put a human face on laissez faire capitalism. Even where direct cross-fertilization proves difficult to document, parallel developments in the transatlantic world also demonstrate genuine Progressive movements across the ocean. This was the case in part because beliefs in environmentalism, the Social Gospel, and Christian Socialism each played formative roles in the thinking of reformers, especially in Britain and North America. Finally, despite differing sizes of ethnic populations, campaigns for social purity and immigration restrictions closely mirrored each other in Anglo-America.

A second way of demonstrating the hypothesis of a transatlantic Progressivism is to show direct transnational influences. Here, too, there is considerable evidence of cross-fertilization: British, Canadian, European, Australasian and American reformers paid close attention to each other Even as far afield as Africa and Japan, Progressive ideas—notably town planning and settlement houses—sometimes took root.

Cross-fertilization ensured similarity, but not interchangeability. Britain and the United States were unlike each other in many ways. Compared with the United States, Britain had minimal political corruption, small-scale immigration, a homogenous ethnic population, more powerfully organized labor, and settlement houses with shrunken feminine roles as well as fewer opportunities for women to launch reform campaigns. Other factors also influenced the type of Progressivism that emerged in the countries of the transatlantic community: Britain's parliamentary system, a landed aristocracy with waning sociopolitical power, an uncomplicated banking system, and a legal system that offered little opposition to mergers and corporate dominance.[11]

Why did British trusts and cartels acquire neither the notoriety nor the public opprobrium that provoked first outrage—and later legislation—in the United States? Growth of big business came in capital goods—coal, iron, steel, and oil—in the United States and in smaller firms consolidated in consumer goods—brewing, distilling, textiles, and hotels—in Britain. This enabled faster vertical integration in the United States—a development that placed firms there in a stronger position to affect markets and consumers than in Britain, even in the lead sector of consumer goods. Thus, there was no British counterpart to the economic power, massive size, and political clout of U.S. trusts, such as Carnegie Steel and Rockefeller's Standard Oil.[12] Although some British Progressives reviled the brewing industry's supposed formidable power, there was in fact no meaningful parallel with U.S. trusts.[13]

Spearheading the cross-fertilization of Progressivism in Britain and the United States was Henry George, who toured Britain throughout much of the 1880s, proselyting his views in *Progress and Poverty*, which became an Anglo-American best seller.[14] Incorporating the techniques, persona, and mentality of an evangelist, he preached to rapturous crowds across the land. He raised the seeming paradox that technological advances enriched Britain overall but impoverished numerous Britons. For George, the ending of private property in land appeared as one tenable solution. It was not so much his panacea that appealed so profoundly to the Victorian consciousness as his insistence that poverty, though morally degrading, was not preordained. His was among the first and most effective examples of moral indignation—a main motivator of many Progressives. When the fifty-one Labour members

of Parliament (MPs)elected at the 1906 Election were asked to identify which author most influenced them, George ranked at the top with the likes of Ruskin and Caryle.[15] George's writings became a transatlantic phenomenon, influencing a generation of social activists.[16]

George's revivalistic tour so successfully spoke with a language of moral indignation because the press itself had begun appealing to a wider readership with what contemporaries soon called the "new journalism." Investigative reporting uncovering criminal, negligent, reckless, immoral, or exploitative behavior, together with new American techniques, revolutionized the format, purpose, and content of newspapers. Human-interest stories, using personal interviews, enlivened the text as much as striking typographical changes made in the layout of stories. Bold headlines dwarfed paragraphs, which in turn replaced columns, and cross-heads and maps subdivided previously undifferentiated text.[17]

Reflecting the Progressive respect for expert opinion, W. T. Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Review of Reviews* pioneered the introduction of signed articles by specialists. Far more prevalent in the United States, where reporters exposed greed, dishonesty, and corrupt political machines in alliance with business, muckraking—so styled by Theodore Roosevelt—quickly became integral to British Progressivism from the early 1880s.[18]

Synonymous with disease, crime, drunkenness, violence, vice, pollution, and poverty, slums provided the source of another Progressive motive— fear of social instability, and even collapse. With "a new social awareness" in the 1880s and 1890s came a still more menacing image of the slum as the "abyss" or "inferno." As the plight of the poor seemingly deteriorated and more sophisticated scientific research confirmed earlier portrayals, the residuum—the lowest and most ominous strata of the slums—threatened to spill over into nearby propertied residential districts, raising the specter of national deterioration.[19]

Reacting to this anxiety, religious groups, as part of a transatlantic community offered the Social Gospel, a new concept of social action that stressed the individual's responsibility for humanizing slum life by using the state as a vehicle for change. Whether in Britain or the United States, Social Christians were preoccupied with urban ills. "Before World War I Progressivism seemed the political notion most representative of mainstream Social Gospelers in the United States," concludes Paul T. Phillips. Grievances motivated older British nonconformists; social justice and the Christian nation motivated their late Victorian successors.[20]

Though the United States, Canada, and Britain all promoted the Social Gospel to humanize industrial society, the context differed. With its stress on progress and aiding humanity, Comte's philosophy powerfully attracted

many Britons, who regarded the response of established religions to worsening social conditions as inadequate. Ruralism also supplied much of the impetus: Both Edward Bellamy and Henry George saw the countryside as the best remedy for urban ills. Inspiration too came from Social Darwinist beliefs in modifying individual behavior with environmental changes: Fresh air, open spaces, trees, and other appealing surroundings—evoking rustic, or at least suburban, life—would elevate the conduct of former slum dwellers. Armed with these ideas, many Social Gospel adherents propounded rural solutions to urban ills throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Journalist W. T. Stead promised regeneration through rural and overseas colonization. Businessmen established model factory villages at Bournville (Cadbury), New Earswick (Rowntree), and Port Sunlight (Lever). The originator of the garden city concept Ebenezer Howard had close, enduring ties to Congregationalism. He eventually accepted as spiritual leader Fleming "Flaming" Williams, a prominent Social Gospeller and Progressive on the London County Council (LCC). Another of his parishioners with a Progressive bent was John Wedgwood Benn, who joined Williams on the LCC.[21] The beliefs of some fervent champions of the Social Gospel, notably the Reverend R. J. Campbell, eventually took these individuals into Christian Socialism.[22]

Christian Socialists, less fearful of disorder and more radical than Social Christians, drew support primarily from within the established church and formed diffuse umbrella organizations late in the 1870s, reviving a defunct mid-Victorian movement. These middle- and upper-class activists, often deeply influenced by Henry George's ideas,[23] sought municipalization and government intervention to mitigate the poverty and urban ills caused by industrialization—social problems that the Anglican Church had hitherto ignored. Christian Socialists spanned the entire spectrum of reform groups, with Percy Alden, Thomas C. Horsfall, Stewart Headlam, and Gertrude Tuckwell in Britain, and Sam "Golden Rule" Jones and Vida Dutton Scudder in the United States being the most prominent among them. In managing the Browning Settlement House (Walworth), campaigning with Charles Booth for old age pensions, and cooperating with his brother (Britain's most notorious muckraker) on the *Review of Reviews*, Congregational minister F. H. Stead typified the Christian Socialist energetic commitment to improving society.[24]

Both the Social Gospel and Christian Socialism gave Progressives the appropriate discourse with which to advance demands for social justice.[25] Fabian William Clark edited the *Progressive Review*, staffed with writers who contributed often to the *Commonwealth*, periodical of the Christian Social Union.[26] Established in 1896 for reformers from whose contributions the New Liberalism would emerge, the *Progressive Review* vowed to "give due

emphasis to the new ideas and sentiments of social justice." Writing from this same perspective was Liberal theorist L. T. Hobhouse, for whom "liberty without equality is a name of noble sound and squalid worth." Another Liberal, newspaper editor and LCC Progressive A. G. Gardiner, denounced exploitative labor conditions because "no society can be sound in health which has as its base this undrained morass of wretchedness . . . which social justice can alone drain dry." Outside Liberal politics the concept also had wide appeal. "Belief in the sense of justice" convinced the Bishop of Southwark that trade unions be exempt from any financial responsibility as a result of damages caused by strikers.[27] Pursuing social justice had potentially far-reaching implications. After exploring Birmingham women's workers, three social investigators concluded that "a moral responsibility" to mitigate widespread poverty compelled a redistribution of wealth to attain "a fairer and better life" for workers. Poverty, they contended, was a remedial social problem. Reminiscent of Henry George's thesis that poverty coexisted with progress, they asked: "Must the honour of our country be rooted in the dishonour and degradation of large numbers of the people?" Their book, *Women's Work and Wages: A Phase of Life in an Industrial City*, quickly acquired an American publisher.[28]

The imperative to become activists in seeking social justice in response to moral outrage provided the catalyst for a new scholarly approach among some historians. Breaking sharply with predecessors in the Whig school, a group of scholars wrote with a new distinctive historical perspective—the British equivalent of what came to be called the Progressive school of historiography in the United States. Central to their interpretation was a polarized conflict between two rival, incompatible forces—individualism versus state intervention, or conservatism versus reform. Some British scholars, notably John and Barbara Hammond, exhibited the same motivation—moral outrage and the quest for social justice—that characterized so many other progressive reformers of the 1880–1920 years. These scholars, too, often became activists. Barbara Hammond, for instance, investigated sweating among jewelry workers and wrote a report that appeared in the *Women's Industrial News*.[29] For her, as for her husband, John, inspiration came primarily from the past. "The Hammonds wrote their history in order to fire the moral imagination and motivate social change," remarked Teresa Javurek in the most recent assessment. For them the past had a specific, didactic purpose: "to explain the need and justification for social and economic programmes they were themselves advocating," observed Malcolm I. Thomis.[30] This judgment also closely resembled Richard Hofstadter's assertion about the three leading U.S. Progressive historians, Charles Beard, Frederick Jackson Turner, and V. L. Parrington: that "their work has to be seen as part of a general change

. . . that finally brought the work of academic scholars into a far more active and sympathetic relation to political and social change than it had ever had before." Of these Americans, Beard most epitomized transatlantic Progressivism, living three fruitful years in Britain, during which time he acquired a wider perspective on life and a predilection for political reform before undertaking his doctorate. Studying at Oxford University, he formed a close friendship with an American Christian Socialist, helped establish Ruskin Hall (associated with Oxford University) as an institute for training aspiring working-class leaders, lectured extensively in the industrial north, and most important, came to see history as a science. It was here in England that Beard understood historical knowledge as being intended "to shed light on the origins and the solution of contemporary problems," a role requiring its transposition into moral terminology.[31]

Guilt and shame comprised the other motivations that transformed many individuals into Progressives in both Britain and the United States. Contesting a seat on the London School Board in 1888, Annie Besant confessed to her upbringing in the middle class, which "lives upon the workers, kept by their labour, nourished by their toil, fed and clothed by their struggles." To expiate her guilt, Besant disclaimed her class origins so that she could "pay back something of the debt which I owe." The oft-quoted confession of Arnold Toynbee in a lecture to a working-class audience in the late 1870s strikingly exposed the agonized remorse of the propertied classes: "You have to forgive us, for we have wronged you; we have sinned against you grievously—not knowingly always . . . but if you will forgive us . . . we will serve you, we will devote our lives to your service." Toynbee's beliefs and personal guilt survived his premature death, motivating Samuel Barnett to found England's first settlement house, Toynbee Hall, in 1884, and Charles Gore to become a driving force in the Christian Social Union. "The sense of sin," Barnett often was heard to remark, "has been the starting-point of progress."[32] Gore profoundly agreed. In a lecture in 1908, Gore stressed the failure of the church to address exploitation and declared: "This, then, is the first great claim we make upon the Church to-day: that it should make a tremendous act of penitence for having failed so long and on so wide a scale to behave as the champion of the oppressed and the weak." After attending one of Toynbee's lectures, Clara Collet developed a sense of responsibility for the downtrodden that would lead her into social investigation.[33]

Progressives responded to shame and guilt for diverse reasons.[34] Beatrice Webb, herself a leading social activist, pointed to "a growing uneasiness, amounting to a conviction, that the industrial organization, which had yielded rent, interest and profits on a stupendous scale, had failed to provide a decent livelihood and tolerable conditions" for most Britons.[35] For

her, class consciousness and social commitment fostered a profound aware-
ness of collective sin. Other factors galvanized nonconformists. In part, they
experienced guilt owing to their privileged existence. Their spiritual lead-
ers pointed to crime, vice, drunkenness, and other social problems as the
product of selfish individualism and growing class separation. Whether in
Britain or settler societies, Progressives began advocating a new sense of com-
munity that would regenerate the closer class cohesion allegedly prevailing
before industrialization.[36]

However important as motivators of reform, guilt and shame also some-
times competed strongly with fear. Recurring fears of slum denizens spilling
over and invading respectable neighborhoods with disease, crime, alcohol-
ism, and pauperism deeply disturbed many middle- and upper-class Brit-
ons and fostered eugenist beliefs.[37] Eugenists accused misguided reformers of
perverting the laws of natural selection and perpetuating the survival of the
most unfit.[38] As biological determinists who believed that character derived
more from heredity than environment, eugenists adopted a class diagnosis
of Britain's physical deterioration that embodied their profound hostility to
the "outcast" working class. Middle- and upper-class Britons, whose birth
rates had contracted for decades, were allegedly being "swamped" by an infe-
rior working class with persistently large families. Social reforms and philan-
thropy meanwhile counteracted the Darwinist principle of survival of the
fittest. Already, eugenists fretted that the least intelligent one fourth of the
population, which had inherited diminished mental abilities and therefore
lived overwhelmingly and inescapably in slums, was disproportionately pro-
ducing one half of the next generation. Unchecked in the future, these two
forces exacerbated fears of national deterioration.[39] Such sentiments, com-
bined with an eagerness to apply administrative skills and scientific expertise
to ameliorating urban conditions, prompted some social scientists and other
middle-class professionals and academics to found the Eugenics Education
Society in 1907.[40]

Slums could be eradicated not by clearance or rehousing but by slum
dwellers themselves disappearing, eugenists commonly contended. Anglo-
American policies, however, diverged because American scientists who
advocated eugenics had much greater prominence than their British coun-
terparts.[41] This enabled American eugenists to advocate and practice forced
sterilization, whereas British eugenists—lacking such prestige—could press
for no more than preventive detention of the unfit. Ultimately, the Liberal
Government balked at even this milder remedy and instead enacted the
Mental Deficiency Act (1913), which empowered, though not compelled,
authorities to detain and segregate the feebleminded.[42] To encourage child
rearing among the most fit, British eugenists urged tax incentives. New

Liberals actually implemented this idea in the People's Budget, with middle-class taxpayers allowed to deduct £10 annually from taxable income for each child under sixteen years of age.[43]

Threats of national deterioration likewise drove eight eminent physicians to enunciate a new critique of alcohol. Drawing on new hereditarian beliefs early in the 1900s, they pointed to rising female insobriety as a leading factor in infant mortality, childhood diseases, and national inefficiency. Successfully mobilizing pressure through the British Medical Association, the antidrink doctors lobbied for governmental intervention. The experience of the United States Government inspired Balfour's Cabinet to sanction hygiene and temperance instruction in schools as an important preventive of physical deterioration in 1905. Though nothing concrete could be done about the existing generation, educating children about alcohol's supposed baleful effects could protect future generations of unborn babies. Astonishing levels of recruits rejected as unfit for service during the Boer War (1899–1902), unacceptable rates of infant mortality, and related imperial fears about finding enough men to perpetuate the empire prompted the British government to appoint an investigative body, the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Summoned to give testimony, the antidrink doctors literally wrote their views into the report's conclusions published in 1904.[44] The following year, American muckraker John Spargo, in his *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, pointed to this recently issued report as critical in inducing him "to abandon as untenable the theory of antenatal degeneration." Deliberately provoking comparison with the famed U.S. reformer, British muckraker George R. Sims entitled his own newspaper exposé "The Cry of the Children."[45]

However, the parallel between these reformers ended here, for Sims rejected Spargo's position. Exemplifying Progressivism's transnational cross-fertilization, Sims looked to European medical research to uphold the antenatal theory of degeneration. Swiss Professor G. Von Bunge, holder of the University of Basle's Chair of Physiological Chemistry, disseminated new research documenting inherited traits between fathers and daughters. In his study, *Alcoholic Poisoning and Degeneration*, translated into English and published in London in 1905, he argued that a woman's nursing incapability stemmed directly from her father's heavy alcohol consumption.[46] "Children," he warned, "are insufficiently nourished, and so from generation to generation, the work of deterioration goes on, leading at length, after endless suffering, to the ultimate decay of the race." Combining Bunge's conclusions with the antidrink physicians' thesis, Sims advanced his own view that infant mortality reflected growing insobriety among mothers and their fathers. There were stark imperial implications: "What can be the future of our Empire, if on a falling birth rate 120,000 infants continue to die annually in the

first year of their lives, and the majority of those who survive have been . . . dosed, almost from their birth, with alcohol!" he inquired.[47]

Sims soon spearheaded a crusade inspired by his series of articles, "The Cry of the Children," written for a London daily newspaper in 1907. Too many babies were put at risk in pubs when working-class mothers consumed alcohol themselves or gave it to their offspring. In allowing babies to crawl on floors covered with sawdust impregnated with tubercular germs from customers' expectorate, mothers unwittingly exposed them to a life-threatening disease. "Out of the pub" and "back to the breast" soon became rallying cries of a national campaign aimed at prohibiting children younger than thirteen years from being present on public house premises. With a broad-based coalition of supporters, including distinguished physicians, Sims orchestrated public pressure to demand legislation. Hereditarian beliefs thus propelled politicians to ban children younger than thirteen years from pubs.[48]

Reformers in the United States more directly influenced the treatment of children in British law courts. From the 1890s, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the Howard Association publicized experiments by U.S. states in which probation officers supervised juvenile lawbreakers. British social reformers, through either personal visits or press reports, learned of pioneering efforts in Chicago and Denver, where energetic Progressive judges had introduced juvenile courts. Birmingham, impressed with Judge Ben Lindsey's accomplishments in Denver, in 1905 became the first city to translate such imaginative American methods to Britain, instituting weekly private court sessions for juvenile criminals. The Physical Deterioration Committee Report (1904) accentuated public awareness, putting adolescents in a context of national efficiency and urging a special magistrate for the young. "Dazzled by new American methods in enforcing 'parental responsibility,'" George Behlmer concluded, Britain established its own national system of juvenile courts in the Children's Act (1908).[49]

By the late 1880s, growing numbers of reformers disclaimed the long-standing, unshakable Victorian belief in character flaws as the chief cause of social and moral problems. Averse to hereditarian theories, many Progressives looked to an individual's physical, economic, and mental surroundings.[50] For example, R. Barry Parker, prominent in the garden city movement and town planning, saw architecture as a vehicle for bettering working-class lives. "The influence which our common every-day surroundings have upon our characters, our habits of thought and conduct are often very much under-rated," he wrote.[51] Overcrowding, housing, high rents, and drunkenness were now seen as part of a totality, encapsulated in the term "environment."[52] For this reason, Progressives believed firmly in combining environmental changes with moral uplift: "We must look to education as well as to improvement

in the houses for any improvement of life," declared Thomas C. Horsfall. Exhibiting the pragmatism so symptomatic of Progressives, he had decades earlier promoted the Manchester Art Museum out of the conviction that the educated classes should act as a civilizing medium for the culturally deprived poor.[53] These interrelated issues in the Progressive agenda all required a government solution, underlining what Louis Galambos portrayed as the organizational factor stimulating reform.

Environmentalism, a belief in the physical environment's capacity to mold individual character, pervaded the outlook of Progressives.[54] By the late 1880s, growing numbers of reformers renounced the long-standing, unshakable Victorian belief in character flaws as the chief cause of social and moral problems and looked instead to an individual's physical, economic, and mental surroundings as the decisive factors. Progressives sought to ameliorate the environment to elevate the individual.[55]Overcrowding, housing, high rents and drunkenness were now seen as part of a totality, encapsulated in the term "environment."

Unpolluted air, spaciousness, and gardens, "would develop a sense of home life, and an interest in nature which forms the best security against the temptations of drink and gambling."[56] Such sentiments induced some reformers to join the garden city movement, an amalgamation of ideas from proponents of model villages, the garden city, and the garden suburb. Nonpartisan in outlook, the movement attracted nearly forty MPs, prominent newspaper proprietors, industrialists, academics, and numerous intellectuals.[57]

The garden city movement fundamentally redefined ideas about housing. Supporters sought low-density working-class accommodation, hitherto prohibitively expensive except for the upper-middle classes.[58] Speculative builders, preoccupied with stringent economies, conventionally wanted thirty-one to forty-one narrowly fronted houses per acre either in terraced or semidetached dwellings, on straight roads that ran at right angles or parallel to each other. Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker recommended instead a dozen wider houses per acre, each set back from curving, tree-lined roads, allowing ample room for other symbols of middle-class comfort—gardens and lawns. They advocated wider houses to enlarge wall space; staircases, landings, and larders placed on exterior walls; and more windows, all of which maximized sunlight and ventilation. By 1914, not only Letchworth but numerous other garden suburbs firmly established a distinct, alluring image—gardens, trees, lawns, sunlight, ventilation, and low-density housing—in the public mind.[59]

However much the garden city concept owed to indigenous circumstances, it also reflected developments on the continent. German architecture, for example, influenced Raymond Unwin, chief architect of Letchworth, the first garden city. Having been deeply impressed with small German towns,

Unwin incorporated German influences in his plans for Hampstead Garden Suburb, where he designed a wall with Germanic turrets to segregate the heath and suburb and a shopping center with gables and roofs redolent of Germany. From the German fortified town, Unwin came to see how to integrate the village into the city. "Simply divide the city into small communities physically separated by stretches of open space and even walls," observed Anthony Sutcliffe.[60]

Garden city homes came to symbolize a middle-class lifestyle. Principally intended for unskilled laborers, they never cost less than £150, the threshold of what the best-paid working-class families and above could reasonably afford as rental accommodation. Whether at Letchford, Penkhull Garden Village, the Hampstead Garden Suburb, the model villages, or earlier experimental housing, residents came predominantly from the lower-middle and middle classes. Emulating the garden city and suburban ideal, Edwardian commercial builders applied its distinctive features to their speculative middle-class housing. These efforts soon attracted the classes both above and below. "What had been pioneered in a speculative way for an artisan and lower middle classes market," Martin Gaskell notes, "established the visual norm and universal style in housing after the war."[61]

Even the Liberal Cabinet accepted the garden city ideal as the objective for government housing policy just before World War I. Had no war intervened, Liberals entertained helping finance public utility societies to build twenty-five thousand houses for the lower classes. Under the war's effect, the housing industry stagnated from 1916, however, preventing construction of the seventy-five thousand houses averaged annually in the prewar years and causing a chronic housing deficit. The spectre of Russian and German upheaval spreading to Britain arose with the strikes and unrest immediately following the war. In response to growing fears of disorder and of social instability, Lloyd George's government turned to the issue on which there had been most war-time planning: housing for working-class families, with "homes fit for heroes" as the slogan designed to promote social tranquility. Government promises of constructing 500,000 new middle-class houses for the masses—"each with its own garden, surrounded by trees and hedges, and equipped internally with the amenities of a middle-class home—would provide visible proof of the irrelevance of revolution," insists Mark Swenarton. Reflecting the pervasive environmentalist mentality, the government believed that the actual house design would counteract revolutionary sentiments. Such homes thus acted as moral uplift and inculcated social discipline, two common British Progressive goals. When the postwar boom imploded in 1920, subverting labor's dreaded power, the government, hard pressed for money, jettisoned its housing campaign.[62]

The concept of the garden city spread abroad quickly. Originally published in 1898, Ebenezer Howard's book, retitled *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, appeared in Russian, French, and German translations by 1912. However, only the German response was substantial. Before World War I, about twelve model communities, inspired by Letchworth and the garden suburbs, with their low-density housing and single-family dwellings, were established. In the United States, about twenty model communities were built between 1910 and 1916, most famously Forest Hills Gardens in New York City, but nothing was further developed until the war ended.[63]

North of the border, however, there was a more receptive audience. Considerable numbers of individuals closely involved with the two garden cities, Letchworth and Welwyn Gardens, together with the company towns of Port Sunlight and Bournville, migrated to Canada imbued with a distinctive town planning outlook. Here they influenced the advent of two new urban developments: the "quasi-satellite" new town and the planned single-enterprise community.[64]

Two influential supporters of the garden city concept, Thomas C. Horsfall and John S. Nettlefold, became pivotal in the related area of town planning. Horsfall resided in Manchester, where he and Thomas Marr supported diluted municipal socialism, similar to what Samuel Barnett called "practical socialism." They successfully promoted the Manchester University Settlement, a Garden City Association affiliated branch, and social surveys of poverty. Horsfall assumed a prominent role, commented Michael Harrison, "as a propagandist for German methods of urban control and town layout." He and Marr envisaged that government experts would order city life through town extension plans using land that local authorities had purchased. Cheaper suburban land and narrower streets would enable the municipality to build good, attractive, spacious working-class houses, with amenities hitherto affordable by only the propertied classes. Horsfall himself preferred to retain as much private initiative as possible, letting the municipality purchase land on which commercial builders could construct affordable working-class houses at prices guaranteeing adequate profits. Publishing a pamphlet on housing, subtitled *The Example of Germany*, in 1904, he established himself as a leading exponent of what became town planning. Befittingly, locals referred to him as "German" Horsfall. One factor that made his case more compelling was the sheer transnational nature of Progressivism. "During these years," concluded Anthony Sutcliffe, "foreign example reached the peak of its persuasive power." "It seems," he added, "to relate . . . directly to the surge in creative internationalism which produced the huge leap in the number of international organizations after 1900."[65]

Birmingham housing reformer John S. Nettlefold joined Horsfall in seeing town planning as a viable strategy for solving the poor's housing crisis. Only municipalities with expanded powers could impose order on housing development as part of an integrated plan, which designated building sites for residential, business, or recreational use and supplied services, transport, and communication. By forging shrewd alliances with diverse allies, he and Nettlefold advanced the concept of town planning. This orchestrated campaign prompted the Liberal Government, with bipartisan support, to pass the Housing and Town Planning Act (1909), which authorized town extension schemes as the remedy for housing problems. Enshrining the concept of government by expert, the act required a legion of trained bureaucrats for its implementation. Birmingham's surveyor, for instance, would soon hire seventeen specialists and establish the city's preeminence in town planning.[66]

These ideas about public housing and state intervention profoundly influenced the nature of town planning as it emerged in Canada. "The thrust of British planning ideas," argued Thomas Gunton, "showed strong similarities with the Canadian ideas of urban radicalism." Both Alberta and New Brunswick based their town planning acts on the pivotal British 1909 Act. Ideas, plans, and people moved back and forth over the Atlantic. Sir A. H. G. Grey acted as president of the first Garden City Conference in England in 1901 and, soon after becoming governor general in Canada, arranged for Henry Vivian, MP, an authority on planning and the garden suburb, to lecture on these fields in Canada in 1910. Soon a tradition developed in which Canadian planners from municipalities and companies visited Britain, where they toured the planned company towns of Port Sunlight and Bournville. Yet, the two countries were not identical, and so Canadians also looked south for further inspiration. It is hardly surprising then that Canadian town planning represented a hybrid of Anglo-American ideas, with Britain providing the basic model that authorities then altered with ideas drawn from the United States to fit Canadian circumstances.[67]

One of the migrants to Canada who deeply influenced town planning was Thomas Adams, a key promoter and the first manager of Letchworth and secretary of the Garden City Association. Resigning these positions in 1906, he worked for private landowners, for whom he designed garden suburbs. As an inspector appointed under the 1909 Town Planning Act, Adams gathered information on town planning abroad from Germany and the United States. Canada's Commission of Conservation hired him to disseminate the garden city ideology in 1913. In inaugurating a new journal (*Conservation of Life*), publishing a book garnering international notice, and undertaking far-reaching consultatory work, Adams became one of the chief

figures offering advice, insights, and expertise to Canadians about the garden city concept.[68]

Demonstrating remarkable internationalism, he then participated in the regional planning movement in New York in the 1920s. Appointed to an advisory group of distinguished American professionals, Adams was elected chairman of the group in 1923. Within months, he assumed leadership of the project, becoming general director of plans and surveys for New York. When the Regional Plan of New York was published in two volumes (1929–1931), Adams could be credited with being responsible for its overall features, which reflected his own philosophic principles as a garden city and town planning specialist of unrivalled authority.[69]

Adams had yet another role to perform—that of the educator. In his capacity as part-time associate professor and director of research at Harvard University in the School of City Planning—the only such independent professional institute of city planning in the United States—Adams wrote or coauthored two books and numerous articles and taught many students in the years 1930–1936. While on the faculty at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he collected his lectures into a third book, *Outline of Town and City Planning*, regarded for over a decade as the standard guide on town planning.[70]

Even more distant, Australia too reflected the effect of garden city principles, though not as a direct transplant. Three government fact-finding missions in 1913–1915, international conferences, considerable early newspaper coverage, and countless lectures by Sir William Lever and Charles Reade, disseminated the concept. By becoming the South Australian government town planner (1916–1920), Reade replicated what Thomas Adams had accomplished in Canada. Australia became no different than the rest "of the civilized world" in receiving "the garden city message," reported Ewart Culpin, secretary of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. However, in Australia, existing traditions of suburbanization and prior progress with urban reform meant that planners shifted their focus from the garden city to the related issues of garden suburbs and site planning. New garden towns (Yallourn, Victoria), garden suburbs (notably Adelaide's Colonel Light Gardens and Sydney's Daceyville), and planned industrial housing estates or garden villages (preeminently Lutana in Hobart) all visibly expressed the garden city philosophy interacting with indigenous developments to produce a distinctive hybrid in an important settler community of Greater Britain.[71]

As Reade's career later underlined, the garden city concept was not diffused just in an Anglo-American context, nor was the process always a simple

linear one. After his stint as South Australia's government town planner, Reade spread the garden city gospel to Asia and then Africa in the 1920s.[72]

Another case in point was S. D. Adshead. Professor of town planning at London University, impassioned believer in Ebenezer Howard, and author of a town planning book, Adshead accepted a commission to design a new capital at Lusaka, Rhodesia, with unintended disastrous consequences. Transporting a philosophy that originated in a specific urban context, embodying English culture, to an entirely dissimilar one, with a small, affluent white colonial elite superimposed on a largely impoverished African majority, produced a truly unworkable city, a travesty of what Howard had envisaged. As architect John Collins noted, "there was no philanthropic motives, no industrial squalor to escape from, no desire to improve the lot of manual workers or provide them with rapid transport, and certainly no intention of producing a balanced community." Had Howard's philosophy been faithfully followed instead of being "misunderstood and misapplied," Lusaka would have possessed higher densities with compact residential living and better transportation, less costly housing, and a more efficient, cheaper infrastructure, enabling children and workers to commute easily to school or jobs. With predetermined limits imposed on satellite communities, as Howard advocated, Lusaka could have coped more successfully with urban growth and avoided urban sprawl. Throughout thirty years of being subjected to garden city thinking, a bastardized version of the garden city movement, the vision of Lusaka repeatedly meant the needs of a white, European minority, for abundant living space took precedence over a black, indigenous majority, whose neglect contributed to what Howard most feared—overcrowding, inadequate living quarters, and class (as well as racial) segregation. "Lusaka," Collins shrewdly concluded, "has faced problems which can be traced to garden city thinking, but this diagnosis has never been fully recognised." Indeed, the city's remarkably unhappy evolutionary history stemmed not from Adshead's unfortunate initial plans in 1929–1931 but from the powerful—indeed, irresistible—allure of a misinterpreted ideology that became deeply embedded in the outlook of successive generations of planners, administrators, and politicians. At its center was a key fallacy: "that a city of garden suburbs could become a Garden City." Long after Progressivism had declined, Lusaka stood as a visual reminder of how transnational exchanges, at least in one settler society, could yield appalling results.[73]

Elsewhere local government also attacked urban problems. Concern about deepening class divisions, commitment to social justice, and the conviction that only government intervention could assuage disturbing social problems—all standard traits of transnational Progressivism—motivated "gas and water" municipalization in Birmingham and, later, across the Atlantic,

in Cleveland, Toledo, and Detroit, in each case by businessmen who became mayors.[74] Mayor Joseph Chamberlain justified his compulsory purchase of Birmingham's gas and water companies on entirely novel grounds—their status as commercial companies. Profits of such firms, he avowed, belonged to the community as an aggregate, not to select numbers of shareholders. This placed Birmingham well beyond provision of essential services to guarantee efficient government, a form of municipal enterprise, and took it into the next phase—municipal trading. Public profits would be used for social "betterment" of the entire community, with slums, insanitary conditions, and pollution addressed by sewerage improvements and an extensively rebuilt city center. (To expedite central Birmingham's rebirth, Chamberlain urged and the council resolved to buy the entire ninety-three acres involved, including some 120 public houses slated to remain firmly in the city's hands.) Moral uplift was not forgotten. Profits from the municipalization of gas built Birmingham's art gallery. The city's municipal expansion became the prototype for many other reform-minded urban communities throughout the country.[75]

One of them, Glasgow, soon eclipsed Birmingham as a center of Progressive activism. As city councillors, Glasgow businessmen responded to a mixture of guilt, the Social Gospel, and fear of revolution. As Progressives, they fashioned cross-class alliances with nonpartisan council members and bodies representing working-class sentiment. Strong beliefs combined with clever tactics gave the municipality a startling array of key public services, beginning with gas and water in the 1860s. Through these measures, municipal authorities could order the habits of the working class, preventing the diseases, crime, and general disorder of the slums from spilling over into adjacent middle-class neighborhoods. "Municipal gas," Hamish Fraser contended, "was about social control: it was to light the gloomy stairways and closes as well as to provide cooking and lighting in the home." Municipal trading began with municipal control of tramways, lodging houses, and wash-houses but eventually encompassed telephones, public laundries, markets, slaughterhouses, and homes for inebriates, widows, and tramps. Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones, the Progressive mayor of Cleveland who personally toured Scotland's biggest city, scarcely exaggerated therefore in declaring that "Glasgow leads the cities of Great Britain and the world in ministering to the social needs of her people through the medium of collective ownership." Another prominent American Progressive agreed. "The fame of Glasgow seems as wide as the world," wrote Frederic C. Howe, one of the leading publicists of British municipal expansion. Moral uplift was expressed in concert halls, art galleries, and libraries, all of them indispensable to Glasgow's vibrant civic life.[76]

Pride of place, however, went to the tramway system, which Glasgow pioneered as a municipal service. Here, as abroad in Cleveland and Toledo,

tramways occupied the cutting edge of Progressive debate extolling broader municipal power. Glasgow's Lord Provost—the Scottish equivalent of an English Lord Mayor—recollected that "a new ardour of citizenship came in about 1894 . . . when the city went in for the tramway."[77] Inefficiency and social injustice—specifically inferior service and exploited tramway workers—incited Glasgow's wider municipal activity. To cope with relentless expansion and ensure that the new municipal service reflected Progressive ideals of cleanliness, efficiency, and good order, Glasgow constructed municipal tramway cars and became a model employer of some nine thousand tramway workers, who received wages, work hours, and benefits envied throughout Britain.[78]

As a transnational laboratory for Progressive ideas, reformers turned repeatedly to Glasgow for guidance, reassurance, and inspiration. For two decades (1894–1914), Bernard Aspinwall maintained, "Glasgow's trams were at the centre of an American debate about the quality of social, economic and political life." Symbolizing the city's astonishing success as a municipal trader, Glasgow's tramways became a mecca for American Progressives, fostering further cross-fertilization. As Aspinwall pointed out, "the reputation and accomplishments of the various municipal enterprises under professional control responsible to the elected council seemed the solution to the American ills." Albert Shaw, editor of the *American Review of Reviews*, joined fellow American F. C. Howe in trumpeting the city's accomplishments.[79]

In the southeast, Progressivism emerged most prominently with the formation of the LCC, where reformers held sway for almost two decades (1889–1907) with the strong backing of the capital's two social radical newspapers the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Star*, as well as a monthly periodical called *London*.[80] A heterogeneous cross-class coalition of trade unionists, Fabians, nonconformists, Liberals, and social reformers, the Progressive party portrayed itself as a nonpartisan group. Newspaper editors such as H. W. Massingham at the *Daily Chronicle* went a step further, with support for the Unionist Workmen's Compensation Bill (1897).[81] London Progressives tenaciously sought municipal control of utilities and transportation, but parliaments (generally with Conservative majorities), together with opposition from the City Corporation, effectively stymied this agenda with the exception of tramways. Denied profits from these municipal enterprises and aware of voter hostility to raising taxes from an inequitable property rating system, Progressives had not the funds for extending municipal trading into such areas as pawnshops and bakehouses.[82]

Similarities between Progressivism in London and the United States went well beyond adoption of gas-and-water socialism as standard policies. Rhetoric denouncing unethical corporate power in London echoed U.S.

municipal Progressives. Inquired LCC Progressive W. H. Dickinson: "Is London's wealth to be handed over to speculators and company-managers? . . . Progressivism," he intoned, "is for the people; moderatism for the monopolists."[83] John Benn, his colleague, denounced "a few unscrupulous men" for seeking to appropriate huge sums of public money by monopolizing electric supply. At the 1907 LCC election, recalled A. G. Gardiner, editor of the *Daily News*, "the methods of [New York's] Tammany [Hall] were certainly applied in their full malignity . . . for the first time in English political and municipal life." In fact, the rhetoric of U.S. Progressives resonated so sharply, and their influence on British reformers showed so unmistakably, because until late into the 1890s, London—as a huge city without municipal control of its water, gas, electricity, or even tramways—represented an anomaly in Britain. Already many British cities had moved beyond mere municipal enterprise—water and gas municipalization—into municipal trading such as tramway, hospital, laundry, and public bath municipalization. By the war, London, with municipal control of just tramways, constituted a still greater anomaly both in Britain and as compared with the United States (see Table 2.1).[84]

Two decades of popularity nevertheless produced a visible legacy of Progressive action. Similar to many local authorities, the LCC undertook slum clearance, but it metaphorically and literally broke new ground in constructing cottage estates just outside the capital's administrative boundary after 1900. When the war came, the LCC had established five housing estates, with accommodation projected for some forty-two thousand people.[85] City Councils in Liverpool and Sheffield, in contrast, had built municipal housing for not quite 2300 and 600 inhabitants, respectively.[86] This energetic policy, unprecedented in scope, required an enormous public works department—the biggest not only in Britain but throughout the world. The LCC wrote fair wage clauses into its contracts, gave tramway workers ten-hour

Table 2.1 Ownership in Britain's 50 largest cities, 1914

Service	Percentage
Baths	49
Electricity	44
Markets	44
Tramways	42
Water	39
Slaughter houses	23
Gas	21

Source: Frederic C. Howe, *The Modern City and Its Problems* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1915), 176.

days, and gained control over the London School Board. As an employer of labor, the LCC saw its payroll almost quadruple from over three thousand to twelve thousand by 1904. Later that same year, thirty-five thousand school board workers also became LCC employees, which meant the total figure approached fifty thousand. However incomplete its Progressive achievements, the LCC still established preeminence in Britain as a far-flung municipal authority. By the war no one acted as the paymaster of more Londoners than the LCC. Its Progressives also influenced national politics, acting as what Susan Pennybacker rightly calls a "nursery for Parliament." In 1906, thirty sitting members of the LCC joined the House of Commons and, together with other Progressives there in the Liberal Party, spearheaded state interventionist legislation until the war, overlapping the rule of Progressives in the United States at the national level (1901–1918).[87]

LCC reformers typified Progressivism in incorporating social control with moral uplift. To counteract the culture of the street and pub as well as fears of physical degeneration, Progressives extolled healthy outdoor recreation and instituted public parks, where they erected municipal bandstands and initiated rigid guidelines for permissible games. "Behind the benevolent-sounding rhetoric of the Council's park policy lurked a concern with public order and discipline, with the efficient management of people and spaces," noted one recent historian. Music halls were soon targeted for reform. Heartily distrusted for mixing unsupervised leisure with drinking, they affronted the LCC's cherished vision of "order and decorum" in audiences. To revive familial authority, LCC Progressives resorted to the subtle social control popular among U.S. Progressives and inaugurated a new stricter licensing policy. Henceforth, existing disreputable halls and entirely new ones built with facilities for serving alcohol would both be denied licences.[88]

As dispensers of alcohol and popular entertainment, both music halls and public houses—progenitors of commercialized leisure, drunkenness, and social disorder—signified urban degeneracy. Municipal reformers could therefore coalesce with social purity crusaders to demand elimination of what they saw as vice. LCC puritans, drawing support from social purity proponents, first turned on saloons, a type of drinking establishment set up decades earlier that offered entertainment either as part of the pub or located in a building nearby. Censured for causing labor strife in the 1880s, saloons disappeared quickly, incapable of defending themselves against the LCC revocation of liquor licences. Even pubs without saloons did not entirely escape LCC moral cleansing. Between 1889 and 1914, the LCC acquired 150 liquor licences, primarily in working-class communities, as a result of slum demolition, and although they were worth thousands of pounds, the

LCC extinguished them all.[89] In this area, as well as in others, Progressives in London closely resembled their Birmingham counterparts.

Interest in moral uplift often went hand in hand with fears of prostitution, brothel-keeping, gambling, drunkenness, sexual exploitation of minors, and incest—problems seen as interrelated because they all threatened urban degeneration.[90] According to Jeffrey Weeks, "anxieties about moral standards reflected a deep belief that the roots of social stability lay in individual and public morality." From these worries emerged the mentality of social purity crusaders in the 1880s. Philanthropy and rescue work—two traditional mid-Victorian remedies—were now supplanted with an entirely new late Victorian attitude in which critics sought state legislation to elevate morality. "The law becomes schoolmaster to the whole community," affirmed William Coote, secretary of the National Vigilance Association. Legislated morality would not merely improve working-class behavior but would protect the family: It would safeguard women and children from debauched males while instructing men in the importance of self-control, chastity, and probity. As ardent crusaders for stiffer penalties against incest, social purity exponents applauded passage of the Punishment of Incest Bill (1908), which incarcerated guilty men for life, despite its being virtually unenforceable. Punishment mattered less as an objective than in symbolically reasserting the community's commitment to high moral standards, synonymous with the social purity agenda. Prostitutes and perpetuators of incest undermined public order, the family, marriage, and children, but as social problems in a modern society, they warranted no analytical diagnosis. This made purity quite unlike other Progressive causes: As a purely moral campaign mobilizing voluntary effort, it needed no scientific experts.[91]

Of all these issues, it was prostitution that most fixated purity crusaders in Britain and abroad. [92] Muckraker W. T. Stead, in his capacity as editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, shocked Britons with the "new journalism" when he wrote several newspaper articles, entitled "The Maiden Tribute to Modern Babylon," exposing the extent of child prostitution in 1885. Outraged public opinion compelled Parliament to enact the Criminal Law Amendment Act, facilitating prosecution of brothels and raising the age of consent from thirteen to sixteen years.[93] Further impetus soon came from the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which emulated Stead's tactics. Transnational Progressivism strengthened in 1886 when the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) attended the World's WCTU Convention in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where delegates formally identified social purity as an issue commensurate in importance with temperance.[94] Even more sensational was Stead's visit to Chicago in 1893 and the publication of his book reviling the city's brothels, saloon keepers, and owners of property used for

prostitution. Based partly on Stead's own personal investigation, *If Christ Came to Chicago* became a transatlantic phenomenon, with huge sales in the United States—Chicago alone accounted for 100,000 copies sold—as well as in Britain. Soon copies of the book, translated into German and Swedish, also were sold in Western Europe.[95]

None of this activity, however, alarmed local authorities, who viewed prostitution with considerable complacency. In Britain they still condoned informal "red light" districts, with such northern cities as Liverpool known to have some four hundred brothels early in the 1890s. Large U.S. cities such as New York, Chicago, and New Orleans officially regulated brothels without having much effect on the numbers of prostitutes. Typical was New York's Raines Law of 1896 banning Sunday liquor sales save in hotel dining rooms. It proved utterly ineffectual, as saloons in the hundreds appropriated the "hotel" designation with separate rooms for prostitutes rather than eating. Liverpool's ubiquitous brothels drove temperance reformers, Liberals, and moralists into a social purity alliance, which ousted local elected government officials as a prelude to imposing sterner brothel control through the police. Reformers shut numerous pubs, one popular tactic that sharply contracted the prostitute population. Other purity crusaders adopted "moral moonlighting," in which male patrols frightened prostitutes' clients. Often, reformers not so much eliminated prostitution as chased the better-off trade to more tranquil environs: Liverpool's up-market prostitutes crossed the Mersey into Cheshire and continued much as before. Liverpool's battle became virtually indistinguishable from the antivice campaigns being simultaneously waged by Progressives in many American and Canadian cities.[96]

LCC Progressives, however, achieved distinction in prosecuting the most rigorous, unrelenting assault on prostitution, with Lady Isabella Somerset (president of both the BWTA and the World's WCTU), a key activist in the recently established London Public Morality Council, at the head.[97]

Attacks on prostitution naturally heightened anxiety about "white slaves"—women imported from abroad for illicit purposes. White slave panics swept the Western world in the years immediately before World War I. With an eye to promoting worldwide action in 1902, representatives from Britain and fifteen other countries attended a meeting in Paris, where they ratified measures for tracking and discouraging alien women from engaging in prostitution. In response, British authorities established the White Slave Traffic Branch at New Scotland Yard under the Home Office's control. Taking the initiative itself, the National Vigilance Association dispatched fifty paid workers who visited ships arriving at several of Britain's major ports, including London. Scouring disembarking passengers, workers approached

unescorted women and sought to arrange respectable employment, transportation, and lodging.[98] W. N. Willis displayed not just the transnational nature of some reformers but also the link they made between white slavery and disenfranchised women. As an Australian MP, he had promoted a women's suffrage bill in part to safeguard poor women from sexual victimization. Willis had then immigrated to Britain, where he assumed a major role in exposing white slavery by coauthoring a book, *The White Slave Market* (1906), with one of the country's leading muckrakers, Olive Christian Malvery. To support a pending parliamentary bill curbing white slavery in Britain, he published another expose in 1912 in which he cited Australia's successful campaign to close brothels as an example for Britain to emulate. Enfranchising British women, he argued, would be the most efficacious way of destroying the white slave trade.[99]

Parallel enactment of legislative remedies underlines the transnational nature of Progressivism. Both Britain and the United States outlawed the importation of alien prostitutes in 1907, but persisting white slave panics provoked further restrictions. In 1910, the U.S. Congress banned the interstate and international transportation of women for immoral purposes under the Mann Act; two years later, the British Parliament authorized police to arrest suspect prostitutes without warrants and imposed flogging of convicted procurers as the punishment for this crime under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, more commonly called the White Slavery Act.

The overall result impressed critics and certainly highlighted the potent force of social purity as an international crusade. According to one historian, "the brazen Victorian harlot [in London] was disappearing and the state did not bother to legislate to remove her relatively timid successor from the streets until 1959."[100] In England and Wales, annual brothel prosecutions, previously averaging under one hundred (1875–1885), now soared to twelve hundred, a level sustained until the war.[101] Comparable results appeared across the ocean. Of fifty-five big American cities, just three had publicly regulated prostitution by 1909. By the end of World War I, some two hundred American cities had banned the trade altogether.[102]

By contributing enormously to white-slave panics in Britain, Canada, and the United States in the decade before the war, social purity, energized by rising nativism, bolstered growing antiimmigrant hysteria. National Vigilance Association Secretary William Coote, in testimony before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, went so far as to advocate repatriating prostitutes. In 1886, almost a decade before U.S. nativists founded the U.S. Immigration Restriction League, Britons Arnold White and Lord Dunraven exploited fears of social disorder and socialism by establishing the Society for the Suppression of the Immigration of Destitute Aliens. Nativism originated

in complex factors. It shared with eugenists the belief that rising numbers of inferior Eastern Europeans coming into Britain, replacing healthy natives who had emigrated to the colonies, promoted physical deterioration.[103] Arnold White, whose views later carried him into the Eugenics Education Society, offered a grim diagnosis of the wider imperial implications in his widely read book *Efficiency and Empire* (1901). In accepting pathetic wages amid appalling working conditions, foreigners had inflicted similar circumstances on native males, whose physical vitality had been sapped. Social Darwinists drew the same conclusion: Immigrants transmitted their racial unfitness to Britons through extensive contact and intermarriage.[104] Whatever the cause, the result was similar: native Britons and immigrants fostered national deterioration.

Anti-Semitism also figured into the hostility to immigrants as a result of the influx and greater visibility of approximately sixty thousand East European Jews during the years 1880–1914. They settled overwhelmingly in three London districts—Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, and St. George's in the East End. Rents rose sharply, and overcrowding intensified after 1890, especially in Stepney, the London borough that encompassed Whitechapel—the most heavily populated quarter of Jews. Pursuing work as tailors, boot and shoe makers, and cabinet makers—the four trades most associated with low wages, long hours, filthy work conditions, and crowded housing—immigrant Jews became targeted as the cause of sweated labor.[105] Eugenists argued that impoverished immigrant Jews supposedly spawned slums on which social reformers insisted the state spend money, thereby forcing oppressive taxes on society's efficient members. Restrictionists contended, too, that banning aliens would mitigate the poverty of native Britons.[106]

In this instance, Progressives displayed not so much cross-fertilization as parallel responses to the same perceived threats. In 1905, Parliament enacted the Aliens Act, which empowered authorities to exclude undesirable aliens. Likewise, southern and eastern European immigrants who settled in cities alarmed many Americans. London's East End seemingly resembled New York's East Side. In 1906, the U.S. Congress endorsed analogous legislation, despite the wholly dissimilar positions of the two countries. With a foreign-born population of just 1 percent in 1901, British aliens simply had not the numbers to act as detrimentally as critics alleged.[107] Such statistical abnormalities did not deter Parliament from passing the Aliens Restriction Act in 1914, which required aliens to register with the police and subjected them to possible deportation.[108]

Growing hostility to not just immigrants, but liquor sellers characterized Anglo-American politics before the war. In Britain, as in the Unite States, Progressives used the same type of rhetoric in denouncing the brewing industry

for debasing national and local politics with corrupt tactics. Parallels were made with the United States, specifically New York City's political machine, as critics assailed brewers for creating "a kind of British Tammany [Hall]." Corporate growth fostered such comparisons. No other British industry had a higher level of vertical integration between wholesaling and retailing than brewing. Huge British breweries such as Watney, Combe, Reid & Company, with £15 million of share capital, provoked analogies with Carnegie Steel and Rockefeller's Standard Oil in the United States. Expressing the views of many Britons, Lord Rosebery declared: "The power of the trade resembles more . . . the Trusts in the United States than anything else that we have."[109]

Despite these similarities in the transatlantic community, different solutions were embraced. Progressives in the United States espoused prohibition, whereas many in Britain, where prohibition had been long sought but finally repudiated at the 1895 election, turned to the Gothenburg system.

Pioneered in Norway and Sweden, the Gothenburg system, more formally called disinterested management, separated profit from the sale of alcohol. Instead of profit-seeking tenants, public companies hired salaried managers dedicated to discouraging drunkenness and pushing food.[110] More important, it promised as an electoral reform to eliminate the alleged corruptive political power of the brewing industry in British elections, based on brewers' control of public houses. Through ownership of tens of thousands of liquor premises, brewers instructed their employees, called publicans and beerhouse keepers, to influence customers' votes regardless of the law. This far-flung network of power soon earned among reformers a memorable epithet: "the Trade." With the ennoblement of Burton brewer millionaires Henry Allsopp and Michael Bass as Lords Hindlip and Burton, respectively, detractors dubbed the House of Lords "the beerage."[111]

Similar to so many Progressive causes, the Gothenburg approach benefited greatly from cross-fertilization: the Massachusetts State legislature considered a 1894 bill introducing one type of Gothenburgism based on Norwegian experience; acknowledged authorities from the United States published tracts; and prominent British temperance advocates, notably Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, both formerly prohibitionists, returned from visits to the United States with persuasive data and newfound convictions. Rowntree and Sherwell extolled disinterested management as the best viable antidrink remedy in their best-selling book *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, a study packed with statistics that garnered praise from Lady Henry Somerset as "the most valuable addition to the literature of the Temperance causes that to my mind has yet been given." Likewise, Canadian women in the World's WCTU gave the book their unstinting endorsement. In her capacity as president of the World's WCTU and the British Women's Temperance

Association (BWTA), Somerset soon visited the United States herself and returned to press for support for Gothenburgism, a stance that Frances Willard (president of the WCTU) promoted in the United States.[112]

Within several years, the topic deeply divided temperance reformers. Forced to resign her positions, Somerset threw her influence behind other temperance renegades, Rowntree, Sherwell, and Liberal MP Thomas P. Whittaker. Not only did Whittaker break ranks with the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance (of which he had been vice president) in championing the Gothenburg system in a 1903 manifesto but he also founded the Temperance Legislation League in 1905, together with a periodical, the *Monthly Notes*, to promote the concept.[113]

While the League proselytized in the press, other advocates of Gothenburgism contributed practical experience. The trust house movement, launched formally with the People's Refreshment House Association in 1896, primarily drew inspiration from Gothenburgism, which it borrowed and modified to British circumstances. With this organizational focus, the trust house movement spread rapidly in the Edwardian era with thousands of supporters. By the end of World War I, the Central Public House Association, organized on a county basis, was running 244 pubs and inns, and the People's Refreshment House Association had 150 houses. Altogether, there were nearly five hundred trust houses in Great Britain, with investments upward of £2 million.[114]

Soon after Britain entered World War I, the government saw the need to curb alleged increases in drunkenness among munitions workers and soldiers' wives in 1915 and so enacted the Defence of the Realm Act, under which a newly created Liquor Traffic Central Control Board (CCB) sought to transform drinking habits. In addition, the CCB extended its control by nationalizing several ports and munitions areas—Carlisle, Gretna, Invergorodon, and Enfield. Central to the CCB's approach was disinterested management, the key concept of the trust house movement and Gothenburgism. Indeed, several people prominently associated with the Surrey Public House Trust Company—its chairman (Sir Edgar Vincent), its chief architect (Harry Redfern), and one of its officials (William T. Madden)—all influenced CCB polices: Lord D'Abernon (formerly Sir Edgar Vincent) as its Chairman; Redfern as its chief architect; and Madden as its supervisor of state managed pubs in Enfield.[115]

From the amalgam of ideas from the Gothenburg system, trust house movement, and state control came the interwar public house improvement campaign, one of the last Progressive efforts to institute meaningful social changes in a pivotal institution dispensing commercialized leisure. Salaried managers, food, seating, women, respectable customers, a gentrified

environment—these were the Progressive components that shaped the brewers' improved pub movement in interwar England and Wales.[116]

Much impetus for pub reform came from the failure to enact prohibition before 1914 or to nationalize the entire brewing industry during the war. Unlike in the United States, English prohibitionists, whose strength came from urban areas and leadership from business centers, did not proffer their moral and cultural values as norms for society as a whole. This was the case in part because declining nonconformist religions also weakened prohibitionist sentiment in England. The U.S. debate on alcohol, in contrast, incited by nativist fears, displayed a strong moral fervor emanating from a rural Protestant condemnation of urban life that had no direct English counterpart. Class bias also ranked as a far more decisive factor in Britain than in the United States. Middle- and upper-class Britons, averse to outlawing alcohol entirely and to fraternizing with the masses, championed a solution that would close working-class pubs while leaving alcohol sales unaffected in the restaurants and gentlemen's clubs frequented by a propertied clientele. Working-class resentment at this blatant class bias provided one of several powerful factors thwarting prohibition's wider appeal. Never aspiring, as in the United States, to a national ban on alcohol, British temperance reformers had for decades advocated local veto, which proposed to outlaw alcohol within a small area by a popular referendum. By late 1895, the same year Americans founded the prohibitionist Anti-Saloon League, local veto had been resoundingly rejected at the British General Election. Sharply contrasting drinking trends accentuated this divergence. After the turn of the century, prohibitionists in the United States gained support for a sweeping ban as beer consumption rose, whereas those in Britain became suspect as total beer consumption slumped.[117]

There was one striking geographic exception to these inauspicious circumstances: Scotland, Britain's culturally distinctive north. Here and in the United States, a rural Protestant, evangelical elite sought to impose ethnic and cultural controls on cities, as immigrants in American cities and in western Scotland seemed particularly threatening. This old guard connection displayed its potency in fracturing the BWTU. Sizable numbers of Anglicans in England, who disliked evangelicalism, had antagonized the millennialist Scots. In protest at the malleable attitudes of BWTU leaders, the latter had seceded in 1904, founded the Scottish Christian Union, and affiliated with the World's WTCU, dominated by the American WTCU, now uncompromisingly opposed to anything but prohibition. In both countries, furthermore, prohibition evoked strong kindred emotions of home rule in Scotland and state autonomy in America. "The local control idea," wrote Aspinwall,

"also had strong parallels with municipal initiative in demonstrating the benefits of certain forms of regulation and control." Whether in America or Scotland, prohibitionist arguments demonstrated common cultural experience and a strong appeal to the business community. Employing a transatlantic discourse, prohibitionists vowed that outlawing alcohol would purify society and politics, immunize the social order from contamination, and safeguard labor while boosting efficiency. Dominated by Liberal MPs to whom prohibitionists gave decisive support, Scotland possessed precisely the traits and context for a triumphant national campaign outlawing alcohol in the British Isles.[118] Prohibition thus became part of transatlantic cross-fertilization just before World War I. As international conference participants, visitors, or peripatetic speakers, Scottish prohibitionists gained insights, ideas, and further incentives, returning home with renewed commitment to attaining prohibition. Similarly, American tracts inundated Scotland, sometimes accompanied by famed U.S. orators. By 1913, the international crusade had escalated on both sides of the Atlantic, culminating in the Scottish Temperance Act, which allowed local areas to hold a referendum on whether licences be retained, reduced, or razed altogether. The war, however, postponed the polls.[119]

After the war, the American Anti-Saloon League, aligning with its Scottish counterpart, the National Citizens Council, spearheaded the Scottish prohibition campaign. Propaganda material, employed recently in the victorious struggle for the 18th Amendment, now did double duty in Scotland. Fresh from the U.S. campaign also came leading league officials intent on exporting its legislative remedy for drunkenness. The U.S. WCTU dispatched members, too. Polling results in 1920, however, seriously rebuffed transatlantic Progressivism. Only twenty-three of the 253 areas ratified total prohibition, and another twenty-four accepted restraints on the number of licences. Three of every four areas endorsed the status quo because workers saw the antidrink crusade as bogus—the product of business leaders highjacking prohibition for their own narrow, selfish ends to secure corporate ascendancy.[120]

The following essays document a genuine Progressive movement in Britain from 1870 to 1918. Progressive activists in Britain intervened in a wide array of topics, far broader than even the most recent studies have recognized. Progressivism, however, was a dominant force not only in Britain and the United States, but also in Canada, Australasia, Europe, Scandinavia, and Africa. Through the transnational community, reformers exchanged ideas, proposals, concepts, statistics, experiences, and sometimes even individuals. In some cases, as in nativism, Britain and the United States followed parallel paths without directly influencing each other. What in the end surprises

us most is not that Britain had a robust (if previously unheralded) form of Progressivism. Far more remarkable was that, despite vast differences—cultural, historical, political, and religious—in the settler societies influenced by Progressivism, reformers discussed diverse topics that created a transnational dialogue, a worldwide laboratory in which a new form of social politics powerfully but temporarily shaped and reshaped the boundaries of imagination with startling results.

Notes

1. Another catalyst, fear of social disorder, upheaval, contamination by the poor, or national deterioration, seemed strongest in Britain. Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1983), 21; Eileen Janes Yeo, *The Contest for Social Science: Relations and Representations of Gender and Class* (London: River Oram, 1996), 210.

2. Peter Clarke, "The Progressive Movement in England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (1974): 159–81.

3. The term Progressive originated in Britain in 1889 when Liberal, Fabian, and socialist members of the London County Council (LCC) were referred to collectively but awkwardly as progressists, which eventually became Progressive. Reformers unconnected with the LCC such as Clementina Black also used the term to describe themselves. In the Edwardian era, the term became associated with national politics, describing the New Liberals who promoted an alliance with the Labour Party. Fabians also adopted the nomenclature. In the postwar era, brewers who espoused the improved public house became self-described Progressives. Americans appropriated the term, which became fashionable in the United States in the 1910 elections; Sydney Nevile, *The First Half-Century: A Review of the Developments of the Licensed Trade and the Improvement of the Public House during the Past Fifty Years* (London: n.p., 1949); Sydney O. Nevile, "The Improved Public-House Movement," *House of Whitbread* 3 (1926): 2; Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 127, n. 1; Liselotte Glage, *Clementina Black: A Study in Social History and Literature* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1981), 39; Peter Clarke, *Lancashire and the New Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 171, 397–98; Peter Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 122, 140.

4. Peter Keating, *Into Unknown England, 1866–1913: Selections from Social Explorers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 19; Link and McCormick, *Progressivism*, 22.

5. David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," *Journal of American History* 56 (1969): 341; John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890–1920*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 138, 140, 142; Link and McCormick,

Progressivism, 21–25. For a discussion of the cult of the expert in national politics, see G.R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and British Political Thought, 1899–1914* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 80–86.

6. For American progressivism, I have relied primarily on the following sources: William L. O'Neill, *The Progressive Years: America Comes of Age* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967); Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Social Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 1991); Link and McCormick, *Progressivism*.

7. Chambers, *Tyranny of Change*, 138–39.

8. John D. Buenker, "The Progressive Era: A Search for Synthesis," *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 51 (1969): 192; Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for 'The Progressive Movement,'" *American Quarterly* 22 (1970): 33; Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 164; Link and McCormick, *Progressivism*, 9–10, 22, 24–25; John Griffiths, "Civic Communication in Britain: A Study of the *Municipal Journal*, c. 1893–1910," *Journal of Urban History OnlineFirst*, Apr. 8, 2008; Chambers, *Tyranny of Change*, 138, 140; Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800* (London: Longman, 1981), 87.

9. This was also true to some extent of high politics. The Rainbow Circle, key theorists, journalists, and politicians recognized by historians as intellectual heirs of the New Liberalism, were believers preeminently in "pragmatic collectivism." Similar to H. W. Massingham (editor of the *Daily Chronicle* and later the *Nation*), Charles Masterman stressed his apolitical outlook (Clarke, *Liberals and Social Democrats*, 58; Alfred F. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist: H.W. Massingham (1860–1924)* [London: Cambridge University Press, 1974], 96, 175, 324–25; Lucy Masterman, *C.F.G. Masterman: A Biography* [London: Frank Cass, 1968], 51; Vaughan Nash, "Massingham at the Chronicle and Other Reminiscences," in *H.W.M.: A Selection from the Writings of H.W. Massingham*, ed. H. J. Massingham [New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925], 291; G. L. Prestige, *The Life of Charles Gore: A Great Englishman* [London: William Heinemann, 1935], 94, 274; *Times [London]* Tuckwell's obituary, August 6, 1951).

10. For an excellent discussion of this point, see Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780–1914* (New York: St. Martin's, 1981), 173–88. He noted the role of the theory of innovation diffusion and foreign examples as factors in cross-fertilization.

11. Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Economy: Public Policy and Economic Change in America, 1900–33* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 20–22.

12. See the following: Keller, *New Economy*, 20–22; P. L. Payne, "The Emergence of the Large-Scale Company in Great Britain, 1870–1914," *Economic History Review* 20 (1967): 519–20.

13. David W. Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives: Reinventing the Public House in England, 1896–1960* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), 26–27.

14. For its reception in British politics, see Avner Offer, *Property and Politics, 1870–1914: Landownership, Law, Ideology and Urban Development in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), ch. 12; Helen Merrell Lynd, *England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom* (London: Frank Cass, 1968), 141–43.

15. Elwood P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1957), 4–6, 25, 40–41, 47, 76; Paul T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880–1940* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 204.

16. Among them were Cleveland Mayor Tom L. Johnson and Toledo Mayor Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones in the United States and journalist H. W. Massingham, Christian Socialist Stewart Headlam, and garden city originator Ebenezer Howard in Britain (Peter Weiler, *The New Liberalism: Liberal Social Theory in Great Britain, 1889–1914* (New York: Garland, 1982), 19, 40; Anthony S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 214; Hoyt Landon Warner, *Progressivism in Ohio, 1897–1917* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press for the Ohio Historical Society, 1964); Tom L. Johnson, *My Story*, ed. Elizabeth J. Hauser (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1911), 313; Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*, 15.

17. Joel H. Wiener, "How New was the New Journalism?" in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. Joel H. Wiener (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1988), 50, 55; Joseph O. Baylen, "W.T. Stead and the `New Journalism'," *Emory University Quarterly* 21 (1965): 204–5; Joseph O. Baylen, "The `New Journalism' in Late Victorian Britain," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 18 (1972): 369–70, 375. Neither the term nor role appears in Alan J. Lee's discussion of the new journalism (Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855–1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 117–30.

18. I am completing an essay comparing muckrakers in Britain with their U.S. counterparts. Extracts from the writings of some British muckrakers—George R. Sims, Robert H. Sherard, Annie Besant, Edith Hogg, Mary Higgs, Andrew Mearns and Olive Christian Malvery—are reproduced in two studies: Keating, *Unknown England*, 65–111, 174–88, 273–84; Ellen Ross, *Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 45–51, 97–116, 136–47. Neither Keating nor Ross recognizes these authors as muckrakers.

19. Keating, "Introduction," 20; Wohl, *Eternal Slum*, 245; also see, for example, P. J. Smith, "Planning as Environmental Improvement: Slum Clearance in Victorian Edinburgh," in *The Rise of Modern Urban Planning, 1800–1914*, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 113; Bentley B. Gilbert, introduction to *The Heart of the Empire: Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life*, ed. C. F. G. Masterman (reprint of 1901 edition; New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), xiii; Roger Davidson, "The State and Social Investigation in Britain, 1880–1914," in *The State and Social Investigation in Britain and the United States*, ed. Michael J. Lacey and Mary O. Furner (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1993), 254, 256; C. F. G. Masterman, *From the Abyss: Of Its Inhabitants by One of Them* (reprint of 1902 edition; London: Garland, 1980), 41.

20. David M. Thompson, "The Emergence of the Nonconformist Social Gospel in England," in *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c.1750–c.1950: Essays in Honour of W.R. Ward*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 258–60, 262–63, 273–74, 276, 278; William R. Hutchinson, "The Americanness of the Social Gospel; An Inquiry in Comparative History," *Church History* 44 (1975): 371; Phillips, *Kingdom on Earth*, 48, 64–66, 223, 288, 291; Anthony S. Wohl, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," *International Review of Social History* 13 (1968): 220–21.

21. D. W. Bebbington, "The City, the Countryside and the Social Gospel in Late Victorian Nonconformity," *Studies in Church History* 16 (1979): 416–21, 423–25; D. W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870–1914* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 43–44, 57; Thompson, "Social Gospel," 270; F. H. A. Aalen, "Lord Meath, City Improvement and Social Imperialism," *Planning Perspectives* 4 (1989): 140–41; Phillips, *Kingdom on Earth*, 77–79.

22. Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877–1914: Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 421–26.

23. Some historians regard George himself as a Christian Socialist (Peter d'A. Jones, *Henry George and British Socialism* (New York: Garland Publications, 1991).

24. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 4, 9, 17, 48–57, 281, 327, 330, 334–40, 363, 366–67, 418–20, 437–38, 446–48, 450, 455, 458; Thompson, "Social Gospel," 257; Jean Gaffin and David Thoms, *Caring and Sharing: The Centenary History of the Co-operative Women's Guild* (Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1983), 26–27, 42, 54, 59–60; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 69; Marnie Jones, *Holy Toledo: Religion and Politics in the Life of "Golden Rule" Jones* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998), 73, 78, 81, 87–88. Sophie Sanger, who helped organize the 1906 Anti-Sweating Exhibition, also embraced Christian Socialism (Norbert C. Soldon, *Women in British Trade Unions, 1874–1976* [Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978], 64; Peter J. Frederick, "Vida Dutton Scudder: The Professor as Social Activist," *New England Quarterly* 43 [1970]: 411–12).

25. A misleading, outdated account is provided by Francis H. Herrick, "British Liberalism and the Idea of Social Justice," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 4 (1944): 67–79.

26. *Commonwealth* 1 (1896): 400.

27. Michael Freeden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 252, 256–57; Stokes, "American Progressives," 12; Walter L. Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City: Before and After* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), 166; A. G. Gardiner, "Introduction," in *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage*, Clementina Black (London: Duckworth, 1907), xxiv; L. T. Hobhouse, *The Elements of Social Justice* (London: G.

Allen & Unwin, 1922), 48, quoted in Peter Weiler, "The New Liberalism of L.T. Hobhouse," *Victorian Studies* 16 (1972): 151; Gilbert, "Introduction," xiii; also see F. G. Bettany, *Stewart Headlam: A Biography* (London: John Murray, 1926), 166; Anne Taylor, *Annie Besant: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 203.

28. Edward Cadbury, M. Cecile Matheson, and George Shann, *Women's Work and Wages: A Phase of Life in an Industrial City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 305–6.

29. Mrs. [Barbara] J. L. Hammond, "Jewel Case Making in London," *Women's Industrial News*, June, 1904.

30. Malcolm I. Thomis, *The Town Labourer and the Industrial Revolution* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974), 5, 8, 12, 14–15; R. H. Tawney, "J.L. Hammond, 1872–1949," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 16 (1960): 286; Clarke, "Progressive Movement," 170; Clarke, *Social Democrats*, 156; Teresa Javurek, "A New Liberal Descent: The 'Labourer' Trilogy by Lawrence and Barbara Hammond," *Twentieth Century British History* 10 (1999): 378, 386, 388, 390, 401–2.

31. Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington* (New York: Knopf, 1968), 41, 174–79, 185–86, 345, 349, 437–38, 442.

32. Arnold Toynbee, "Mr George in England," quoted in Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship* (London: Longmans, Green, 1926), 179–83; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 194; Barnett quoted in J. A. R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall: Fifty Years of Social Progress, 1884–1934* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1935), 1; Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 61; David Rubinstein, "Annie Besant and Stuart Headlam: The London School Board Elections of 1888," *East London Papers* 13 (1970): 15.

33. Charles Gore, *Christianity and Socialism* (Oxford: Christian Social Union, 1908), 7–8; Deborah McDonald, *Clara Collet, 1860–1948: An Educated Working Woman* (London: Woburn Press, 2004), 45–47.

34. Olive Malvery, Andrew Mearns, James Samuelson, Thomas C. Horsfall, William Beveridge, Charles Masterman in Britain and Albion Small and Edward A. Ross in the United States all cited guilt as a motivator of reform (Olive Christian Malvery, *The Soul Market, with which is included "The Heart of Things"* (London: Hutchinson, 1907), 68; Wohl, *Eternal Slum*, 214, "Bitter Cry," 226; James Samuelson, *The Lament of the Sweated* (London: P. S. King, 1908), 31–32; T. C. Horsfall to Frances Reeves, October 21, 1877, quoted in Michael Harrison, "Art and Philanthropy: T.C. Horsfall and the Manchester Art Museum," in *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester*, ed. Alan J. Kidd and K. W. Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 120–21; Gilbert, "Introduction," xxix; Schäfer, *American Progressives*, 20–21; also see Werner Picht, *Toynbee Hall and the English Settlement Movement*, trans. Lilian A. Cowell (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1914), 10).

35. Webb, *Apprenticeship*, 179–83.

36. Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, 37–38, 54; O'Neill, *Progressive Years*, 95–96.

37. I disagree with Geoffrey Searle's view that British eugenists regarded "swamping" of the native stock by outsiders as relatively unimportant. From the 1880s on, many social investigators portrayed their explorations of slums as akin to expeditions into Africa or elsewhere, conjuring up images of visiting alien lands with alien inferior peoples. William Booth entitled his expose *In Deepest England and the Way Out* (London: International Headquarters of the Salvation Army, 1890), and innumerable authors—Arthur Mearns, Christopher Carruthers, J. Edmond Long, G. W. M'Cree, the Countess of Tankerville, and Forester Crozier—used the word "outcast" as part of a title. Searle himself provides indirect evidence of this perspective in commenting that "working people are frequently discussed as though they were denizens of some other planet." For eugenists, class prejudice effectively functioned as racism, as they equated the working class with the "other": biologically inferior aliens who constituted an "outcast" group. One ardent eugenist, Arnold White, clearly feared and had contempt for the masses; G. R. Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain, 1900–14* (Leyden: Noordhoff International Publishing, 1976, 39, 60; H. J. Dyos, "The Slums of Victorian London," *Victorian Studies* 11 (1967): 20; G. R. Searle, "Introduction," in *Efficiency and Empire*, Arnold White (reprint of 1901 edition; Brighton: Harvester, 1973), xiv. For a discussion of the concept of the "other" in the context of British identity, see Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 5–9.

38. Searle, *Eugenics*, 24; Lyndsay Andrew Farrall, *The Origins and Growth of the Eugenics Movement, 1865–1925* (New York: Garland, 1985), 237, 251–61.

39. Searle, *Eugenics*, 24, 26–27, 45–46, 48. The origins of urban hereditary degeneration are discussed in Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), ch. 16.

40. Searle, "Eugenics," 13, 50, 59–60, 67, 112–13; also see Nancy Stephan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800–1960* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 111–39; Joanne Dawn Woiak, "Drunkenness, Degeneration, and Eugenics in Britain, 1900–14" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1998).

41. D. Barker, "How to Curb the Fertility of the Unfit: The Feeble-Minded in Edwardian Britain," *Oxford Review of Education* 9 (1983): 198; D. J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Knopf, 1985), 101–7; Edward J. Larson, "The Rhetoric of Eugenics: Expert Authority and the Mental Deficiency Bill," *British Journal for the History of Science* 24 (1991): 45–46, 59.

42. Searle, *Eugenics*, 104.

43. Only middle- or upper-class Britons paid income taxes. This specific proposal was means tested, requiring an income between £240 and £500. The 1914 Budget doubled the amount to £20 per child (Searle, *Eugenics*, 46–48, 89, 93).

44. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, 32 (1904), 31–32, Cmd., 2175.

45. Richard Heathcote Heindel, *The American Impact on Great Britain, 1898–1914: A Study of the United States in World History* (reprint of 1940 edition; New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 291; John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (reprint of 1906 edition; New York, 1970), xiv, 8–13, 108–33, 230, 235, 241, 291–94; George R. Sims, "The Cry of the Children," *Tribune*, February 4, 7, 11, 14, 18, and 21, 1907; G. Von Bunge, *Alcoholic Poisoning and Degeneration* (London: Owen, 1905); David W. Gutzke, "'The Cry of the Children': The Edwardian Medical Campaign Against Maternal Drinking," *British Journal of Addiction* 79 (1984): 74–76; Greta Jones, *Social Hygiene in Twentieth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 51; Farrall, *Eugenics Movement*, 220.

46. Bunge, *Alcoholic Poisoning*, 7–10, 17, 21–22.

47. Sims, "Cry of the Children," *Tribune*, February 11, 1907.

48. Gutzke, "Cry of the Children," 77–80; Sims, "Cry of the Children," *Tribune*, February 4, 7, and 11, 1907.

49. George K. Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850–1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 242–45.

50. Sutcliffe, *Planned City*, 56; T. C. Horsfall, *The Housing Question.: An Address at the Jubilee Conference of the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association on 24 April 1902* (Manchester: Sherratt, 1902), 3; also see Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), ch. 6.

51. Michael G. Day, "The Contribution of Sir Raymond Unwin (1863–1940) and R. Barry Parker (1867–1947) to the Development of Site Planning Theory and Practice, c. 1890–1918," in *British Town Planning: The Formative Years*, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (Leicester: Leicestershire University Press, 1981), 165.

52. Robert Gunn Davis, "Slum Environment and Social Causation," *Westminster Review* 166 (1906): 249–57.

53. Horsfall's evidence before the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, quoted in Michael Harrison, "Housing and Town Planning in Manchester before 1914," in *British Town Planning: The Formative Years*, ed. Anthony Sutcliffe (Leicester: Leicestershire University Press, 1981), 121; Harrison, "Manchester Art Museum," 121; also see Dorothy Porter, "'Enemies of the Race': Biologism, Environmentalism, and Public Health in Edwardian England," *Victorian Studies* 34 (1991): 165–66, 168–69, 171–73.

54. Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 80–81; Griffiths, "Civic Communication in Britain"; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 123; Link and McCormick, *Progressivism*, 21–22. The term itself was coined by Thomas Carlyle in the 1830s. For an excellent overview of this topic, see Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), ch. 6.

55. Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 201; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 56; Horsfall, *Housing Question*, 3; also see Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*, ch. 6.

56. Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust statement, July 1905, quoted in J. S. Nettlefold, *Practical Town Planning* (London: St. Catherine Press, 1914), 94; Ebenezer Howard, *Tomorrow; a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1898), 102; also see C. B. Purdom, *The Garden City: A Study in the Development of a Modern Town* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1913), 262.

57. Mark Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes: The Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing in Britain* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981), 6; Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for Town and Country Planning, 1899–1946* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1991), 80–81; Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, ch. 5.

58. Such working-class housing was also available but on a quite restricted basis through philanthropic societies. John Nelson Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

59. Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes*, 14–15; Asa Briggs, *Social Thought and Social Action: A Study of the Work of Seebohm Rowntree, 1871–1954* (London: Longmans, 1961), 97; S. Martin Gaskell, "Housing and the Lower Middle Class, 1870–1914," *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870–1914*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 176–77; S. Martin Gaskell, "Gardens for the Working Class: Victorian Practical Pleasure," *Victorian Studies* 23 (1980): 500–501; Stephen Constantine, "Amateur Gardening and Popular Recreation in the 19th and 20th Centuries," *Journal of Social History* 14 (1981): 393; Antony Taylor, "The Garden Cities Movement in a Local Context: The Development and Decline of the Penkhull Garden Village Estate," *Local Historian* 27 (Feb. 1997): 39.

60. Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 180–81.

61. Taylor, "Penkhull Garden Village Estate," 42–43; Gaskell, "Housing and the Lower Middle Class," 178; Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes*, 24, 190; Harrison, "Housing and Town Planning," 143. Meacham, citing a 1909 survey, contends that Bournville consisted primarily of factory workers and artisans (Standish Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999], 28.

62. Swenarton, *Homes for Heroes*, 24, 27–47, 67, 77, 79, 86–87, 113, 136, 189–91, 195–96. Economic explanations for the government's campaign are discussed in M. J. Daunton, *Councillors and Tenants: Local Authority Housing in English Cities, 1919–39* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), 10–11.

63. Buder, *Visionaries and Planners*, 136–40, 161.

64. Oiva Saarinen, "The Influence of Thomas Adams and the British New Towns Movement in the Planning of Canadian Resource Communities," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Carleton: Macmillan, 1979), 268–70.

65. Thomas Horsfall, *The Improvement of the Dwellings and Surroundings of the People: The Example of Germany* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1904); Harrison, "Housing and Town Planning," 108, 114–21, 141; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 176.

66. Gordon E. Cherry, "Factors in the Origins of Town Planning in Britain: The Example of Birmingham, 1905–18," CURS Working Paper 36 (Birmingham: Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, 1975), 9–11, 14, 16, 21, 24–25; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 69–75, 82; Hardy, *Garden Cities*, 82–83, 87–93, 112.

67. Thomas I. Gunton, "The Ideas and Policies of the Canadian Planning Profession, 1909–31," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Carleton: Macmillan, 1979), 177–88; P. J. Smith, "The Principle of Utility and the Origins of Planning Legislation in Alberta, 1912–75," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Alan F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Carleton: Macmillan, 1979), 206; Saarinen, "Thomas Adams," 269–75.

68. Saarinen, "Thomas Adams," 267–92; Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City*, 175.

69. Michael Simpson, *Thomas Adams and the Modern Planning Movement: Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900–40* (New York: Mansell, 1985), 119–62.

70. Simpson, *Adams*, 162–63.

71. Robert Freestone, "Exporting the Garden City: Metropolitan Images in Australia, 1900–30," *Planning Perspectives* 1 (1986): 65–69.

72. ibid., 68.

73. John Collins, "Lusaka: The Myth of the Garden City," *Zambian Urban Studies* 2 (1969): 1–32; also see John Collins, "Lusaka: Urban Planning in a British Colony, 1931–64," *Shaping an Urban World*, ed. Gordon E. Cherry (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 228–30.

74. Warner, *Progressivism in Ohio*, 23, 31, 33, and ch. 3.

75. James B. Brown, "The Temperance Career of Joseph Chamberlain, 1870–77: A Study in Political Frustration," *Albion* 4 (1972): 32–33; E. P. Hennock, *Fit and Proper Persons: Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), 172–75; J. R. Kellett, "Municipal Socialism, Enterprise and Trading in the Victorian City," *Urban History Yearbook* (1978): 37, 42–43; Derek Fraser, "Joseph Chamberlain and the Municipal Ideal," *History Today* 37 (1987): 35–37.

76. Hamish Fraser, "Municipal Socialism and Social Policy," *The Victorian City: A Reader in British Urban History, 1820–1914*, ed. R. J. Morris and Richard Rodger (London: Longman, 1993), 260–62; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 155, 157–58, 164, 177; Aspinwall, "Glasgow Trams," 77; Frederic C. Howe, *The British City: The Beginnings of Democracy* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 177; Samuel M. Jones, *The New Right: A Plea for Fair Play Through a More Just Social Order* (New York: Eastern Book Concern, 1899), 301.

77. Howe, *British City*, 175; Arthur E. DeMatteo, "The Downfall of a Progressive: Mayor Tom L. Johnson and the Cleveland Streetcar Strike of 1908," *Ohio History* 104 (1995): 24–41; Warner, *Progressivism in Ohio*, 72–73; Jones, *New Right*, 305–6.

78. Fraser, "Municipal Socialism," 264–68, 279; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 156–58, 184.

79. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 151–52, 157–58, 168–70, 175–76, 178; Aspinwall, "Glasgow Trams," 70–72, 76.

80. Havighurst, *Massingham*, 26–27; Griffiths, "Civic Communication." Previously, Annie Besant and Stewart Headlam as London School Board members had supported fair labor contracts, feeding of school children, and fee waivers for children of impoverished families. Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865–1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 113–15, 117–18; Fraser, "Municipal Socialism," 268; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 151–52, 157, 168–70, 175–76, 178; Bettany, *Headlam*, 146–47. The *London* (1893–1898) was rechristened the *Municipal Journal* in 1900.

81. Havighurst, *Massingham*, 98–99.

82. Susan Pennybacker, "'The Millennium by Return of Post': Reconsidering London Progressivism, 1889–1907," in *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations Since 1800,* ed. David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge, 1989), 131–33, 155; A. G. Gardiner, *John Benn and the Progressive Movement* (London: Ernest Benn, 1925), 112, 125, 160, 214, 226, 265–86, 348; John Davis, *London: The London Problem, 1855–1900* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 122; John Davis, "The Progressive Council, 1889–1907," in *Politics and the People of London*, ed. Andrew Saint (London: Hambledon, 1989), 32; also see Offer, *Property and Politics*, ch. 18.

83. Gardiner, *Benn*, 354, 358–59. Politically, LCC moderates were Conservatives.

84. Ibid. Parliament itself had facilitated this evolution with legislation giving municipalities an option to acquire tramway systems by compulsory purchase after 21 years of service and of first refusal in establishing electrical power.

85. Davis, "Progressive Council," 45; Susan Pennybacker, *A Vision for London, 1889–1914: Labour, Everyday Life and the LCC Experiment* (London: Routledge, 1995), 12; V. Steffel, "The Boundary Street Estate: An Example of Urban Redevelopment by the London County Council, 1889–1914," *Town Planning Review* 47 (1976): 161–73; Robert Thorne, "The White Hart Lane Estate: An LCC Venture in Suburban Development," *London Journal* 12 (1986): 80–88; Susan Beattie, *A Revolution in London Housing: LCC Housing Architects and Their Work, 1893–1914* (London: Architectural Press, 1980), ch. 4; Alastair Service, "The Architect's Department of the London County Council, 1888–1914," *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins*, ed. Alastair Service (London: Architectural Press, 1975), 406–11.

86. Martin Gaskell, "Sheffield City Council and the Development of Suburban Areas Prior to World War I," *Essays in the Economic and Social History of South Yorkshire*, ed. Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (Sheffield: South Yorkshire

County Council, 1976), 195. By late 1915, municipal authorities throughout the country had erected some 31,000 new working-class houses in the previous twenty-five years, less than 10 percent of all new housing for laborers. John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing, 1815–1985*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1986), 184–87.

87. Pennybacker, *Vision for London*, 12, 16–17; Pennybacker, "Reconsidering London Progressivism," 133; Gardiner, *Benn*, 349.

88. Chris Waters, "Progressives, Puritans and the Cultural Politics of the Council, 1889–1914," *Politics and the People of London*, ed. Andrew Saint (London: Hambledon, 1989), 50–52, 55, 57–59, 61–62, 66, 69; Susan Pennybacker, "'It was not what She said but the way in which She said it': The London County Council and the Music Halls," *Music Hall: The Business of Pleasure*, ed. Peter Bailey (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1986), 121, 125, 132, 135; O'Neill, *Progressive Years*, 96.

89. Penelope Summerfield, "The Effingham Arms and the Empire: Deliberate Selection in the Evolution of Music Hall in London," *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590–1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure*, ed. Eileen and Stephen Yeo (Brighton: Harvester, 1981), 212, 216; Waters, "Progressives," 57, 66, 69; Lucy Bland, "'Purifying' the Public World: Feminist Vigilantes in Late Victorian England," *Women's History Review* 1 (1992): 405–6.

90. For a useful overview, see Lucy Bland, *Banishing the Beast: English Feminism and Sexual Morality, 1885–1914* (London: Penguin, 1995), ch. 3.

91. Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society*, 86–87, 92; Frank Mort, "Purity, Feminism and the State: Sexuality and Moral Politics, 1880–1914," *Crises in the British State, 1880–1930*, ed. Mary Langan and Bill Schwarz (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 209–13, 218; Frank Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England Since 1830* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 103–4, 119–26, 137; Victor Bailey and Sheila Blackburn, "The Punishment of Incest Act 1908: A Case Study of Law Creation," *Criminal Law Review* (1979): 709–12, 717–18; Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, 38–39, 41–44, 46–53, 59.

92. Heron, *Booze*, 410, n. 2, and 412, n. 29.

93. The background and impact of his campaign is explored in Raymond L. Schults, *Crusader in Babylon: W. T. Stead and the Pall Mall Gazette* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), chs. 5–6.

94. Edward J. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance: Purity Movements in Britain Since 1700* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1977), 154, 161–66; Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, 114; Weeks, *Sex*, 91; Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, 44; Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 194–95, 197; Bland, "Feminist Vigilantes," 402–3.

95. Joseph O. Baylen, "A Victorian's 'Crusade' in Chicago, 1893–94," *Journal of American History* 51 (1964): 422–24, 431–33; W.T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago! A Plea for the Union of All Who Live in the Service of All Who Suffer*

(Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894). Stead's book also was also published in London in 1894.

96. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*, 161–62; Morton Keller, *Regulating a New Society: Public Policy and Social Change in America, 1900–33* (London: Harvard University Press, 1994), 117–23.

97. Bland, *Banishing the Beast*, 109.

98. Paula Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000), 170–71; Keller, *Regulating a New Society*, 119–20.

99. W. N. Willis, *The White Slaves of London* (London: Stanley Paul, 1912), 169, 174–75; W. N. Willis, "Investigations at Whitechapel," in Mrs. Archibald Mackirdy [Olive Christian Malvery] and W. N. Willis, *The White Slave Market*, 265–90, 8th ed. (1906 reprint, London: Stanley Paul, [1912]).

100. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*, 163–66; Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*, 114; Weeks, *Sex*, 91; Bebbington, *Nonconformist Conscience*, 44; Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, 194–95, 197; Bland, "Feminist Vigilantes," 402–3.

101. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance*, 154.

102. Keller, *Regulating a New Society*, 120.

103. Searle, *Eugenics*, 40–41; Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1972), 79, 99–100, 114; Bartley, *Prostitution*, 171; Heron, *Booze*, 412, n. 29; Sharon Anne Cook, "`Do Not . . . do Anything that you cannot unblushingly Tell your Mother'": Gender and Social Purity in Canada," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 30 (1997): 215–38.

104. Gainer, *Alien Invasion*, 110, 113–14. It may be true that British labor leaders did not display any "parallel to American nativist arguments about the deleterious effects of recent immigrants on civic standards," as one historian contended, but British Progressives certainly placed the issue in this context. A. T. Lane, "The British and American Labour Movements and the Problem of Immigration, 1890–1914," *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society, 1870–1914*, ed. Kenneth Lunn (Folkestone: William Dawson & Sons, 1980), 353.

105. David Feldman, "The Importance of Being English: Jewish Immigration and the Decay of Liberal England," in *Metropolis London: Histories and Representations Since 1800*, ed. David Feldman and Gareth Stedman Jones (London: Routledge, 1989), 56–58.

106. Gainer, *Alien Invasion*, 102, 108–9, 120–21; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration, 1880–1910* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 162–63; Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971* (London: Macmillan, 1988), 67–72; Malvery, *Soul Market*, 211–12.

107. Gainer, *Alien Invasion*, 2, 108–9; James A. Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades, 1860–1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 174. Some historians believe that far more immigrants entered Britain than the 1 percent recorded in the 1901 census. In some cases, transmigrants, destined for the United States, held a job for months in Britain before continuing their journey. The years immediately preceding the 1905

legislation also coincided with heavy immigration. Immigrants too attracted more attention because they resided in specific areas, notably London's Stepney borough, where immigrant Jews in Whitechapel accounted for over one-third of the residents. Whatever the actual figure or density in some localities, the point remains that Britain received no level of immigration overall comparable to the United States, yet it still imposed restrictions (Garrard, *England and Immigration*, 213–16; Emily K. Abel, "Middle-Class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett," *Social Service Review* 52 (1978): 618, n.14).

108. Keller, *Regulating a New Society*, 220–21.
109. Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, *British 'Gothenburg' Experiments and Public-House Trusts* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901), 142–43; Lord Rosebery to Sir William Haldane, January 28, 1897, MS. 10131, f. 164, Rosebery Papers, National Library of Scotland; *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th series, vol. 89 (February 19, 1901), col. 558.
110. David W. Gutzke, "Gentrifying the British Public House, 1896–1914," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 45 (1994): 29–31.
111. Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, 26–27; David W. Gutzke, "The Social Status of Landed Brewers in Britain since 1840," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 17 (1984): 106–07; F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 19–20, 292–97.
112. Gutzke, 28–29; Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, 258–70; Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899).
113. David M. Fahey, "Sir Thomas Palmer Whittaker (1850–1919)," in *Biographical Dictionary of Modern British Radicals, 1870–1914*, ed. Joseph O. Baylen and Norbert J. Gossman (Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1988), 3: 866–68; David W. Gutzke, "Gothenburg Systems/Disinterested Management," in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*, ed. Jack S. Blocker Jr., David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2003), 1: 274–75; Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, 270; Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, 28–29, 50.
114. The Temperance Legislation League, however, following such leading temperance proponents as Joseph Rowntree and Arthur Sherwell, diverged from the Trust movement in opposing counter attractions on pub premises. *Speakers' Handbook* (London: Temperance Legislation League, 1907), 34; *Brewing Trade Review*, May 1, 1920; Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Committee on the Disinterested Management of Public Houses*, 10 (1927), 7, Cmd 2862; 1920 Annual Report, Central Public House Trust Association, London School of Economics and Political Science.
115. Gutzke, *Pubs and Progressives*, 45.
116. For this movement, see ibid., ch. 2; David W. Gutzke, "Progressivism and the History of the Public House, 1850–1950," *Cultural and Social History* 4 (2007): 239–49.

117. John F. Glaser, "English Nonconformity and the Decline of Liberalism," *American Historical Review* 63 (1958): 352–63; David W. Gutzke, *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Publicans Against Temperance* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press/Royal Historical Society, 1989), 119–20, 123–24; David W. Gutzke, "Rhetoric and Reality: The Political Influence of British Brewers, 1832–1914," *Parliamentary History* 9 (1990): 98–99; A. E. Dingle, *The Campaign for Prohibition in Victorian England: The United Kingdom Alliance, 1872–95* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 144–45, 169–71; Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 238–39; W. R. Lambert, *Drink and Sobriety in Victorian Wales, c. 1820–c. 1895* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1983), 181; Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815–72* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), 148–49, 151, 155–56, 165–66; 278, 315–16; David Woods, "Community Violence," *The Working Class in England, 1875–1914*, ed. John Benson (London: Croom Helm, [1985]), 173–74, 177, 180–81, 189, 196–97.
118. Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, 272–74; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 117, 127, 129–30, 135, 147; Aspinwall, "Glasgow Trams," 74.
119. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 111, 116–17, 120, 125, 127–43.
120. Ibid., 145–50.

The Civic Ideal

Glasgow and the United States, 1880–1920

Bernard Aspinwall

> A corrupt and ignorant city can do little. It is better that its power be kept low: an enlightened and just community can do much, measuring the happiness or useful functions of its citizens at every stage of its advances. Always in city or State the measure of its power is that of the wisdom and the uprightness of its citizens.[1]

In the late nineteenth century, the Scottish city of Glasgow became a place of pilgrimage for many Americans. In many cases that was attributable to the strong common Protestant religious outlook, émigré ethnic heritage, cultural attitudes, and close shipping links. To arriving Americans it was their first encounter with Europe, and to others their last as they bade farewell to the romantic land of Burns, Scott, Ossian, and Fingal's Cave. Glasgow's rise to preeminence coincided with the democratic cult of Burns over the hazy romanticism of Scott.[2] It was the dynamic center of the mythical—and damp—land of the Eglinton Tournament (1839), which Daniel Webster and innumerable international dignitaries attended, and the endless clamor of the world's greatest industrial might and power. That affinity was reflected in the massive Scottish preference for taking their talents to the United States rather than to the British Empire until shortly before 1914.[3] Within that transatlantic world, a moral, improving, radical humanitarian impulse flourished: clerics, utopian enthusiasts, abolitionists, woman suffragists, and temperance and prohibitionist activists found like-minded folk within the city. Respectability, efficiency, and evangelical religion boomed on both sides of the Atlantic infiltrating popular culture, as Michael Kammen argued, particularly as

often alien, increasingly leisured working classes asserted themselves.[4] Other later–nineteenth century visitors found restless industry, endless construction, and the perpetual hammering of shipbuilding along the Clyde. Generations weaned on that heritage of romance and hard-headed realism followed the numerous migrant Irish, Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, and Jews who passed through Glasgow en route to America. The city was hardly unknown across the Atlantic.

Equally, Glasgow citizens were well acquainted with the United States through the vast and varied links of tradition, religion, politics, trade, shipping, American tourism, and often spells of work in that country. Travel books, American state emigrant recruitment agencies established in Glasgow, and investigative reports on American conditions by Glaswegians made the Atlantic seem little more than a Scottish loch. Scots seemingly invented, organized, and developed American potential at every stage.[5] Scots, as I have written, were "the shock troops of modernization": they knew how to manage and to organize and how to bring results even in that hazardous new American enterprise, urban government. [6]

A group of Glasgow tradesmen, engineers, and working men, for example, had been elected to join a party organized and sponsored by the *Dundee Courier and Weekly News* in 1893. Its aim was to visit the Chicago World's Fair with the allied purpose of investigating industrial, farming, and social conditions through Canada and the United States from coast to coast. Wherever they went they found Scots who were the executives of major enterprises in Standard Oil, Allegheny and Pennsylvania Railroads, Westinghouse, construction, real estate, butchering, and farming. Department stores and dry goods firms were invariably run by Scots. Philadelphia had a Scottish mayor. Even Sunday Schools were run by Scots. Overwhelmingly they were active Republicans.[7] Scots were not dreamers but high achievers. America, as one Scottish minister observed, seemed either very small, or Scotland very large.[8]

To John Ruskin, Glasgow was "the devil's Drawing Room."[9] To the pious, the city was "the mother of prostitutes and the abominations of the earth."[10] American tradition reinforced that image of Babylon. In his monumental *The American Commonwealth*, James Bryce, former Glasgow resident and university graduate, confirmed that view of American civic failings. Scottish religion and business and organizational leadership offered uplift. Urbanization, industrialization, and ethnic diversity, if less than in America, had been efficiently managed. Even though Calvinism was losing its hold, Glasgow had managed to capture the city for righteousness. That was no mean city to Americans.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Glasgow had grown at "an American pace" to reach over a million inhabitants on the eve of World War I.[11] Its population, similar to that of an American city, seemed overwhelmingly young: more than half its people were under 25 years of age. However, the birth rate was markedly declining, and by 1913 it was the lowest since registration began in 1855. Births had leveled off in affluent areas (Park, Blythswood, Pollokshields, and Kelvinside), but the birth rates in poorer sections (Dalmarnock, Springburn, Mile End, and Hutcheson) were almost three to four times as high as the better-off districts.[12] Their death rates remained similarly high. The poverty, fecklessness, and fevers of the lower orders posed a threat. Add their Catholicism—or more often their lack of any faith—and the social order was doomed unless drastic action was taken.[13] The lower orders had to be made fit for the inevitable, coming democratic state, and the state had to be made fit for them.[14]

These Presbyterian fears became more public and more pronounced after World War I: ill-informed concern for Irish immigration and the paranoid fear of rising Catholic birth rates mixed social religious and eugenics scares about Scotland's future.[15] In fact, it was arguably social engineering on an unprecedented scale.

The other issues troubling urban intellectuals were a rootless metropolitan culture, mass consumption, and mass participation in politics.[16] The masses allegedly were dangerous, uneducated, and easily swayed by demagogues, and they challenged elite domination. The underlying tensions Patrick Joyce observed in Manchester between liberal freedom and the authoritarian (socialist?) state were apparent. [17] As early as 1898, anti-elements had formed to confront socialism.[18] Fear of their disruptive, possible socialist, or even revolutionary sympathies exposed the essential conservatism of their betters, whose confident liberalism soon evaporated in a drive to contain the threat.

Social, religious, and ethnic paternalism coincided to improve and uplift the masses but resisted any inroads to their dominance. As American socialist William English Walling, well acquainted with Glasgow, said: "Many assert flatly that their movement is altruistic, which can only mean that they intend to bestow such benefits as they think proper on some social class that they expect to remain powerless to help itself . . . they expect the lower class to remain politically impotent."[19] To him, progressive attitudes all too often reverted to extreme conservativism: As he said, quoting Hilaire Belloc, "nothing less revolutionary than your municipal reformer never trod the earth."[20] The challenge to the status quo was clear.

Such fears reached a crescendo in Scotland around the same time the United States was passing immigration restriction acts based on ethnic origins (1921–1924). The churches reflected their congregations' perceptions of

their eroding status and their diminishing aspirations, and ministers in background, training, and outlook shared those assumptions. The Oscar Slater case (1909) reflected outrage at the foreign nature of vice, gambling, and prostitution: as a mobile German Jew, his guilt was clear on identity alone.[21] His trial was something of an "un-Scottish activities" inquisition. Equally, before 1914, the Free Church had misgivings about the new immigrants to Scotland and their Sabbath-breaking activities in chip shops and coffee bars. The social gospel advocate, Reverend David Watson (1859–1943), founder and president of the Scottish Christian Social Union (1901), and Reverend Duncan Cameron (1869–1929) shared that ambivalence. Both men played prominent roles in the Church of Scotland—particularly Watson, who served on committees on Home Missions, Christian Life, and Social Work (1914–1919 and 1929–1935), as well as on the Church and Nation Committee (1923–1927), which issued the notorious assault on Irish migrants in Scotland.[22] To be recognized as Scottish demanded acceptance of a certain cultural outlook: Although the old Protestant culture was fractured, there was a reluctance to recognize the fact. The retreat to kailyard literature was indicative. Others, if less religious, from a variety of backgrounds with differing agendas were apprehensive of the changes wrought by urban industrial development and sought to shore up the best of the old community to meet the challenges of the new.

Leadership—social, political, and religious—had to draw the traditional elite, the worker, the businessman, the new professionals and bureaucrats, the "new" women, and the social critics into one harmonious whole. Although reform was apparently a scientific enterprise, social romanticism dominated. Art, religion, and new forms of noblesse oblige or social gospel or concern should unite for the common good; people of goodwill free from class and religious divisions should promote a cohesive and just community. A surprising mix of socially concerned figures briefly flirted with Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation in Glasgow but soon moved on.

Holding the balance between the capital and labor, and the even wilder extremes of laissez faire and socialism, disinterested honest brokers drawn from the middle classes set the agenda for local leadership. Associated with social reformers like Chamberlain, municipal administrators like Barr of Liverpool, and settlement house workers like the socialist Rowley of Manchester, Glasgow's movers and shakers developed a comprehensive approach to urban problems. Businessmen, councilors, churchmen, and other figures, although differing in priorities and agendas, united for the common good. Businesslike reform brought results.

Under the leadership of the best stock and expertise, local drives for uplift would follow. By providing far-reaching municipal public services in health,

housing, and transport, they would increase civic consciousness, and in that process, local roots, loyalties, and affections would develop a higher sense of national patriotism. The city was a mutually interdependent, organic, moral entity, the success of which depended on the integration of all: No group or tradition was excluded or alien.[23] The city beautiful ideal originated in the moral regeneration of its citizens.[24]

Competing agendas flowed in unison for a time: everyone, as usual, was against sin. Businessmen favored a cheap, efficient, low-tax city: "philanthropy and five per cent" would best describe them. They were almost an interlocking directorate of the city, creating and controlling its wealth through entrepreneurial skills, close networking, and similar pursuits. [25] Citizens were clients on whom they would bestow the benefits necessary for a decent urban life; the lower orders were hardly equal in any sense.

The elite rejoiced in efficient local government; the city cleansing department under John Young made healthy profits from refuse and accepted the benefits of improved municipal housing in apartments above municipally owned shops. Expertise triumphed over dreamy zealots. Moral reformers saw spiritual improvement through slum clearance—the elimination of numerous public houses, illicit shibbeens, brothels, and drunkenness—safer, cleaner, more law-abiding citizens and acceptable enterprises then might move into the area.[26]

Socialists agreed with William Morris. A regular visitor to Glasgow from 1884, he believed the primary objective was a cooperative commonwealth "where everyone will live and work jollily together as neighbors and comrades for the equal good of all."[27] The minds of Glasgow slum children must be freed from stultifying structures of squalid homes and rote education.[28] The city, like its architecture, must be "a harmonious co-operative work of art." To restore humanity in an increasingly mechanical world, "the true Art of Architecture, betokens a society, which whatever elements of change it may bear within it, may be called stable, since it is founded upon the happy exercise of the energies of the most useful part of its population."[29] Its aim was to uplift, advance a sense of community, and create local patriotism.[30]

Religious, secularist, environmentalist, and socialist alike were united in preaching a gospel of civic religion: "Let Glasgow Flourish by the Preaching of The Word" ran the city's motto, a view endorsed by each group. This idealism attempted to rebuild a sense of community and of worthwhile relationships in the expanding metropolis. It did not retreat to some sylvan idyll. A comprehensive regeneration of the city was feasible as long as a limited propertied electorate held sway and delivered excellent public services. Excessive individualism and demagogues were checked, and responsible people made responsible decisions.

Art and architecture conveyed civic pride to the citizenry: beautiful build-
ings improved the morals and morale of the citizens. They pointed beyond
mere utility and the cash nexus. Well-planned developments and well-paved
streets and sidewalks replaced the rookeries of vice and degradation. Even the
early introduction of electric streetcars from 1898 had the beneficial cleans-
ing effect of eliminating tons of horse manure from the city streets. The land-
mark City Chambers (1888) was a towering center of magisterial authority,
increasing its territory by absorbing surrounding suburbs and extending its
municipal power over public utilities.

All really great works of art are public works—monumental, collective,
generic—expressing the ideas of a race, a community, a united people, and
not the ideas of a class.[31]

The Kelvingrove Galleries, the decoration of public building by the Glas-
gow Boys, the public schools and business offices (whose architects included
Charles Rennie Mackintosh), and the proliferation of monumental churches
of all denominations throughout the city in the generation preceding World
War I reinforced the stable, moral mission of the city.[32] The city belonged to
its citizens: it was theirs. It was not in the hands of special interests.

In that context, urban leadership of quality was essential: very few citizens
had completed high school, and even fewer held university degrees. The edu-
cated and informed "samurai" of H. G. Wells' imagining had to counterbal-
ance the ignorant masses and lead them to "the higher life." It was their duty
and obligation. It was a technical, bureaucratic problem for the new "clerisy":
to inculcate the "right" values for the future. To socialists, municipalization
would inaugurate an ideal state of mankind.[33] To secularists, a small but vocal
minority in the city, practical social utility would overcome entrenched inter-
ests. To Christian Social Gospel advocates, restating an old ideal in the new
urban world, the Kingdom was to be realized on earth in a Godly Common-
wealth.[34] To achieve that goal demanded space, time, and means of uplift,
and the home and the family were the departure points.

Housing, however, remained a perennial problem. Death, desolation, and
vice went together.[35] The appalling slums and high death rates went from the
1840s through the 1860s, when the authorities began major clearances. In
1885, Lord Shaftesbury told the Parliamentary Commission on Housing of
the city's great strides to improve: "I went to Glasgow some years ago and I
think it was as horrible a place as ever I beheld. I went over Glasgow again
three years ago and I could not discover a trace of the horrible places I had
known."[36] The Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland still issued a
damning report in 1891.[37] Inspection and "ticketing" of houses to prevent
overcrowding had some limited effect. Whatever its shortcomings, the city

was alive to the possibility of change. This change came slowly, but overwhelmingly, through municipal and some private responsibility.

Although the city had massively improved its housing through slum clearance over the previous fifty years, the density of population remained astonishingly high by British standards: over 60 inhabitants per acre overall, with Partick and Govan, respectively, at 66 and 65 inhabitants per acre.[38] In 1911, some 20 percent (104,641) of its people lived in a one-room apartment, down from over a quarter twenty years earlier (26.4 percent), and a further 367,341 lived in only two apartments: almost 61 percent of the population lived in three apartments.[39] Even so, the reforming city impressed radical Liberal MP Joseph Chamberlain with its considerable strides in establishing model lodging houses for its floating population.[40] By 1911, there were thirty model lodgings in the city accommodating over seventy-five hundred folk.[41] The city had begun to safeguard consumers with the inspection of food, drink, and milk supplies. It also had one of the first Smoke Abatement Acts to curb urban pollution, which met with some success. That was the point: the city seemingly confronted its problems in an intelligent, resourceful manner: science, humanity, business acumen, and urban improvement made for rational solutions.

To inculcate a sense of belonging, duty, civic consciousness, and even the work ethic were essential. Elite pride and the need to inculcate a sense of ownership in the large floating population coincided with one another. Contemporary religious thinking and preaching endorsed those values. Bodies such as the Scottish Christian Social Union, the Civic Society of Glasgow, book reading societies, and the Glasgow School of Social Study, which operated under the auspices of the university, expanded awareness. They brought together wealth, councilors and ministers, and aspiring individuals into a common cause for improvement. To the Scottish Christian Social Union, Professor Henry Jones urged his audience of mainly Glasgow employers to change working conditions so "it may *make* men rather than destroy them."[42] The School of Social Study, significantly, began just as World War I broke out: the inaugural lecture was given by L. T. Hobhouse, with G. D. H. Cole lecturing on Guild Socialism early the following year.[43] The issues facing municipalities and central government were rapidly changing.

Civic cooperation characterized the modern, efficient city. Glasgow provided wide-ranging, well-run, and professional public services. There were proposals to introduce a city manager even before the idea took root in the United States. In the face of real and threatened epidemics, the city municipalized the water supply in 1855, provided the public with gas from 1864, built model lodgings from 1871, provided a Family Home for widows and widowers with children in 1895, and supplied electricity from

1891. Improved lighting on the streets and within tenement closes, which then followed, provided a deterrent against crime and immorality. The 1866 Glasgow City Improvement Act paved the way for slum clearance and building regulation—a process reinforced by several legislative enactments culminating in the Housing and Town Planning Act (1909). Under the militant Protestant Prohibitionist Bailie, later Lord Provost, and Sir Samuel Chisholm, the city's Improvement Trust began in the 1890s to build housing for the poorest classes. By 1909, some two thousand dwellings had been built; however, only 28 percent were for the poorest people.[44] Private enterprise was also up and running—the Glasgow Working Men's Dwelling Company also developed some seven hundred houses in twenty years.[45] Civic conscience, philanthropy, and 5 percent were working.

Public parks were further healthy havens, places of recreation or, hopefully, regeneration. In the later nineteenth century, Queen's Park, designed by Joseph Paxton, architect of the Crystal Palace, added a further lung to the city: man, nature, and godliness were reunited. Kelvingrove Park in the west end and other open spaces also were already available. The decongesting of the population, according to the city's first medical officer of health, Dr. W. T. Gairdner, alleviated the craving for alcoholic stimulants.[46] His successor, Dr. J. B. Russell, found the poorest "baptised with whisky and buried with whisky."[47] A tougher approach to licensing public houses, slum clearance, the living conditions of the numerous newspaper boys, begging, and vice further removed public nuisances. Public spaces were slowly being recaptured for virtue.

By means of public space, churches, various voluntary bodies—but especially municipal institutions, schools, utilities, living accommodation, hospitals, recreational facilities, libraries, parks, art galleries and museums, meetings halls, and above all, the tramways, the city seemed to have maintained a sense of community, integrating newcomers into its life through care, compassion, and social events. George Square, "the Valhalla of Glasgow," with its statues to Burns, prominent citizens, and royalty, gave a historical dimension and models worthy of imitation. In its tramways, the city, as we shall see, regained total control over its streets—something many American Progressives felt had been lost through lengthy leases to expensive, badly operated, private street railway monopolies., American reformers felt they had lost control to corrupt machines and unaccountable private monopolies even in their own locality: it was part of a larger political, economic, and cultural battle. Armed with that perception, rightly or wrongly, they envied the Glasgow model.[48] The undesirable and the peculator did not control the culture of the expanding city, rather, a properly elevated tone was set for city and its inhabitants.[49] In the hands of local moral reformers, ministers, elites, and professionals,

the locality was empowered rather than a distant authority: home rule had a wider application than usually imagined.[50] These features facilitated community building, as citizens were empowered—or at least felt they had some ownership in the community.

That unifying civic identity overlay the fractious religious division of Catholic and Protestant, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The intractable problem of Ireland intensified—Home Rule, the threat of civil war, and finally independence in the wake of the 1916 Rising. Political differences were further sharpened in religious clashes over Papal infallibility and the papal decree *Ne temere* (1908) on mixed marriages. At the same time, incomers were rapidly incorporated into ethnic and religious communities within the city via networks of kinship, religious affiliation, and revivals. Catholics and Protestants alike rekindled tenuous or fading religious loyalties in the period between 1880 and World War I by revivals. Catholicism was revitalized by numerous parish-, and later city-wide, revivals inspired by religious orders—the Jesuits, Redemptorists, Passionists, and others—and several visits by Moody and Sankey galvanized somnolent Protestants into civic action.[51]

Religious commitment greatly increased between 1880 and World War I. Undoubtedly, many citizens found security for the present and clear moral guidance for a future model society. The Church of Scotland and the Catholic Church generally, and in particular in Glasgow, grew massively.[52] That dynamism drove competition for souls as well as for representation on the school board and in local campaigns against vice. Elite Protestant elements tried to capture the city for Christ, for their culture and their kind. It was their duty, their obligatio*n*, to serve. Even socialist activists, as the Glasgow novels of Patrick Macgill show, shared that patronizing approach to the poor. Not surprisingly, Jane Addams found Glasgow churches suffocatingly packed on the Sabbath. Each group believed the future lay with them, and the municipalized enterprises were vital elements in their drive for moral uplift.

After a strike, the incompetent private city tramway company was taken over by the city in 1894.[53] The municipalized tramway system became a byword for efficiency, profitability, and public service under its first two managers, John Young and James Dalrymple, between 1894 and 1926. In less than twenty years, the number of vehicles grew from 170 horse-drawn cars to over six hundred electrically driven double-deckers, and the number of passengers carried massively increased from 54 million to 311 million a year in 1911. In addition, the service was cheap, profitable, and undefiled by any private advertisements. The most disinterested professional public servants using the latest technology in the public interest were regenerating the life

and soul of the city by opening up new horizons, opportunities, and choices for the masses.

Cheap transport helped in the decongesting of the city and encouraged the development of new tramcar suburbs such as Langside, Newlands, and Shawlands.[54] Access to distant workplaces, parks, galleries, and sport and rational recreation was made easier and more affordable through cheap penny fares. Factories, docks, and shipyards were brought within cheap commuting distance. The municipalized countryside, as in Rouken Glen Park or even Loch Lomond, was within easy reach of even the least affluent. The gifts of the temperance character Lord Rowallan (Cameron Corbett) of his estates at Rouken Glen and, further afield, at Ardgoyle near Lochgilphead provided a healthy alternative to the saloon. The tramcar was a healthy lung for the city.

Better municipal-owned housing followed the City Improvement Act (1866), with the gradual clearance of the densely packed alleys and wynds around the Saltmarket and High Street. Better tenement housing subsidized by ground-floor shops worked in everyone's interest: tenant, shopkeeper, and city. Nearby shops, owned and let by the city, with airy workplaces above for offices or clothing finishers benefited all. Baths and wash houses were built around the city to serve as laundries. Swimming pools were built in the Gorbals, Govanhill, and elsewhere for the physical improvement and recreation of all classes. Public halls were provided for the citizenry to ventilate political concerns and to entertain themselves in soirees, concerts, and the like. Public libraries, although slow to begin, were soon placed strategically across the city within a few hundred yards of tramcar stops so that, at minimal cost, the enterprising could literally get up and go to improve themselves.

The city seemed a remarkable caring and profitable enterprise. It had further provided a hygienic fish market, cheese market, weights and measures department, and a large public slaughter house, in marked contrast to the scandalously unsanitary private establishments at home or in Chicago. The civic authorities had sought to diminish the unfortunate effects of bad housing through planning regulation from 1866, eliminating filthy streets through paving and better cleansing and alleviating the industrial atmosphere through smoke-abatement controls. The city sought uplift; it inspired cultivation and rational recreation through the provision of art galleries in Kelvingrove, Camphill (1894), and the People's Palace on Glasgow Green (1898). The city even briefly provided a municipally owned telephone service (1900–1907) to more than forty thousand subscribers. When it was sold to the Post Office, the system had the largest number of subscribers in any city outside London.

Through the generosity of the future Lord Provost, and later vice-chancellor of Glasgow University, Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson, the university had a department of Civics, as well as well-funded departments and endowed scholarships in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Its modern city streets were laid out on an American-style grid pattern, interspersed with magnificent public parks, and the new uniform, blond stone tenements gave a sense of cohesion and discipline, together with the outstanding public architecture of churches and public institutions. Glasgow was a mutual, organic experience. Within her rapid development, the city retained a wider moral vision of public space.

In the late nineteenth century, that image appealed to many American reformers. To them, their cities, traditionally viewed as breeding grounds of immorality, were descending farther into the abyss as graft, corruption, incompetence, and the "wrong" ethnic groups took over. They and the taxpayers struggled to enforce some moral and bureaucratic disciplines into an organism developing far beyond their control.[55] Whether American cities were as disastrous as contemporaries believed or not, Glasgow seemed to have perfected a comprehensive cooperative approach to urban living. Every aspect of urban life was overseen by committed politicians, professional administrators, and informed citizenry.[56] Ostensibly the divisions of class, ethnicity, and religion had been overcome in the civic drive for amelioration and accountability—its streets were free from riotous outbreaks, as in America.[57] The city had captured its space and facilities for the community, not for private profit.

The city was a hotbed of Henry George's Single Tax enthusiasts, supported by two papers, as well as the headquarters of the Scottish Cooperative Wholesale Society, with its varied improving initiatives as well as a lively labor movement of ideas, organization, and action.[58] At the same time, Michael Davitt and more socially radical elements of the Irish Land League enjoyed widespread support. By the early twentieth century, John Wheatley was beginning his rise with other notable, if less successful, socialist agitators.

Public space, free and open, made the city more than a commercial entity and contributed to a sense of civic consciousness: the streets were cleansed of vice for the public good. Virtue was free, but vice required payment, so the choice between the two was eased for the poor. Municipal utilities, water, gas, electricity, sewerage, and slum clearance cared for the material comforts of the citizens, whereas municipal art galleries in Kelvingrove, often improved by generous gifts from leading citizens; the People's Palace; open-air municipal concerts; and recreational facilities such as swimming baths uplifted the spirits of the citizens. Abundant hospitals using the latest medical skills flourished: the Royal, Western Infirmary, Belvidere, and Victoria were all

flourishing by the 1880s. Ruchill followed in 1900, and four more joined them as the city boundaries expanded. Airy municipal schools including some designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh served both education and health. Municipal slum clearance on a massive scale, bath and wash houses, seven municipal lodging houses, and the regulation of licensed premises, overcrowded rented accommodation, prostitution, and child employment on the streets brought godliness and cleanliness together.[59]

Glasgow's ancient university (1451) provided its innovative intellectual creative and productive strength. It was no ivory tower but, rather, a formative experience for future public servants, innovative entrepreneurs, engineers, doctors, and scientists. It inculcated a strong ideal of public service. The city's international exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 and the national exhibition of 1911 had placed Glasgow's renown before the world, and unlike its international competitors, Glasgow's exhibitions were profitable.[60] Had not James Bryce, author of *The American Commonwealth*, a major indictment of the many failings of American cities, had his formative experiences there? Was not Glasgow the city whose modern development followed an American grid pattern? Were not Glaswegians the most democratic and American-like in Europe? Did not Americans feel most at home there? Thousands of tourists had traveled there through the nineteenth century, marveling at its successful work ethic, the surrounding natural beauty, and its down-to-earth inhabitants. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show won unparalleled popularity with its inhabitants, and Hollywood would subsequently enjoy success there unequalled in Britain. With over a million inhabitants, the city seemed astonishingly well managed and cohesive. It was, after all, the Second City of the British Empire.

The city's achievements could be told in terms of economic success; population growth and slowly improving health care; fine schools, colleges, and a university; religious activism; business paternalism; town planning; and municipal utilities. Equally, there were exceptional figures on the city council who served with pride, distinction, and disinterestedness, the best examples being Sir Samuel Chisholm and Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson.[61] Their dedicated commitments to the city and to their own business success were distinct but equally exemplary, quite unlike their rapacious American counterparts or even the abandonment of the city to the less desirable professional politicians, as happened in many American cities. Although Glasgow's city fathers gloried in their uplifting campaigns against urban slums, they had hardly touched the evils: less than 1 percent of the city's poor enjoyed the benefits of improved municipal housing.[62] The other public benefits in gas, electricity, water supply, baths, parks, libraries, and the municipal telephone system were generally

considered successful, but the outstanding success in profitably decongesting the city came through the municipal tramway system.

The city showed the qualities that appealed to many American Progressive reformers; local elite leadership, local elite power, and control with wide-ranging authority in taxation, education, sanitation, transport, public utilities, policing, alcohol, and planning. The management of urban collectivism fell under a diverse leadership of the efficiency-minded business interests, the socially concerned, Christian ministers, new professionals, and social investigators; they believed that philanthropy could pay 5 percent and bring social harmony. Without significantly altering civic, wealth, or political power relationships, the city seemingly provided a level playing field of opportunity for the masses: improved health, better housing in streetcar suburbs, self-improvement, and recreation in a drink-free and purer air environment were all accessible to the masses at low cost.

Local government was supportive, ameliorating, and improving: the individual retained his or her identity in the social movement or, better still, in a family aided and sustained by cheap municipal gas, electricity, water, transport, and public entertainment. The family as an institution was further protected within the city by temperance, purity, and religious crusades—by youthful recreation within the flourishing Young Men's Christian Association, Foundry Boys' Association, the Marquis of Bute's newspaper boys' night shelter, and the charitable activities of the Celtic Football Club in feeding and clothing poor children. With that head start, training, and discipline—and ultimately marriage—preferably within the same religious denomination, the individual might have a solid working career as an upright, irreproachable citizen.[63]

These backgrounds made a path through religious salvation, political networking, social advancement, and economic success to civic leadership. From such backgrounds came men such as the Dalkeith-born incomer Sir Samuel Chisholm, wholesale tea and coffee merchant, staunch Protestant, rigorous prohibitionist, housing reformer, and later Lord Provost. Or perhaps the interventionist local government affected the so-called dangerous classes—blue collar industrial workers, newcomers, or immigrants to the city—and the city's elite managerial elements were merely reasserting their hegemony through conflict and consensus. Their credentials, their faith, their ethnicity, and their cultural assumptions for the good of the masses were unquestionable. They set the agenda for the city, and Glasgow, similar to the American nation, had an agenda of exceptional unity.[64] The American search for order had found its home.[65] Glasgow was a heady cocktail of imaginative business-minded leadership, public conscience, restricted manhood suffrage, and a sound economic base. "To an American accustomed to the fevered passions

which rage in our industrial land, going to a cooperative land is like reaching harbor after a tempestuous voyage,"[66] wrote one keen American observer, but Glasgow's reputation had already spread across the United States, and Albert Shaw had begun a passionate American reformist affair with the city.[67]

A procession of Americans descended on Glasgow: urban reformers such as Mayors Sam 'Golden Rule' Jones of Toledo, Brand Whitlock, Phelan of San Francisco, and Tom Johnson of Cleveland assessed the city first hand, and Democratic presidential candidates William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson followed, as did reform-minded writers and activists such as Albert Shaw, William Allen White, and E. R. L. Gould; new professional administrators such as Delos Wilcox and Edward Bemis; and academics such as J. R. Commons. The National Civic Federation, Congressional housing, and temperance commissions found Glasgow a fascinating social laboratory. Some, like Edward F. Dunne, 1905 mayoral candidate in Chicago, and Woodrow Wilson found the model municipality an excellent campaign image.[68] They admired its seemingly disinterested bureaucracy and efficiency, and scores of American tourists marveled at the glories of Glasgow: its industry, architecture, and unassuming forthright Scots were a refreshing change from pretentious Englishmen. Businessmen served with pride in the city council. Glasgow was no mean city.

In 1905 Edward Dunne, the Democratic nominee for mayor of Chicago, successfully campaigned on a promise to make the city "a second Glasgow." In his campaign for the presidency in 1912, Woodrow Wilson frequently used the Glasgow model to swing over voters to his progressive Democratic standard. That desirable image resonated with the electorate, and no other municipality in Britain could match that magnetism.[69]

That attraction reflected several concerns among the old, established, white Anglo-Saxon elite; among the newly emerging university-educated professionals; and among those who felt their cultural lifestyle to be under threat from industrialization, urbanization, and mass immigration. Their moral, aesthetic, and social dominance was at risk, and the need for a renewed moral consensus was clear.[70] In particular, they wondered at the ability of a large municipality to maintain a strong traditional sense of community, transparent democratic accountability, social cohesion, and efficiency. In fact, they were bearing witness to themselves and their kind in maintaining high standards of public probity while excluding the floating population from the electoral process—the prospect of which some welcomed in American cities.

Some found their ancestral Scottish roots, their still-flourishing Protestant heritage, and their natural intellectual democratic base and practical higher education. Above all, however, they found a city that flourished "by the preaching of the Word," informed by the academic community yet under

responsible entrepreneurial leadership. Very different from what was happening under contemporary laissez faire capitalism in the United States, the city seemed to be a humane organic endeavor: its municipal-owned gas, electricity, and water supplies and its municipal tramways, housing, markets, refuse collection, parks, museums, galleries, libraries, airy schools, playgrounds, and telephone system were remarkably successful in improving the quality of life, and even more astoundingly, they were profitable.

At the same time, American visitors invariably found themselves at home in the city. They admired its American-like go-ahead industry and expansion, its American grid-like pattern of recent development, its hotels with American managers, and its citizens' unassuming, down-to-earth American character, quite unlike that of their pretentious southern neighbors. A challenging America of rapidly changing social, economic, and ethnic geography found reassurance and hope for the future across the Atlantic in Glasgow, and the railways had played a major role in redeveloping the city for the better by clearing slums.[71]

Local businessmen were active in improving housing conditions through the Glasgow Workmen's Dwelling Company, in education through endowments, and at public galleries by generous donations.[72] Ministers, academics, and businessmen were all united for the common good. Christian initiatives in slum clearance, temperance, and revivalism "saved" many while contributing to a greater emphasis on environmentalism rather than innate human depravity. Slum clearance, dry areas, and public institutions, as in Glasgow's Saltmarket area, made for individual health and social hygiene.[73] Equally educated physically fit manpower was essential to a productive, efficient industry, army, and empire, and in the wake of the Boer War, warfare reform was as much in evidence as welfare reform.[74]

Another small but significant element stressed racial and ethnic characteristics. Historically, the Irish, in particular, had been viewed as peculiarly prone to poverty, fecklessness, and undermining public mores. Fear of cholera, typhus, and Fenianism went hand in hand—the invasion of the Irish was more serious than those of Saxons, Danes, or Normans in threatening the morals and work ethic of the native Scots. Irish migrants "had undoubtedly produced deleterious results, lowered greatly the moral tone of the lower classes and greatly increased the necessity of sanitary and police precautions wherever they have settled in numbers."[75]

Political and social amelioration meant infiltrating the poor and seemingly benighted masses—they had to be improved for their own good. Glasgow, similar to Chicago, was to be saved. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the city underwent several revivals, thanks to several visits from the American evangelists Moody and Sankey.[76] Glasgow would seem to have

followed Chicago in sharpening ethnic, religious, and social tensions, and an enfranchised, propertied Protestant majority was to save the city—Glasgow was to be captured for righteousness. Vice, fecklessness, and intemperance were the preserve of the lower orders, who were to be redeemed by civic improvement.[77] Social uplift would precede individual regeneration.

Religious, ethnic, and scientific attitudes, as suggested earlier, were as one. Eugenics later received enthusiastic support from Reverend Duncan Cameron—a Church of Scotland minister in Milngavie who also served on the national body.[78] To control, discipline, and breed out the fecund undesirables was an essential part of the eugenics program, in that they had strong similarities to some American social reformers who optimistically believed that the last criminal would be a hospital patient. That darker side of reform laid the foundations for later assaults on the Irish and other migrant groups, particularly in the 1920s. Until that point, eugenics appeared to be a humane, scientific solution to urban evils.

Philanthropy and 5 percent was up and running in Glasgow. Businessmen were proud to serve the city as disinterested councilors, and noblesse oblige was democratized. Not surprisingly, that spirit of service found expression in imperialist and missionary outreach in the work of John Buchan and John Reith, sons of the manse and Glasgow University graduates.[79] Having won their way up though urban industrial society on merit rather than privilege, their "right thinking leadership" was reinforced: their mission was to 'depoliticize' divisive issues, to blunt raw edges of potential class confrontation by judicious and timely social reforms to enable a powerful civic culture to endure. Empire may have reinforced hierarchical notions, but it was hardly a major concern of the toiling masses.[80] Scotland seemed extremely large and the world extremely small, as one observer saw, and their ethos informed progress. At the same time, the elites and their kind were in control: voluntarism, civil society, and honest government were realized at the local, and not centralized at the national, level.[81]

The existing order was morally cleansed, made efficient, and produced highly desirable integrating results: incoming Highlanders, Irish, Jews, Italians, Lithuanians, and others were seemingly inculcated with the "right" spirit. In the most extreme cases, this cleansing might be accomplished as in the United States by asylums for the apparently physically and mentally unfit.[82] Through a property-owning ratepayers franchise, the system was made safe for democracy, and democracy was made safe for the newcomers. Power and wealth were made accessible but not dramatically redistributed. To Americans fumbling for some guide to the confusing new phenomenon that was urban life, Glasgow was a practical working model, and it was not utopian, doctrinaire, or socialist.[83] Long before Lincoln Steffens' Russian

enthusiasm, Americans saw the future, and it worked and played within a municipal framework.

American interest in the city stretched back over the centuries. More pertinently, in the nineteenth century, Glasgow and the surrounding areas had shown themselves to be the most democratic, radical supporters of African Americans—its abolitionist credentials were unmatched in Britain. Numerous ex-slaves had found a ready audience for their Glasgow lectures, from Frederick Douglass to Henry "Box" Brown to William Brown Wells and many others. After emancipation, that interest continued through the Freedman's Aid Association to the Jubilee Singers and, even in the twentieth century, for Paul Robeson at the height of McCarthyism. William Lloyd Garrison claimed he had never encountered such intelligent, informed workingmen and women anywhere in his travels as in the west of Scotland. That egalitarian antiprivilege ideal flourished within the city.

That sentiment might owe something to a sense of unique "Scottishness," to the Irish and Highlander hostility to landowners, and to Jewish and other migrant groups' antipathy to unresponsive or hated governments. Thriving middle-class churches were increasingly aware of the "lost" mobile working classes, and their mission had to be tuned to their clients' needs and aspirations. Ethnicity and religion were the battlegrounds in removing barriers to progress.[84] Their congregations, perhaps suffering angst or guilt from their economic success, were assiduous in seeking to remedy social ills but showed little concern for the social structures or attitudes that hampered improvement—to them, poverty remained a moral as much an economic condition. Reverend Dr. Thomas Chalmers' deserving and undeserving categories of poverty were still in operation.[85] The best efforts of proselytizing religious "child-savers," the Charity Organisation Society, and the City Improvement Trust left many unresolved problems in ever-expanding Glasgow. Health reform by regulation of sanitation and overcrowding; the provision of pure clean water from Loch Katrine; food reform initiatives by such as William Corbett, the Americans Nichols, and the domestic science college; and the provision of "dry" parks and municipal transport greatly alleviated ills. In that sense, arguably theirs was a comfortable, unchallenging recreational type of reform that enabled them to assert their traditional cultural dominance. However, the leadership roles were often played by comparatively recently arrived or recently established business figures in the city, as in the cases of the Lord Provosts Sir Samuel Chisholm and Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson.

The Presbytery of Glasgow, already concerned by the number of unchurched, undertook an investigation of the poor in the city.[86] The faithful were appalled and shocked at the extent of indifference. Squalid degradation was a barrier to any sense of the divine, so hygiene and morality went

proselytizing together: Reform was a prerequisite to salvation. The Church of Scotland became so concerned at the decline of religious observance that it even had a network of outreach to emigrants intending to move to the United States and elsewhere.[87]

The overtly religious "interference" gave way to seemingly "disinterested" civic intervention. An "imperial" civic elite was organizing the colonies.[88] Glasgow historically had been a strong Liberal bastion, and by the early twentieth century, a strong Liberal Unionist outlook prevailed, although desire for devolved power surfaced among temperance, prohibitionist, and often socialist elements. Local control, local option, and popular Progressive power went hand in hand. Significant pacifists such as businessman Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson, whose brothers were an artist and a Pennsylvania explosive manufacturer, and an international peace gathering showed the Second City of the Empire's vibrant character. A limited number of women also emerged as municipal voters.[89] Base materials were being transformed into a higher citizenship, and the existing order was being purified. The continual migratory habits of the Irish gradually changed as they persisted in the city, but their annual massive shifting around among rented homes suggested they would never be rooted owners within the community. To the observer, the Church and ethnicity remained the guiding lights of their lives—they wished for independence from patronizing do-gooders, poverty, and exclusion; they demanded their space; and their assimilation would be on their terms through their institutions.

Various methods were used to inculcate order and acceptable behavior among the masses.[90] Restrictive legislation on alcohol outlets, Sabbath observance, prostitution, overcrowded housing, and a drive for slum clearance contained and controlled the unruly urban poor, the dangerous classes. Reinforced by prominent church, business, and other figures, uplift was a common cause. William Smith founded the Boys' Brigade as a means of instilling Christian manly virtues into the youthful masses—it was an ideal that would spread throughout the English-speaking world and would meet with the approval of President Theodore Roosevelt. Concern for Scottish children's health and the future of the race led to a Royal Commission. The commission's findings reinforced worries about racial deterioration, poor development, and squalid environment.[91] In 1918, concern for the poor provision and for the low quality of education for the multiplying proletariat in Catholic schools even led the Liberal government to grant equal status to Catholic education in Scotland.

The inculcation of a strong sense of patriotism at a local and national level was evident in the enthusiastic volunteers of the Tramway Department battalion for the army on the outbreak of war. As in American Progressivism,

the mobilization of the locality for the right values was essential in build-
ing a national sense of identity. As in the United States, some elements
within the reform interest would attribute problems to the inherent char-
acter of immigrants. Maybe they were reflecting what R. A. Soloway has
described as "inchoate anxieties" about change and their loss of control of
their communities.[92]

To compensate, they sought to use civic power to achieve their disciplined
ends. To them, the arrival of Irish, Lithuanians, Poles, Italians, and Jews was
cause for comment.[93] The almost fourfold increase between 1861 and 1921
of Welsh and English incomers was forgotten—their religious faith, insofar
they might have one, made them invisible.[94] Scottish Gaelic speakers mark-
edly declined from 1881 to 1931, decreasing overall in Scotland by over 40
percent and by almost a quarter within the Glasgow area.[95] The Irish ironi-
cally also declined in total numbers throughout the period, from 204,083 in
1861 to 124,296 in 1931—a decline from 6.6 percent to a mere 2.5 percent
of the total population.[96] Some Glasgow elite figures and the Church of Scot-
land Church and Nation Committee struck postures parallel to the American
immigration restriction movement. Its report, subsequently published as a
pamphlet, *The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Nationality* (1923), considered
the Irish as unwelcome as a similar number of Hottentots. Their vigorous
opposition to Catholic education revealed their apprehensions for the future
of *their* society, and the sheer growth of visible Catholic strength also gave
cause for alarm in some quarters.[97] Irish Catholics were incapable either of
assimilation or of "civilization"—they were totally different: "They remain a
people by themselves, segregated by reason of their race, their customs, their
traditions, and above all, by their loyalty to their Church, and gradually and
inevitably dividing Scotland, racially, socially and ecclesiastically."[98]

In one way, this shift allowed reformers to break down the resistance
of ethnic Catholic religious opposition in a disarming way. Compulsory
school attendance, regular classroom inspection, and civic improvements in
cooperation with ameliorative, reforming, and even socialist Catholics cre-
ated an idealized image of a cohesive city. It was a moral, organic entity, the
parts of which were mutually interdependent: public utilities were a means
of expanding the area of grace, health, and efficiency. Social salvation was
a prelude to individual salvation, and gas-and-water socialism made for
cleanliness and godliness. Such social engineering would make the masses
fit for an expanding British democracy, and in turn, democracy would be
fit for their recently inculcated higher aspirations. It was environmentalism,
but with a strong moral purpose. Many Americans would share the convic-
tion that "The nations that are homogenous in Faith and Morals, that have
maintained that unity of race, have been ever the most prosperous, and to

them the Almighty has committed the highest of tasks. . . . It is incumbent on the Scottish people to . . . preserve Scotland for the Scottish race, and secure to future generations the traditions, ideals and Faith of a great people, unspoiled and inviolate."[99]

As Robert Hamilton's chapter illustrates, the intelligentsia shared in these concerns through Glasgow University settlement house work.[100] In ministering to the less fortunate in poorer areas, they learned the realities of the social condition; in democratizing culture, they cultivated democracy. Moral reform by opening up opportunity would ameliorate all within the existing order.

The failings of modern urban society were shown early on by T. R. Annan in his photographs of Glasgow slums.[101] His impact was immense. His innovative and propagandist use of film was later followed by Jacob Riis, Lewis Hine, and other Progressives in America. These visual studies were vital in creating a favorable public opinion.

Even more persuasive was the Glasgow Medical Officer of Health, Dr. James Burn Russell, and his successor, Dr. A. K. Chalmers. These two pioneering giants in their field shared many of these moral assumptions while opening the way for new public service professionals: moralizing, scientific, and efficient. Hospitals greatly expanded and improved. Lister had discovered antiseptics in the Royal Infirmary earlier in the century, and the university medical school had provided inspiration to the infant Johns Hopkins University. By 1911, the city boasted nine major hospitals, with a superb medical school operating through the university. Overcrowded slum dwellings were controlled, regulated, and where possible, speedily demolished.[102] Immorality, poverty, and ignorance, with a staggering indifference to birth and death, flourished in the wretched wynds of the Bridgegate; wealth, comfort, a higher morality, and massively reduced mortality dominated the native Scot-born areas of the city. That inefficiency and burden on the city's budget made scientific reform the answer.[103] According to a leading housing reformer, Glasgow was "by a process less merciful than that of the guillotine, devouring her own children."[104] Practical health researches of Glasgow University professors served to reinforce their investigations: Cleanliness was next to godliness.[105]

Cleansing was another civic achievement. Under John Young, later the first manager of the municipal tramway, Glasgow even made a profit from its refuse. Professionalism was an antidote to the indifference of American city authorities. Glasgow's authorities would inculcate the right attitudes into their clients, who would absorb them from birth through home, school, and local neighborhoods.

Businessmen were also in the fore. In the tradition of the modern city, they seemed unafraid of new ideas: businessmen, often with American

connections, had invariably established charitable institutions and schools, their religion epitomizing an "endeavor for others."[106] John Mann, a leading chartered accountant, took a lively interest in a variety of improving causes, from Henry George's land tax scheme and imaginative private enterprise solutions to the housing problem, the reformed Gothenburg public houses, and cremation.[107] Councilor Samuel Chisholm, a prohibitionist and driving force for municipal housing reform, explained the Improvement Trust's humanitarian, efficient operations to the urban elite.[108] Glasgow, displaying the transnational exchange of ideas and remedies characterized of Progressives, seemed to have solved the tramp problem that so exercised Americans with labor colonies.[109] The civic authorities managed to inculcate a sense of duty, obligation, or work ethic into its hardest clients.[110] They had mastered urban drift. The wide-ranging investigations and discussions of the Glasgow Philosophical Society showed a city with a conscience, and city council deliberations and outcomes showed a similar awareness.

Women were also significant in drawing up the civic agenda. Elite women were more affluent, with fewer children, more servants, and time, and played prominent roles, although working-class women also were active. In Glasgow, they had a long history of social activism through the abolitionist movement, campaigning for Italian unification, woman's rights, education, and temperance and against prostitution. American women had found a ready response among their Glasgow sisters throughout the nineteenth century. From the 1830s, women were actively questioning in public the dominant forces in Scotland: the Established Church, the oppressive factory system, their educational opportunities, and marital condition.[111] Given the right to maintain their own property with marriage in 1882, Scottish women demanded the franchise for full equality. Active in peace, temperance, and ameliorating social movements, Scottish women were reexamining their condition and becoming more politically conscious and organized.[112] By the eve of World War I, many Scottish local councils backed woman's suffrage.

American activists who visited the city included Socialist feminist pioneer Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Prohibitionist Carrie Nation, militant Alice Paul, resident Catholic suffragist Mary Burns, Crystal Eastman, and other Americans, as well as Alice Henry, the New Zealander who worked in America.[113] Militant suffragists gave way to more feminist campaigners. On her visit, the American-based Voltairine de Cleyre was hosted by a local Glasgow anarchist. The American Rose Witcop and her partner, Guy Aldred, the campaigning socialist-anarchist, entertained Margaret Sanger first when she fled prosecution for her advocating birth control in New York and subsequently in 1920, when she addressed a large crowd on Glasgow Green.[114] They continued their support by republishing her book *Family Limitation* (1920) and by practical

financial support for birth control clinics until 1926.[115] However, they were perhaps a more vocal element than the majority of contemporaries.

These varied interests were united in several enterprises, and the Glasgow University settlement acted as a clearinghouse for these interests, as Robert Hamilton's chapter reveals.[116] Its members, similar to those at Hull House, shared their higher culture with the poorer newcomers, and in turn they tried to distil the best of their cultural inheritance.

At the same time, the masses were actively cultivating their own agendas in differing ways. Socialists were active in campaigning for safer foods, better housing, and improved wages and conditions. To them, municipalization was the thin edge of the wedge to a form of national compassionate society—a potentially convincing local test case for their ideals. Men from the laboring interest from 1898 slowly began to appear in the council chambers. Their weekly newspaper *Forward*, the Catholic Socialist Society of John Wheatley, and others broadened their appeal. Their activism attracted leading American socialists such as Daniel de Leon and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Keir Hardie and William Smillie visited the United States to encourage their American brethren.

Roman Catholics likewise sought to uplift their masses of faithful. A leading Liberal, convert friend of Belloc and Chesterton, Professor J. S. Phillimore, the first Catholic professor in the University of Glasgow since the Reformation, played a prominent role in promoting middle-class Catholic leadership. He founded the first Glasgow branch of the Catenian Association and established the Catholic discussion group. Many leading lights of the day, including Professor David Starr Jordan of Stanford, addressed that select body, whose membership included the one-time California resident and the father of Sir Denis W. Brogan. Catholic laymen were beginning to make their mark as improved education led to university and then to professional careers, often outside Scotland, and their aspiring womenfolk entered the teaching profession.

The religious orders of men and women played a vital part in that Catholic transformation. In 1887, the Marist Brother Walfrid (1840–1915), with several secular clergy and laymen, had been vital in forming Glasgow Celtic Football Club In short, diverse and somewhat contradictory notions coexisted within the city of Glasgow, and each visiting American enthusiast found lively endorsement of his or her convictions. Similar to Romanticism, these elements combined in a generalized campaign for uplift, but in the wake of World War I, with universal male and considerable women's suffrage and the rise of Labour, their conflicting aspirations became all too apparent.

The postwar depression and the decline of large areas of mining and other heavy industries sharpened class antagonisms, culminating in the General

Strike of 1926. That clash saw the end of the myth of Glasgow's happy harmonious community: James Dalrymple, the long-serving manager of the municipal transport department was forced out; the new assertive movement was no longer willing to be patronized and exploited; the collapse of the economic base of civic prosperity through the 1920s and into the Great Depression, with takeovers of many localized industries, further eroded traditional leadership. Confidence at every level was deeply eroded, and emigration was massively accelerated. More Scots were to be found in America during the 1920s than ever before, and thousands more sought opportunities south of the border or in other distant parts of the British Empire. The dream municipality had become a nightmare.

The well-publicized disorderly religious conflicts of the later 1930s may have been the dying embers of a Scottish form of Nativism, but they merely reinforced that negative image. The gangs who bedeviled the city, although hardly in the American gangster class, proved doubly destructive when documented in the novel *No Mean City*. Glasgow's ability to examine its social problems proved even more destructive of the city's image, as its housing was found to be appallingly subhuman. The city's extremely high infant mortality rate—the worst in Britain—also showed the hollow nature of the much-bruited municipal achievements, and its limitations were all too clear.

Churchmen such as Reverend John McLeod, his Iona community and urban initiatives, and the Catholic Back-to-the-Land experiment launched at Biggar suggested that the old order was irrevocably shaken. Militant and Communist activists scoffed at capitalism and hurled themselves into the Soviet fantasy: A new model was at hand. Charity, noblesse oblige, and local power were no longer enough—a national social democratic answer was needed. That reply came with the government and its welfare programs starting in 1945.

A national government began a wide-ranging welfare program to improve health, education, and welfare, but once again, things such as housing schemes were being done to people in their best interests. The local planner and bureaucrat, confined by national guidelines, knew best, and old communities, neighborhood networks, and loyalties were broken. The bureaucrats' lack of consultation in carrying ordinary people with them followed earlier patterns, and a later generation would have to reinvent itself, to rediscover its historic roots and its future potential in a new form.

The demise of shipbuilding, mining, the motor car industry, and steel making saw massive economic decline in the 1960s and 1970s. Glasgow, inspired by the Lord Provost Sir Michael Kelly, reinvented itself as the European City of Culture Its slogan, "Glasgow's Miles Better," proved irresistibly persuasive. In Thatcherite Britain, Glasgow's self-fulfillment took on a

new style: protest, self-expression, and renewed Scottish identity. Newcomers from England, the old imperial countries, and Europe arrived in large numbers, and mosques, Sikh temples, and other signs of increasing diversity appeared. A gay and lesbian scene followed. The city enjoyed a startling regeneration in art, literature, lifestyle, and self-confidence. Owner occupation massively escalated in a city where the municipality had owned more of the housing stock than even that seen in Communist East Europe. Glaswegians had never had it so good—on the whole—as a subclass of failing individuals fell through the education system, job market, and encouraging ambitions to better themselves. Cars became a norm in a city that previously had the lowest car-ownership rates of any Western European city. Restaurants, cafes, wine bars, clubs, theatres, and the universities also boomed as never before as the municipal services were largely privatized, including the buses, housing, and various services. Scotland had abandoned Calvinistic self-denial for hedonist self-fulfillment, with differing assessments of the gains and losses in the process. The city was now a city of subcommunities with varied lifestyles united in delight in the city. Glasgow had come a long way in a century: It was now a people's democracy in a real sense. The propertied, employed, and educated had options and choices for themselves and seemingly had it made: *Plus ca change, plus c'est la meme chose.*

Notes

1. Henry Jones, *Social Responsibilities: Lectures to Businessmen* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1905), 41.
2. James A. Mackay, *The Burns Federation, 1885–1985* (Kilmarnock: Burns Federation, 1985). The largest single group of foreign-born people in Scotland in 1921 and 1931 hailed from the United States; Census 1931, vol. 1, xxxvii.
3. See Table 10 in Walter Nugent, *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 46.
4. Michael Kammen, *American Culture, American Tastes, Social Change and the 20th Century* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 80. On liberalizing, moralizing notions, see Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom. Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003).
5. Bernard Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820–1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984).
6. Quoted by Arthur Herman, *The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World* (London: Fourth Estate, 2002), 327.
7. *British Artisan Expedition to America Equipped and Sent out by and at the Expense of the Proprietors of the Dundee Courier and Dundee Weekly News Newspapers* (Dundee: W. & D. C. Thompson, 1893), leather bound copy of reports in the Dundee papers, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library. Ironically,

they visited the model town of Pullman, which was soon to be the scene of major strife.

8. David Macrae, *American Revisited and Men I Have Met* (Glasgow: J. Smith & Sons, 1908), 121.

9. Quoted in J. Bruce Glasier, *William Morris and the Early Days of the Socialist Movement*; *Being Reminiscences of Morris' Work as a Propagandist, and Observations on his Character and Genius, with Some Accounts of the Persons and Circumstances of the Early Socialist Agitation, Together with a Series of Letters Addressed by Morris to the Author* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1921), 97.

10. Book of Revelation, chapter 17, verse 5. See the comparable views of American intellectuals in Morton White and Lucia White, *The Intellectual Versus The City, from Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), for example at 8–9, 22–23, 39, 46–47, 131. The city invariably destroys innocence, virtue, health, happiness and true (traditional) community.

11. Glasgow in 1801 had 77,385 inhabitants; 1831: 202,426; 1851: 329,097; 1881: 511,415; 1901: 761,709; and 1911: 1,040,806, incorporating the adjoining townships of Govan, Cathcart, Eastwood, and Rutherglen; A. K. Chalmers, *Census 1911: Report on Glasgow and its Municipal Wards* (Glasgow: Corporation of Glasgow, 1912), 11 and 14.

12. Ibid., 26–27, 31.

13. See Bernard Aspinwall, "Catholic Realities and Pastoral Strategies: Another Look at the Historiography of Scottish Catholicism, 1878–1920," *Innes Review* 59 (2008): 77–112.

14. On the background, see James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1896), enjoyed enormous influence at the time.

15. See Reverend D. Cameron's (1869–1929) correspondence with Dr. Marie Stopes in Richard Allen Soloway, *Birth Control and the Population Question in England, 1877–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 244–46. Cameron, the son of a minister, a graduate of St Andrews University, and latterly minister of Kilsyth, was assistant clerk of the General Assembly 1928. Hew Scott, ed., *Fastii Ecclesianae Scotticanae* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), 8: 481.

16. Quoting Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, *Occidentalism: A Short History of Anti-Westernism* (London: Atlantic Books, 2004), 30; see also Paul R. Gorman, *Left Intellectuals and Popular Culture in Twentieth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 34–52.

17. Joyce, *Rule of Freedom*.

18. *Scotsman*, November 2, 1898 and November 6, 1912, referring to the Citizens' Union, quoted in Paul Thompson, *Socialists, Liberals and Labour: The Struggle*

for London, 1885–1914 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), 189. Also see Harry McShane, *Harry McShane*: *No Mean Fighter* (London: Pluto Press, 1978).

19. W. E. Walling, *Socialism as It Is: A Survey of the World-Wide Revolutionary Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1915), 35, 51, and 163. His father had served as the American consul in Edinburgh. Also see William Kenefick, *"Rebellious and Contrary": The Glasgow Dockers, c. 1853–1932* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000); William Kenefick and A. McIvor, eds., *Roots of Red Clydeside, 1910–1914?: Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland* (Edinburgh: J. Donald, 1996) for tense relations; Ronald Johnston, *Clydeside Capital, 1870–1920: A Social History of Employers* (Edinburgh: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

20. W. E. Walling, *Socialism*, 36, 38, 50–51, 238–39, 284.

21. William Roughead, "Oscar Slater," *Famous Trials*, ed. Harry Hodge (London: Penguin Books, 1954), 1:51.

22. Dr. Reverend David Watson, b. Alva, educated Glasgow University, ordained 1886, the first minister of the new St. Clement's, where he remained until his resignation in 1938; president of the Scottish Christian Social Union, 1901–1938; married with five children, with a daughter a missionary in Calcutta and a son a minister in Kirkintilloch. He wrote widely on social problems, including *Social Advance, Its Meaning, Method, and Goal* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911); *The Social Expression of Christianity* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1919). His autobiography *Chords of Memory* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1936) is revealing.

23. See Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (reprint of the 1915 edition; London: H. Fertig, 1968). Membership of the group included French, Germans, and Jews in Glasgow. D. M. Stevenson and his activist artist brother attended his 1888 meeting (Glasier, *William Morris*, 28–34, 37–42, 61). Numerous Progressive thinkers shared these notions. Philip Boardman, *The World of Patrick Geddes: Biologist, Town Planner, Re-Educator, Peace-Warrior* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); Helen Elizabeth Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London: Routledge, 1990); Isobel Spencer, *Walter Crane* (New York: Macmillan, 1975).

24. William H. Wilson*, The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 75–95.

25. A comprehensive view is Ronald Johnston, *Clydeside Capital, 1870–1920: A Social History of Employers* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

26. John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979)

27. His close friend, J. Bruce Glasier, recounted Morris's first Glasgow visit; Roderick Marshall, *William Morris and His Earthly Paradises* (Tisbury, Wiltshire: Compton, 1979), 251; also Glasier, *William Morris*. Glasier also wrote the article on Glasgow for Reverend W. D. P. Bliss and R. M. Binder, eds., *The New*

Encyclopedia of Social Reforms (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1908), 548–50. Also see Fiona MacCarthy, *William Morris: A Life for Our Time* (New York: Knopf, 1995).

28. Paul Thompson*, The Work of William Morris* (reprint of the 1967 edition; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 264.

29. William Morris, "Gothic Architecture," *William Morris: Stories in Prose, Stories in Verse, Shorter Poems, Lectures and Essays*, ed. G. D. H. Cole (London: Nonesuch, 1948), 475–93. Morris gave this lecture to art students in Glasgow, February 1889. He also met Professor John Nichol, who wrote the first history of American literature; J. W. Mackail, *The Life of William Morris* (reprint of 1899 edition; New York: B. Blom, 1968), 2: 218–19.

30. Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction of the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs* (reprint of 1901 edition; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), 10–11.

31. Walter Crane, *The Claims of Decorative Art* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892), 16.

32. Andor Harvey Gomme and David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow* (London: Lund Humphries, 1968), is an excellent account.

33. See, for example, William English Walling, *The Larger Aspects of Socialism* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), and *Progressivism—and after* (New York: Macmillan, 1914).

34. Stewart J. Brown, *Thomas Chalmers and the Godly Commonwealth in Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877–1914: Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968); Paul T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880–1940* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Bernard Aspinwall, "Rerum Novarum in the Transatlantic World," in *Rerum Novarum: Ecriture, Contenu et Reception d'une Encyclique: Actes du Colloque International*, ed. Philippe Bountry (Rome: Ecole francaise de Rome, Palais Farnese, 1997), 465–95.

35. Reverend James Johnston*, Religious Destitution in Glasgow: To the Office-Bearers of the Presbyterian Churches of all Denominations in Our City: The Following Statistics are Specially and Respectfully Submitted* (Glasgow: David Bryce, 1870), and *The Rising Tide of Irreligion, Pauperism, Immorality, and Death in Glasgow, and How to Turn it: Facts and Suggestions* (Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1871). Also Edmond Kelly*, Evolution and Effort: and Their Relation to Religion and Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1895), 286.

36. Lord Shaftesbury Answering Samuel Morley MP, Question 122, Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *First Report of the Commission for Inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes: First Report*, vol. 1 (1885), Cmd. 4402*; Evidence*, vol. 2 (1885), Cmd. 4402. Glasgow had made strenuous efforts to tackle problems earlier. See *Report of the Glasgow Association for Establishing Lodging-Houses for the Working Classes* (Glasgow: W. G. Blackie, 1847); Raymond Calkins, *Substitutes*

for the Saloon (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1901), 280; James E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947), 149–153.

37. Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Glasgow, *Report of the Commission on the Housing of the Poor, in Relation to their Social Condition* (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1891).

38. Chalmers, *Census 1911*, 22. Liverpool had forty-five per acre; Dundee, thirty-five; Manchester, thirty-three; and Edinburgh, twenty-nine.

39. Ibid., 35–36.

40. *Evidence of Housing Commission*, Questions 12,444 and 12,533.

41. Chalmers, *Census 1911*, 19. Also Calkins, *Substitutes*, 296.

42. Henry Jones, *Social Responsibilities: Lectures to Business Men* (Glasgow: J. Maclehose and Sons, 1905), 50. Addresses to the Civic Society in 1905–06 included those by James Dalrymple, "The Tramways as a Municipal Asset," and James Baird, "The World One City," *Civic Society of Glasgow Syllabus, 1905–06* (Glasgow: Glasgow Civic Society, 1905).

43. *Glasgow School of Social Study and Training, Syllabus, 1914–15* (Glasgow: n.p., 1914), 6.

44. Thomas Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare, 1864–1914* (Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone, 1958), 96–106.

45. Glasgow Workmen's Dwelling Co., Shareholders Listing, Glasgow Workmen's Dwelling Company, Mann Judd Gordon, accountants, Glasgow. John Mann, the founder of the firm, was an original shareholder and accountant for the enterprise.

46. Quoted in Ferguson, *Scottish Social Welfare*, 69. Some may have seen them as a cordon *sanitaire* against the poor pushing outward from the city center.

47. Ibid., 104.

48. Eric H. Monkkonen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 209–15.

49. Patrick MacGill's authentic working-class contemporary novels, *Children of the Dead End; The Autobiography of a Navvy* (London: H. Jenkins, 1914); and *The Rat-Pit* (London: H. Jenkins, 1915) show serious failings among the floating poor.

50. See Brand Whitlock's series of articles on Glasgow in *Toledo Bee*, November 22 to December 14, 1912. Considerable documentation between 1912 and 1913 from the Brand Whitlock Papers, Library of Congress, is cited in Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 239, n. 205. Again, the old culture appeared reform-minded. Robert and William Reid, who founded and acted as vice presidents, respectively, of the Scottish Temperance League, were grandsons of the formidable evangelical polemicist William McGavin of the journal *The Protestant*, 1819–1822. W. Reid, *The Merchant Evangelist being a Memoir of William McGavin* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1884)

51. See Bernard Aspinwall, "Catholic Devotion in Victorian Scotland," in *New Perspectives on the Irish in Scotland*, ed. Martin Mitchell (Edinburgh: Birlin/John Donald, 2008).

52. Amid growing concern about religious and moral decline, formal membership of churches continued to rise from the late nineteenth century until World War I. A. B. Bruce, *Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Lapsing of Membership in Connection with Moving from the Countryside to the City, Read out at a Meeting of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow held on 8th January 1879 and Ordered to be Printed for the Members* (Glasgow: n.p., 1879?); a copy is held in the Research Annexe, Glasgow University Library; Donald Macleod, *Non-Church-going and Housing of the Poor: Speech Delivered in the General Assembly 30th May 1888* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1888); *Church of Scotland Yearbook, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1914*. The Report to the Committee on Statistics of the Church, General Assembly Proceedings, 1900, app. 2, gave Glasgow 80,015 communicants. By 1914, there were 89,556. Overall church membership grew 25 percent between 1873 (460,464) and 1893 (612,411 in 1893); and another 25 percent to 713,849 by 1912—over 15 percent, or 64 percent in thirty-nine years. The Free Church claimed 226,000 in 1873, 341,000 in 1893, and 407,626 in 1899—up more than 80 percent overall. United Presbyterians claimed 164,279 in 1873 and 188,706 in 1893. Then the Free and United Presbyterians, together as the United Free Church of Scotland, claimed 504,901 in 1912, or more than 77 percent for the combined total in thirty-nine years. The Scottish population grew from 3.36 million inhabitants to 4.76 million, or +41 percent, between 1871 and 1911. Estimates in *The Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1869, 1881 and 1914* suggest a growth from around 250,000 to 400,000 in 45 years. See footnote 98.

53. This paragraph draws on D. M. Stevenson, *Municipal Glasgow: Its Evolution and Enterprises* (reprint of 1914 edition; Glasgow: The Corporation, 1915), 2–7. On the background, see W. H. Fraser and Irene Maver, eds., *Glasgow*, vol. 2, *1830–1912* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

54. See the American experience in Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962)

55. See Mary Ryan, *Civic Wars: Democracy and Public Life in the American City during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Jon C. Teaford, *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870–1900* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), gives a more positive view of American city life.

56. F. C. Howe spent a summer studying the administration of Glasgow's tramway system. Numerous articles appeared on Glasgow's achievements in U.S. journals. American concerns can be found in Stephen Skrowronek*, Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), and Teaford, *Unheralded Triumph*, 123, 230.

57. See Michael A. Gordon, *The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993); Paul Krause,

The Battle for Homestead, 1880–1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992); Stanley Buder, *Pullman: An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); Arthur A. Ekirch, *Progressivism in America* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), among others for American interest in European urban models.

58. Henry George visited Scotland on at least two occasions. Paul edited *The Single Tax* journal in Glasgow amid fierce local conservative and radical opposition. It ran from 1894–1902, and then continued as *Land Values* from 1903 before moving to London in 1912. American Louis F. Post twice visited Glasgow and district. See Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 233, for fuller details. Arthur Power Dudden, *Joseph Fels and the Single Tax Movement* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1971), 141, 217, 247; E. P. Lawrence, *Henry George in the British Isles* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press Michigan, 1957). These ideas would mingle with those of Scottish crofters, Michael Davitt, Richard McGhee, MP, founder of the Scottish Land Restoration League, and working-class radicals. See Terrence McBride, *The Experience of Irish Migrants to Glasgow, 1863–1891: a New Way of Being Irish* (Lewiston, New York: Edward Mellen Press, 2007); Anna George de Mille, "Henry George: The English Land Reform Campaign," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 4 (1945): 395–405; Peter d'A. Jones, *Henry George and British Socialism*, 473–491; *For the People's Cause from the Writings of John Murdoch, Highland and Irish Land Reformer*, ed. James Hunter (Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1986); Henry Pelling, "The Knights of Labour in Britain, 1880–1901," *Economic History Review* 9 (1956): 313–31.

59. The background to this development is traced in Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

60. See Perilla Kinchin, Juliet Kinchin, and Neil Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988* (Bicester: White Cockade, 1988), 3.

61. Sir Samuel Chisholm (1836–1923), born in Dalkeith, was a merchant in Glasgow from 1870 on and was prominent in Kent Road United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow; the Foundry Boys religious body; temperance; and the city council as a civic improver; *Scotsman*, September 28 and October 17, 1923; *Who's Who in Glasgow*, 1909 (Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, 1909) 35–37. Born in Leith, Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson (1851–1944) settled in Glasgow around 1870. After serving on the council, successfully promoting Sunday openings of galleries and museums in 1898, he was Lord Provost from 1911 to 1914. A well-traveled humane Liberal activist, brother of the artist Macaulay Stevenson and of a Pennsylvania dynamite manufacturer and brother-in-law of a Hamburg Burgermeister, he was a major coal exporter who endowed Glasgow chairs and scholarships in German, Spanish, and French; the Stevenson Lectures in Citizenship (1921); and the Royal Institute of International Affairs; Stevenson's obituary, *Times and Glasgow Herald*, July 12 and July 15, 1944.

62. City of Glasgow Improvement Trust, *Photographs of Old Closes, Streets, etc., taken 1868–1877* (Glasgow: City of Glasgow Improvement Trust, 1877), in which Thomas Annan shows the appalling living conditions. Anita Ventura Mozley produced a new edition (New York: Dover Publications,1977).

63. See David M. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism: John Bull, Johnny Reb and the Good Templars* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996). The Glasgow membership included Reverend George Gladstone, Keir Hardie, and Willie Gallacher. For details of similar Catholic organizations, see *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1890–1914. Renwick Church, Southside, Glasgow manuscripts, Foundry Boys' Minutes, 1885–1895, TD396/37, Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

64. For a different perspective, see Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991), 7, 25. Middle-class families in Glasgow often had several live-in servants. Some semidetached houses in Newlands had accommodation for four resident servants, and even modest terraced homes there had built-in space for at least one.

65. See Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967)*; Robert H. Wiebe, Businessmen and Reform: A Study of the Progressive Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962). However, industrial, social, and racial strife simmered below the surface. See Bernard Aspinwall, "Glasgow Trams and American Politics, 1894–1914," *Scottish Historical Review* 56 (1977): 64–84; Joseph Melling, *Rent Strikes: People's Struggles for Housing in the West of Scotland, 1890–1916* (Edinburgh: Polygon Press,1983); Ian Mclean, *The Legend of Red Clydeside* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1983); Kenefick, "Glasgow Dockers"; Kenefick and McIvor, *Roots of Red Clydeside*; B. Pribicevic, *The Shop Stewards' Movement and Workers' Control, 1910–1922* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), which brought Daniel de Leon to Scotland. Similar tensions persisted between Orange and Green Irish elements in and around the city. Elaine W. McFarland, *Protestants First: Orangeism in Nineteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); W. S. Marshall, *"The Billy Boy": A Concise History of Orangeism in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat Press 1996); T. M. Devine, ed., *Scotland's Shame? Bigotry and Sectarianism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2000).

66. Henry Demarest Lloyd quoted in Caro Lloyd, *Henry Demarest Lloyd* (New York: Putnam, 1912), 2: 74–75.

67. A. Shaw, *Municipal Government in Great Britain* (New York: Century, 1895); A. Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe* (New York: Macmillan, 1895). Delos S. Wilcox, *The Study of City Government: An Outline of the Problems of Municipal Functions, Control and Organisation* (New York: Macmillan, 1897), is only one of numerous investigative volumes concerned with city government.

68. Aspinwall, "Glasgow Trams"; *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vols. 7, 9, 11. Although Wilson visited Glasgow in 1896 and 1899, he only showed interest

in its municipal achievements during his political campaigns in 1909, 1911, and 1912.

69. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*; Anthony Sutcliffe, ed., *Toward the Planned City: Germany Britain, the United States and France, 1780–1914* (London: Blackwell, 1981); Arthur A. Ekirch, *Progressivism in America* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), among others for American interest in European urban models.

70. Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978); Geoffrey Blodgett, *Gentle Reformers: Massachusetts Democrats in the Cleveland Era* (Cambridge, MA: 1966), 12.

71. Kellett, *Impact of Railways*, 208–43; Ian G. C. Hutchison, "Glasgow Working Class Politics," in *The Working Class in Glasgow, 1750–1914*, ed. R. A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 98–141. See the classic American account, John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1955).

72. For another perspective, see E. R. L. Gould, *The Housing of the Working People, 8th Special Report U.S. Commissioner of Labor*, 53rd Congress, 3rd Session, House Executive Document 354; R. W. DeForest and L. Veiller, eds., *The Tenement House Problem* (New York: Macmillan, 1903). Gould established the New York Workmen's Dwelling Company after his return from Glasgow, and the New York Tenement House Reform Exhibition included descriptions of the Glasgow Workmen's Dwelling Company's properties; Robert Hunter, *Tenement Conditions in Chicago: Report of an Investigating Committee of the City Homes Association* (reprint of 1901 edition; New York: Garrett Press, 1970); Ray Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890 to 1917* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962)

73. Compare the Saltmarket area with similar U.S. problems in Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

74. Haley, *Healthy Body*; Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organised Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880–1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

75. Census 1871, vol. 2, xxxiv. Irish were 14.3 percent of the Glasgow population; Greenock, 16.5 percent; Lanarkshire, 13.2 percent; Renfrew, 14.4 percent; Dumbarton, 10.4 percent; and Paisley, 9.7 percent. By 1901, they numbered only 8.8 percent in Glasgow, but in surrounding areas they were: Govan, 11.5 percent; Partick, 12 percent; Coatbridge, 15; Hamilton, 11.1 percent; and Greenock, 11 percent. Census 1901, vol. 2, xxviii. Their poverty made them more likely to be among the 78 percent who lived in one or two rooms, of whom 71.4 percent had lodgers. In 1867, 46 percent Irish males and 61.7 percent Irish females only signed their marriage lines with a mark. Census, xix, xxxiv, xxvii, xliii.

76. Darrel M. Robertson, *The Chicago Revival, 1876: Society and Revivalism in a Nineteenth Century City* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1989), 142–59.

77. See Margaret Fuller's earlier impressions of Glasgow poverty and drunkenness quoted in Christopher Mulvey, *Transatlantic Manners: Social Patterns in Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Travel Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 181.

78. Mike Hawkins, *Social Darwinism in European and American Thought, 1860–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1979); G. R. Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain, 1900–1914* (Lyden: Nordhoff, 1976); Stewart J. Brown, "'Outside the Covenant': The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish Immigration," *Innes Review* 42 (1991): 19–45; Richard J. Finlay, "Nationalism, Race and the Irish Question in Inter-war Scotland," *Innes Review* 42 (1991): 46–67.

79. See Elaine W. MacFarland, "'A Reality and Yet Impalpable': The Fenian Panic in Mid-Victorian Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 77 (1998): 199–23.

80. Ibid., 21. Emigrants went to America in far greater numbers.

81. Graeme Morton, "Civil Society, Municipal Government and the State: Establishment, Empowerment and Legitimacy: Scotland, 1800–1929," *Urban History* 25 (1998): 348–67.

82. David J. Rothman, *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in the Progressive Era* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

83. James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

84. Visitors included Nathaniel Paul; James McCune Smith, a Glasgow graduate; Frederick Douglass; *Glasgow Argus*, January 22, 1846; Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Wells Brown, the Crafts, and numerous former slaves and Sarah Remond, *Scotsman*, July 5, 1861; *Anti-Slavery Standard*, November 1, 1860. The most readily accessible evidence of these varied connections is in Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); University of Detroit, Mercy Black Abolitionist Archive, http://www.dalnet.lib.mi.us/gsdl/cgi-bin/library; Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery Resistance and Abolition, http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive; Samuel J. May Anti-Slavery Collection, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, http://dlxs.library.cornell.edu/m/may/antislavery, where numerous citations of Glasgow publications, visits by abolitionists, and cooperation can be found.

85. Cf. David Ward, *Poverty, Ethnicity and the American City, 1840–1925: Changing Conceptions of the Slum and the Ghetto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

86. Report of the Commission of the Presbytery of Glasgow on the Housing of the Poor in Relation to Their Social Condition; William Smart, *Report on the Housing of the London Poor* (Glasgow: Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Glasgow, 1891). Copy in Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

87. For example, *The Church of Scotland Yearbook* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1914), 9, lists ten ministers and workers in U.S. cities.

88. Ward, *Poverty*, 95.

89. See Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 143–59.

90. Comparable American concerns appear in, among many others, Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Boyer, *Urban Masses*.

91. *Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland)*, Cmd. 1507, 1508 (1903).

92. Soloway, *Demography and Deterioration*, 182, 198, 361.

93. Terri Colpi, *The Italian Factor: The Italian Community in Great Britain* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1991); Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island. Immigration and British Society, 1871–1971* (London: Macmillan, 1988); Bernard Gainer, *Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act, 1905* (London: Heinemann, 1972); Arnold White, *The Problems of a Great City* (London: Remington, 1887); Arnold White, *Efficiency and Empire* (reprint of 1901 edition; Brighton: Harvester, 1973).

94. Census 1931, *Report on the 14th Decennial Census of Scotland*, vol. 2 (1933), xxxiv. The numbers went up from 56,032 in 1861 to 194,276 in 1921, or slightly less than 4 percent of the total population.

95. Ibid., xl. The Lanarkshire figure including Glasgow showed a drop of 22.3 percent.

96. Ibid., xxxv.

97. Some indication of that development is strikingly illustrated in the Glasgow archdiocese: in 1881, 9,130 baptisms, 2,415 confirmations, 1,402 marriages, and 21,306 children in Catholic schools; in 1914, there were 14,750 baptisms, 4,296 confirmations, 2,746 marriages, and 69,894 children in Catholic schools. By 1914, there were an estimated 400,000 Catholics, served by 294 priests and some 70,499 children in the Glasgow area Catholic schools. A goodly number were Lithuanian, Polish English, and Belgian refugees, *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1881 and 1914.

98. Report of the Church and Nation Committee on Overtures re Irish Immigration and Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, General Assembly, Church of Scotland, 1923 (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1923), 750.

99. Ibid., 762. The church, the nation, morals, and imperial destiny were one and the same. Cf. Robert A. Woods, ed., *The City Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898).

100. Robert Hamilton, "A Hidden Heritage: The Social Settlement House Movement 1884–1910," *Journal of Community Work and Development* 2 (Autumn, 2001): 9–22; Robert Hamilton and Jean Macleay, *Glasgow University Settlement: A Centennial History* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1998).

101. City of Glasgow Improvement Trust, *Photographs of Old Closes.*

102. See the following by J. B. Russell, *The Children of the City: What Can We Do For Them?* (Edinburgh: MacNiven and Wallace, 1886); "On the 'Ticketed Houses' of Glasgow," *PPSG*, 20 (1888–1889): 1–24; "Sanitation and Social Economics:

An Object Lesson," *PPSG* 21 (1889–1890): 1–21; "Physical Conditions of the Glasgow Poor," newspaper clipping, 1888, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

103. J. B. Russell, "Sanitation and Social Economics," *PPSG* 21 (1888–1898): 3–7; John Honeyman, "Sanitary and Social Problems," *PPSG* 20 (1888–1889): 25–39. A quarter of all births in the Bridgegate and the Wynds were illegitimate; 18.5 percent of all deaths were not registered, whereas about a sixth of their population died without any medical attention. Over half of all their houses were "ticketed" as overcrowded.

104. Samuel Chisholm, "The History of the Operations of the Glasgow City improvement Trust," *PPSG* 27 (1895–1896): 39–56.

105. For example, John Glaister, "Epidemic History of Glasgow during the Century, 1783–1883," *PPSG* 17 (1885–1886): 259–92.

106. "Memoir of the Late Sir Michael Connal," *PPSG* 24 (1892–1893): 211–19; John C. Gibson, *Diary of Sir Michael Connal, 1835 to 1893* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1895).

107. John Mann, "Better Houses for the Poor: Will They Pay?' *PPSG* 30 (1898–1899): 83–124; "Reformed Public Houses: Notes upon the Scandinavian Licensing System and the Bishop of Chester's Recent Proposals," *PPSG* 24 (1892–1893): 7–28. Academics and others were concerned with Henry George's notions. See, for example, William Smart, "The Theory of Taxation," *PPSG* 31 (1899–1900): 16–37.

108. Chisholm, "Glasgow City Improvement Trust," 39–56.

109. Professor Patrick Wright, "The Colony System," *PPSG* 26 (1894–1895): 57–72; Paul T. Ringenbach, *Tramps and Reformers: The Discovery of Unemployment in New York* (London: 1973). See the following by Josiah Flynt, *Tramping with Tramps* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900); *The Little Brother: A Story of Tramp Life* (New York: Century, 1902); and *My Life* (London: Outing, 1908). For labor colonies, see Chapter 6, 163–64.

110. Professor P. R. Wright, "The Colony System," *PPSG* 26 (1894–1895): 57–72.

111. Elspeth King, *The Hidden History of Glasgow's Women* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1993), 63–120; Esther Breitenbach and Eleanor Gordon, eds., *Out of Bounds: Women in Scottish Society, 1800–1945* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989).

112. For example, Alice Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage and other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman* (London: Redway, 1897).

113. Diane Kirby, *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice: The Life of an Australian-American Reformer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

114. Guy Aldred, *No Traitor's Gait: The Autobiography of Guy Aldred* (Glasgow: Strickland Press, 1955–1963); Margaret Sanger, *Autobiography* (reprint of 1938 edition; New York: Dover, 1971); King, *Hidden History*, 144–45.

115. Soloway, *Birth Control*, 230, 301.

116. For example, William Smart, *Toynbee Hall: A Short Account of the Universities' Work in East London and Suggestions for a Similar Work in Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1886). Professor J. R. Ely had acted as a referee.

117. Willie Maley, *The Story of the Celtic* (reprint of 1939 edition; Westcliff-on-Sea: Desert Island Books, 1996), 2–9; Brian Wilson, *Celtic: A Century of Honour* (London: Harper Collins Willow, 1988), 1–19. Only later did the Liberal government legislate for the feeding and physical inspection of school children. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration*, 42–49.

118. McShane, *McShane*, 5, 13, 18, 27, and 53, where he met Daniel de Leon.

CHAPTER 4

Democracy and Drink

Bernard Aspinwall

I n October 1928, the prohibitionist Scottish Labour MP Rev James Barr, told the House of Commons:

> I believe in the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. But while I stand for the socialisation of public utilities, I am opposed to the socialisation of public perils and the socialisation of public iniquities. I say this no matter how perfect the social commonwealth or the social system that you put up, if you leave this dark river of death flowing through the land, it will corrupt the best social state that ever entered into the dreams of man. It will poison its communal life at its source: it will besmirch our noblest ideals; it will turn our rising sun into darkness, and it will eclipse for us our new millennial dawn. But with the liquor traffic removed, we shall raise a new generation ready to step in and possess the promised land- children of the new day, with the light of knowledge in their eyes, a virtuous populace that will rise awhile and stand guardian of our new social commonwealth, keeping it pure and unsullied and handing it down ennobled and enhanced to those who shall come after us.[1]

In that statement, Barr captured the utopian vision of transatlantic temperance reformers from the early nineteenth century onward. Even at that stage, when the American prohibitionist experiment was in disarray, those convictions had been sufficient for the independent prohibitionist candidate Edwin Scrimygeour to defeat Winston Churchill at Dundee in the 1922 general election.[2] The popular strength of traditional Scottish utopian temperance vision remained alive and well until World War II. Barr had moved from a radical Liberal position to a wholehearted socialist stance, and his views

now suggested a revolution within Scotland—within the temperance move-
ment. In rejecting a dependency culture and preferring a state-driven aspira-
tional morality, Barr reflected emerging class and ethnic tensions in Scottish
society. Many confident Scottish cultural productions including temperance
were exported to England and beyond in the early nineteenth century; in the
absence of a Scottish state, they expressed the antipathy of Scottish urban
workers and middle classes united against aristocratic dominance.[3] Tem-
perance provided a means of becoming reliable and stable, if not upwardly
mobile, prosperous characters. Zeal against every form of slavery, whether of
sin and vice, custom, feudalism, Popery, chattel slavery, or drink, naturally
found a ready response in Scotland, particularly in the west. Underpinned by
theology, radical notions were welcome. Antiestablishment, antislavery, anti–
Corn Law, and temperance Scots envisioned a world renewed.[4] Not surpris-
ingly, Garrisonian abolitionists enjoyed considerable popular support.[5] The
influential Scottish phrenologist George Combe saw drink as the cause of
pauperism, crime, and ignorance: Its evil was a major barrier to his essentially
democratic message.[6] Scottish Catholics initially were enthusiastic support-
ers. There were flourishing Catholic temperance societies in Edinburgh and
Glasgow from the late 1830s, but their brethren were frequently publicans
and pawnbrokers serving their poor coreligionists in the few areas where they
might advance themselves, so the religious–ethnic element had full play. The
future sober Protestant democracy would be secured by uplifting adults and
educating children through Bands of Hope, and Sunday and day schools.[7]
With the end of American slavery, that drive might concentrate on drink.

Churches turned to more socially relevant roles as their laity became more
educated and active reformers. To a degree, they were compensating for a
leakage of the faithful and the erosion of Christian certainties through higher
criticism of the Bible, as the nation pursued more diverse, sober pursuits.
Temperance was a safe, respectable staging post on the road to a new eccle-
siastical and social order: Prohibitionists were simply moralists who meant
business.[8] By the early twentieth century, a steadily declining industrial base,
rural depopulation, and continuing emigration were eroding self-confidence.
The kailyard school of literature and its lament for the passing of old Scot-
land was indicative of this erosion.[9] The growing intensity of the antidrink
drive matched the rapidity of urban industrial change, and in the process,
collectivist guilt displaced individual guilt: all had failed in their collective
responsibilities to the community.

From the 1880s on, social romanticism and the predominantly Christian
concern for the less fortunate had gradually been stripped of its utopian illu-
sions by industrial strife, raw class-conscious conflict, world wars, and the
fear of atheistic socialism. The theoretical bridge building of Henry George,

as I have suggested elsewhere, was a similar staging post en route to class-conscious politics, and an alliance of town and country against "privilege" was a precursor to full-blown socialism.[10] An alliance of socialism with a suspect ethnic underclass—the Irish and other aliens—confirmed old stereotypes. The genteel angst of the drawing room and chapel was shaken by brutal economic realities. Transatlantic Progressivism was a house of many mansions, but its surface harmony soon shattered over particular issues.[11] Politically, Scotland was moving from Liberalism to a confrontation between the Conservative and Unionist and the Labour parties, and Christian social reform and Christian Socialism were not necessarily the same.[12] Temperance eventually was to be one of the casualties of this conflict.

In the early nineteenth century, the Scottish temperance movement had reflected the dominant moralistic enterprise of the self-improving spirit of the self-made man: the rejection of drink, slavery, subjection of women, and Popery were of a piece. The militant Edinburgh Protestant philanthropist John Hope wanted to inculcate children with an aversion for "the Mass House as the public house and Popery as alcohol."[13] In Paisley, William Lloyd Garrison never encountered so many intelligent sagacious and right-thinking workingmen anywhere in his career.[14] Abolitionists and former slaves were as likely to address Scottish audiences on temperance as on slavery.[15] In 1852, Glasgow united Abstainers sold handiwork by New York African-American women at their temperance bazaar.[16] By endorsing these radical concerns, working men and women were broadening their horizons, their sense of human rights, and international solidarity as a prelude to a Labour party: They made connections between slavery of all kinds, and the end of war and the beginning of international peace would bring forth the ideal society.[17] The onset of the temperance movement coincided with rapid industrial expansion and a massive increase in the consumption of arduous spirits especially whisky: Drink, criminality, and reduced productivity went hand in hand.[18] Drunken, disorderly, displaced workers needed stability and order in their lives. The elite queried the possibility of a new (Owenite) moral world, whereas workers often saw temperance as a part of that forward struggle. Production was for use and survival, and dissipation, decoration, and wasteful consumption were evil.

Scottish revivalism in the nineteenth century inculcated a sense of guilt, personal sin, and social responsibility. A pioneer industrial nation undergoing massive social, political, and economic change had to rediscover its religious roots, and Scottish revivalism lived with permanent crisis. The challenge of new faiths, Catholicism, Mormonism, and indifference urged on enthusiastic ministers. Nationalism in Scotland, unlike other European countries, was insignificant but found expression in a keen religious faith and in a

transatlantic cultural identity.[19] In particular, the Free Church—more demo-cratic, evangelical, and radical—became the major temperance church. The native movement was greatly aided by numerous American preachers includ-ing Reverends E. N. Kirk, Charles Grandison Finney, Theodore Cuyler, and Lorenzo Dow, as well as several lengthy missions by Moody and Sankey, women like Frances Willard, Mother Stewart, and others.[20] In time, greater emphasis would be given to environmental factors: social salvation would fol-low through legislative enactments on temperance, and ultimately prohibi-tion.[21] Drink, similar to slavery and Popery, was an easily visible target: With the abolition of slavery, whisky and Romanism remained. The revivalists' aim was to capture public space for decency.

Young aspiring characters, as Brian Harrison argued, learned through temperance organizations the self-disciplines for upward mobility in an achievement-oriented urban order.[22] Their leadership was drawn from new entrepreneurial elements who inculcated those disciplines that had aided their social advance in the burgeoning free market. If Henry James found Glasgow "blackened beyond redemption from any such light of the pictur-esque as can hope to irradiate fog or grime," his fellow American littérateur Bret Harte, the American consul, saw little gaiety or joy in the city, "but a stern stupid respect for the art of business as if they were intoxicated by a sense of duty."[23]

Many Catholics showed a similar earnest religious commitment to tem-perance. Exiles endorsed the thought that an Ireland sober would be an Ire-land free. From the pioneering efforts of Reverend Father Enraght in the 1830s to the immensely successful visit of Father Mathew in 1842, and through the zealous campaigns of exemplary clergy particularly Irish clergy such as Reverend Bernard Tracy, Scottish Catholics backed voluntary per-sonal efforts.[24] Cardinal Manning's address to Scottish temperance forces at Greenock in 1872 and to Catholics on his later visits, as well as Archbishop Eyre's (1868–1902) demand that the League of the Cross be established in every parish of his archdiocese showed that respectable Catholics shared an antipathy to drink. Glasgow Celtic Football Club founded to raise funds for poor Catholic children initially had a strong temperance element, although entrepreneurial wet directors soon prevailed.[25] Scottish Catholics of Irish descent were challenging the dominant Protestant capitalist ethos, asserting "Irishness" and serving their own community.[26]

Insofar as Catholics espoused that virtue, they might be more readily accepted. In short, similar to their fellow citizens, they had become produc-tive individuals within a thriving capitalist economy of the Second City of the British Empire. Their movement included a provincial dissenting ele-ment, restless in the face of metropolitan and aristocratic dominance. Their

American counterparts shared a similar profile: they were increasingly drawn from the Midwest, more rural areas, and similar ethnic backgrounds. From the 1880s on, their hostility to the dominance of the alien metropolitan centers of Boston, Chicago, and New York, which were allegedly controlled by Jews and Irish incomers, was clear.[27] In Boston, the Glasgow Free Church Professor Henry Drummond saw Yankees preoccupied with business foolishly leaving municipal government to corrupt Irish politicians. Christians, he urged, must rebuild the Kingdom. [28] Scottish urban industrial experience drove some influential leaders toward a more regulated economic life and, as economic decline set in, ultimately to socialism. Americans similarly may have looked increasingly to the state and federal government to assert their moral hegemony, but they were not likely to become socialists. Booming prosperity, a rising standard of living, and confidence in their leadership gave American prohibitionists a different take on the future. However, the Great Crash would erode those moral certainties of economic thought.

The transatlantic alliance against the demon drink had begun as a moral campaign. Its aim was to save individual souls—to regenerate them and inculcate a sense of respectability within society. Beecher and the American Temperance Society had spread the ideal throughout the United States and through the Ulster minister Reverend John Edgar and others to Great Britain. The prosperous entrepreneur John Dunlop had begun to mobilize the west of Scotland against drink with some success from about 1828 on. Introduced into Gourock and Glasgow in 1829, the American scheme quickly took root in the prepared soil of Glasgow, Motherwell, Greenock, Edinburgh, and elsewhere.[29] The liberal minister Reverend Dr. Ralph Wardlaw, William Collins, John Dunlop, and self-made entrepreneur Robert Kettle were all prominent in the early days. Wardlaw, through Reverend Leonard Woods of Andover, closely followed American developments.[30] Encouraged by the 1834 lecture tour of James Silk Buckingham, M.P., and others, the movement grew. Amid the uproar of Catholic Emancipation (1829), parliamentary reform (1832), and the British abolition of slavery (1833), temperance was a precondition to the moral and religious renewal of Scotland.[31]

Persuasive arguments against drink on grounds of health, social peace, and economic productivity soon appeared to widen the base of the movement's appeal.[32] On March 8, 1830, the publisher and later Lord Provost of Glasgow William Collins addressed the inaugural meeting of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Society.[33] Active supporters included Thomas Service of Saltcoats (1807–1880), wealthy Glasgow muslin and railway entrepreneur James Allan of the Allan shipping line and his four brothers, Robert Smith of the City Line, and Robert Simpson and William Melvin, prosperous Glasgow drapers. Their new wealth and self-made provincial background were

indicative. These leading lights were to remain significant players through the next forty years. The American businessman Edward C. Delavan early on campaigned in Glasgow against drink and contributed to *The Temperance Record*. Drawn from the traditional radical milieu of Victorian shopocracy and previously settled in Britain, in Birmingham, for seven years, Delavan came to mobilize the masses at public meetings.[34] He was the first of many American campaigners. American temperance literature was imported or reprinted in vast quantities: thousands of copies of Lyman Beecher's Six Sermons on Intemperance and Theodore Dwight and J. Kittredge's speeches were distributed.[35] After 1815, the connections between social improvement, education, and international understanding were well understood among the Glasgow and transatlantic elite. Visits by American temperance leaders followed: Reverend Dr. Herman Humphrey, president of Amherst College; Reverend Robert Baird; Reverend E. N. Kirk, Boston; Reverend George Cheever, Salem; Reverend Dr. Potter; Reverend Nathaniel Berman; Reverend Henry C. Wright; Reverend James Buffum, William Lloyd Garrison's coworker; and Mrs. Sigourney, the literary and educator, also added their voices to the cause. John B. Gough and the militant prohibitionist Neal Dow made several tours. In Paisley, Garrison said he had never encountered such intelligent, informed workingmen and women as those at his meetings in the west of Scotland.[36] Social control was hardly the point at issue with educated workers: their concern was humanity.

Most significant in the West of Scotland context was the arrival of former slaves to campaign against the slavery of drink. On his return to America, the renowned James McCune Smith, possibly the first black Glasgow graduate, minister and doctor, campaigned against slavery and drink.[37] Attending the World's Evangelical Convention in 1846, Frederick Douglass came to attack the evils of drink rather than slavery. Other African Americans followed, including the original Uncle Tom, Mr. Henson, William Wells Brown, Mr. and Mrs. William Crafts, Henry "Box" Brown, Reverend Dr. Pennington, and a Mr. Anderson. After Emancipation, Glasgow and the West of Scotland warmly supported the Freedman's Aid Society with considerable donations and public meetings.[38] The Fisk Jubilee Singers later toured Scotland to raise funds for their university and for temperance, giving public and private salon concerts with immense success. If the formerly enslaved were redeemed, bound for higher culture and heaven, why not the slaves of drink?[39]

The West of Scotland predictably was prominent in the temperance campaign. The West of Scotland Temperance Union (1839) claimed in its first annual report almost 62,000 members, with forty-two ministers and sixteen doctors who were further assisted by sixty-nine coffee houses.[40] Its inaugural meeting had been presided over by John Dunlop, prominent philanthropist

and education apostle assisted by George Thompson, the renowned antislavery advocate. That meeting significantly also strongly opposed opium and the Opium War, a basis for pacifist activism. Thompson again addressed the annual meeting the following year.[41] It also sought to infiltrate future generations through the affiliated University of Glasgow students' association. The organization continued to attract leading lights of the day to its annual meetings and lecture programs, such as Reverend Newman Hall and others.[42]

Edwin Chadwick's *The Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* (1842) showed the extent of the problem. [43] In Stevenston, Ayrshire, there were thirty-three alcohol outlets for a population of 3681; on average, every family spent £5 a year, then a considerable sum, on drunken revelry. Even more striking than the resulting deteriorating health and high death rates from such persistent indulgence was the fact that Glasgow employers preferred Irish workers because they were far less likely to succumb to drunkenness than Protestant Scots. The nation had to be made virtuous for its historic providential role. In time, the inability to win the hearts and minds of the drinking classes led to demands for legal controls. Their failure to control effectively the mores of the complex urban world meant that the newly empowered right-thinking men moved from moral suasion to legal enforcement. Moral concern with the immediacy of divine judgment slowly gave way to preoccupations for the future of the ethos, race, democracy itself, and the future here on earth.[44] Reinforced by the hard evidence of William Logan's *The Moral Statistics of Glasgow* (1849), the increasingly enfranchised, property-owning religious elements organized themselves for the triumph of righteous behavior through legislation.[45] In that they paralleled the larger shifts in British society, liberal Protestants knew what was best for the lower social, ethnic, and racial orders.[46] Temperance exhibited their moral superiority and respectability, and virtue brought economic rewards. The beneficiaries of economic growth through work, investment, and savings, the temperate saw the advantage of restricting alcohol consumption clearly—the protection of family and property from crime, violence, and vice brought immense social benefits. Open to development and change, they retained their superior mores, and in effect, they gerrymandered the future culture.

The changing pattern of consumption coincided with a purer Glasgow municipal water supply from Loch Katrine, improved real wages, improved housing, a gradual increase in leisure time, railway expansion and easier travel. Excessive expenditure on drink, it was apparent, brought not merely poverty but pauperism: as Glasgow city councillor and former Chartist James Moir, observed, "The very class of people that cannot afford to drink whisky at all, drink most. People that have no shoes upon their feet, no stockings upon

their legs, and very few clothes upon their backs, are much more frequently in the dram shops than those that are well-clothed and comfortably provided for."[47] By the later nineteenth century, the Labour movement and the civic authorities were at one in their desire to reduce and control, if not eliminate, the drink traffic: The reduction of licenses, local option, and civic uplift went hand in hand.[48] In Scotland, the partial success of the Forbes-Mackenzie Act (1853) and its perceived shortcomings led to increased militancy among activists.[49] Sabbath closing was but the beginning. Not surprisingly, the United Kingdom Alliance found leadership from militant Scots-born figures such as J. Dawson Burn and Reverend William McKerrow, as well as committed Scottish ministers—the previous year, Scottish militants had preceded them in demanding Prohibition.[50] James Silk Buckingham, the Temperance League president, was demanding a British Prohibition law,[51] and already the Glasgow Total Abstainers' Union (1851) was up and running: its inaugural general meeting was addressed by Reverend Amos Dresser, from Oberlin, Ohio, on "War, Slavery and Intemperance" in Reverend Ralph Wardlaw's chapel.[52] The union's pioneering vice president, James Mitchell (1897–1862), lectured throughout Scotland for over 20 years and then later moved on to the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance. Robert Kettle, cotton entrepreneur, temperance newspaper editor and savings bank promoter, had long endorsed prohibition and rejoiced in the Maine Law.[53] As in the British antislavery campaign, newspapers, pamphlets, songs, and literature were used to capture the popular culture and imagination. In October 1857, the Scottish Prohibition Society was founded in Glasgow.[54] Exactly one year later, the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association began.[55] Empowering local leadership, personal networks of civic, church, and business, the association sought to secure dry districts through local ward campaigns and had marked similarities to American county, state, and national prohibition drives. The moral regeneration of the world was at hand. Ministers began to eliminate potential abuses within their own ranks. Reverend Willam Arnot attacked the Protestant custom of the postordination drink.[56] To reinforce that objective, the Scottish Temperance League (1859) was later established. Its leadership included Robert Smith, a veteran merchant figure, as president and influential ministers Reverend James Arnot, Reverend James Brown, Dalkeith, militant Protestant activist Reverend Robert Gault, and William Logan, the antiprostitution crusader, as honorary directors. The league recruited some 7,600 members, affiliated 390 temperance associations, and had ten traveling agents throughout the country.[57] The Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance League bolstered the cause with its regular local campaigns.[58] To some extent, in the aftermath of the Chartist failure for harmonious class encounters, class conflict or class bigotry was overcome. Temperance Chartists continued in

a campaign with seeming greater prospects of success.[59] Robert Lowery and Henry Vincent were but two of numerous Chartists who became warm supporters.[60] The annual membership lists in the Scottish Temperance League Yearbook would confirm that impression.[61] A one-time Chartist, Robert Mackay, was subsequently editor of *The Social Reformer* and later *The Scottish Reformer* for over forty years. Well traveled in America, he was convinced that drink alone prevented Scotland's national fulfillment.[62] Temperance was an alternative means of uplift. Poverty may not have been caused by drink but by lack of a disciplined temperament, and whatever inculcated the right values would alleviate poverty.[63]

The example of American health reform was persuasive. The influence of Sylvester Graham (1794–1851) in promoting healthy diets, vegetarianism, and temperance was important. Dr. Thomas and Mary Gove Nichols, converts to Catholicism and spiritualism, brought their version of moral eating and health to Glasgow, where they settled during the American Civil War. Americans James Coates, the spiritualist, and Anna Soule, the Universalist missionary, both settled in Glasgow and played leading parts in promoting the Scottish Food Reform Society (1879). Robert Reid, a leading temperance figure, returned from America to manage a food reform restaurant.[64]

The hydropathic movement soon followed. The temperance Congregational minister Reverend Alexander Munro, MD, established a hydro at Forres, and with Dr. Archibald Hunter, he helped establish another in Glasgow. Others followed in Crieff, Bridge of Allan, Skelmorlie, Saltcoats, and elsewhere. At Rothesay, the American Andrew Philp, a friend of Thomas Cook, the temperance advocate and travel agent, developed the existing hydro and then opened others in Edinburgh, Dunblane, and Glasgow. John Fraser, a former Chartist, returned from exile in the United States a confirmed teetotaler and vegetarian. The regenerated individual would transform society.[65] Elites saw that they had to make their new masters both sober and educated.

By the midnineteenth century, however, that notion was being turned on its head. Moral regeneration increasingly was superseded by social regeneration as a means of saving the individual. Moral concern was drawn into wider social vision: a seemingly conservative message energized social reform. That transformation followed the growing, irresistible rise of democracy in Britain. The American example provided conclusive proof to British liberal intellectuals. As the *Temperance Spectator* said, the working classes were no longer perceived as "dangerous" or a "disgusting brute, incapable of rising to the level of rational and dignified existence. Thousands of them have risen-self-emancipated and self-cultured and have taken a position above mere animal life giving to the world visible proof that their order is capable of

elevation, social improvement and political power, far beyond they have here-tofore imagined."[66]

Staunch supporters of the abolition of American slavery, the British work-ing classes in the American Civil War would suffer considerable hardships, especially in Lancashire, in support of a great principle of humanity. Radicals, democrats, liberals, and conservative moralists were united against drink. Temperance advocates took advantage of the war to draw similarities between the slaveries of drink and chattel varieties.[67] In 1862, an international tem-perance and prohibition convention attracted the Earl of Hartington; Joseph Cowen, the liberal Newcastle industrialist; Edward C. Delavan, the self-made New York state entrepreneur; John Hope, the militant Edinburgh Protes-tant philanthropist; and John Davie, founder of the Dunfermline temper-ance society (1830) and hydropathic entrepreneur. Men of goodwill were united against slavery, but as in America, reformers found that freedom did not necessarily produce the "right" moral choices: considerable additional social, political, and educational effort was also needed. With the ending of American slavery, the righteous could concentrate their fire on drink.[68]

In 1868, the American Good Templars were established in Scotland. A returning Scottish emigrant recruited some 490 Scots, and soon a woman's branch followed. It was from the Templars that Edwin Scrymgeour, founder of the Scottish Prohibitionist party, emerged. In 1873, Glasgow hosted an international gathering of Good Templars, including many American women delegates.[69] In 1874, Glasgow women warmly supported the Ohio Whisky War.[70] Bonds of transatlantic moral suasion were strengthened by numer-ous emigrants and by regular tours by Scottish ministers through the United States; improving communications eased the journeys.[71] Social activism may have been compensating for the evolutionist assault on organized religion in the late nineteenth century.[72] Equally, it may also have reflected the continu-ing extension of the franchise in Britain to Protestant laity and workingmen. Protestant liberalism could look more confidently on moral judgments of the state: A common cultural front was established.

In those challenges, a common identity prompted class cooperation. Entrepreneurs and skilled artisans asserted heir moral superiority, status, and ethnic credentials united in amelioration, self-help, and Protestant liberalism. The maintenance of the dominant Protestant mentality was a major element in that conservative outlook. Not surprisingly, as suggested elsewhere, eth-nic rivalry, competition, and even imperialism gave an edge to temperance militancy. In 1866, the Edinburgh Parochial Board claimed that the arriv-als of the Irish and of drinking shops were the main causes of pauperism, and the monthly pay of the Irish navvies "are principally spent in riot and debauchery," so that they are forever sinking into or sunken in "disgraceful

pauperism."[73] A similar attitude prevailed in America: "alien" evil sullied the "pure" commonweal. Equally, the links among poverty, drink, and the churchless Protestant masses became increasingly clear: the masses had to be won over with education: church Sunday Schools, voluntary Ragged schools, or, from 1872, the new national schools system would inculcate the right values.[74] The faithful had to be up and doing for the future.

As in so many areas of British Victorian life, the provinces were the most creative, influential, and decisive compared to London. Liverpool had its Roscoe, Cropper and Rathbone families; Manchester, the Anti-Corn Law League and Mrs Gaskell; Darlington, ts Peases and first railway with Stockton; Birmingham the Darwin and Chamberlain families; or the Brontes in Yorkshire.[75] Scottish women, who were far more militant than their English sisters, were inspired largely by their American sisters and became increasingly militant in the later nineteenth century.[76] Previously, the Glasgow Female New Association for the Abolition of Slavery (1851) had brought Harriet Beecher Stowe to Britain. Middle-class Scottish women activism then saw suffrage and temperance reform as the means of curbing poverty, vice, and drunkenness,[77] and within two years, the Glasgow Ladies Temperance Association had begun. A leisured group soon enfranchised in school board (1872) and municipal elections (1882), and women increasingly found Christian purpose and respectability in antidrink initiatives. Its virtue was an understated criticism of male evil: all the respectable were opposed to sin. In this climate, Scottish women founded, as Megan K. Smitley has argued, the equivalent of the American Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the British Women's Temperance Association (1876) and the Scottish Christian Union (1879). The Christianizing, civilizing mission of women was clear.

This cultural war for respectability reached a peak midcentury in sermons, tracts, magazines, and novels.[78] Reverend Theodore Cuyler and other Americans regularly contributed to Scottish temperance journals. Reverend David Macrae made a career of novels and accounts of his American tours, where he met every figure of note.[79] Reverend James Robertson, professor of ecclesiastical history at Edinburgh University, doubted that Scottish pious declamations or American "cultivation of a selfish material philanthropy . . . will ever make a nation truly great and blessed," except through a practical promotion of the Kingdom of God.[80] Revivalism was part of the answer. Extensive tours by American evangelists intensified Scottish zeal, and the efforts to bring the "churchless" classes to the Gospel, interestingly, coincided with the growth of more colorful liturgical services and the use of organs and popular hymns.[81] Reverend Professor John Kirk broadened the attack. Similar to earlier reformers, he opposed a dependency culture of tobacco and liquor, criticized

landowners who grew barley as immoral, and lamented the overcrowded slums of the cities. In his view, income tax would reorder moral priorities.[82] At the same time, he was suspicious of the trade union movement. More radical ideas were slowly surfacing, however. In the 1850s, Patrick Dove, a temperance advocate, criticized landlordism,[83] and in 1882, Henry George toured Scotland. His attack on abject poverty caused by landlordism in the islands and in the urban slums struck a strong chord: Although some resisted, George made radical social reform respectable.[84]

Councillor Samuel Chisholm, a militant prohibitionist, used the Glasgow Civic Improvement Trust to clear large areas of the Saltmarket and High Street of slums, saloons, and shibbeens. Civilization's Inferno was tamed. From the 1860s on, the city eliminated many public houses and rowdy music hall entertainments, built model tenements, and effectively moved out the itinerant population from the area.[85] A police station, a Quarrier's home, a shelter for women, a mission hall, and new shops with either tenements or small clothing trades above them were established. The successful transformation of the area, if comparatively few people were affected, was remarkable. With the provision of alternatives to the saloon in wholesome recreations, choirs and bands, reading rooms, museums, and zoos and parks, Victorian society brought a desirable uplift to life for the poor, bringing them closer to their betters. Yet drunkenness seemed to be more prevalent in periods of comparative working-class affluence.[86] Greater sympathy between classes hopefully would improve society, reduce crime and vice, and diminish costs to the public purse. Temperance reform was Christian, humane, and an intelligent solution. The newly established Glasgow Abstainers' Union (1851), for example, quickly developed broader issues. In the wake of an address by Henry Mayhew, who was later the author of the massive *London Labour and London Poor* (London, 1861–1862), several lectures from J. B. Gough, and one from the land reformer Patrick E. Dove, a precursor of Henry George, the union sought to create a moral environment in which individuals would make the "correct" choices. By 1858, the society operated twenty-four coffee houses in Glasgow from 4.30 a.m. on. To counter the pub or saloon culture, the Abstainers' Union began concerts and expanded them subsequently in the summers to the Gilmorehill pleasure grounds, and by 1872, it had reached thirty performances a year. For over sixty years, the union and others taught folk music, the tonic sol-fa method, promoted "stars," and ran popular dry Saturday night concerts. After organizing some fifteen local excursions, in 1859 it began an annual visit to London with 460 people; within thirteen years, it was taking 560 travelers to London and Paris.[87] Around the same time, the Good Templars began seasons of harmonic concerts, which

invariably included African-American minstrels, although when a real African performer appeared, he was booed off the stage.[88]

Numerous popular tracts reflected that new emphasis. Archibald Prentice, printer and one-time Louisville Know Nothing, wrote *Better Dwellings for the Working Classes and How to Get Them*, and Mary Carpenter, a founder of a ragged school, attacked *Juvenile Delinquency: The Fruit of Parental Indulgences* (1853). Moral discipline through the machinery of education, thrift, and a helping hand would enhance the whole community. The Free Church Reverend William Arnot, who was well acquainted with America and was known there from three tours, emphasized that shift in outlook: "We do not ask them to come down from the gospel to temperance societies; but we ask them to come down with the gospel to those who lie lowest and need it most . . . you should spare no pains in tearing away the distractions, moral, physical that encase his spirit and keep the sovereign remedy away."[89]

Unlike the quiet reasoning of Thomas Chalmers, more energetic emotions had to be engaged: "To be cool is a crime when my brother and his children are perishing there."[90] Public houses were "the slaughter houses of the country," where "Hecatombs of human victims are sacrificed."[91] Free Church friend of American Nativists, Rev James Begg, uncompromisingly opposed the evils of Popery, poverty and drink.[92] Alien religion, race and habits created and reinforced the peculiar Scottish problems: the right religion, race and discipline would solve them.[93] The Irish, a fecund race, invariably remained alien in blood and outlook.[94] To some, drink might be associated with the incoming Highlanders and Irish, and their Catholic origins gave sharper focus to the antidrink forces. Whether their reputation was deserved or not, it was useful in mobilizing Protestant enthusiasm for the campaign.[95] The First Vatican Council and the declaration of Papal infallibility had sharpened Protestant fears. In response the World Presbyterian Alliance was founded to bolster transatlantic Protestantism. Shortly afterwards in 1873 Moody and Sankey began the first of their evangelical missions in Scotland. A revived Scottish sense of sin followed which saw liquor as the greatest barrier to the coming of the Kingdom. Popular passions for righteousness were aroused.[96] By 1890, the Glasgow Anti-Liquor Traffic Vigilance Union was operating in every city ward but one. The Lord Provost of Glasgow, Sir Samuel Chisholm, an incomer from Dalkeith and a militant Prohibitionist, claimed Glasgow would become a model city as soon as all public houses were closed down, "so that the benevolent and religious agencies may not be thwarted in their beneficent role."[97] A renowned housing reformer, his visits to America generated considerable publicity for the city and his militant prohibitionist outlook: he and his kind even found drink traffic unacceptable. He and several other city councilors were members of Kent Road United Presbyterian Church.[98]

By 1896, the Glasgow city council had a majority of "dry" councillors, many of whom had traveled extensively through the United States.[99] A businesslike city council found that restrictions created better opportunities for business in moral patterns of consumption.

Hardly surprisingly, then, the municipality opened the first People's Palace as a healthy alternative to the saloon. It comprised a gallery, historical exhibition, and winter gardens under one roof. In addition, the city's Kelvingrove Gallery, helped by generous civic-minded donors and patrons, was seen as a further means of uplift. A Glasgow Public House Trust, organized along the lines of the Gothenburg experiment, followed but proved unacceptable to militants.[100] The People's Palace and the Public House Trust, organized by the distinguished philanthropic coal exporter and later Lord Provost Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson and John Mann, a leading accountant, attracted favorable comment from the New Yorker E. R. L. Gould and similar-minded Progressives.[101] Glasgow graduate Reverend Sylvester Horne, M.P.minister of parliament, a Congregationalist minister, believed that America showed "the common people of the nation showed the world Christianity was not dead nor dying, that it could purify a land of its iniquity."[102] One embodiment of these diverse strands was the Glasgow and West of Scotland Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, which gave rise to the Westerton development in 1912. Prominent businessmen; William Russell, Conservative city councillor and coal exporter; militant prohibitionist Sir Samuel Chisholm; William Martin, Liberal city councillor and founder of the Scottish Christian Social Union; William Collins and Donald Grant, the publishers; and Sir Archibald Campbell of Succoth, landowner, united to build dry model housing.[103]

A few, such as Reverend John Glasse of Edinburgh, moved to a Socialist Christianity.[104] Keir Hardie, Cunninghame Graham, and several leading Red Clydeside Labour figures endorsed Prohibition as a prelude to "the Cooperative Commonwealth."[105] Temperance men were "unconscious" socialists, opposed to the exploitation and immorality of capitalism and believing that under socialism, those evils would be swept away.[106] These convictions were reinforced by the numerous American antidrink campaigners constantly preaching through Scotland. John B. Gough came on numerous occasions; Francis Murphy and his Blue Ribbon Army made thousands of converts; the Good Templars were established there after coming from America; and Reverend Theodore Cuyler, popular preacher and writer; the Prohibition Party presidential candidate John G. Woolley; and many ministers and others also agitated.[107] In 1900, a host of American temperance figures came to the World Temperance Congress in Edinburgh and then before and during the referendum on Scottish Prohibition at the end of World War I.

Scottish women also joined in the temperance campaigns. They were inspired by religious faith and by a desire to break the bonds of domesticity and to challenge inactive male clergy. Women asserted their innate moral superiority and their formative role in the making of family and nation. To some Protestants, their women, unlike Catholic nuns, were an underused resource. If their activism tended to be somewhat more conservative than their English counterparts, they were, nonetheless, influential.[108]

Numerous women activists arrived through the later nineteenth century, including "Mother" Mary Stewart of Ohio Whisky War fame; Frances Willard of the WCTU; Carrie Nation; Mrs. Boole of the New York WCTU; Mrs. Catherine Lant Stevenson of the Massachusetts WCTU; Mary Leavitt, a world temperance missionary; and Dr. Anna Potts of the Philadelphia Women's College. They, in turn, were often closely allied with woman suffrage groups or even socialists, although increasingly their relations might be strained.[109] Anti-Saloon League leaders likewise spread the word, including W. E. "Pussyfoot" Johnston and the Philadelphia Quaker Joshua L. Baily. Returning Scottish visitors were impressed by the social progress of American dry states.[110]

In 1901, the socialist and prohibitionist Edwin Scrymgeour founded the Scottish Prohibition Party, which continued its checkered career until 1934. The editor of *The Scottish Prohibitionist*, Scrymgeour would contest the Dundee parliamentary seat against Winston Churchill continuously until he eventually won their sixth contest in 1922.[111] In the wake of American entry into the war, clergy and social workers routinely spread the Prohibition message in Scotland en route to serve in the armed forces in France. Antidrink pressure groups in Scotland coordinated their efforts with the American Anti-Saloon League, and A National Citizens' Council brought together the Scottish Temperance League, the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association, the Good Templars, and the British Women's Temperance Union. A systematic attack on the evils of the public house followed with numerous American, Canadian, and New Zealand ministers and activists' visits. In October 1918, and again in 1920, W. E. 'Pussyfoot' Johnson, and in 1918–1919 Bishop James Cannon Jr, the Anti-Saloon leaders, toured Scotland in support of Prohibition. Charles M. Sheldon, author of *In His Steps*, arrived in 1918, and the president of the California Anti-Saloon League spent three months lecturing around the country. Prohibitionists from California, Kansas, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania weighed in: Americans believed that, having made the world safe for democracy, they were making democracy safe for the world.[112]

In turn, R. A. Munro of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association was overwhelmed by William Jennings Bryan amid the fervor

of the World Prohibition Congress in Columbus, Ohio.[113] The world seemed to be going the Prohibitionist way. However, the image of America in Scotland unfortunately had changed in the previous generation. From the 1880s on, America seemed less attractive to Scottish working-class migrants. The growth of big business and industrial unrest in America and the rise of militant labor at home altered perceptions. More recently, industrial conflict at Weir's engineering over the introduction of American management and machinery, coupled with the lukewarm reception for Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor on Clydeside, were indicative of this disillusionment.

The "wets" used Gompers' statements in favor of temperance to great effect. The "wets," already encouraged by the closely contested prewar referendum on Glasgow licenses, mounted a massive campaigned against the "drys."[114] Over seven months they distributed 8 million cards, issued 2.5 million free shopping bags and 260,000 posters, and advertised at soccer grounds, licensed grocers, public houses, and other highly visible places. In the process, they persuaded sufficient voters to carry the day. The poll required a turnout of 35 percent of registered voters and then 55 percent majority for the "drys" to win. In Glasgow, four affluent areas voted for no license, and nine wanted limitations, but twenty-four areas, including the most deprived areas, voted no change. In Scotland overall, 206 of the 253 districts voted for no change, twenty-four for limitation, and twenty-three for no license. It was a massive defeat for the Prohibitionists.

The reasons were undoubtedly many and varied. A common explanation, however, on both sides of the Atlantic was the overt hostility to migrants, Catholics, and other "alien" threats to the traditional social order. Transatlantic Progressives were a wide group of loosely allied reformers. Their sense of righteousness often failed to appreciate the integrity of their opponents, and their Social Romanticism overlooked hard issues of class, ethnicity, and religion. Many simply wished to return to the values of the comfortable small towns of their youth—to them, the new cosmopolitan world was out of their control. In simple terms, they combined "liberal" and "reactionary" elements. The liberal element wished to broaden horizons, open up opportunities, and celebrate diversity in a positive, if to modern tastes rather conservative, manner. The reactionary elements wished to assert and inculcate their ethnic and religious moral certainties by legal conformity. Any group that failed to submissively acquiesce was deemed racially, morally, and culturally inferior. Prohibition collapsed in that cultural battle.

Temperance antipathy reflected larger Scottish anxieties about "foreign" influences in Scottish life. Drys saw drunkenness as essentially an "unScottish" activity. Protestant hostility to Irish Catholics ran deep from early nineteenth century And was reinforced by Evangelical notions of the "Man of

Sin." Glasgow reprinted numerous editions of the scandalous revelations of Maria Monk and Rebecca Reed,[115] and the goodwill generated by Father Mathew's visit was soon lost.

The temperance enthusiasm of some parish priests and the later formation of the League of the Cross throughout the Glasgow archdiocese, although welcomed in some localities as evidence of Catholics embracing Protestant middle-class values, had limited effect on extremists. After 1848, Protestant perceptions of Catholicism as being closely allied to reactionary European regimes was a view confirmed by the frequent tours of popular orators such as "Angel Gabriel" Orr, Reverend Alessandro Gavazzi, Pastor Chiniqui, and others.[116] The appalling poverty, squalid living conditions, and startling growth of Catholicism were challenges.[117] Strident demands for Irish Home Rule, and then the 1916 Easter Rising, further exacerbated communal relations. In 1887, Andrew Carnegie, addressing the Glasgow Junior Liberal Association, might find such sectarianism repulsive, but its virulence persisted.[118] An emerging Labour party, the prominence of John Wheatley, and a strong working-class Catholic base after 1918 may have driven some conservatives into even more reactionary positions. In its 1923 report, the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee made its notoriously ferocious assault on Irish immigrants.[119] Reprinted later as a pamphlet, *The Menace of the Irish Race to Our Scottish Nationality*, was merely another of many assaults on immigrants. Where a nineteenth-century minister believed Muslim incomers would be preferable to Irish Catholics, the contemporary academic Professor Andrew Gibb, from Glasgow University, bitterly denounced Irish fecundity and political radicalism and compared their arrival to that of Hottentots.[120] Labor figures such as Keir Hardie and William Smillie, the Scottish miners' leader and later minister of parliament for Morpeth, strongly resented Lithuanians and Polish arrivals.[121] In America, a similar antipathy toward undesirable types of immigrant developed from the late nineteenth century on, culminating in the Immigration Restriction Acts of 1921 and 1924. Concentrated in cities, and popularly associated with corrupt political machines and seemingly impenetrable by outsiders, immigrants presented difficulties for enacting and then enforcing Prohibition.[122]

It was galling that Romanism somehow managed to retain swaths of loyalty among the toiling masses while Protestant numbers faded.[123] By caricaturing the poor and newcomer as feckless, drunken and peculiar, the middle-class Protestant asserted his class and religious superiority as defence against the perceived Catholic threat in an increasingly democratic society.

Protestant churchmen and businessmen were convinced of the morality, productivity, and ameliorating powers of Prohibition. On January 16, 1920, Sir Samuel Chisholm and his friends on the Citizens Council rejoiced when

American Prohibition was enacted.[124] In 1921, Reverend Norman Maclean particularly enjoyed a soda in a once-renowned New York hostelry. Visits by Scottish churchmen to America the following year and in 1928 by Reverend F. L. Fraser, Episcopal Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney, convinced the churchgoers that Prohibition would continue.[125]

A few years later, Americans and Scots would restore Iona as part of a competitive Christian social renewal in the face of the challenge of resurgent Catholicism and atheistic Communism. In the wake of World War I, the majority of the population would seem to have had enough of moral crusades: their costs and outcomes were disproportionate. In general, Scots wanted security, jobs, and better prospects. As the economy failed to meet these basic needs, large numbers of Scots soon found "a land fit for heroes" overseas.[126] Although legal restrictions persisted, the decline of prohibitionist zeal coincided with a marked decline of the traditional Glasgow and west of Scotland industrial base.[127] Temperance values of sobriety, thrift, and work were illusory in a Scotland of mass unemployment. Scottish socialist zealots might see that the future lay with Russia—they had seen the future and it worked. The Labour-dominated city council from the late 1930s. They even retained the ban on alcoholic beverages on any municipal property—including the prohibition of any public houses in council housing schemes—until the late twentieth century. In that puritan endeavor, more than they realized, they were the inheritors of the old Scotland. The result was that far more Glaswegians than inhabitants in any other British city found solace in the cinema, especially Hollywood movies, than other popular leisure pursuits such as drinking. Only with the Sixties's affluence, television and new interests did that begin to change.[128]

Similar preoccupations prevailed in 1920s America. In crude terms, white, Anglo-Saxon protestant America seemed to have prevailed in the isolationist mood, the end of mass immigration, the failure of trade unionism, the Scopes trial, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, the defeat of a Catholic candidate for the presidency. However, their victory was hollow. The Great Crash forced a recognition of the new America of cities, labor movements, ethnical and racial diversity, and the reshaping of American culture. Protestant ministers and journals might linger on Prohibitionism and anti-Catholicism, but theirs was a dying cause.[129] The repeal of Prohibition, the New Deal, and the triumph of the cities, with their ethnic, racial, blue-collar, religious outlook were irreversible. In Britain and America both, a social democratic approach would gradually discard moral certainties and move to establish pragmatic, socially acceptable policies. The state was to be less a stern moral guardian and more a compassionate, caring institution. In that process, temperance faded. Americans had seen the future and it played.

In a sense, temperance had served its purpose by the early twentieth century. According to Paul T. Phillips, temperance had served in a midwife function between the womb of evangelical self-improvement and that of social regeneration.[130] An interim staging post, it undoubtedly civilized the masses and made them fit for democracy, inculcated the necessary productive values into the workforce in the developing transatlantic economies, and reinforced the Protestant work ethic. If not emasculated, the newcomer was incorporated into the existing order. Having achieved those goals, temperance had put itself out of business. A thriving economy passed from self-denial, saving, and relentless work to a more affluent, self-indulgent, consumption attitude in a leisure-pleasure society. The Great Crash, World War II, and the beginnings of the welfare state, culminating in the 1960s, irreversibly changed popular attitudes: The Puritan became a playboy.

Notes

1. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* quoted in Richard Finlay, *Modern Scotland: 1914–2000* (London: Profile, 2003) pp. 148–49. The Independent Labour Party endorsed Prohibition (*Glasgow Herald*, January 6, 1920). Barr later introduced a bill for Scottish dominion status and withdrawal of Scottish MPs from Westminster.

2. *Glasgow Herald*, November 17, 20, 22, 1922. There were "no license" local option polls for dry areas in Scotland throughout the period. The respectable were establishing a cordon sanitaire against unwholesome influences, which tended to be in inner-city or working-class areas.

3. See R. J. Morris, "Victorian Values in Scotland and England," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 78 (1992): 31–47. Also see A. A. Johnston, *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*, 2 vols. (Antigonish, Nova Scotia: University of St Francis Xavier Press, 1960–1971), 2: passim, for considerable Scottish and Catholic temperance activity. Also see Irene Maver, "The Temperance Movement and the Urban Associational Idea: Scotland in the 1830s and 1840s," in *Civic society, Associations and Urban Places: Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth Century Europe*, ed. Graeme Morton, Boudien de Vries, and R. J. Morris (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006), 159–189.

4. See Ian Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006) for the period to 1839; Betty Fladeland, *Abolitionists and Working Class Problems in the Age of Industrialisation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984); Betty Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Antislavery Cooperation* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1972); Anthony J. Barker, *Captain Charles Stuart: Anglo-American Abolitionist* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986); Marcus Cunliffe, *Chattel Slavery and Wage Slavery* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979); W. H. G.

Armytage, *Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560–1960* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul 1961), 99, 109, 254, 295.

5. Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1981); Douglas Charles Stange, *British Unitarians Against Slavery, 1833–65* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984).

6. George Combe, *Moral Philosophy: or, The Duties of Man Considered in his Individual, Social and Domestic Capacities* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan, Stewart, 1840), 135–40. See Roger Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organisation of Consent in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); John Dunn Davies, *Phrenology, Fad and Science: A Nineteenth Century American Crusade* (reprint of 1955 edition; New York: Archon Books, 1971); Madeine B. Stern, *Heads and Headlines: The Phrenological Fowlers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma University Press, 1971).

7. See Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780–1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), although mainly English, and Anne Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988). The more militant Band of Hope seems to have been stronger in Scotland. Elspeth King, *Scotland Sober, Scotland Free: The Temperance Movement, 1829–1971* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Galleries, 1979); Edward Morris, *The History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies in Glasgow from their Origins to the Present Time* (Glasgow: Glasgow United Total Abstinence Association, 1855) The activist, Reverend William Arnot, wrote *Sabbath School Teaching, in its Principles and Practice: An Address Delivered at the Monthly Meeting of the United Sunday School Teachers of Montreal, on Monday the 14th July, 1845, and Published at the Request of the Committee of the Canada Sunday School Union* (Montreal: J. C. Necket for the Canada Sunday School Union, 1845).

8. See Robert H. Craig, *Religion and Radical Politics: An Alternative Christian Tradition in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992), 50–58, 194–196. Some ministers, such as the Swedenborgian John Faulkner Potts of Glasgow, were unconvinced by their American experience of teetotalism. See his *Letters from America* (London: J. Speirs, 1880), 260.

9. Ian MacLaren's (1850–1907) books include *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush* (London: Hodder and Stoiughton, 1894), *and The Days of Auld of Auld Lang Syne* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1894).The other writers were J. M. Barrie and S. R. Crockett.

10. See my *Portable Utopia: Glasgow and the United States, 1820–1920* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1984), 162–63.

11. See Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (New York: Knopf, 1991).

12. Paul T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880–1940* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 203.

13. Hope manuscript quoted in John Wolffe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 182. Also see D. Jamie, *John Hope* (Edinburgh: Andrew Eliot, 1900).

14. Garrison to R. D. Webb September 25, 30, 1846 and *Liberator*, October 1846; W. M. Merrill and Louis Ruchames, eds., *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971–1981), 3: 428, 432–33. Referring to Paisley workingmen, he said he had not met such "intelligence, sagacity and appreciations of right sentiments."

15. See Merrill and Ruchames, Garrison Letters, above; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 121–26.

16. Glasgow United Total Abstainers, Second Annual Report (1853), 19.

17. J. S. Buckingham*, History and Progress of the Temperance Reformation in Great Britain and Other Countries of the Globe, and Documentary Evidence of its Beneficial Result, and a Plea for a Maine Law to Enforce the Suppression of all Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors* (London: Partridge, Oakey, 1854), 3. Garrison and the militant abolitionists, often Quakers, shared these expectations.

18. W. B. Carpenter, *Temperance and Teetotalism: An Inquiry into the Effects of Alcoholic Drinks on the Human System in Health and Disease* (Glasgow: n.p., 1849), 5 and 23.

19. Bernard Aspinwall, "Scottish Religious Identity in the Transatlantic World, 1880–1914," *Studies in Church History: Religion and National Identity* 18 (1982): 505–18.

20. See Mother Stewart, *Memories of the Crusade* (reprint of 1888 edition; New York: Arno Press, 1972) for her several visits; C. G. Finney, *Autobiography* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1893); Keith J. Hardman, *Charles Grandison Finney* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1987); William Wells Brown, *Three Years in Europe* (London: C. Gilpin, 1852), 163–82; Neal Dow, *Reminiscences* (Portland, ME: Evening Press, 1898); S. J. Brown, "Presbyterian Communities: Transatlantic Visions and the Ulster Revival of 1859," in *The Cultures of Europe: The Irish Contribution*, ed. J. P. Mackey (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University 1994), 87–108; Richard J. Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790–1865* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978); J. E. Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain* (London: Marshall, Morgan, and Scott, 1949); Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 155–20. Not all Scottish workingmen supported the North in the American Civil War. See Royden Harrison, *Before the Socialists: Studies in Labour and Politics, 1861–1881* (London: Routledge Kegan Paul 1965), 40–78; R. M. Paterson, "Newmilns Weavers and the American Civil War," *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Collections* 1 (1950): 98–105; Lorraine Peters, "The Impact of the American Civil War on the Local Communities of Southern Scotland," *Civil War History* 49 (2003) 133–52. President Lincoln reputedly gave John Brooks, an African American, a flag to present to ex-Chartist John Donald of the Newmilns Anti-Slavery Society. It was later carried by some six hundred Newmilns workers at a Kilmarnock franchise rally in 1884 (*League Journal*, August 17, 1889).

21. See Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880–1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983). As early as 1838, the Glasgow

Abstainers were running concerts with lectures and entertainment on Saturday and Monday nights; Glasgow Abstainers, Mss Social Programme, 1838, TD200/103, Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

22. Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815–1872* (London: Faber and Faber 1971). Also King, *Scotland Sober*.

23. Henry James, *The American Scene* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1907), 76; G. R. Stewart, *Bret Harte: Argonaut and Exile: Being an Account of the Celebrated American Humorist* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 285.

24. Enraght later emigrated to America. He and some nine thousand Catholics attended an 1841 temperance demonstration in Glasgow. Edward Morris, *The History of the Temperance and Teetotal Societies in Glasgow* (Glasgow: City of Glasgow United Total Abstinence Association, 1855), 92, 97, 102. Tracy (1832–1912) was educated at All Hallows and St. Sulpice, ordained in 1859, campaigned against discriminatory treatment of the Catholic poor in Scotland, and wrote a novel and a history of his parish. Christine Johnson, "Scottish Secular Clergy: The Western District, 1830–78," *Innes Review* 40 (1989): 138. Bernard Tracy, *An Address on Temperance* (Glasgow, n.d., 1865?); Elizabeth Malcolm, *"An Ireland Sober, An Ireland Free": Drink and Temperance in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986); Colm Kerrigan, *Father Mathew and the Irish Temperance Movement, 1838–1849* (Cork: Cork University, 1992); John F. Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth Century Ireland and Irish America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002). J. F. Maguire, *Father Mathew* (London: Longman Green, 1864) has details of his Scottish visit.

25. Brian Wilson, *Celtic: A Century with Honour* (London: Willow Books Collins, 1988), 10–17. An early backer was W. G. Barr of the mineral water company. Many temperance associations had football clubs, but they tended to fail disastrously on the field and soon disappeared. Catholics, often without industrial skills or connections, found dealing in the drink trade, secondhand clothes, or pawnbroking the means of upward social mobility.

26. Reverend Archibald Campbell, SJ, founder of the Caledonian Society, similarly used Gaelic culture to safeguard virtue of women and ward off intemperance (Bernard Aspinwall, "The Formation of a British Catholic Identity within Scottish Catholicism," in *Religion and National Identity: Wales and Scotland, c1700–2000*, ed. Robert Pope (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), 268–306, 293.

27. *Scottish Reformer [Glasgow]*, February, March, May, June 1922; *Report of Scottish Churchmen: Prohibition in the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: Committee of Churchmen, 1923).

28. Henry Drummond, *Stones Rolled Away and Other Addresses Delivered to Young Men in America* (London: Samuel Bagster, 1907), 148–50. The talks were given at Harvard and Northfield, Massachusetts. Drummond's *The City without a Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1893) has a similar theme. Well acquainted with the United States from three visits, he was a close ally of Moody and Sankey.

29. T. Hamilton, *The Teetotal Reformation in Scotland, with Special Reference to John Dunlop and Greenock, 1829–1929* (Greenock: n.p., 1929). Earlier concern included *The Barrhead Temperance Minstrel* (n.p., 1800), Glasgow University Special Collections, Buckingham visited in 1829 and 1834; Ralph E. Turner, *James Silk Buckingham* (London: Whittlsey House, 1934).

30. Collins, a former elder in Reverend Dr. Thomas Chalmers' church, was especially prominent. He gave the main addresses at the founding of the Liverpool, Manchester, and Edinburgh societies as well as the British and Foreign Temperance Society in London, 1831. See, for example, Scottish Temperance Society Tracts, *Speech of Mr William Collins at the First Meeting of the Edinburgh Association for the Suppression of Intemperance* (Edinburgh: printed for William Collins, 1830). The society also published the New York City Temperance Society tract, *Medical Opinions Regarding Distilled Spirit* (n.p., 1830). Its secretary Reverend Dr. David was well known in Scotland.

31. See *The Harmony between the Gospel and Temperance Societies* (Glasgow: Collins, 1836); *Statistics of the Church of Glasgow Barony and Gorbals presented to the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Means of Instruction and Pastoral Superintendence Offered to the People of Scotland and to the Poor and Working Class on 9 May 1836 on Behalf of the Church Building Society with Accompanying Observations* (Glasgow: Glasgow Presbytery, 1836); Reverend James B. Robertson, "The Relation of the Temperance Movement to the Moral and Religious Condition of Scotland," *The Temperance Congress of 1862* (London: n.p., 1862), 56–60, copy in Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

32. See the tracts *On the Drinking Usages of Scotland* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1833); W. B. Carpenter*, Temperance: An Inquiry into the Effects of Alcoholic Drinks on the Human System in Health and Disease* was published in London, but reprinted in Glasgow in 1848 and as a new edition in 1849; W. Reid, *Patience Needed: Or, the Duty of Temperance Reformers at the Present Crisis* (Glasgow: Temperance Pulpit Series, 1859); W. Arno: *The Workers and their Work: Christian Duty in Relation to Drunkards and Drink* (Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League, n.d.; Special Collections, Glasgow University Library); *The Grounds of Legislative Restriction applied to Public-Houses: A Lecture, in reply to Mr. Stirling's "Failure" in the matter of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, Delivered at the Request of the Director of the Scottish Temperance League, in the City Hall, Glasgow* (Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League, 1858?); and *Temperance and Total Abstinence in their Relation to the Bible and the Church, with Special Reference to the Late Discussion in the Free Church Presbytery of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League, 1857?).

33. *Address at the First public Meeting of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Temperance Society, March 8th 1830* (Glasgow: Collins?, 1830). Annual Reports of the Society to 1848.

34. *Temperance Spectator*, June 1, 1863. He claimed to be the first American in Britain after 1815.

35. Glasgow's temperance organization reprinted Kittredge (1828) and Beecher, as did Robert Reid in Edinburgh (1846).

36. W. L. Garrison to *The Liberator*, October 3, 1846, *Letters of Willam Lloyd Garrison* 3:4333; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 109–11, 122–24.

37. Smith, a Glasgow graduate in both arts and medicine, served on the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society executive; John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

38. Samuel Ringold Ward, *Autobiography of a Fugitive Slave: His Anti-Slavery Labours in the United States, Canada and England* (London: Remington 1855*); Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad: Being a Brief History of the Labours on Behalf of the Slave, with the Stories of Numerous Fugitives, who Gained their Freedom through his instrumentality, and many other Incidents* (reprint of 1876 edition; New York, Arno Press, 1968), 684–85; George Shepperson, "Frederick Douglass and Scotland," *Journal of Negro History* 38 (1953): 307–21; *Liberating Sojourn: Frederick Douglass and Transatlantic Reform*, ed. Alan J. Rice and Martin Crawford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999).

39. Most of the performers were ex-slaves or the children of slaves. See Gustavus Pike*, The Jubilee Singers and their Campaign for Twenty Thousand Dollars* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1873) Special Collections, Glasgow University Library. Professor A. K. Spence, Fisk University, was reputedly a Glasgow graduate, although I have been unable to confirm the fact. Other connections flourished through the Freedman's Association, the American Missionary Association, and various American popular preachers.

40. West of Scotland Temperance Union, First Annual Report, 1840.

41. Ibid, 1841.

42. See, for example, ibid., 1872.

43. Edwin Chadwick, *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Britain (1842)* (reprint of 1842 edition; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965), 293.

44. Charles E. Rosenberg*, The Cholera Years: the United States in 1832, 1849 and 1866* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966) is indicative of the shift.

45. Logan was a commissioner of the Scottish Temperance League, whose investigations suggested that in 1846–1848 there were between 1000 and 1300 liquor outlets open on the Sabbath. See also *The Moral Statistics of Glasgow in 1863*, practically applied (Glasgow: n.p., 1864).

46. Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

47. *Report from the Select Committee on the Poor Law*, quoted in James H. Treble, *Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830–1914* (London: Batsford 1979), 118.

48. For example, W. Hamish Fraser, "Trades Councils in the Labour Movement in Nineteenth Century Scotland," in *Essays in Scottist Labour History: A Tribute to W. H. Marwick, ed. Ian MacDougall* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1978), 1–28, 15.

49. Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing on Working-Class Housing (1902–1903), Q. 7274.

50. *First Annual Report of the Glasgow Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance* (Glasgow: n.p., 1854), 5. Dr. Burns, John Everett, and Samuel Bowly had come to rein in the militants, November 16, 1853. Timothy Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality. Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), 174, 180–81, 189–90. Scottish militancy greatly exceeded that south of the border.

51. J. S. Buckingham, *History and Progress of the Temperance Reform in Great Britain and Other Countries of the Globe* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1854). Well acquainted with America through his travels, he also favored free trade, repeal of the Corn Laws, shorter parliaments, wider suffrage and vote by ballot; J. S. Buckingham*, America* (London: Fisher, Son, 1841); J. S. Buckingham*, The Slave States of America* (London: Fisher 1842).

52. First Annual Report, Glasgow United Total Abstainers (Glasgow: n.p., 1852). Reverend Ralph Wardlaw (1759–1853), an honorary doctor of divinity (Yale), was a free trader, anti–Corn Law activist, abolitionist, and peace advocate.

53. *Temperance Memorials of the Late Robert Kettle Esq., with a Memoir by Rev W. Reid* (Glasgow: n.p., 1853). Shortly before his death, Kettle had three thousand at a meeting in support of savings banks in February 1852. Reverend Patrick Brewster, the Paisley ex-Chartist minister, John Fraser, and other radicals later welcomed the Maine Law. John Fawcett (1789–1867), the Bolton shoemaker, turned composer and hymn writer, produced several songs for the temperance cause; John Fawcett, *Prohibition: A New Maine-land Piece for Four Voices* (London: J. Hart, 1856); John Fawcett, *The Temperance Minstrel, Original Songs, Duetts, Choruses, etc.* (London: J. Hart, 1856), copies in Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

54. *Scottish Prohibition Society for Procuring the Legislative Prohibition of the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages: Report of the Provisional Committee at the Inauguration of the Society which took place in the Religious Institution Rooms upon the 23rd October 1857* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray, 1857); William L. Andrews, *To Tell A Free People: The First Century of African-American Autobiography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

55. See Annual Reports of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association (Glasgow: n.p., 1859–1876). It was responsible through the several American visits of Mrs. Margaret Parker, Dundee, for the initial Scottish tour of Mother Stewart; *18th Annual Report of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association* (Glasgow: n.p., 1876), 17; Mother Eliza Stewart, *The Crusader in Great Britain* (Springfield, OH: New Era, 1893).

56. W. Arnot, *Temperance and Total Abstinence in their Relation to the Bible and the Church with Special Reference to the Late Discussion in the Free Church Presbyter, Glasgow* (Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League, 1859?); W. Arnot, *The Public House against the Public Weal* (Glasgow: n.p., n.d.); W. Arnot, *The Workers and their Work or Christian Duty in Relation to Drunkards and Drink* (Glasgow: n.p., n.d.).

57. Annual Report, Scottish Temperance League, 1859.

58. For example, A. J. Tillyard, *A Brief Introduction to the Principles of Prohibition*, 2nd. ed. (Glasgow: Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association, 1876).

59. See, for example, Peter Taylor, *Popular Politics in Early Industrial Britain: Bolton, 1825–1850* (Keele: Ryburn, 1995), 200–203; Paul A. Pickering, *Chartism and Chartists in Manchester and Salford* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), 122–27.

60. Brian Harrison and Patricia Hollis, eds., *Robert Lowery, Radical and Chartist* (London: Europa, 1979). See the Chartist writers cited by Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (London: Knopf, 1984), 385 and 574 n. 48; Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Poverty and Compassion: The Moral Imagination of the Late Victorians* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 121.

61. Scottish Temperance League Yearbook, 1870–1900; Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class* (London: V. Gollancz, 1963).

62. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 133.

63. Himmelfarb, *Poverty*, 338–39.

64. Reid's two brothers, one a minister, were also prominent temperance activists. Few would be so radical as Nichols. See Jean L. Silver-Isenstadt, *Shameless: The Visionary Life of Mary Gove Nichols* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Aspinwall, "Social Catholicism and Health: Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Low Nichols in Britain," in *The Church and Healing*, ed. W. J. Shiels (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 249–70; William Leach, *Free Love and Perfect Union: The Reform of Sex and Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

65. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 114–16. A. J. Durie, "Almost Twins by Birth: Hydropathy, Temperance and the Scottish Churches, 1840–1914," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 32 (2002): 143–162, covers similar ground.

66. "The Ale House and the Working Class," *Temperance Spectator*, August 1, 1861.

67. An established temperance campaigner, Peter Sinclair wrote *Freedom or Slavery in the United States: Being Fact and Testimonies for the Consideration of the British People* (London: Job Caudwell, 1863).

68. See Norma Logan, "Temperance and the Scottish Churches, 1870–1914," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 23 (1989): 217–39.

69. *League Journal [Glasgow]*, July 19, August 23, 1873. Many more American women attended the World Temperance Congress, Edinburgh in 1900. *Scottish Reformer [Glasgow]*, October 28, 1899; June 16, July 7, 1900. Charles M. Sheldon, author of *In His Steps*, attended.

70. Councillor Pinkerton supported their meeting on April 18, 1874, *Social Reformer [Glasgow]*, December, 1881; January-December, 1882. Bonds of transatlantic moral suasion were strengthened by numerous emigrants and regular tours by Scottish ministers throughout the United States as better communications eased journeys.

71. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 132–33.

72. Donald J. Withrington, "The Churches in Scotland, c1870-c1900: Towards a New Social Conscience," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 29 (1977): 155–68.

73. *Temperance Spectator*, September 1, 1866. Cf. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade: A Study of the Origins of Protestant Nativism* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), 195, 323.

74. Reverend James Johnston, *The Rising tide of Irreligion, Pauperism Immorality and Death in Glasgow, and How to Turn it: Facts and Suggestions* (Glasgow: David Bryce and Sons, 1871), 36, 57. In 1866–1867, in five districts, he found only 20 percent of almost fifteen hundred individuals had any active church connection. Church accommodation had failed to keep pace with population growth. See *Annual Reports, Glasgow City Mission* (Glasgow: n.p., 1826–1854).

75. See also for example Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London: Odhams, 1963); and Tristram Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson,2004), 20.

76. Megan K. Smedley, "Inebriates, 'Heathens,' Templars and Suffragists: Scotland and Imperial Feminism, c. 1870–1914," *Women's History Review* 11 (2002): 455–80; Megan K. Smedley, "Feminist Anglo-Saxonism? Representations of 'Scotch' Women in English Women's Press in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Cultural and Social History* 4 (2007): 341–59. I thank the following authors who gave me permission to consult their unpublished work on which this paragraph is partly based: Megan K. Smedley, "Women's Mission: The Temperance and Suffrage Movements in Scotland, c1870–1914" (PhD dissertation, Glasgow University, 2002); Norma Logan, "Drink and Society in Scotland, 1870–1914" (PhD dissertation, Glasgow University, 1989).

77. 2nd Anniversary Report, Glasgow Female New Association for the Abolition of Slavery (Glasgow: n.p., 1853).

78. Thomas Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780–1850 (*New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976); P. J. Keating, *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) 403; Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830–50: a Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 127.

79. David Macrae (1837–1907), a United Presbyterian minister, was a prolific author (Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*), 134.

80. A. H. Charteris, *Life of Rev James Robertson, D.D. F.R.S.E., Professor of Divinity and Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1867), 194, 279–80.

81. Robert Howie, *The Churches and the Churchless in Scotland* (Glasgow: J. Bryce, 1893); Thomas L. Johnson, *Twenty Eight Years A Slave, or The Story of My Life on Three Continents* (Bornemouth: W. Mate and Sons, 1909).

82. See, for example, John Kirk, *The Progressive Suppression of Public-House Licences in Scotland with illustrations of the Social Result* (Glasgow: Christian News Office, 1865), Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

83. Patrick E. Dove, *Theory of Human Progression, and Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice* (London: Johnstone & Hunter, 1850). He was a precursor of Henry George. J. D. Wood, "Transatlantic Land Reform: America and the Crofters' Revolt of 1878–1888," *Scottish Historical Review* 63 (1984): 79–104.

84. Norman Maclean, *The Former Days* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1945), 134–40.

85. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 130, 135; Elspeth King, "Popular Culture in Glasgow," in *The Working Class in Glasgow, 1750–1914*, ed. R. A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 142–187, especially 160–65. See maps showing the rapid decline of public houses in the area; *Scottish Temperance League Yearbook* (Glasgow: n.p., 1880–1900).

86. Annual Reports, Glasgow Abstainer's Union (Glasgow: n.p., 1855–1873).

87. King, "Popular Culture," 70. On the propaganda use of African-Americans in Britain, see Audrey Fisch, *American Slaves in Victorian Britain: Abolitionist Politics in Popular Literature and Culture (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

88. Arnot, *Workers and their Work*, 8. On visits to the United States, he encountered everywhere former Scottish parishioners and emigrants.

89. Ibid., 22

90. Ibid., 20

91. See his collection of essays, *Happy Homes for the Working Man and How to Get Them* (London: Cassell, 1866).

92. See the classics James E. Handley, *The Irish in Modern Scotland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1947); Tom Gallagher, *Glasgow: The Uneasy Pease: Religious Tension in Modern Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987).

93. Ronald Ferguson, *George Macleod Founder of the Iona Community* (London: Collins, 1990), 72–73.

94. How lasting his influence is debatable. James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopia of 1893* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 169–207; Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Chicago Fire: The Haymarket Bomb and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995).

95. Hugh Price Hughes*, Social Christianity: Sermons Delivered in St. James' Hall, London* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889), 167–171.

96. *Temperance Leader & League Journal [Glasgow]*, February 27, 1892. Chisholm, a member of Reverend John Brown's Kent Road United Presbyterian congregation, played a leading role in the militant Protestant Foundry Boys Society. Catering to boys, girls, and adolescents, its local membership grew from an average 121 to over 300 in a decade, inculcating uplift through temperance, music, concerts, cookery classes, and annual trips to the country and Clyde coast, for ailing poor children (Renwick Church, Southside, Glasgow manuscripts, Foundry Boys' Minutes, 1885–1895, TD396/37, Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow).

97. *Temperance Leader & League Journal [Glasgow]*, February 27, 1892

98. Ibid.

99. James Stark, *The Moral Aspects of the Proposed Municipalisation of the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Temperance Society, 1895), 9; Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 139–40.

100. Joseph Chamberlain opened the Glasgow People's Palace in 1895. Tristam Hunt, *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2004).

101. E. Ralston L. Gould, *The Popular Control of the Liquor Traffic* (London: n.p. 1894), 60, and *The Gothenburg System of Liquor Control* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893). Gould imitated Mann's Glasgow Workman's Dwelling Company with his City and Suburban Dwelling Company, New York, which still exists.

102. W. B. Selbie, ed. *The Life of Sylvester Horne* (London: Hodder and Stoughton 1920); *League Journa [Glasgow]l*, January 30, 1892; *Temperance Leader & League Journal [Glasgow]*, August 15, 1914.

103. Maureen Whitelaw, *A Garden Suburb for Glasgow: The Story of Westerton* (Bearsden: Whitelaw, 1992), 4–13.

104. Michael A. McCabe, "The Tears of the Poor: John Glasse, Christian Socialist, 1848–1918," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 28 (1998): 149–172.

105. *League Journal [Glasgow]*, January 30, 1886, December 29, 1888, and April 2, 1892; *Forward [Glasgow]*, June 1, 1918, and April 3, 1920.

106. W. Reid, *Socialism and the Drink Traffic* (London: Twentieth Century, 1906) Well acquainted with the American scene, Reid claimed municipalization of the drink trade would be the first step to eliminating its many evils.

107. Aspinwall, *Portable Utopia*, 141–42.

108. Andrea Ebel Brozyna, "'The Cursed Cup Hath Cast Her Down': Constructions of Female Piety in Ulster Evangelical Temperance Literature, 1863–1914," in *Coming into the Light: The Work. Politics and Religion of Women in Ulster 1840–1940*, ed. Janice Holmes and Diane Urquhart (Belfast: Queens University Institute of Irish Studies, 1994), 154–178.

109. In addition to the sources cited in n. 77 above, see the following: Ian Tryrell, *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 14, 18, 23, 240, 243, 269, 273; Catherine Gilbert Murdock, *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men and Alcohol in America, 1870–1940* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1981).

110. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance;* Tyrrell, *Woman's World*, 141–145. On the American background, see K. Austin Kerr, *Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

111. On Scrymgeour (1866–1947), see William M. Walker, "'The Scottish Prohibition Party and the Millennium," *International Review of Social History* 18 (1973): 335–79.

112. *Scottish Reformer [Glasgow]*, February 1920; *Temperance Leader & League Journal [Glasgow]*, February 21, 1920.

113. *Scottish Reformer [Glasgow]*, January 1919. Bryan had earlier visited Glasgow.

114. Kenneth L. Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1922), 348–53. Through the 1920s and beyond, regular referenda on local option or no license would continue. "Respectable" areas often went dry, but the city center and poorer districts tended to remain wet.

115. Several editions of Maria Monk's *Revelations* and Rebecca Reed's *Six Months in a Convent* (Glasgow: John Robertson, 1835), published in Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as London, proliferated in 1835, 1836, and 1838. Elaine McFarland, *Protestant First: Orangeism in Nineteenth century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990).

116. Bernard Aspinwall, "Alesandro Gavazz, 1808–1889, and Scottish Identity: A Chapter in Nineteenth Century Anti-Catholicism," *Recusant History* 8 (2006): 129–152.

117. The overwhelmingly working-class Catholic population, enfranchised from 1918, grew to 601,000 in 1921 (*Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1878–1924).

118. Andrew Carnegie, "Home Rule in America," in *The Gospel of Wealth*, ed. E. C. Kirkand (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962), 188.

119. Handley, *Irish in Modern Scotland*, 322–23; United Free Church Assembly Proceedings, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1906, 1912. In addition to their challenge to Sabbatarinism, Italians were disliked because their ice cream and chip shops were seen as dens of iniquity. H. A. Allan, "The Scottish Jew," *Missionary Record of the United Free Church*, May 1910; Henry Mantles, "Attitudes to Jewish Immigrants in the West of Scotland to 1905," *Scottish Social and Economic History* 15 (1995): 44–65; Ben Braber, *Jews in Glasgow, 1879–1939: Immigration and Integration* (London: Valetine Michell, 2007). Polish and Lithuanian Catholics were equally obnoxious (*Glasgow Herald*, January 1, 1908).

120. A. Dewar Gibb, *Scotland in Eclipse* (London: Toulmin, 1930), 54, 57–59, 61–62, 148; Gallagher, *Glasgow*, 137–77; S. J. Brown, "'Outside the Covenant': The Scottish Presbyterian Churches and Irish immigration, 1922–38," *Innes Review* 42 (1991): 19–45; R. J. Finlay, "Nationalism, Race and the Irish Question in Inter-War Scotland,'" *Innes Review* 42 (1991): 46–67; R. M. Douglas, "The Swastika and the Shamrock: British Fascism and the Irish Question, 1918–1940," *Albion* 29 (1997): 55–75.

121. Bernard Aspinwall, *The Catholic Experience in North Ayrshire* (Ardrossan: St. Peter's, 2002), 107.

122. However committed, Jane Addams hardly attracted significant numbers of Chicago's immigrants; Thomas Lee Philpott, *The Slum and the Ghetto: Immigrants Blacks and Reformers in Chicago, 1880–1930* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1991), and *The Slum and the Ghetto: Neighbourhood Deterioration and Middle Class Reform, 1880–1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

123. S. J. Green, *Religion in an Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996),

228, 332; Hugh McLeod, *Piety and Poverty: Working Class Religion in Berlin, London and New York, 1870–1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier), 1996.

124. *Glasgow Herald*, January 17, 18, 22, 1920.

125. Ibid., September 8, 11, 1923, and March 13, 1928; Ferguson, *George MacLeod*, 137–151.

126. For example, Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile*? (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Marjory Harper, "Making Christian Colonists: An Evaluation of the Emigration Policies of the Scottish Church and Scottish Organisations between the Wars," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 28 (1998): 172–215.

127. Robert Scott, *Scotland Through American Eyes* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1928), 184.

128. James Cunnison and John B. S. Gilfillan, eds., *Glasgow: Third Statistical Account* (Glasgow: Collins, 1958), 619–620.

129. Reverend Theodore W. Cuyler, president of the National Temperance Society backed immigration restriction; Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1971), 188; Robert Moats Miller, *American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919–1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958).

130. Phillips, *Kingdom on Earth*, 202.

CHAPTER 5

Transatlantic Progressivism in Women's Temperance and Suffrage

Ian Tyrrell

The prominent British journalist William T. Stead's chief claim to fame today is that he went down to a watery grave on the *Titanic* on April 15, 1912. At his death, however, Stead had accumulated a long record as a friend of American reform, which is why he was crossing the Atlantic ocean on that fateful occasion. Among the things he admired about Americans was the role of American women in exporting a moral reform culture to Britain and its empire. He briefly described this process in his well-known *The Americanisation of the World; or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* in 1902 as "by no means one of the least contributions which America has made to the betterment of the world."[1] Stead befriended American woman reformers because he saw them as bearers of what he regarded as progressive change in education, cleaning "vice" out of cities, and promoting better citizenship. They would be leaders of the world and would influence Britain as well.[2] American women reformers returned the compliment. They viewed Stead as a great crusader for raising respect for women and combating the vice of prostitution, a campaign that made him a major figure in trans-Atlantic reform circles in the 1890s.[3]

The literature on American Progressive era reform is impressively large, yet its international impact remains remarkably obscure. This chapter looks at just one aspect of the cross-national reform connections centered on, but not limited to the Anglo-American world. Though the impact of Progressivism may be seen as being trans-Atlantic, in this chapter it is argued that American women saw the trans-Atlantic reform tradition as part of a larger potential for a global spread of Anglo-American values. This global aspect to

progressivism has been rarely treated by historians. Peter Coleman's study of the international influence of New Zealand reform movements of the late nineteenth century provides one case of global reform diffusion, but another is the activities of American women.[4] The latter had influence in Britain across a range of Progressive reforms, but the circuits of agitation were reciprocal. After a period in which ideas, personnel and institutions from the American women's movement were imported into Britain, British women reformers began to have a reciprocal influence in the United States as the campaigns for women's suffrage in both countries accelerated from 1903 onwards.

In sharp contrast to the scholarship of the antebellum period, historians have often neglected the role of American women in social reform interactions between Britain and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sandra Holton has made a start for the radical women's suffrage movement of the 1870s to 1890s, but the Progressive Era has been given short shrift. Several scholars have produced comparative studies of British and American reform in this period, including examinations of suffrage, but studies of the transnational interactions of these reformers across national boundaries remain rare.[5] Daniel Rodgers' pioneering work *Atlantic Crossings* has focused attention on the trans-Atlantic connections of social reform politics in the Progressive era in a way that does justice to the transnational theme but has virtually nothing to say about the role of women except to a limited extent in the area of what he calls "social maternalism."[6] Because of his concentration on male politics and structures, Rodgers emphasizes the transfer of British social politics to the United States, rather than how American ideas influenced Britain or continental Europe. However, in the areas of woman's temperance and various other kinds of moral reform as well as woman's suffrage—none of which fits into Rodgers' definition of social politics—the American presence in and influence on Britain was stronger. It might be questioned whether these moral reforms ought to be considered to be part of something called Progressivism. It must be conceded that this umbrella term covers a broad spectrum of reformist political activity, and no agreed definition has been reached by historians.[7] Nevertheless, in the 1890s American reforms were considered Progressive by British advocates in the women's movement,[8] and in the American case, they are usually regarded by historians as part of the broad coalition of Progressivism, as advocates of economic and social reforms aiding either democracy or economic and social efficiency were often the same people who supported woman's suffrage and women's temperance.

Stead wrote at a time when a succession of articulate and educated American women went to Britain. Not all were reformers, to be sure. In the 1870s came the socialites marrying into English society—the so-called trans-Atlantic

brides—who attracted great attention in the press on both sides of the Atlantic.[9] Among the brides, however, were some who were not socialites. There were women such as Harriot Stanton Blatch, who married into an English family and lived in Basingstoke, Middlesex, from 1882 to 1902, where she met the future suffragette leader Emmeline Pankhurst in the Quaker circle of the Jacob and Ursula Bright family.[10] The daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the leading American suffrage campaigner and woman's rights advocate of the preceding era, Blatch founded the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women in New York City after she returned to the United States in 1902; she became a leading suffrage campaigner on both sides of the Atlantic.[11]

Also arriving in Britain in the 1880s were other trans-Atlantic émigrés such as Hannah Whitall Smith, who came with her husband Robert Pearsall Smith in 1882 and, after several trips back to her native Philadelphia, settled permanently in London with her well-to-do family in 1888 and continued to live in England until her death in 1911. A daughter, Alys, married Bertrand Russell and thereby became part of the trans-Atlantic marriage exchanges herself. Smith, too, was part of the Anglo-American network of Quakers who went back to the eighteenth-century mercantile trade. The Smiths gained their wealth from a New Jersey glassworks, and this largesse enabled Hannah Smith to contribute to reform movements and satisfy her Quaker conscience.[12] She joined in every late nineteenth-century moral crusade, from peace to purity to temperance. From her trips across the Atlantic and her temperance convictions came connections to the American Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and to its leader after 1879, Frances Willard. After having been elected World's WCTU president in 1891, Willard came from the United States in 1892 and stayed in Britain for all but eighteen months until late in 1896. There she developed a strong friendship with aristocratic Englishwoman Lady Henry (Isabella) Somerset, and they both championed, along with Smith, labor reform, temperance, and woman's emancipation.[13] At about the same time, a host of other women's temperance reformers crossed the ocean, including Mary C. Leavitt, the WCTU's first round-the-world missionary, and Judith Ellen Foster, the president of the Non-Partisan WCTU, who visited Britain in 1890. Americans Elizabeth Wheeler Andrew and Dr. Kate Bushnell campaigned alongside Josephine Butler against the application of the Contagious Diseases Acts to British colonies and for the rights of women to be treated as equals in the regulation of sexuality. In the 1890s, too, American missionary women such as Margaret and Mary Leitch, products of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions work, criss-crossed the Atlantic seeking support for their missionary endeavors in Ceylon and also to join in the British antiopium crusade that mushroomed in the middle of that decade.[14] Ida Wells (later Ida

Wells-Barnett), the American anti-lynching campaigner, came to the United Kingdom in 1893 and again in 1894. Her much publicized visits built on a long tradition of British antislavery sympathy and Anglo-American reform networks, as she worked to put pressure on American reformers such as Willard, whom Wells perceived to have been soft in her comments on lynching in the American South.[15]

It is difficult to estimate what direct influence these women had on progressive reform campaigns in the period from the 1890s to the 1910s because women did not have the right to vote in parliamentary elections in Britain. The impact was largely intellectual and institutional, rather than in terms of legislation, or alternatively, it occurred at the local level, where women had voting rights for local school boards and municipal elections in the 1890s.[16] The political context for these moral reforms was less favorable in Britain than in the United States, but women reformers influenced the thinking of leading spokesmen for progressive reform causes such as Stead. In the 1890s, the social prominence of American temperance was considerable and gives the best example of how American women influenced the British. The British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) had been formed after a Scottish temperance reformer, Margaret Parker, visited the United States in 1875, where she met the WCTU pioneer leader "Mother" Eliza Stewart. Parker invited Stewart to Britain, where she campaigned vigorously against alcohol and helped to found the new British association in April 1876. The organization remained, however, conservative, focused only on piety and personal abstinence, whereas the American organization under the leadership of Frances Willard began to change from 1879 on; the latter adopted the idea of "home protection" in 1880, meaning voting rights for women to attain influence over moral causes, and advocated the Do-Everything policy in which a range of social and moral reforms of interest to Christian women were agitated. Gradually, in the 1880s Willard embraced trade unionism, becoming a friend of Terence Powderly, head of the American trade union the Knights of Labor. Willard became an advocate of equal remuneration for women and flirted with the People's Party in the election of 1892 at a time when that party stood for government ownership of utilities. Later, she joined the Fabian Society in England in 1893.

In 1890, BWTA President Margaret Bright Lucas, a sister of John Bright and herself an admirer of liberal American causes, died and was succeeded by the more innovative and radical Lady Henry (Isabella) Somerset. The latter, who went by the name Isabel, was soon enamored of the Do-Everything policy after a visit to the WCTU's annual convention in the United States in 1892, where she met Willard, and Somerset returned to champion "women's emancipation," including voting rights. She proposed a "progressive

policy" at the 1893 annual meeting of the BWTA, though this policy did not contain any explicit adoption of reform issues other than temperance. It focused instead on a democratic reorganization of the BWTA that would take power away from the conservative clique based in London and the surrounding areas of England that had dominated the executive "majority."[17] Opposition to Somerset grew in Britain among these women, who feared the dissipation of their efforts in other reform causes if Somerset succeeded in taking control of the executive. The division produced vitriolic debate and insinuation about Americanization of the British Women's own society, but the conservatives were defeated at the showdown with Somerset at the 1893 annual meeting. They left the organization to form the British Women's Total Abstinence Union, an organization that did not stray outside the narrow topic of temperance. However, the new organization did not rival the BWTA in size or influence. Most of the British women's temperance movement, especially those local affiliates in Wales and Scotland where Protestant evangelicalism was stronger and in the evangelically inclined areas of the north of England itself, remained supportive of the "progressive policy" and its detailed program.[18] Only one sixth of the unions, with approximately 17 percent of members, actually seceded,[19] and the British Women's Total Abstinence Union languished thereafter, attaining a maximum membership of only 21,000 in 1903. With its Do-Everything policy and affiliation with the American inspired World's WCTU, the BWTA continued to grow from 50,000 to 114,000 members by the 1903–1904 financial year. It should also be noted that in any case, the split was not a purely American–British affair in terms of personnel, as Jessie Fowler, the daughter of an American phrenologist and publisher, was the leader of the conservatives, and the visiting American prohibitionist J. Ellen Foster was welcomed as a close ally and campaigner for the narrower approach. American women were held in high regard in both sections of the British women's temperance movement.[20]

The social and moral reformers who supported the Progressive program gained a reputation as being vigorous and active, especially before 1900; Somerset's views on the need for broad-based reform were widely publicized in the *Woman's Herald*, a paper begun in 1888 under a different name but edited by her in 1893 as her own sponsored publication of the women's temperance cause, and in the *Women's Signal*, the BWTA organ from 1894, edited by Florence Fenwick-Miller. Under the American stimulus, the BWTA supported women's voting rights at the local municipal elections and campaigned to get women elected to school boards. The organization also developed a squad of lecturers touring the country and lecturing in favor of woman's suffrage.[21] One prominent supporter of Somerset who helped secure her victory in 1893 was Yorkshire activist Florence Balgarnie, whom Somerset appointed as head of

a newly created department of politics and women's suffrage within the association. Balgarnie also worked "continuously for the betterment of working women" and campaigned for the appointment of matrons for police stations, visiting the United States in 1894 to study the problems of conditions for women prisoners in the police stations and lockups of Chicago, Philadelphia, and other American cities. She brought many ideas for the better treatment of women back to Britain and worked successfully for the appointment of police matrons to look after women prisoners in police lockups in a number of British towns. She also campaigned for racial equality, bitterly criticizing Frances Willard's failure to strenuously oppose lynching in the United States, and she backed Ida Wells-Barnett's antilynching tour of the United Kingdom in 1894.[22] Yet another person who was inspired by Frances Willard to take on the causes of American progressivism was the able platform speaker Laura Ormiston Chant, who supported peace, purity, and temperance reform as a member of the BWTA and who preached the purification of urban society through moral reform of municipal government—very much a Progressive reform cause in the American mold. She was much in demand in 1893 and 1895 as a speaker in the United States because her views were so congenial to those of the American social gospel reformers of the period.[23]

However, the progressive and reformist image of the BWTA began to change as Somerset's ever-more-unorthodox policies caused controversy within the BWTA. The rich aristocratic leader advocated compromise on the issue of alcohol restriction in 1896–1897, abandoning her support of prohibition in favor of a form of high license, and she supported, though she later retracted, the licensed control of prostitutes in India for the British army in cantonments, where they were medically inspected. This stance caused purity reformers such as Josephine Butler to criticize her bitterly, but Somerset was not abandoned by the BWTA; her "progressive policy" as her supporters termed it, continued to be followed until she resigned from the presidency of the BWTA in 1903.

Complicating these personal controversies and internal dissension were deeper changes in the impact of American reform around 1902–1904. A second phase of interaction between American and British women activists began at this time. This was associated with a change in the sources of innovation within the broader woman's movement from the multidimensional campaigns associated with the anti–Contagious Diseases Acts agitation, and the BWTA's Christian and moral focus, to the more secular and politically oriented campaigns of the suffrage movement. Two institutional changes precipitated the intellectual and political shift. One was the founding in 1903 by Emmeline Pankhurst of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), the other the formation in 1904 of the International Woman's

Suffrage Alliance (IWSA). The Pankhurst-inspired WSPU intensified the conflict over suffrage in Britain by adopting more radical policies that came to be known as militancy.

The new suffrage militancy (initially engaging in vigorous nonviolent protests that went beyond Victorian and Edwardian ideas of women's decorum, but later including acts of violence against property) increased American interest in British political and social institutions and compensated for the strong eastward flow of women's movement officials in the previous ten or fifteen years. At the same time, the militants made the previously dominant American woman's suffrage reformers, including those in the WCTU, more marginal to the British debate and reduced British interest in the American women. The (moderate) tactics of the American women on the suffrage question, such as those of home protection espoused by Frances Willard, were no longer novel, newsworthy, or effective ones. The IWSA's founding also enhanced American interest in women's suffrage and social reform abroad, including where these novel tactics were being adopted. There followed a series of high-profile American leaders of the suffrage movement visiting Britain, but not so much to lead as to learn. The growth of English suffrage militancy had changed the balance of forces. The question was no longer how the American progressive reformers would influence the British but whether American suffrage agitation would be changed in a militant direction by the British tactics. This contrast draws attention to the changing nature of the trans-Atlantic reform relationships and to their reciprocal nature. British women influenced Americans just as Americans had an effect in Britain.

This emphasis on the interconnection of the temperance and suffrage workers on both sides of the Atlantic does not entail denial of important national differences. The institutional and political circumstances of the two women's movements, though intertwined in networks of reform connections, had distinctive features, as historians such as David Morgan have shown. Historians' analyses of these differences follow in tracks taken by the suffrage workers themselves. British suffragettes as well as American suffragists understood these comparisons and often commented on them. One of Emmeline Pankhurst's daughters, Silvia Pankhurst, conceded in an article written in 1913, "Shall American Women Become Militant," that American women had begun to copy "with adaptations" the British methods, but she did not herself believe that militancy would be needed, as it was in Britain. Not only had women already gotten the vote in nine American states, she argued, but "the difference between English and American political institutions" also had marked effects. The cabinet system, in which twenty men held arbitrary sway between elections and dictated legislation, had "increased a hundredfold the

difficulty of obtaining votes for women" in the British case. In the United States, legislation was not so heavily dependent on the executive.[24]

The militant campaign created problems for the American suffrage movement precisely because of the perception that its tactics were not needed because of the comparative differences in the political systems. The majority (suffragist) branch of the American women by and large did not want to see the movement split in the way it had in Britain. IWSA President Carrie Chapman Catt (also National American Woman's Suffrage Association [NAWSA] president before 1905 and after 1915) and other prominent suffragists such as Alice Stone Blackwell held to the view of the American movement as an evolutionary one, in which American women did not need radicalism.[25] After reassuming the NAWSA presidency in 1915, Catt had very negative things to say about the militants. She asserted that the "great majority of American suffragists have had no sympathy with the militant tactics of the small British group called suffragettes, even when applied across the sea, and will not welcome the introduction of those methods here, and especially by British women."[26] But Catt's position was by no means so resolute or consistent. Within the framework of their own tactical and strategic imperatives, the moderates in the United States saw much to admire in the achievements of the militants. They admitted that the circumstances of the British women and their treatment by the British state had provoked a militant response. The British government had handled the issue badly, for example, by trying to suppress *The Suffragette*, Pankhurst's publication. Catt and Alice Blackwell both believed that militants and nonmilitants each served a function in England, arguing that "It has required these two opposing forces to awake this tradition-bound land."[27]

These moderates did not oppose militant tactics completely, therefore, and it would be wrong to depict the movement in either Britain or the United States as completely polarized between radical militancy and conservative constitutional suffrage groups. There were many gradations in the approach to the militant tactics, and in fact, the more conservative Americans wished to absorb militancy to American conditions and tactical imperatives. Returning in 1909 from the London meeting of the IWSA, Catt brought back the idea of a "great pageant" such as the one held during the suffrage congress there. Catt urged "open air meetings" parallel to those that the WSPU pioneered, but "with everything done in the most decorous manner."[28] Anna Howard Shaw, Catt's successor as NAWSA president (1904–1915), was another moderate who embraced militant tactics in this nonviolent sense, supporting "a grand suffrage parade in Washington" in 1913 timed to lobby the incoming administration of President Woodrow Wilson to give women voting rights.[29] The resultant attacks on the suffragists at this march by antifeminist male

onlookers gave great publicity to the suffrage cause, just as similar opposition from the British government did on the other side of the Atlantic when suffragettes were arrested and force fed during their hunger strikes.

Radical suffrage workers in the United States also drew on the militants as a result of personal experience. American women such as Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alice Paul spent time in England and joined the English suffrage societies. There they came into contact with the radical "suffragettes" led by Emmeline Pankhurst; Paul participated in the 1908 and 1909 demonstrations against the British government and spent time in jail for taking part in the window breaking at Guildhall in 1909.[30] Alice Burns, another American activist, joined the WSPU after going to Britain to attend college but found the "English experience exhilarating" and "gave up scholarship for action."[31] She too went to jail, where she engaged in a hunger strike on the British militant model and served as a salaried officer of the WSPU in Scotland from 1910 to 1912. When Paul and Burns, who had met when incarcerated in an English jail, returned to the United States (Paul in 1910 and Burns in 1912), they planned their own militant campaign, initially within the mainstream NAWSA in its newly formed Congressional Committee, and later, from 1913 on, in competition with the association after breaking with the restrictions that the moderate NAWSA placed on their tactics and strategies.[32]

Returning Americans were not the only points of personal contact bringing militant ideas and examples to the United States. Leaders of both the moderate National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the radical wing of the British women's movement came to the United States, along with others who tried to straddle the fence between extremes. Emmeline Pankhurst came in 1913 to address public meetings attended by the followers of radical suffragists Blatch and Alva Belmont.[33] Pankhurst received moral and financial support from sympathizers in the United States and maintained that "All my life I have looked to America with admiration as the home of liberty."[34] She was well received in both New York and Boston, and in the latter city, a large cheering crowd even greeted her at the railway station. Helen Keller of Philadelphia, the advocate of the blind, was impressed as well. She found "Mrs. Pankhurst" to be "a great leader," believing that "the women of America should follow her example" because they would get the vote quicker if they did.[35]

Moderates also campaigned in the United States when invited by the majority NAWSA and under the auspices of the IWSA. Mrs. Philip (Ethel) Snowden, BWTA member and wife of the prominent British Labour member of parliament, visited the United States on speaking tours ten times from 1907 on.[36] She spoke with Catt at an Equal Suffrage League meeting in New York City in December 1909, and in 1910 Snowden attended Chautauqua

meetings in the Midwest, where she professed on behalf of British women to be "particularly grateful for the help given them by American women."[37] She told her American audiences that militant suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst had "let loose a Frankenstein."[38] Snowden advocated vigorous tactics in putting the suffrage point of view, but she urged women to stop short of using violence themselves. She accepted, however, that violence done to women would strengthen the case by producing publicity and sympathy, as it had in England.[39]

Militancy in Britain changed the nature of the American suffrage movement, whether or not American suffragists supported the militants. In addition to influencing the tactics of the mainstream suffragists the militants challenged the hegemony of the mainstream reformers, and the unity of the movement fragmented, because of the formation of competing organizations such as Harriot Stanton Blatch's Equality League (1907) and the Congressional Union. From within the NAWSA came the latter, formed in 1913 by Paul and Burns. This group attempted to take militant rhetoric and tactics farther by demanding federal rather than state enfranchisement, and they introduced picketing and heckling of American elected officials and deployed spectacular demonstrations. Yet the Congressional Union never adopted the full range of the British militants' tactics, namely, perpetrating acts of vandalism and arson.[40]

Not only was the American movement reshaped in these ways but the divisions within the NAWSA and the IWSA over militancy also made conducting the international relations of the suffrage movement through the previously American-dominated IWSA more complex. On the one hand, the British struggle made the Americans see that a suffrage victory in Britain would have rapid flow-on effects in the United States and in developed countries around the world. English suffrage was "the key which would unlock the doors that barred [women] out from their rights in their own countries."[41] Later, when wartime conditions produced signs of concessions in Britain and the American federal suffrage was still hanging in the balance, Catt could use Britain to goad the Americans into action. In 1916, she wrote that Prime Minister Herbert Asquith was changing his attitude: "The significance of the changed status of women in Europe has not been lost upon the men of our own country; nor has the fact been lost upon our women."[42]

On the other hand, the militant campaign in Britain also made it highly desirable for the American leadership, particularly that of Catt, to cultivate the continental European wing of the movement to balance the notoriety of the British militants.[43] Within continental Europe, there was some hostility toward the novel British tactics, suspicion of British motives, and a desire to maintain American political leadership. At the 1913 Budapest convention

of the IWSA, delegates asked Catt to take another term as president and not to resign. European suffrage workers conceded that "international jealously, especially Continental dislike of Great Britain" made it "very difficult to elect a President from any European country"[44] and made it desirable to cultivate European ties with the American moderates. Allied to this tactical need to align with continental suffrage workers in Europe was a desire to emphasize the cross-cultural nature of gender subordination against the idea of woman's suffrage as a purely Anglo-Saxon preoccupation.

This broader international view was not something new in 1913. The achievement of women's suffrage in the colonies of the British empire had been a topic of interest in the period 1893–1902 in both Britain and the United States. New Zealand women in 1893 and their sisters in two colonies in Australia had won voting rights campaigns, followed by the Australian federal franchise in 1902.[45] These antipodean victories had been noted by the WCTU, NAWSA supporters such as Ida Husted Harper and the Equal Franchise League in the United States, and the National Union of Suffrage Societies in Britain.[46] Indeed, the promising news from the antipodes stimulated the formation of the IWSA from a conference of the International Council of Women held in Washington in 1902.[47] Catt called the Australian victory "our best beloved suffrage achievement."[48] Moreover, the example of other British dominions continued to be invoked as part of the standard to which the United States aspired as the struggle for a federal franchise continued. Catt noted in 1916 that three provinces of Canada had given women the right to vote and proclaimed that Americans were "not so lacking in national pride that they will indifferently permit the Republic to lag behind the Empire in the spirit of democracy."[49] The networks of suffrage reformers were not purely between Britain and the United States but also encompassed the white settlement dominions and colonies of the British Empire.

More than that, the movement in which Catt was involved had global rather than regional aspirations. The Atlantic connections of the United States, Canada, and Britain did not exhaust or define the nature of the women's reform agitation across national boundaries. The woman's suffrage agitation had begun in the United States, spread to Australasia in the 1880s with the WCTU's founding there by visiting lecturers and missionaries such as Mary Clement Leavitt (1885), then back to Europe, and was by 1900 being seeded in Asia under colonial rule. "Every victory gains momentum to the whole movement" in a cause that was "not national, but international in scope."[50] From the imperatives of intra-European conflict came Catt's efforts to develop the IWSA as a truly global organization rather than one based only in the Euro-American world. In this pattern she followed the earlier example of the World's WCTU, formed by Frances Willard. This

organization sent missionaries to China, India, Australia, South Africa, and many other places in the decades after its 1884 founding. As a long-term member of the American WCTU, Catt was aware of the missionary efforts commissioned by Frances Willard and sought to emulate those campaigns. Just as the WCTU sent round the world organizers to promote abstinence, Catt undertook with Dutch feminist Aletta Jacobs a world tour on behalf of women's suffrage in 1911–1912. Their trip included Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia and enabled Catt to push within the IWSA the issue of the global enfranchisement of women. On one level, this campaign was depicted as the West enlightening the Orient. When Catt and Jacobs ventured into the colonial world, their responses to colonial women revealed paternalistic (perhaps one should say maternalistic) attitudes that were conventional in their support of the hierarchy of colonial regimes. Catt found "the ignorance, apathy, and hopelessness of the masses of women in Asia" to be "appalling,"[51] but she was careful to stress the underlying unity of gender across cultures. Catt used her trip to expound on the global nature of the struggle for the liberation of women and included condemnation of all forms of women's oppression under the European colonial regimes. At the Budapest conference of the IWSA in 1913, Catt's presidential address reflected her global experience of the previous year. Taking up the ostensibly Eurocentric theme of "white slavery" discourse current in Western societies, she denounced the bondage "of brown and yellow women by Western men living in the East as one of the saddest and most tragic of all Western influences."[52] This stance challenged the European assumption of racial superiority. What Catt's tactics showed was how the American international reform connections were not limited to Britain but spread out from their British base. The latter she regarded not as the sole object of her attentions but as the "the storm-centre of the movement."[53] Catt saw Britain as a convenient route for global influence, as the "sun never set upon the British empire." Drawing on this theme, she developed the analogy that "the sun now never sets upon Woman Suffrage activities."[54] In this way, the trans-Atlantic activities to promote suffrage and moral reforms in Britain were designed to advance the global influence of the American women's movement.

To return to the lamented end of the passengers on the *Titanic*, William T. Stead did not live to see the suffrage cause succeed in Britain or the United States. Though it is likely that he would have been pleased by the eventual result, he would never have interpreted the goal or effect of the American women he associated with in his reform efforts as a purely trans-Atlantic form of Progressivism. His *Americanisation of the World* was explicitly global in its orientation. To be sure, the book was well-grounded in the debate over the Americanization of Britain that produced several controversial works

on Britain's declining economic position vis-á-vis the United States around 1900,[55] but its implications were about global power. In the case of American women, trans-Atlantic progressivism was a launching pad to make their crusades for Progressive reform global in effect. They did so because they quickly perceived that women shared common, cross-national characteristics of gender oppression that made reformers' efforts to emancipate women not just trans-Atlantic but transnational in the broadest sense.

Notes

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3. William T. Stead, *If Christ Came to Chicago! A Plea for the Union of All Who Live in the Service of All Who Suffer* (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894). See Chapter 2, 23–64.
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6. Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), 19; see also Richard Heathcote Heindel, *The American Impact on Great Britain, 1898–1914: A Study of the United States in World History* (reprint of 1940 edition; New York: Octagon Books, 1968).
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8. See, for example, the debates conducted in *Addresses, Reports and Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the British Women's Temperance Association,1893* (Uxbridge: Hutchings, 1893).
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10. Morgan, "Woman Suffrage in Britain and America," 238.
11. Ellen Carol DuBois, *Harriot Stanton Blatch and the Winning of Woman Suffrage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

12. See Barbara Strachey, *Remarkable Relations: The Story of the Pearsall Smith Family* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1980).

13. On Somerset, see Olwen Claire Niessen, *Aristocracy, Temperance and Social Reform: The Life of Lady Henry Somerset* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007).

14. See, for example, Mary Leitch and Margaret Leitch, "Opium in Ceylon," *Lend a Hand*, 12 (1894), 49–54; Mary Leitch and Margaret Leitch, "Progress in Ceylon," *Missionary Review*, 10 (April 1897), 256–60.

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17. *Addresses, Reports and Minutes of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the British Women's Temperance Association, . . . 1893*, 27.

18. Ibid.

19. Tyrrell, *Woman's World/Woman's Empire*, 78.

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24. *New York Times*, May 4, 1913, 2.

25. Ibid., June 16, 1909, 5.

26. Ibid., May 19, 1915, 5.

27. Ibid., June 3, 1913, 8.

28. Ibid., June 16, 1909, 5.

29. *The History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Ida Husted Harper, vol. 6 (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 378; Christine Bolt, *The Women's Movements in the United States and Britain from the 1790s to the 1920s* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 202. Anna

Howard Shaw urged the American suffragists to adopt the militant British tactics. According to the *New York Times*, this showed the effects of the London meeting of the International Woman's Suffrage Alliance on the American delegates; *New York Times*, June 15, 1909, 8.

30. "TWO AMERICANS IN GUILDHALL EXPLOIT; It Was Lucy Burns, Friend of Miss Paul of Philadelphia, Who Accosted Churchill at Banquet. LATTER EXPECTS TO BE FED Had Her Own Apparatus When Arrested—Originated Hunger Strike—Both Women Have Been in Jail," *New York Times*, November 12, 1909, 1.

31. Sidney R. Bland, "Lucy Burns," in *Notable American Women: The Modern Period: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Barbara Sicherman and Carol Hurd Green with Ilene Kantrov and Harriette Walker (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 124.

32. Janice Law Trecker's introduction to Doris Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), xvii.

33. *New York Times*, November 25, 1913, 3.

34. Quoted in Bolt, *The Women's Movement*, 190.

35. *New York Times*, May 6, 1913, p. 2.

36. June Hannam, "Snowden, Ethel (1881–1951)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., Oct 2006, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48517 (accessed 25 June 2007).

37. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 5, 1909, 6; *New York Times*, December 20, 1909, 5; July 21, 1910, 6 (quote).

38. *New York Times*, November 6, 1909, 9.

39. Ibid., December 20, 1909, 5.

40. Stevens, *Jailed for Freedom*, xvii. See also Sandra Stanley Holton, "'To Educate Women into Rebellion': Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Creation of a Transatlantic Network of Radical Suffragists," *American Historical Review* 99 (October 1994), 1112–1136.

41. *New York Times*, June 29, 1913, C3.

42. *New York Times*, *Sunday Magazine*, September 3, 1916, 5.

43. *New York Times*, April 4, 1909, C3.

44. Ibid., June 18, 1913, 3.

45. Audrey Oldfield, *Woman Suffrage in Australia: A Gift or a Struggle?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

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47. Edith Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), 334.

48. Caroline Chapman Catt, *The World Movement for Woman Suffrage, 1904 to 1911* (London: International Woman's Suffrage Alliance, 1911), 7.

49. *New York Times*, *Sunday Magazine*, September 3, 1916, 5.
50. *Mrs Catt's International Address* (Warren, OH: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1912), 8.
51. *Address of the President at the Seventh Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Budapest, Hungary, June 15, 16, 27, 18, 19, 20, 21, 1913* (n. p., 1913), 7.
52. *New York Times*, June 16, 1913, 3; compare this to the 1911 address, *The World Movement for Woman Suffrage, 1904 to 1911*, 13, where she referred to the white slave traffic.
53. *Mrs Catt's International Address*, 5.
54. *The World Movement for Woman Suffrage, 1904 to 1911*, 3.
55. See, for example, Frederick A. McKenzie, *The American Invaders* (reprint of 1902 edition; New York: Arno Press, 1976).

CHAPTER 6

Britain's "Social Housekeepers"

David W. Gutzke

Women participated in Progressive causes in Britain but assumed neither the presence nor acquired the prominence of their American counterparts. One striking difference between them concerned settlement houses, inaugurated in Britain in 1884 and soon transplanted to the United States. British settlement houses never escaped their origins in a masculine milieu, which deprived women of what might have become a vital staging area for orchestrating reform, thus forcing them to establish separate organizations as an alternative. However important for numerous middle- and upper-class females, such associations lacked the influence to propel women—save for a handful—into strategic positions of national power. Accordingly, women's contributions to Progressivism came primarily at the grassroots level, where they acted as investigators collecting social and economic data, organizers of meetings, and speakers at public gatherings. In essence, women performed as vital conduits of information as well as promoters of public interest and, most critically, political pressure. Except in the antisweating agitation, women's national organizations seldom appeared in the forefront of public campaigns. Even in attacks on labor abuses, women in Britain differed sharply with those in the United States. No British women acquired the ferocious reputation of U.S. Progressive Florence Kelly, whom one associate rightly characterized as a "guerilla warrior" in a "wilderness of industrial wrongs." Where scope permitted individual initiative, some women, however, adroitly forged an entirely new role for themselves—that of the muckraker.[1] Never as conspicuous as their American counterparts, British muckrakers made up in print with passionate protest

what they lacked in numbers, and in graphic personal testimony what they lacked in statistical exactitude.

In 1884 Canon Samuel Barnett established Toynbee Hall in London's East End—the quintessential poverty-stricken area—partly to reduce the cultural schism between classes and partly as cultural uplift to neutralize "the paralyzing and degrading sights of our [slum] streets," compelling the resort to the public house. Though Barnett appreciated the impact of environment on the individual, he initially blamed irresponsibility, character flaws and lack of initiative for poverty. Thus with Toynbee Hall, Barnett aimed at fostering character reformation through example setting by middle- and upper-class Oxbridge-educated residents. Cultural superiors would act as exemplars for working-class inhabitants, primarily with educational programs instilling social uplift. Influence achieved through interclass interaction constituted one example of environmentalism. Not surprisingly, Toynbee Hall's architecture and ambience, synthesizing nostalgia with paternalism, embodied in concrete form yet another type of environmentalism. Settlement houses, remarked one artist, expressed the philosophy of "the humanizing and even encouraging effects works of arts can have upon those whose lives are a round of dullness." American Progressives such as Jane Addams and Samuel Jones ardently believed that "since the environment largely shaped people, most social ills could be cured by altering social conditions."[2]

That many U.S. Progressives borrowed the concept and personally examined the running of settlement houses in Britain is well known. British and U.S. settlement houses both acted as a center for establishing links with a depressed working-class community as a prelude to launching a social inquiry, designed to obtain accurate, detailed sociological data. At the settlement house of Trinity College, Oxford, located in Stratford (Essex), for example, its head, Edward G. Howarth, investigated the socioeconomic conditions of West Ham in 1905 as the basis for a lengthy book published two years later.[3] Appreciating settlement houses' strategic role in the broader community, and eager for the Christian Social Union to promote social reform, Canon Gore lived for a time at the Cambridge Settlement House in South London.[4]

British women's settlement houses strongly resembled their U.S. offspring in other ways. In Britain as in America, young, unmarried, college-educated women, motivated by varying degrees of personal guilt, idealism, and sense of duty, ventured into slums, rejecting their mother's untrained philanthropic volunteerism. Enjoying freedom from social constraints without risking their reputations, they spearheaded the development of social work as a new distinctive female occupation. Whether in Britain or North America, women outnumbered men as settlement house workers and undertook activities that the state later assumed. In Britain, well over half of the settlement houses

opened before 1914 were solely for female residents, with just one fourth exclusively devoted to male residents. Anglo-American women expanded what was largely volunteer work into a full-time profession of social work, whereas men either had a subsidiary role (as in the United States) or used their experience and contacts to launch careers in politics, the press, or the civil service (as in Britain). Finally, women's experience with the magnitude of poverty would lead to their embracing women's suffrage as a solution.[5] The quite considerable impact of British settlement houses on their American progeny has long been recognized, as Rodgers' recent study underlines. Nevertheless, American influence was also undeniable. In 1904 Dr. Joseph Strong, an official of the American Institute of Social Service, which acted as a "clearing house for social workers," visited England, where he was instrumental in creating an equivalent body, the British Institute of Social Service.[6]

Men assumed roles in settlement houses far different from those of women in Britain. As Barnett came to see poverty as more the result of socioeconomic forces than personal failings and newer residents with a new outlook replaced the first generation, Toynbee Hall evolved into what one of its most distinguished residents termed "a school of post-graduate education in humanity."[7] In pioneering basic training in social work, Toynbee Hall and other settlement houses sharpened the social consciences of innumerable university-educated men, many of whom later as key civil servants or journalists forged the Edwardian welfare state.[8] None of the settlements equaled the activist reputation of Toynbee Hall, where residents aided, and even coordinated, strikers in several bitter disputes.[9] The career of William Beveridge, subwarden of Toynbee Hall from 1903, best exemplified Progressive activism in this sphere. Immersed in East End politics, Beveridge responded to social inequity with an appeal for government intervention. His solution to laborers' dreadful working conditions was "to strengthen and execute relentlessly the laws governing factories and workshops." When small workshops defied an agreement brokered by Toynbee Hall in the Tailors' Strike (1906), he advocated not more agitation but more legislation.[10] This attitude itself underlined a critical Progressive assumption on both sides of the Atlantic that the government was not just trustworthy but an indispensable ally in promoting reform.[11] Perhaps the body most comparable to Toynbee Hall was West Ham's Mansfield Settlement House, energetically led by Christian Socialist Percy Alden, who supported programs, not parties, and pursued goals, not principles. Alden, who as a Fabian believed in a gradualist approach to socialism, fashioned shrewd Progressive coalitions to ameliorate poverty. When Progressives gained control of the West Ham Borough Council in 1898, it signified a triumph that both Mansfield House and the affiliated Canning Town's Women's Settlement duly shared.[12]

Female and male settlement work, moreover, stressed contrasting priorities and pursued dissimilar goals in Britain. Instead of joining male settlement workers in becoming active in industrial conditions, labor disputes, and strikes, their female counterparts concentrated on the maternal aspects of domestic family life, inventing "a nonprofessional shared women's world."[13] Outstanding in this area was Mary Ward, wife of Humphrey Ward and founder of the Passmore Edwards Settlement (Bloomsbury, London), which, though for males, had a Women's Work Committee. According to Seth Koven, Ward exemplified what he designates as "civic maternalism," in which specific gender traits of love, nurture, and benevolence created in women a cultural imperative to assist the wider community. Civic maternalists, he asserts, encompassed no political or social movement and instead created "powerful but transitory coalitions on specific issues." In fact, these were archetypal Progressive traits. Ward's settlement volunteers demonstrated the practicality of social programs as a prelude to convincing the government itself to undertake responsibility, closely paralleling U.S. Progressivism, which evolved from the local to the national level. "We don't wait for Governments; we like to force the hand of Governments," she proclaimed, impelled herself, like so many other British progressives, by fears of national degeneration and imperial decline. Setting up the first privately run school for the handicapped in 1899 as a prototype of a publicly supported national program, Ward successfully wooed Progressives on the London County Council (LCC) to expand the project. Even more fruitfully, she guided play centers through the same stages, culminating in 1906 Liberal legislation authorizing local authorities to implement the concept nationwide. From this process came a new relationship between the state and the voluntary sector, with women as trained voluntary social workers in control of new programs that male civil servants from the state inspected and financed.[14] Not surprisingly, Mary Ward's energetic leadership made Passmore Edwards Settlement a model of activism which other settlements—such as Glasgow's Queen Mary Settlement discussed by Robert Hamilton in the next chapter—eagerly embraced.[15]

In a broader Anglo-American context, both the roles of women and functions of these houses evolved differently. Two factors—diverging gender roles and function as a catalyst of reform—primarily differentiated settlement houses in Britain from those in the United States. The settlement house concept originated in Britain at Toynbee Hall in a decidedly masculine milieu, with women denied leadership positions. Canon Barnett himself rejected the idea of women founding settlements, lest they hijack the entire movement for themselves.[16] Though women would come to outnumber men overall as settlement house residents, the early primacy accorded males over females persisted. It was symbolic that women's houses often evolved as

separate (subordinate) attachments to male settlements, physically embody-
ing their dissimilar ideological priorities. Women—latecomers in the field of
settlement work—chose what areas men had left, namely, social work with
a maternal and child welfare focus. Settlement life in Britain represented a
short intermediate phase between earning university degrees and careers (for
men in civil service, journalism, and politics, for women in volunteer work
and social welfare), whereas in the United States it often proved, especially
for unmarried women with undergraduate or graduate degrees, a lifelong
substitute for marriage and children. Compared with some 85,000 wom-
en—fully one-third of all undergraduates—attending American universities
at the turn of the century, British university women numbered just 784, a
negligible fraction of the total British university population. Not only were
more women educated proportionately at U.S. than British universities,
but American women received university degrees, both for undergraduate
and graduate work. Only at the University of London could British women
earn undergraduate degrees before 1914, notwithstanding the fact that at
Oxbridge they took the same examinations as men.[17]

British women had neither the influence nor the larger sphere of action to
use settlements as a platform for social reform and thereby make social work
a dynamic female agency of social change. For men settlement work acted
as a springboard to desirable professional careers, whereas women, denied
university degrees and unable to undertake work already occupied by men,
had no powerful platform from which to launch wider careers with access to
political or governmental influence. Settlement house life loomed larger for
women as an option in the United States. Armed with degrees, unencum-
bered by husbands or children, and free from males competing with them to
advance career objectives, American women exploited settlement house work
to establish meaningful roles as activists across a wide spectrum. Settlements
thus became a base from which to pursue social change and institute criti-
cal reforms. Women affiliated with settlement houses hence figured promi-
nently in U.S. but not British Progressive reforms. The four most politically
influential British women—Beatrice Webb, Clementina Black, Margaret
MacDonald, and Lady Emilia Dilke—used organizations that were more
avowedly political or industrial in nature, with results less impressive, than
their more prominent American counterparts—Jane Addams, Florence Kel-
ley, Julia Lathrop and Grace Abbott. Britain's male counterparts in settlement
houses who achieved national distinction later were William J. Braithwaite,
Robert H. Morant, J. Arthur Salter and Hubert Llewellyn Smith in the civil
service, J. A. Spender in journalism, William Beveridge, A. M. Carr-Saunders
and R. H. Tawney in academia, and Clement R. Attlee in politics. It was
surely no accident that, in terms of public perceptions at least, female Jane

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Addams became as much synonymous with U.S. settlements as male Canon Barnett was with those in Britain.[18]

There were other striking contrasts between settlements in the Anglo-American world. U.S. settlement houses were a halfway station for migrants and immigrants—overwhelming from East European countries—to adjust from peasant life to city life, whereas those in Britain, with fewer immigrants, focused initially on alleviating class tensions. Ironically, situated in Whitechapel, a district with huge increasing numbers of East European Jews, Toynbee Hall closely resembled the typical environment of many American settlements, but ignored them entirely, perhaps because the Barnetts were virulently anti-Semitic.[19] By 1901, immigrant Jews, though constituting nearly two-fifths of the district's population, never figured in Barnett's correspondence, much less his efforts to reestablish closer relations between the classes. For him, as for the house and its residents, immigrants simply did not exist as an ethnic group with problems worthy of intervention.[20]

Class attitudes of residents toward local inhabitants also profoundly affected the relationship between them in the two Anglo-American countries. Because residents of U.S. settlements were drawn chiefly from college-educated women who often came from backgrounds linked with reform in a quite fluid class society, they developed a far more egalitarian outlook than their counterparts in Britain, where class relations in an aristocratic society remained hierarchical and were regarded as immutable. To their tasks, American women—outside the privileged governing class—brought beliefs in opportunity and self reliance, together with the certain conviction that the immigrants with whom they worked could advance, like native-born citizens, socially and economically. From this contact, settler females—free from preconceptions of place and power which flourished in a securely positioned elite as in Britain—fully expected to reap indirect benefits themselves, as they gained insights into immigrant life and cultural traditions. Engaged in close interaction with immigrants, settler women became committed to fostering assimilation of differing ethnic groups into the broader melting pot of American society as part of a wider process of cultural pluralism. As American settlements broadened their recruitment of residents beyond the traditional pool of the college educated, their physical premises also changed and expanded from quite humble beginnings into buildings as impressive in space as in amenities. An important related change, the growing professionalism of the staff and residents, established U.S. settlements in the vanguard of progressive change.[21]

Barnett and his Oxbridge-educated residents came from Britain's socioeconomic elite, long-confirmed in their innate social superiority and status in late Victorian England. To Toynbee Hall went countless members of the

establishment, prompting the wry observation that no other borough in London rivaled Whitechapel for its distinguished visitors. Barnett made a joke out of the situation, mockingly complaining that "we get too many lords" as guests at the hall. From these commanding heights, Barnett and hall settlers approached denizens of Whitechapel out of a sense of duty and service to promote class reconciliation. With these paternalistic views, Toynbee Hall settlers never entertained notions that from local inhabitants they might obtain deeper understanding of both working-class individuals and their culture. The exchange between them was entirely one-sided with paternalism pronounced and clear. Reforms sought by settlers remained limited, never extending to assimilation, much less to altering the class nature of Victorian Britain. This could not be otherwise given one central assumption which they held: Whitechapel's impoverished formed part of an unchangeable underclass, whose station in life could be ameliorated without restructuring society's existing institutions, hierarchical basis or economic power. Such hide-bound attitudes, together with persisting recruitment of university-educated men, thwarted the development of professionalization and contributed to Toynbee Hall's transitory period of ascendancy in what became the transnational settlement house community.[22]

By 1914, the total numbers of settlements in Anglo-America clearly underlined how these varying circumstances had affected women's public participation in each country. Although the United States had by then some 400 settlement houses with literally thousands of female residents, Britain's comparable figures were 49 and 246.[23]

Although settlement houses emerged north of the U.S. border, they represented an uneven hybrid of their Anglo-American predecessors, modified by Canada's unique cultural differences. What developed in Canada more closely resembled the pattern of the houses to their south than to their east across the ocean. From the United States came not only inspiration but, just as important, women such as Sara Libby Carson and Helen Hart, educated in elite U.S. colleges, who pioneered the movement in Toronto. Carson, founder of the first house, the Young Women's settlement in 1899 (soon rechristened Evangelia), went on to establish six more houses across Canada, working under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church and rightly earning the epithet "the Jane Addams of Canada." She recruited Hart as the head resident of St. Christopher House soon after its founding in Toronto in 1912. Hart quickly emphasized the link between the movement and Canadian social reform when, in a decision with far-reaching consequences, she widened the functions of the house into an agency offering practical internships for students enrolled at the University of Toronto's recently created Department of Social Service. Given this strong connection, it was hardly surprising then that Carson

in turn was recruited herself as a lecturer. As in the United States, Canadian settlement houses sought to socialize immigrants into broader society. As in the United States, young, (primarily) white, unmarried, and often educated women played major parts in the history of the houses, from promoting their founding to supervising their diverse activities. By participating in the houses, women enlarged their public roles. From Britain came prominent leaders, notably Henrietta Barnett, who visited houses and gave approval, encouragement, and advice.[24]

Despite these strong parallels with their Anglo-American predecessors, Canadian settlement houses claimed their own individuality. Religion—the influence of the Social Gospel movement—loomed larger, especially in the early phase, when women acted in conjunction with Protestant organizations. As Eleanor J. Stebner noted, settlement houses "were more closely aligned to Christian denominations than most houses in either the United States or England." Canadian settlement houses pursued the three C's: charity, Canadianization, and Christianization. Though American houses did concentrate heavily on "Americanizing" immigrants, the other two facets were not as discernible. In sharp contrast to England and the United States, settlement houses arrived simultaneously with industrialization in Canada. The impact was significant. Because Canada's Progressive movement emerged in the 1920s, two decades after Evangelia's founding, settlement houses lacked the political commitment most evident in the United States. Stress on social justice as an avowed role likewise arrived later. Canadian settlement houses thus displayed a distinctive character: they "deemed the orderly and peaceable interaction between peoples—and the facilitating of social services—as of primary importance."[25]

The concept of settlement houses also spread beyond settler societies.[26] Indeed, 300 delegates representing twenty-one countries attended the first International Conference of Settlements at Toynbee Hall in 1922. By then, settlements had spread throughout North America, Europe, Scandinavia and even further afield in Asia.[27] Despite this diffusion, the only one outside Britain and North America studied in detail by scholars is the Kobokan settlement, established in 1919 and soon known as Tokyo's Hull House.[28]

Transplanted settlement houses in Japan shared some characteristics of those in both the United States and Britain. By participating as residents, female Protestant missionaries surmounted patriarchal notions that relegated them to subordinate roles. Similar to those in Britain, Japanese settlement houses wanted to diminish the cultural divide between middle-class educated settlement dwellers, on one hand, and impoverished native workers—not immigrants—on the other. In this process of cultural diffusion, an intriguing role reversal emerged. "It was," observed Manako Ogawa, "foreign

missionaries that had to overcome cultural and language barriers and cross the bridge that separated them from the Japanese." In Japan, as in North America and Britain, settlement residents applied new social science methodology to examining societal problems, adopted investigative roles as an adjunct to formulating new policies and legislation, and saw poverty as the result of environmental factors.[29]

Japanese settlement houses were strikingly unlike those in both the United States and Britain in some critical ways. Those in Japan offered new gender roles, with Japanese mothers, freed from childcare responsibilities by settlement facilities, now able to enter the workforce as the family's second wage earners. "Good wife, wise mother," the state's endorsement of traditional gender relations, provided no method for poverty-stricken families to obtain more food. Because accelerating industrialization with its unfortunate consequences—emergent slums, growing poverty, rising infant mortality, and malnutrition—appeared in the early 1900s, several decades after Anglo-Americans had instituted settlement houses, Japan came relatively late to the concept. For this reason, when Japanese settlement houses began first to be established around the end of World War I, those in the United States inaugurated a second phase, in which social work became professionalized and taught as a discipline in universities rather than learned through field work. With this secularized approach, religion—for decades one of the key agents in the development of settlement houses—lost importance. As the product of U.S. and Canadian Protestant missionaries who had joined the foreign auxiliary of the Japanese Women's Christian Temperance Union, founders of some Japanese settlement houses rejected this newfound emphasis and instead embraced the ideas, philosophy, and vision of Jane Addams. The intent to create a Hull House in Tokyo's city center was deliberate, and Kobokan settlement, established in 1919, reflected this outlook. Although female missionaries spearheaded the formation of settlement houses and remained in direct control for many years, their presence was unobtrusive. Native Japanese women assumed leadership and interacted with local inhabitants on the most meaningful day-to-day basis.[30]

Ironically, though North American missionaries looked to the past for inspiration, this perspective could thwart the metamorphosis of settlements in response to a different cultural setting. Short of funds and devastated by an earthquake, missionaries' settlement houses had no choice but to turn to the government and business community for money and aid. Increasingly, their purpose became to shore up the social system, not to "help the neediest to help themselves." Social stability, acceptance of the status quo, and labor peace all became ascendant as settlement houses jettisoned their original rationale as the price for survival amid Japan's quest for an expansionist empire. [31]

As a transnational movement, settlement houses loomed largest in Britain and the United States as a response to industrialization before 1914. Because British women had not what some scholars call the "civic space" as in the United States to expand their roles and influence in settlement houses, they turned to another approach: the establishment of organizations in which females monopolized all aspects of leadership and control.[32] Five organizations became preeminence in Britain: the Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Labour League, Women's Trade Union League, Fabian Women's Group, and Women's Industrial Council. This fragmentation had far-reaching implications for social investigators, who developed intimate ties with settlements in the United States but not Britain. In the latter, one recent study observed, "the role of social investigator was one which upper middle-class women could play without social ostracism, though they could not, Mrs. Webb excepted, aspire to the same political prominence as their counterparts in the United States, and they could not frequently occupy the vanguard of social inquiry." Detached from settlements used so adroitly to orchestrate reform in the United States, British women who conducted and published social inquires —Maud Davies, Margaret Pember Reeves, Lady Florence Bell, C. B. Hawkins, C. V. Butler, and Edith Hogg—preceding World War I neither achieved high public profiles nor later developed successful careers as social activists.[33]

Without settlement houses to act as a staging ground for political activism, British women developed disparate, less effective organizations. One of the most significant social reformers was Llewelyn Davies, who drew on the deep Christian Socialist beliefs of her father, an Anglican cleric, in guiding the Women's Co-operative Guild, of which she became General Secretary in 1889. Aware of the social injustice of English society and the importance of government intervention as a remedy, Davies was instrumental in forming an umbrella body, the Women's Industrial Council, a coalition between the guild and the Women's Trade Union League, which represented women trade unionists. The council's purpose exemplified the Progressive faith in trained experts publishing facts and statistics, collected scientifically with field research, as a basis for devising remedies that it confidently expected the government to enact. From its inception in the mid-1890s, the council assumed a critical, far-reaching role in investigating social evils arising from women's employment. Its comprehensive statistical reports provided the basis for new guidelines or legislation governing working conditions.[34] In a detailed investigation into women's home work in London, launched in 1895, for example, the Council's Investigative Committee interviewed four hundred women associated with eighteen trades. The final report, completed in 1897, represented an unprecedented assembly of data on London home work.[35]

In the decade between 1898 and 1907, the council commenced twenty-four different social inquiries and published its reports in the *Economic Journal*, the *Nineteenth Century*, and the *Women's Industrial News*.[36] Some idea of the council's investigative methods can be seen in its compilation of data on the employment and earnings of 144,000 children who attended school full time at the turn of the nineteenth century. So impressed was the government with the scope and thoroughness of this survey that the data appeared in a parliamentary paper. This was precisely the type of research that could shape public opinion; Sir John Gorst reacted typically, calling the parliamentary paper "a painful and sickening document."[37]

Clementina Black, as the chairman of the council's investigation committee, assumed a pivotal role in its activities and deliberations. In many ways, her personal triumph was to see through the research, writing, and publication of "Married Women's Work," an eight-year project entailing literally thousands of interviews across the country and twelve separate essays with copious detail published in 1915. To bring this book to fruition, she proved herself a formidable coalition builder. Support for the investigation came from the Women's Labour League, local branches of the National Union of Women Workers, and leading members of the Fabian Society such as Margaret Bondfield.[38]

In Britain, the government also coopted some skilled women social investigators. Consider Clara Collet. After being educated at London University and earning a living as a teacher, she joined the Charity Organisation Society and eventually became one of Charles Booth's investigators. Throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, Collet published prolifically and widely in the Charity Organisation Society's *Charity Organisation Review*, *Journal of Education*, *Economic Journal*, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, and the *Nineteenth Century*. She also contributed essays on women's work in general and, more specifically, on West End Tailors to Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London*, which began appearing in 1889. Having become a recognized investigator, Collet accepted a position with the government as an assistant commissioner to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1892, charged with compiling evidence. Again, she wrote a series of reports on women's work, which appeared the following year as part of the final report of the Royal Commission on Labour. Within months, the head of the Commission, A. J. Mundella, joined Gladstone's Cabinet as president of the Board of Trade, where under the Statistical Department, he quickly set up a new Labour Department. Hubert Llewellyn Smith became head of the new department, consisting of four Labour Correspondents, of whom one was Collet—the only women appointed. Now Collet would be in a position to influence research and information from within the government.[39]

Constance Smith followed a similar career path. Daughter of an Anglican minister, she received training in languages and, as a women being unable to attend university, passed the Higher Cambridge Examination for Women. In response to Canon Gore's plea for volunteers to staff the newly formed Research Committee of the Christian Social Union, Smith joined the committee and eventually became its secretary. In this capacity, she undertook investigative work, much of it concerned with sweating—a topic on which she would write a chapter in a book on women's labor in 1908. She also wrote leaflets and pamphlets for the CSU, such as *Child Labour* (1908) and *Girl Labour* (1911). In some instances, she penned articles for other periodicals, such as *The Child*.[40] As her friend Gertrude Tuckwell recalled years later, "she was always prepared to take the task on herself and work at it literally day and night, often limiting her hours of sleep to three or four, and appearing the next day at Committee exhausted but satisfied." Through such diligence and commitment, Smith earned a place on the Christian Social Union's Executive Committee. By becoming part of the Executive Committee of the Women's Trade Union League, she linked the Christian Social Union with an organization that wanted, in Lady Emilia Dilke's memorial phrase, to "help women to help themselves." To another body, the Industrial Law Bureau, Smith devoted much of her energy and time to augmenting the enforcement activities of the overstretched factory inspectors, and this in turn established her reputation as a specialist in industrial legislation. This expertise led to her appointment as senior lady inspector of factories in 1913.[41]

Three women from the Women's Industrial Council likewise became coopted by government authorities. Grace Oakeshott, who graduated from Newnham and served as Secretary of the Council's Technical Education Committee, accepted appointment from the LCC to become its inspector of women's classes on industrial and trade subjects on the Education Committee. Joining her on this committee was Nettie Adler. Finally, Helen Smith accepted appointment from the Borough Polytechnic as lady superintendent. These three women validated the observation of the council's general secretary L. Wyatt-Papworth that the Women's Industrial Council served as "a training ground for the national service."[42]

Not all women worked through formal organizations or government departments. Some female activists—Priscilla Moulder, Edith Hogg, Olive Malvery, and Mary Higgs—became prominent not just as writers but as muckrakers whose articles, pamphlets, and books displayed an awareness of transnational reforms. In raising issues requiring government intervention, they illuminated Britain's relationship with settler societies that inverted the ideology of the "white man's burden."

Muckraking was a product of Progressivism. Because British historians have yet to write the Progressives into the history of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, muckraking in Britain has been not so much ignored as simply unrecognized. First coined and given a pejorative meaning by President Theodore Roosevelt in early 1906, the term "muckraking" described an entirely new approach to journalism. Whether in Britain or the United States, three traits characterized it: personal investigative exploration, sympathy with the working class, and an abiding interest in understanding the social, economic, and political forces shaping society.[43] Going down and under, of course, was hardly new, and Henry Mayhew, James Greenwood, and others had given the British public a view of the poor, drawn from their own experiences, in mid-Victorian England. Now, however, a new concept of the impoverished as the underclass, capable of threatening the propertied in society, emerged. Earlier investigators had been content to describe and lament what they encountered, whereas muckrakers unearthed corruption, social injustices, and unhygienic practices as well as dangerous working conditions to compel the government to apply administrative or legislative remedies.[44] One other facet distinguished muckrakers: They used the methods and techniques of the "new journalism," with a deliberate effort not only to write sensationalist accounts expressing moral outrage, but also to depict social evils with graphic engravings and photography.[45]

Writing from the perspective of the Liberal muckraker was Mary Higgs, daughter and wife of a nonconformist minister. She established her credentials initially by becoming the first woman to study the Natural Science Tripos at the recently established Girton College, Cambridge, before undertaking rescue work, and finally investigating and writing about the living conditions of homeless women—a subject on which she soon established herself as a national authority.[46] Her career reflected the transformation of numerous individuals who, as part of the professionalization of the middle class, became Progressives, eager to apply newly acquired expertise—supplemented with field research—to societal problems.[47]

Higgs initially shared widely held prejudices against most women in tramp wards, seen as moochers who deliberately embraced a carefree, rootless life unburdened by responsibility, ambition, or dependents.[48] One workhouse official expressed this view when castigating applicants who sought refuge for "sponging upon the rates!" To discourage these misbehaviors, authorities adopted a regime only the most destitute would accept. Higgs subjected herself to this treatment, wholly unprepared for the shattering consequences. Constant interruptions while sleeping on plank beds (creating a night of "long drawn out misery"), inmates breathing in each other's faces as a result of being crammed together, filthy blankets as bedcovers, reused

nightgowns, inedible food, and unreasonably harsh work (unravelling and straightening three pounds of tarred ropes called oakum) all convinced Higgs never, under any circumstances, to contemplate returning. Far worse than the physical discomfort, she came to realize, were the humiliating treatment and insults. After a caustic interview with the admitting official, Higgs' companion joined her upstairs, shocked, affronted, and searchingly inquiring: "I look like a prostitute?" Common lodging houses notorious for pests, even the prospect of incarceration—anything, she felt, was preferable to the state's workhouse. Clearly, desperation, not personal choice or irresponsibility, drove these women into the odious workhouse and common lodging-houses. From her experience, Higgs "was filled with amazement that any enlightened and Christian men and women could consider this a refuge for destitution." Ironically, the women were not shirking work when they turned to the state for assistance, but after even a short stay, their constitutions had been seriously compromised. Entering the workhouse "in full health and vigour," Higgs departed two nights later utterly shattered. "We could not at this moment work for an honest living," she wrote. "It is physically impossible."[49]

From this brief exposure, she emerged convinced of the state's utter failure to deal adequately with the respectable poor. State provision of tramp wards, baths, and showering apparatus had failed, and common lodging houses had flourished. Incapable of supporting themselves, working-class men had no choice but to separate from wives, limit family size, and live in government tramp wards. While men tramped to find work to earn sufficient money to marry, women turned to common lodging houses for accommodation and to prostitution for the rent. Of some one hundred women whom Higgs met while spending three nights in a lodging house, "with few exceptions, they were all living by prostitution." Entering "the alley of vice," and succumbing to the immoral environment, homeless women began the process of "pauperization," which would afflict subsequent generations as physically and mentally unfit men and women had children "at the expense of the ratepayers."[50]

To remedy these problems, the state must discriminate clearly between two broad categories of the destitute: the deserving and the undeserving. For the former—those willing but unable to find regular work—she urged attacking poverty at the municipal level. She recommended that Britain follow Glasgow's example and replace common lodging houses with state or municipal facilities. Although applauding the fact that Glasgow's seven lodging houses "apply a reasonable interest on capital," Higgs knew that this alone would not solve the vagrancy problem—society itself had to be reconstituted along different lines. "It is to reconstructed civic life we must look for the solution of civic problems, the abolition of the slum, the education of

the child, the provision of 'unemployed' capital to place 'unemployed' labour on 'unemployed' land, and thereby convert 'a trinity of waste into a unity of production.'" By supplying employment, a reinvigorated municipal government could thus strengthen the family and promote social stability. This was a standard Progressive argument for state intervention to foster higher moral values.[51]

For the undeserving poor—the hereditary vagrant or tramp averse to working—Higgs championed what had been implemented on the continent—compulsory labor detention colonies. The results of rigorous, unpleasant programs in Denmark, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland had been widely disseminated in pamphlets and books since the 1880s in Britain. In response to these efforts, several philanthropic bodies—the Salvation Army and the Christian Social Service Union—and one of London's Board of Guardians had equally experimented with labor colonies at Hadleigh, Lingfield, Starnthwaite, and Laindon. To add to this evidence, the Scottish Christian Social Union Commission had investigated Germany's scheme as the basis for its 1905 report. Higgs traveled herself to Denmark, where she visited diverse agencies involved with relief of poverty. Drawing on her own personal experiences as well as the ideas and principles of these continental countries, Higgs proposed that such institutions first be modified to fit English circumstances and then systematically introduced throughout the country.[52]

She was certainly not the first, while disguised, to undergo the rigors of conditions in casual wards and workhouses. From journalists and surrogate working-class undercover investigators in the 1860s to a genuine middle-class explorer in the 1880s, going down and out (as George Orwell later dubbed it) had generated public interest and willing participants.[53] Higgs, however, rated distinction as the first British female who, as Peter Keating put it, came to "recognize that only State action can be truly effective" in finding a remedy for vagrancy.[54]

Of the many writers on this topic, Higgs alone had authentic personal experience, gained anonymously, to supplement the consensus of opinion both in and outside government circles on the efficacy of labour colonies abroad.[55] Reflecting her stature as an investigative journalist—one of Britain's unheralded muckrakers—she appeared as a witness before the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy. Issued in 1906, the Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy devoted several appendices to detailing continental schemes, endorsed her position: "The general principle of a compulsory labour colony on habitual vagrants may be borrowed from abroad, but the essential details must be worked out at home." Malingers, habitual drunkards, and vagrants would be incarcerated for at least six months and possibly as long as three years, compelled to work for accommodation

and meals. Failure to establish a system in which vagabonds were coerced into working to support themselves would, the committee warned, culminate in "national destruction."[56]

Further impetus to legislate came several years later from the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, which again pointed to labor colonies as the most tenable solution. In response to this overwhelming support, the Prevention of Destitution Bill with its provisions for labor colonies was introduced into the House of Commons in 1910. Though parliament passed no legislation, Higgs was instrumental in founding the National Association for Women's Lodging-Homes in 1909. Among those appointed to its Council was Mrs. Mackirdy, formerly Olive Christian Malvery.[57]

Malvery achieved undisputed preeminence as the female muckraker who contributed most to Britain's emerging social conscience early in the 1900s. She provided the quintessential example of how reformers from settler societies interacted, with Britain serving as the crossroads in a complex, multidirectional web of influences and exchanges. Born in India but of mixed Indian and European ancestry; a Christian in her Hindu homeland; extremely well educated in India but capable of impersonating at will diverse British working-class accents, lives, and occupations; an Anglo-Indian immigrant who reviled Eastern European immigrants to Britain; and a self-proclaimed Briton who reveled in her Britishness but who displayed shifting ethnic identities, Malvery underlined her exotic background as well as the myriad cultural influences that informed her attitudes in her marriage to Archibald Mackirdy, a Scottish-born U.S. diplomat. Nothing about her seemed conventional; her life, in fact, exemplified the crosscurrents of Progressivism in settler societies. Even her wedding ceremony itself reflected a confluence of social classes and ethnic identities. Performed at St. Margaret's Westminster in 1905, her nuptials became, as Judith Walkowitz remarked, "the Society wedding of the Season, featuring Miss Malvery in costume and [London's East End] coster girls from Hoxton as her attendants."[58]

Malvery's Britishness, dislike of cant, nativist instincts, and strong sense of social justice mixed with outrage now became accentuated as she turned to writing four muckraking books before the war—an output unmatched save by Robert H. Sherard. Surely one of the reasons for Malvery's best-selling *The Soul Market*, her 1907 book that, within five years, went into eleven editions and received over two thousand columns and full-page reviews, was her strident criticism of the shortsightedness of established authorities, including missionaries. After listening to the "the awful sins of heathenism" at one of their meetings, she questioned why "souls ten thousand miles off should be accounted so much more precious than those in the London streets," especially in the slums—her haunt for so many years.[59] In *Baby Toilers*, she

recounted attending a meeting in which missionaries emphasized how the Japanese, Chinese, and Indians suffered owing to their heathenism. An outpouring of financial generosity came promptly to help those who "sit in darkness." Later, Malvery met two of the missionaries who smugly boasted of superior Christian countries free from the "sins committed under the cloak of heathenism." To challenge this assertion, she offered them a personal tour of the "inferno" reaching to the very "gates of hell." Their guide, appropriately a socialist infidel, took them into several working-class pubs, where parents, cursing and yelling, plied babies and children with alcohol. "Very nice people," he sarcastically observed. "All English—members of the highest civilisation in the world, examples of what good legislation, powerful Christianity, and advancing science can do for a nation." As two drinkers left the pub, a man roughly pushed his pregnant companion to the ground and unceremoniously kicked her. The infidel noted that expectant mothers in uncivilized countries were accorded respect, whereas in England, "we rise superior to these superstitions in this enlightened place."[60]

It was on the issue of impure food that muckraking attacks in Britain and the United States most closely resembled each other. According to historian John Burnett's survey of food purity, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, the Sale of Food and Drugs Act (1875) proved to be the key piece of legislation in reducing and finally eradicating impurities over the next quarter of the century. On the basis of governmental statistics, Burnett concludes that "deliberate, dangerous adulteration for the sake of gain had been all but eliminated" by 1900. Some beverages admittedly were still adulterated, but innocuously, with water, and on a relatively small scale.[61]

Muckrakers would have strenuously disputed this verdict and argued that Britons—regardless of social class—consumed harmful and sometimes potentially fatal foods. Two food preparation facilities, a bakery and pie and eel shop, particularly shocked Malvery during her investigations into lower-class work and life, published in 1907. Her description of the London bakery evoked Dante's inferno: "In one big house, which was a sort of underground vault, damp and ill-smelling, there were thirty men employed, all of a very degraded class and exceedingly filthy. The dough was being kneaded with the feet, and the air was so stifling and hot that the perspiration poured down in streams from the men into the dough."[62] Eggs, regardless of their state, even if noticeably deteriorating, were mixed together. "The stench from them," she recalled, "was absolutely loathsome." Restaurants became equally suspect in Malvery's eyes after her work at a stewed eel and pie shop in Lambeth. "I was shocked to see materials used that were absolutely unfit for human consumption." When preparing eels, the cook Nell added glue to the mixture.

Malvery asked: "'What are you going to do with it?'" Nell answered her candidly: "'Put it into the gravy of course—they likes it thick!'"[63]

Of the adulterated practices, fruit processing by far was the most appalling. In a fruit factory, large but typical of other such concerns, management openly defied government regulations, with workers given just two ten-minute breaks for meals during thirteen hours of toil, for which they received a paltry 7 shillings weekly. So little did owners think of workers that they provided neither wash basins nor toilets on the premises. Dirty, ill-fed, and sometimes skin-diseased casuals sat on stools, sorting unwashed fruit of the poorest quality that fruiterers, costermongers, and greengrocers had rejected as unsuitable for sale. "Owing to the heat and pressure of packing, the fruit often arrived at the factory in a half-fermenting mass; indeed, so bad was it often, that it was impossible to pick out whole fruit." It was, she thought, "unfit for human consumption," but management disagreed and excelled at hoodwinking the public. Even Malvery had to concede that "the ingenious owners can turn out quite nice-looking stuffs from half-decayed and diseased material."[64]

Red meat also became the target of Malvery's roving eyes. In the introduction to *The Soul Market*, she noted the widespread assumption on both sides of the Atlantic that adulterated meat was solely associated with the American Beef Trust. Her personal undercover research showed otherwise. Pointedly drawing a parallel with U.S. muckraker Upton Sinclair's novel, published several years earlier, she entitled her chapter "The British 'Jungle'—What I saw of the Preserved Food Trade."[65]

None of her observations on the British meat industry, however, were fictitious. Employing the most wretched workers, "tramps from the gutters and riverside," management worked them long hours well beyond legal limits and paid them little—8 to 11 shillings weekly. "I was filled with disgust and indignation at the way greedy and unscrupulous men made fortunes out of the unsuspecting public, by providing them with vile substitutes for food." Paltry numbers of meat inspectors had little chance to condemn food as unfit—less than 1 percent of the animals were so disqualified. Recently, meat wholesalers had further evaded detection by introducing a new delivery system: they dispatched vans to the wharves and then delivered the meat directly to retailers. One day, Malvery watched the arrival of four gigantic cases covered with mildew that "smelt so fearfully that the odour made one physically sick; the whole air was polluted by the smell from these horrid cases, and yet every scrap of that diseased offal was used." Reform could scarcely be expected from a company deeply averse to spending any money not designed to maximize profits. She knew that improvements could only

be instituted by coercion: Reforms must be "forced upon them by the strong hand of the law and a fear of complete exposure."[66]

Further undercover investigation convinced Malvery that public exposure of spoiled food had left serious evils unremedied. Unable openly to inspect factories with reprehensible conditions, she adopted another, indirect, but largely unsuccessful tactic for promoting healthy working environments. In *A Year and a Day*, her fifth book, she publicized Britain's best companies, where employees received good wages, worked in pleasant surroundings, and enjoyed the benefits of paternalistic social welfare schemes. By insisting on public accountability, she sought to drive unethical firms either out of business or to embrace better treatment of their workforce. In some ways, this effort continued her encounters with the most enlightened U.S. manufacturing companies, recounted in *The Soul Market*, her first book. Malvery had compared the National Cash Register Company in the United States, where women workers ate subsidized meals, with an unenlightened London fancy box manufacturer, where women employees consumed unwholesome meals without eating facilities. "Since the establishment of this room," she stressed, "the girls' capacity for work had been increased at least one-third, so that, as one of them put, 'it paid in actual cash to look after the workers.'" After personally attesting to her diminished efficiency after 10- or 11-hour days, Malvery pointed to the practice of one model U.S. firm in reducing employees' working hours as a tactic for increasing productivity. "Their efficiency was doubled when they worked without fatigue," she reported on the experiences of the factory owner—a millionaire. In recounting the employee practices of the most advanced companies abroad, Malvery again was contributing to and underlining the importance of the cross fertilization of Progressive reforms.[67]

Malvery, together with Priscilla Moulder and Edith Hogg, assumed an important role in mobilizing public indignation against sweating, an issue that attracted far more investigation over a longer period than virtually any other Progressive campaign. That workers were disproportionately females, who worked out of the home and often with unpaid children's assistance, explains the persisting hostility of reformers, but sweating was objectionable on other grounds. As a labor practice, sweating typically meant incredibly long hours, paltry wages, unsanitary work environments, outwork, and erratic employment. For these reasons, women's organizations and female muckrakers had especially strong motives for demanding improvements.

One of the most unusual indictments of sweating came from Priscilla Moulder, who, like Malvery, challenged traditional assumptions about the "white man's burden" to show Britons' hypocrisy in adopting the civilized/uncivilized dichotomy towards such settler societies. She damned British

Christians for aiding pagans abroad while ignoring sweated laborers' deplorable conditions at home, for which the Godly were sometimes directly responsible. A Glasgow firm of manufacturers paid its women workers "sweated" wages, a scant 4 shillings 6 pence weekly, to produce bibles intended for the godless. "They secure a 'living wage'," she wrote ironically and contemptibly, "for the privilege of spreading among the heathen the knowledge of the 'living truth.'" Moulder drew a parallel, on one hand, between the Dickensian character Mrs. Jellaby, who sympathized with the unhappy plight of West Indian slaves while being ignorant of "child slavery" in Britain, and her late Victorian British heirs, on the other hand, who now pitied Indian, Chinese, African, or other women abroad "while their equally unfortunate sisters toiling day after day in loathsome slums are passed over with comparative indifference" in Britain.[68]

Still more oppressed were the fur-pullers, "the most pitiful, most helpless, most hopeless class which is produced by modern industrial society," avowed Edith Hogg, author of the earliest and most detailed exposé published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1897. Such long-standing exploitative practices had inspired Hogg to help establish the Women's Industrial Council in 1894. Originally a booming trade during the Crimean War, when the Army wanted rabbit fur to line soldiers' coats, fur-pulling survived by providing skins for women's cloaks and jackets. Pathetic wages led to appalling working conditions. Unventilated, pungent air and surroundings permeated with fur and fluff fostered the bronchial and other diseases that characterized this work. Such conditions were inescapable even at meals when they cooked and ate food while other pullers labored nearby. "'Dust! lor, we don't mind that. We eats it, drinks it, and sleeps on it'," said one worker. Such sacrifices earned meager financial reward—usually no more than 19 pence a day or at most 10 shillings a week—from which the worker had to deduct the costs of buying and sharpening knives. Paid "starvation wages" for unremitting home work, even when assisted by children, virtually all fur-pullers lived amid "want and filth and disease"—death became the sole solution to their exploitation. According to Hogg, there was no social justice for female fur-pullers who experienced "everywhere the same dead level of squalor, of joyless days and months and years passed in ceaseless and repulsive toil, with the reward of starvation wages, almost invariably supplemented by Poor Law relief." In response to previous legislative efforts requiring more air and space for factory workers, manufacturers had evaded these restrictions by transferring the work to home workers, who were exempted from government oversight or control.[69] Hogg cited a bill introduced in 1896 in the United States, imposing punitive taxes of £60 on employers for each home worker engaged as subcontracted labor, as a conceivable model for Britain. Though her suggested

remedy was ignored, Hogg's public attack still helped end one of the main industries in Southwark (London). Designated as a dangerous trade, fur-pullers' employers had to give sanitary authorities the names of their outworkers. Accordingly, fur-pulling as an industry became mechanized and undertaken in factories. There was an irony for Progressives combating a worldwide evil: In some cases, orders involving fur-pulling were "sent to workers in Belgium and America, because such a fuss is made over here [in Britain]," grumbled one inconvenienced manufacturer. Although fur-pulling disappeared as outwork, fur sewing persisted as a sweated home work trade.[70]

On no other issue could women Progressives take more credit for helping to orchestrate a sustained campaign culminating in a workable remedy than on sweating. Mobilizing Liberals, Fabians, Christian Socialists, socialists, Unionists, and others in two nonpartisan national bodies, the antisweating lobby first began pressing for legislation from the late 1880s. Outrage, social justice, and fears of disorder all motivated these individuals, whose names read like a list of Who's Who of distinguished British Progressives: the Webbs, J. L. and Barbara Hammond, R. H. Tawney, Canon Scott Holland, Clementina Black, Constance Smith, Charles Gore (Bishop of Birmingham), and George Cadbury. With such figures, a formidable coalition became established, reaching far into the diffuse network of organizations interested in social reform.[71]

In the debate on how to end sweating, advocates drew from settler Societies' and U.S. experiences for guidance. Three contrasting solutions were being canvassed: two came from Australasia, compulsory arbitration and wage boards, and the other—licensing and inspection—from the United States. Two Australasians, Margaret Pember Reeves and her husband William, former New Zealand Minister of Labor, disseminated information. In *The Case for the Factory Acts*, edited by the Fabian Beatrice Webb and published in London in 1902, Margaret Pember Reeves wrote a chapter assessing the differing strengths of factory legislation in Victoria (Australia) and New Zealand. In that same year, her husband published a monumental work, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*. As the chief author of New Zealand's Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1894), the cornerstone legislation establishing compulsory arbitration, William Pember Reeves came to the subject with enormous firsthand experience.[72]

Though both Australasian approaches had merits, the British political context proved decisive. Trade unionists in Britain were far stronger than those in New Zealand, and hence they more easily vetoed compulsory arbitration as a legislative remedy. Neither in Britain then nor later in the United States was arbitration entertained seriously as a solution.[73]

More popular were wage boards to establish minimum rates of wages, introduced in Victoria in 1896. Britons as diverse in outlook as Keir Hardie, the Webbs, and the MacDonalds all made a pilgrimage to the Australian state to see how one settler state had attacked sweating. One obstacle to a remedy was that if Britain unilaterally passed legislation, it became vulnerable to competition from cheaper imported products produced with sweated labor. Displaying a shrewd awareness of Progressivism as a transnational force, Clementina Black argued that solving sweating in British required worldwide cooperation. "The balance of international trade would be in no way disturbed," she contended, "if our foreign competitors should keep step with ourselves in the prohibition of extreme underpayment." To promote such an understanding, Constance Smith lobbied aggressively for wage boards as a basis for an international agreement at a meeting of thirteen countries attending the International Association for Labour Legislation.[74]

Some headway had already been made. On the continent, Germany's Social-Democratic Party sponsored a bill requiring registration and establishing commissions—redolent of Victoria's wage boards—to fix wage rates. Such a stance reflected growing pressure at the provincial level: In Bavaria and Baden, sweating had been rigorously attacked with policies in part based on wage boards. In the settler societies, South Australia had adopted legislation, based on Victoria's path-breaking statute, in 1906. Transnational examples energized the ranks of Britain's Progressive reformers. Until foreign competition intensified, Britain still had much to gain by taking the initiative on sweating, Smith argued. Victoria thus provided a proven laboratory of success. In the eleven years since its creation of trades boards, Smith pointed to the extension of boards to other trades, persisting prosperity, undiminished output, and higher wages (but not prices) as all proof of what the future foretold for Britain once it enacted similar legislation.[75]

Margaret and Ramsay MacDonald became the chief advocates of the third solution, licensing and inspection. She had overwhelming "proof" of the superiority of the licensing and inspection systems in the United States and Australia, which the MacDonalds had personally investigated in 1897.[76] "My husband and I were convinced by the very simple testimony of our eyes, and above all of our noses; tenements which were licensed were clean and sweet," she recalled. She adopted the same litmus test at home in 1906: "I have visited in England homes where clothes and other articles of common use were being made which no inspector with a sense of smell could have licensed as being kept in wholesome condition."[77]

Mindful of what she saw as the effectiveness of the Boston and Philadelphia schemes, MacDonald lobbied the Women's Industrial Council, where she wielded considerable influence. In response, the council drafted

parliamentary legislation that required an employee only distribute work to individuals whose homes a government inspector had certified as being "a fit place for the carrying on of the industry without injury to the health of the persons employed there." With an eye to attacking low wages, MacDonald's bill indirectly addressed exploitative work conditions by prohibiting involvement of children in any capacity in home work under the age of 13 years: No longer would children assist their mothers as unpaid workers. Bereft of child labor and forced to comply with higher sanitary standards, employers, she anticipated, would have no choice but to employ workers on a full-time basis, thereby ending low-paid, casual work.[78]

Support for the MacDonalds came from Olive Malvery, the most famous female muckraker in Britain. Having visited the United States, Malvery had seen the impact of recent legislation in New York, which had prohibited the manufacture of clothing in unlicensed tenement houses, as a solution to sweating. In publicizing her sojourns disguised as a laborer in 1906, she devoted several chapters of *The Soul Market* to exposing the appalling working conditions of sweated employees. Elaborating on this theme the following year in *Baby Toilers*, she drew attention to proposed legislation in the U.S. Congress requiring that employees of home workers obtain licenses signifying their meeting of minimum sanitary standards. Such legislation protected not just workers, Malvery stressed. "There have been known cases," she reported, "where work was done in rooms occupied by small-pox patients and others suffering from infectious diseases, which are often spread by the means of the work carried from such contaminated places." To protect children, not just adults, Malvery came to see a minimum wage and prohibition of children from domestic work as the most practicable solutions to "child slavery."[79]

The Women's Industrial Council assiduously promoted cross-fertilization with pamphlets on women's labor laws in settler societies. Already it had published what became the standard reference work on the subject, W. Pember Reeves' *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand* (1902). *Labour Laws for Women in Australia and New Zealand* appeared in 1906, but the council also looked to the continent for ideas, publishing two studies, *Labour Laws for Women in France* and *Labour Laws for Women in Germany*, the following year.[80]

As an exemplary body of investigative study, the council ought to have exercised decisive influence on legislation. It had undertaken a massive inquiry into how government legislation affected all facets of women's employment. Published in 1904, its conclusions that women did not compete against men and that restricting the hours women could work had no deleterious effect on their employment prospects and earnings gave the council a powerful position from which to champion government legislation aimed at

curbing, if not eradicating altogether, exploitative labor—most notably in the sweated trades. Rival schemes supported by Black and MacDonald, however, polarized and thereby wholly neutralized the council as a powerful lobbying force.[81]

By gaining the *Daily News*'s official sponsorship, the Sweated Industries Exhibition in 1906 made the antisweating agitation credible. Almost at every step, coalition building and foreign developments shaped strategy.[82] Inspiration for the event came from A. G. Gardiner, editor of the *Daily News*, who had been impressed with a similar exhibition held in Berlin. Initially all went well, but attendance soon slumped. Exploiting social contacts, Tuckwell and Mary Macarthur sought greater publicity through royal patronage. The Princess of Wales not only attended but "went everywhere and spoke to the workers." Her lady-in-waiting, Lady Mary, promised Tuckwell that Princess Mary would read the Exhibition's papers, and—still more important—remember "everything." Her active participation revived public interest. Tuckwell, in her lectures on wages and hours, pointedly contrasted the pathetic conditions in which workers produced confirmation wreaths and other goods for the propertied classes. Prominent speakers such as George Bernard Shaw put the campaign into an international context, stressing Australasian legislation. Malvery, who had been collecting material for her muckraking studies of poverty and sweatshops, returned again and again to watch the workers and the reaction of the visitors. Branches of the Christian Social Union spearheaded the organizational drive to hold similar exhibitions in the provinces, where speakers again described reforms instituted in New Zealand and Australia.[83]

Both the Victorian strategy and legislation served as a guide for British Progressives. In 1895, one year before the Victorian Legislature enacted the keystone legislation creating wage boards, Australian reformers had founded an Anti-Sweating League. Not just the tactics but even the name were borrowed by British antisweaters. In 1906, Tuckwell initiated a new umbrella organization, the Anti-Sweating League, a coalition of divergent interests and dissimilar political outlooks championing wage boards as the appropriate solution. Underlining its nonpartisan support and upper-middle-class composition, the league enrolled individuals with such widely differing attitudes as the Webbs, the Earl of Dunraven, Viscount Milner, J. J. Mallon (Warden of Toynbee Hall, who became secretary), prominent Anglican officials (including those from the Christian Social Union), Tory newspaper editor Fabian Ware (chosen to be vice president), and three outstanding Progressives—George Cadbury (Quaker newspaper proprietor of the *Daily News*), A. G. Gardiner (editor of the Liberal *Daily News*), and Clementina Black. At a league-sponsored conference at the Guildhall (London) in October, organizers arranged for a full day of speeches and discussions of New Zealand's

arbitration and Victoria's wage board schemes.[84] In the press, the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and the recently established *Tribune* each emphasized how continental countries were addressing sweating.[85]

After British Liberals regained office, the Home Office appointed Ernest Aves, a Board of Trade official, to examine wage boards in Victoria and compulsory industrial arbitration in New Zealand in 1907. His report concluded that wage boards had successfully eliminated sweated labor in Victoria and had resulted in a "levelling up" of wage rates. That the number of trades covered had expanded from 5 to 49 by 1907 and that many employers, originally hostile to the intervention, lobbied for renewal of the legislation wholly vindicated reformers' expectations. What began as an experiment thus became institutionalized within four years as a result of the approval of workers and employers alike.[86]

Dilke's husband, Sir Charles Dilke, Liberal MP, placed the League's Minimum Wage bill before the House of Commons. Meanwhile, Abraham lobbied her brother-in-law, Prime Minister H. H. Asquith, to adopt as a government measure the private member's bill that her new husband, H. J. Tennant, Liberal MP, had introduced.[87]

The campaigns against sweating unfolded differently in Britain and the United States. British Progressivism radiated from the top downward, as a result of Parliament's centralized authority, whereas U.S. Progressivism spread from the bottom upward, reflecting the more complicated federalism between national and state governments. As a result, only in Britain could the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) seek comprehensive legislation through the national legislature. Lady Emilia Dilke, together with May Abraham (her secretary) and two Christian Socialists—Gertrude Tuckwell (Dilke's niece) and Constance Smith—assumed prominent roles in the league and as fomenters of public pressure: Dilke and then Tuckwell as successive presidents, and Abraham as a formidable organizer. In addition, the British WTUL worked closely with Labour MPs, whose party had no direct U.S. parallel. In a distinct reversal, moreover, the U.S. WTUL wooed middle-class feminists for support, whereas its British counterpart sought no such alliance. On one side of the Atlantic, the WTUL allied with the labor movement; on the other, it aligned with feminist and women's organizations. Ultimately, the British context proved more conducive to government intervention at the national level.[88]

This campaign demonstrated working-class agency—the capacity of workers themselves to influence the outcome of progressive reforms—a theme that U.S. historians began investigating from the 1970s.[89] Characteristic of Progressivism, it mobilized cross-class support in Britain: working-class women organized themselves in the WTUL and the Women's Industrial Council,

and upper-class women provided leadership, incited public indignation, and brought the issue before parliament.[90]

This diverse but formidable effort culminated in the Trade Boards Act (1909), clearly modeled on Victoria's legislation, with the same limited scope capable of expansion once the experiment vindicated itself. The government empowered boards with equal numbers of employers and workers, as well as an outside impartial chairman to set minimum wage rates in four industries—tailoring, paper and cardboard box making, chainmaking, and lace making—notorious for sweating. About four hundred thousand laborers, most of them women, were covered—a small proportion of the total workers.[91] What the act established was not so much minimum as maximum wage rates, which offered no more than a "safety net."[92] Failure to institute a national minimum wage betrayed the fragile coalition of transitory allies, united in attacking a social evil with a remedy involving no radical redistribution of income. Thus, the nature of Progressivism itself, promising reform not revolution, chiefly limited the solution's effect. Significantly, the Trade Boards Act came from the grassroots level, not from Liberal MPs' lengthy internal debate pressing for government action.[93] In this capacity, the lengthy campaign first of the Women's Industrial Council in collecting pertinent statistical data and then of Clementina Black in forging a formidable coalition was largely responsible for instituting a significant reform in women's work.[94]

Though modeled on Victoria's legislation, Britain's Trade Board Bill differed in several key respects. Extension of the scheme to other trades had required approval from Victoria's Parliament, whereas Britain's Home Secretary—following an inquiry into a trade at the behest of six of its workers—alone could make such a determination. There was another key contrast. Required to select employees in a trade to serve on the boards, Victoria's Parliament had implemented a cumbersome and quite time-consuming method, whereas Britain's Parliament empowered the Home Secretary to select a procedure or nominate representatives himself. Thus, Victoria's approach inspired, but was not slavishly copied by, Britain's Trade Boards Act. Defects had been recognized and improvements introduced. In retrospect, Britain's legislation reflected Victoria's major principles, modified by subsequent experience and Britain's trade union influence.[95] In a real sense, Britain's legislation represented a hybrid of diverse influences.

In enacting wage boards as a remedy for sweating, Britain became part of a transnational exchange of ideas, policies, and experiences on sweating. In 1910, Tasmania adopted legislation based on Victoria's path-breaking statute of 1896. Wage boards received more credence in the United States when the University of Chicago in 1907 published *Women's Work and Wages: A Phase of Life in an Industrial City*, a study of Birmingham women's work that

endorsed Victoria's wage boards as the solution to sweating. Alice Henry, an Australian journalist who became secretary of the WTUL, further publicized the success of Victoria's wage boards through the league's newspaper *Life and Labour*. Strikes in the clothing industry galvanized reformers to incorporate the concept in legislation for that trade in New York and Chicago just before World War I.[96]

Up against more formidable obstacles than their counterparts in the United States, British women Progressives achieved much in improving and mitigating the harsh conditions of urban life. Through exclusively female organizations and muckraking rather than settlement houses, women helped publicize industrial ills and sometimes shape a remedy. Ideas, programs, and experiences were drawn not just from United States but from other settler societies, as well as the continent. This cross-fertilization enormously enriched the nature of Progressive thinking in Britain. In some instances, the impact was direct, as when Malvery paid Upton Sinclair a tribute with the title of a chapter, "The British 'Jungle'"; more often, the influence was contradictory, as when Australia and the United States provided divergent solutions to a shared problem. Whatever the final outcome, experiences at home and abroad interacted, sometimes in unpredictable ways, to produce Progressive remedies, often truly transnational in origin but always intermingling with Britain's own cultural norms, political circumstances and class as well as gender relationships.

Notes

1. Louise C. Wade, "Florence Kelly," in *Notable American Women, 1607–1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971), 2:319.

2. Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); Deborah E. B. Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform in Late Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1994), 161, 168–69, 175; Emily K. Abel, "Middle-Class Culture for the Urban Poor: The Educational Thought of Samuel Barnett," *Social Service Review* 52 (1978): 598–603.

3. Edward G. Howarth and Mona Wilson, eds*., West Ham: A Study in Social and Industrial Problems: Being the Report of the Outer London Inquiry Committee* (London: J. M. Dent, 1907).

4. C. F. G. Masterman, *From the Abyss: Of Its Inhabitants; by One of Them* (reprint of 1902 edition; London: R. B. Johnson, 1980), 27, 30.

5. Seth David Koven, "Culture and Poverty: The London Settlement House Movement, 1870 to 1914" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1987), 375; Seth Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain,

1840 to 1914," in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (London: Routledge, 1993), 126; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (London: Virago, 1985), 215–16, 220–21, 230, 234, 243–44, 246, 343–44 (n. 15); John Matthews and James Kimmis, "Development of the English Settlement Movement," in *Settlement, Social Change and Community Action: Good Neighbours*, ed. Ruth Gilchrist and Tony Jeffs (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2001), 56.

6. Richard Heathcote Heindel*, The American Impact on Great Britain, 1898–1914: A Study of the United States in World History* (reprint of 1940 edition; New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 343.

7. William Beveridge's paper on "The Influence of University Settlements," quoted in Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 70. At the outset, Barnett subscribed to orthodox views of poverty as caused by the individual, but by the mid-1890s had altered his views, putting greater weight on impersonal socioeconomic forces. With this shift in attitude, he came to espouse the need for government intervention to reduce poverty, and see a new role for hall residents in investigating and measuring the extent of deprivation. See Emily K. Abel, "Toynbee Hall, 1884–1914," *Social Service Review* 53 (1979): 608, 612, 622.

8. Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 5, 61.

9. Llewellyn Smith and Vaughan Nash, *The Story of the Dockers' Strike Told by Two East Londoners* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889); Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 45–47.

10. Briggs and Macartney, *Toynbee Hall*, 49, 61, 64–65.

11. Richard L. McCormick, "Public Life in Industrial America, 1877–1917," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990), 107. For a good, brief, scholarly overview, see Michael Rose, "The Secular Faith of the Social Settlements: 'If Christ came to Chicago,'" in *Good Neighbours*, 19–33.

12. Koven, "Culture and Poverty," 528, 533–34, 548–50; Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival, 1877–1914: Religion, Class, and Social Conscience in Late-Victorian England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1968), 334–35.

13. Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 215. Women's settlement houses devoted much attention to promoting moral uplift and social control. See Catriona M. Parratt, "Making Leisure Work: Women's Rational Recreation in Late Victorian and Edwardian England," *Journal of Sport History* 26 (1999): 475, 477, 485.

14. Koven, "Borderlands," 110–16. This interpretation is placed in a broad comparative context by Seth Koven and Sonya Mitchell, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880–1920," *American Historical Review* 94 (1990): 1076–1108. Jane Lewis offered a different perspective but acknowledged Ward's pragmatism, flexibility, and willingness to work across political lines, traits that defined numerous Progressives. Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in*

Victorian and Edwardian England (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991), 218–19. Weiner*, Architecture and Social Reform*, ch. 8, discusses the architectural ideas influencing the building of Passmore Edwards Settlement.

15. See Chapter 7, 198.

16. Abel seeks an explanation in Barnett's attitudes to his parents and the prevailing gender roles in late Victorian England. See Abel, "Toynbee Hall," 608–11.

17. Theda Skocpol and Gretchen Ritter, "Gender and the Origins of Modern Social Policies in Britain and the United States," in *Britain and America: Studies in Comparative History 1760–1970*, ed. David Englander (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press in Association with the Open University, 1997), 279–82; Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Social Survey in Historical Perspective," in *The Social Survey in Historical Perspective, 1880–1940*, ed. Martin Bulmer, Kevin Bales, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 36–37.

18. Vicinus*, Independent Women*, 214–18; Bulmer, Bales, and Kish Sklar, "The Social Survey," 36–37; Abel, "Toynbee Hall," 606.

19. Robert C. Reinders, "Toynbee Hall and the American Settlement Movement," *Social Service Review* 56 (1982): 46–7.

20. Abel, "Middle-Class Culture," 618, n. 14.

21. Reinders, "Toynbee Hall," 46–9.

22. Ibid.

23. Picht, *Toynbee Hall*, 99–101. Outside London, settlement houses have not attracted much scholarly interest, save for those in Birmingham and Manchester. See Jon Glasby, *Poverty and Opportunity: 100 Years of the Birmingham Settlement* (Studley: Brewin, 1999); Mary D. Stocks, *Fifty Years in Every Street: The Story of the Manchester University Settlement*, 2nd. ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956).

24. Eleanor J. Stebner, "The Settlement House Movement," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 3: 1067–68; Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890–1928," *Canadian Historical Review* 49 (1968): 386–87.

25. Stebner, "Settlement House Movement," 1059–68.

26. T. Kretschmer-Doringer, "History of the Vienna Settlements," in *Hundred Years of Settlements and Neighbourhood Centres in North America and Europe*, ed. H. Nijenhuis (Utrecht: GAMA, 1987), 75–89; Christian Johnson, "Strength in Community: Historical Development of Settlements Internationally," in *Good Neighbours*, 69–91.

27. Reinders, "Toynbee Hall," 50.

28. See the books cited in note 26 for an introduction to this subject.

29. Manako Ogawa, "'Hull House' in Downtown Tokyo: The Transplantation of a Settlement House from the United States into Japan and the North American Missionary Women, 1919–45," *Journal of World History* 15 (2004): 359–87.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.
32. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs* 10 (1985): 658–77.
33. Bulmer, Bales and Kish Skar, "Social Survey," 37; Maud F. Davies, *Life in an English Village: An Economic and Historical Survey of the Parish of Corsley in Wiltshire* (London: R. F. Unwin, 1909); Maud Pember Reeves, *Round about a Pound a Week* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1913); Lady Bell, *At the Works: A Study of a Manufacturing Town* (London: Edward Arnold, 1907); C. B. Hawkins, *Norwich: A Social Study* (London: P. L. Warner, 1910); C. Violet Butler, *Social Conditions in Oxford* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1912); Edith F. Hogg, "The Fur-Pullers of South London," *Nineteenth Century* 42 (1897): 734–43.
34. Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 4, 9, 17, 48–57, 281, 327, 330, 334–40, 363, 366–67, 418–20, 437–38, 446–48, 450, 455, 458; David M. Thompson, "The Emergence of the Nonconformist Social Gospel in England," in *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c.1750-c.1950: Essays in Honour of W.R. Ward*, ed. Keith Robbins (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 257; Jean Gaffin and David Thoms, *Caring and Sharing: The Centenary History of the Co-operative Women's Guild* (Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1983), 26–27, 42, 54, 59–60. Sophie Sanger, who helped organize the 1906 Anti-Sweating Exhibition, also embraced Christian Socialism. See Norbert C. Soldon, *Women in British Trade Unions, 1874–1976* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), 64.
35. Ellen F. Mappen, new introduction to *Married Women's Work: Being the Report of an Enquiry Undertaken by the Women's Industrial Council*, ed. Clementina Black (reprint of 1915 edition; London: Virago, 1983), iii–vii.
36. *14th Annual Report, 1907–1908*, 3, Women's Industrial Council Archives, Trade Union Congress Library, London.
37. *Commonwealth* 5 (March 1900): 79.
38. Robert H. Wiebe, "The Progressive Years, 1900–17," in *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*, ed. William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson, Jr. (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), 435; Mappen, "New Introduction," iii–vii.
39. Deborah McDonald, *Clara Collet, 1860–1948: An Educated Working Woman* (London: Woburn Press, 2004), 98–99.
40. Gertrude Tuckwell, *Constance Smith: A Short Memoir* (London: Duckworth, 1931), 9–11, 14–16; Minute Book, February 8 and June 27, 1911, 46, 54, MS 4032, Christian Social Union, Lambeth Palace Library.
41. Tuckwell, *Constance Smith*, 16–19, 28.
42. Ellen Mappen, *Helping Women at Work: The Women's Industrial Council, 1889–1914* (London: Hutchinson, 1985), 19.
43. Louis Filler, *The Muckrakers* (*Crusaders for American Liberalism*, 1939; revised edition, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), 61, 77–78.
44. Peter Keating, introduction to *Into Unknown England, 1866–1913: Selections from Social Explorers*, ed. Peter Keating (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 13–14, 19–20.
45. See Chapter 2, 26.

46. Rosemary Chadwick, "Higgs [née Kingsland], Mary Ann (1854–1937)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed.; http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38523, accessed 4 Dec. 2007).

47. See Chapter 2.

48. See for example, T. Sparrow, "In a Woman's Doss-House," *New Review* 11 (1894): 176–85.

49. Mary Higgs, *The Tramp Ward* (Manchester: John Heywood, 1904).

50. Mary Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss* (London: P. S. King & Son, 1906), 290–93; Mary Higgs and Edward E. Hayward, *Where Shall She Live?: The Homelessness of the Woman Worker* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1910), 115–16.

51. Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss*, 299, 301; Higgs, *Tramp Ward*, 20.

52. William H. Hunt, *Labour Colonies: What are They?: What can They do*? (London: n.p., 1900–1910?); Higgs, *Glimpses into the Abyss*, ix, 58–64, 71–73, 86, 301; Higgs, *Tramp Ward*, 20; *Report of the Scottish Christian Social Union Commission to Germany, re. Elberfeld System and Labour Colonies* (n.p.: n.p., 1905); also see Michael J. Moore, "Social Work and Social Welfare: The Organization of Philanthropic Resources in Britain, 1900–14," *Journal of British Studies* 16 (1977): 90–91.

53. J. H. Stallard, *The Female Casual and Her Lodging, with a Complete Scheme for the Regulation of Workhouse Infirmaries* (London: Saunders, Otley, 1866), 6–58; James Greenwood, *A Night in a Workhouse, Reprinted from the "Pall Mall Gazette"* (London: Office of the Pall Mall Gazette, 1866); C. W. Craven, *A Night in the Workhouse, Cliffe Castle [and Other Sketches and Poems]*, etc. (Keighley: n.p., 1887); Rachel Vorspan, "Vagrancy and the New Poor Law in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England," *English Historical Review* 92 (1977): 66–67.

54. Jack London qualified as the first muckraker in Britain who had explored what the working class called "the spike." Jack London, *The People of the Abyss* (reprint of 1903 edition; New York: Archer House, 1963), chap. 9, "The Spike"). Keating, "Introduction," 19.

55. For this reason, it would be too much to claim, as did later one of her admirers, that the drafters of the 1906 Vagrancy Report had reached their conclusions based on her views of labour colonies. Even the 1905 Unemployed Workmen Act underlined the popularity of labor colonies as a provider of work for the unemployed by suggesting that public funds subsidize them. See Hugh Martin, preface to *My Brother the Tramp: Studies in the Problem of Vagrancy*, by Mary Higgs (London: Student Christian Movement, 1914), iv; Hunt, *Labour Colonies*, 3; Vorspan, "Vagrancy," 75.; John Brown, "Charles Booth and Labour Colonies," *Economic History Review* 21 (1968): 355–58.

56. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, with Regard to Labour Colonies*, 103 (1906), Cmd. 2852 and Cmd. 2892. Another muckraker, George Z. Edwards, likewise cited the example of Germany's approach as a model for Britain; George Z. Edwards, *A Vicar as Vagrant* (London: King & Son, 1910), 30.

57. Vorspan, "Vagrancy," 76–77; Higgs, *Where Shall She Live*?, app. II; Chadwick, "Higgs."

58. Mark Pottle, "Malvery, Olive Christian (1876/7–1914)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004); online ed., May, 2007, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/41107, accessed 3 Dec. 2007; Judith R. Walkowitz, "The Indian Woman, the Flower Girl, and the Jew: Photojournalism in Edwardian London," *Victorian Studies* 42 (1998–99): 3–9.

59. Olive Christian Malvery, *The Soul Market, with which is included "The Heart of Things"* (London: Hutchinson, 1907), 234; Olive Christian Malvery, *A Year and a Day* (London: Hutchinson, 1912), 83.

60. Olive Christian Malvery, *Baby Toilers* (London: Hutchinson, 1907), 69–78.

61. John Burnett, *Plenty and Want: A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day* (reprint of 1966 edition; London: Methuen & Co., 1985), 262–63.

62. Malvery, *Soul Market*, 102.

63. Malvery, *Thirteen Nights*, 83; Malvery, *Soul Market*, 102–3.

64. *Malvery, Soul Market*, 93, 95.

65. Ibid., 3. The actual role of Sinclair's novel, *The Jungle* (1905), in influencing Roosevelt and the passage of the Federal Meat Inspection Act (1906) has been challenged by revisionist historians in the United States. See Joseph Buenker, "Upton Sinclair's Bad Aim," in *Encyclopedia of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, ed. John D. Buenker and Joseph Buenker (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2005), 2:665.

66. Malvery, *Soul Market*, 98, 100–101.

67. Malvery, *Year and a Day*, 126–35; Malvery, *Soul Market*, 75, 80, 82–83.

68. Priscilla E. Moulder, "Women and the Sweating System," *Westminster Review* 162 (1904): 91–95.

69. Hogg, "Fur-Pullers," 734, 738–739, 741; also see W. H. Wilkins, *The Bitter Cry of the Voteless Toilers, with Special Reference to the Seamstresses of East London* (London?: Women's Emancipation Union, 1893), 14–15; Malvery, *Baby Toilers*, ix, xv, 68–69, 98; Malvery, *Soul Market*, 186, 188; George R. Sims, *How the Poor Live and Horrible London* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1889), 108.

70. Hogg, "Fur-Pullers," 742–43; F. E. Barger, "Fur Sewing," in *Sweated Industries: Being a Handbook of the Daily News Exhibition*, ed. Richard Mudie-Smith (London: Bradbury, Agnew, 1906), 63.

71. Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1972), 110; James A. Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries and Sweated Labor: The London Clothing Trades, 1860–1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 2–3, 89, 94–95, 174.

72. Diane Elizabeth Kirkby, "Alice Henry: The National Women's Trade Union League of America and Progressive Labor Reform, 1906–25" (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1982), 36–41, 58 (n. 71), 139; Mrs. W. P. Reeves, "Colonial Developments in Factory Legislation," in *The Case for the Factory Acts*, 2nd ed., ed. Mrs. Sidney [Beatrice] Webb (London: Grant

Richards, 1902), 169–91; William Pember Reeves, *State Experiments in Austra-lia and New Zealand* (London: G. Richards, 1902); James Holt, "Compulsory Arbitration in New Zealand, 1894–1901," *New Zealand Journal of History* 14 (1980): 179.

73. James Holt, "The Political Origins of Compulsory Arbitration in New Zealand*,*" *New Zealand Journal of History* 10 (1976): 106; also see Peter Coleman, *Progres-sivism and the World of Reform: New Zealand and the Origins of the American Welfare State* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987), 109–10.

74. Clementina Black, *Sweated Industry and the Minimum Wage, with an Introduc-tion by A.G. Gardiner* (London: Duckworth, 1907), 125–26, 143, 149–52, 221, 226–27, 231–39, 246–47, 251, 257, 264–65; H. V. Emy, *Liberals, Radi-cals and Social Politics, 1892–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 132–33; Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries*, 163–64; James Samuelson, *The Lament of the Sweated* (London: P. S. King, 1908), 65–68.

75. Edward Cadbury, M. Cecile Matheson, and George Shann, *Women's Work and Wages: A Phase of Life in an Industrial City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 13, 286, 295–300; Constance Smith, "The Minimum Wage," in *Woman in Industry from Seven Points of View*, ed. Gertrude M. Tuckwell, Constance Smith, Mary R. Macarthur, May Tennant, Nettie Adler, Adelaide M. Anderson, and Clementina Black (London: Duckworth, 1908), 42–57; G. R. Askwith, "Sweated Industries," *Fortnightly Review* 90 (1908): 223.

76. Tuckwell*, Smith*, 20–24; John Rickard, "The Anti-Sweating Movement in Brit-ain and Victoria: The Politics of Empire and Social Reform," *Historical Studies* 18 (1979): 590, 594; Christine Collette, *For Labour and for Women: The Women's Labour League, 1906–18* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 118; Mrs. W. P. Reeves, "Colonial Developments in Factory Legislation," *in The Case for the Factory Acts*, 2nd ed., ed. Mrs. Sidney Webb (London: Grant Richards, 1902), 169–91.

77. Mrs. M. E. MacDonald, "A Bill for the Better Regulation of Home Industries," in *Sweated Industries*, 26–27; J. Ramsay MacDonald, "Sweating—Its Cause and Cure," *Independent Review* 2 (1904): 80–81.

78. Ellen F. Mappen, "Strategists for Change: Social Feminist Approaches to the Problems of Women's Work," in *Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England, 1800–1918*, ed. Angela V. John (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 241–7, 252; Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries*, 163.

79. Malvery, *Baby Toilers*, xiv, 40–43, 129; Malvery, *Soul Market*, 185, 200; Map-pen, "Strategists for Change," 246–53.

80. Pember Reeves, *State Experiments*; Elizabeth Leigh Hutchins*, Labour Laws for Women in Australia and New Zealand* (London: Women's Industrial Council, 1906); Elizabeth Leigh Hutchins*, Labour Laws for Women in France* (London: Women's Industrial Council, 1907); Alice Salomon, *Labour Laws for Women in Germany* (London: Women's Industrial Council: 1907).

81. Mappen, "New Introduction," iii–vii; Mappen, "Strategists for Change," 246–53. Black was not a long-standing advocate of wage boards as a solution. As late as 1907, she had impartially weighed the strengths of arbitration and

wage boards and thought the New Zealand system preferable. See Black, *Sweated Industry*, 258–59.

82. One historian recently imputes the exhibition with causing "a fundamental break in laissez faire attitudes towards state intervention in the legal control of low pay." She allots no role whatever to Progressivism—coalition building, foreign experiences, lobbying efforts of women's organizations, and muckraking literature, all warrant little or no attention. See Sheila Blackburn, "'To be Poor and to be Honest . . . is the Hardest Struggle of All': Sweated Needlewomen and Campaigns for Protective Legislation, 1840–1914," in *Famine and Fashion: Needlewomen in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Beth Harris (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 243–57.

83. 1908 Annual Report, 4, 6, Box 5, Christian Social Union, Oxford University Branch, Pusey House Library, Oxford University; John Rickard, "The Anti-Sweating Movement in Britain and Victoria: The Politics of Empire and Social Reform," *Historical Studies* 18 (1979): 586–87, 592; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 184–85; Sheila Blackburn, "'The Harm that the Sweater does Lives after Him': The Webbs, the Responsible Employer, and the Minimum Wage Campaign, 1880–1914," *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 10 (2000): 24–27; Patricia E. Malcolmson, *English Laundresses: A Social History, 1850–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 97; Malvery, *Baby Toilers*, 35; *Daily News*, May 4, 1906; *Reynolds' Illustrated News*, December 16, 1934; "Reminiscences," Reel 17, Gertrude Tuckwell Papers, Trade Union Congress Library; *Morning Post*, October 27, 1906.

84. 1908 Annual Report, 4, 6, Box 5, Christian Social Union, Oxford University Branch; Rickard, "Anti-Sweating Movement," 586–87, 592; Jones, *Christian Socialist Revival*, 184–85; Blackburn, "Minimum Wage Campaign," 24–27; Malcolmson, *English Laundresses*, 97; Malvery, *Baby Toilers*, 35; Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries*, 165–66. Gardiner edited the *Daily News*, one of the leading Liberal daily newspapers in which Cadbury owned vast stock. The *News'* advocacy of social justice made it distinctive among London newspapers. See Emy, *Social Politics*, 132–33.

85. *Daily Chronicle*, April 21, 1908; *Daily News*, October 1–2, 1908; *Tribune*, November 19, 1907.

86. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, *Report to the Secretary of State on Wages Boards and Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Acts of Australia and New Zealand*, 71 (1908), 76.

87. Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries*, 90, 162–66, 170–74, 181 (n. 21).

88. Robin Miller Jacoby, *The British and American Women's Trade Union Leagues, 1890–1925: A Case Study of Feminism and Class* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson, 1994), 89–90, 95, 119.

89. Shelton Stromquist, "The Crucible of Class: Cleveland Politics and the Origins of Municipal Reform in the Progressive Era," *Journal of Urban History* 23 (1997): 192–220; Steven J. Diner, "Linking Politics and People: The Historiography of the Progressive Era," *OAH Magazine* 13 (1999): 5.

90. Sheila Blackburn, "Working-Class Attitudes to Social Reform: Black Country Chainmakers and Anti-Sweating Legislation, 1880–1930," *International Review of Social History* 33 (1988): 62–65. They also sought to inculcate moral uplift and social control. See Parratt, "Women's Rational Recreation," 474.

91. When the act was extended, some 3 million workers acquired coverage by 1920. See Jane Lewis and Sonya O. Rose, "'Let England Blush': Protective Labor Legislation, 1820–1914," in *Protecting Women: Labor Legislation in Europe, the United States, and Australia, 1880–1920*, ed. Ulla Wikander, Alice Kessler-Harris and Jane Lewis (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 115.

92. Ibid. Even in the industries subjected to mandated minimum wages, loopholes gave employers considerable scope for evasion. See Sheila Blackburn, "Ideology and Social Policy: The Origins of the Trade Boards Act," *Historical Journal* 34 (1991): 57–60. For an unconvincing Marxist interpretation, see Jenny Morris, *Women Workers and the Sweated Trades: The Origins of Minimum Wage Legislation* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Gower, 1986), 218–28.

93. Schmiechen*, Sweated Industries*, 188–89.

94. Mappen, "Strategists for Change," 254.

95. Schmiechen, *Sweated Industries*, 163; Cadbury, Matheson and Shann*, Women's Work and Wages*, app. iv; Black, *Sweated Industry*, 247–50.

96. Cadbury, Matheson and Shann, *Women's Work and Wages*, 13, 286, 295–300; Renate Howe, "A Paradise for Working Men but Not Working Women: Women's Wagework and Protective Legislation in Australia, 1890–1914," in *Protecting Women*, 326; B. L. Hutchins, "Proposed Regulations for German Home Industries," in *Sweated Industries*, 86.

CHAPTER 7

Social Settlement Houses

The Educated Women of Glasgow and Chicago

Robert Hamilton

U rban squalor in Britain and America fostered the reform impulses that led to the introduction in slum areas of social settlement houses during the progressive period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1] With roots in England, the settlement movement spread throughout the British Empire and across the Atlantic to rapidly expanding cities including New York, Boston, and Chicago. All settlements shared certain characteristics, yet although some were never more than early examples of neighborhood centers, others became significant players in the reform effort. Among the most influential were those British and American settlements that afforded opportunities for educated women to make their own unique contributions to reform. Between 1889 and 1910, female students and graduates used the space within their own settlement houses to engage in a range of endeavors that had a significant effect on the transatlantic world.

This essay considers the examples of two settlement houses, the Queen Margaret College Settlement (QMS) in Glasgow, Scotland, and Hull House in Chicago, United States. Both settlements were established and run by communities of women who had much in common, including their backgrounds in higher education and their motivation to make a difference in a period of intense reform activity. The women of Glasgow and Chicago shared similar values, which helped to push them in the direction of gender-specific reform. This process has been described as "civic maternalism."[2] Both settlements acted as launch pads for reform. However, the settlement women in Chicago were ultimately able to exploit a more conducive political climate and more effectively shaped the direction and pace of reform than was possible for their

British counterparts, who as women were invariably kept on the margins in the emerging social policy establishment.

As David Gutzke's essay (Chapter 2) explains, the roots of settlement in America and Britain can be traced to a number of influences, each of which fused together to find energy and expression in the settlement ideal. They included the rediscovery of poverty in the late nineteenth century; a desire to preserve human values in the cities; "romantic" missionary zeal including the social gospel message, which in part reflected a fear of new alien religions; a sense of guilt among university classes in particular concerning the plight of the poor; and concern about the breakdown of "community" in the cities as a consequence of the separation of classes. Particularly in Britain, where "godlessness" was linked to radical activity, a fear of class conflict was also in evidence. Although their sympathies lay with the downtrodden, the settlers did not seek to share wealth with the poor, yet settlement represented a break-through in that it implied a rejection of the notion that the poor were respon-sible for their own situation. Until the late nineteenth century, the dominant philosophy of those seeking to assist the less fortunate was represented by the Charity Organisation Society, which favored friendly visiting as a means of separating out the worthy and unworthy poor. Settlements, in contrast, rec-ognized that the causes of need could be located in the urban environment. In this, as in so many other ways, settlement workers were Progressives.[3]

Both Chicago and Glasgow provided fertile ground for the establishment of settlement houses. Each city had experienced significant change as a con-sequence of industrialization and urbanization. The population of Glasgow grew rapidly from 77,000 in 1801 to 762,000 in 1901.[4] The QMS in Glas-gow, founded in 1897, was the first to be established by women in Scotland. It was located in the district of Anderston, which had seen the influx of thou-sands of migrants from the Highlands of Scotland and from Ireland. What had once been mansion homes for the wealthy were divided into overcrowded flats to accommodate the new arrivals. Social surveys revealed appalling living conditions in Glasgow.[5] These surveys added to a clamor for urgent action in Anderston and elsewhere, which demands the well off thought they could ignore at their peril. Anderston marked excellent territory for pursuing the settlement ideal of bringing "alienated" people into contact with a higher culture. The contempt for the Irish was barely concealed—they were seen as feckless and in need of the right influences. It was feared that the Irish, who were regarded as degrading and degraded, would have a corrupting influence on the indigenous working classes. If they could be brought into line, it was assumed that both the city and society as a whole could reap the benefits.[6]

In the United States, the ethnic mix and the sheer numbers of immigrants helped to define the uniqueness of the settlement movement there. The

growth of Chicago, the home of Hull House, was remarkable. The population grew from 34,000 in 1851 to 1,700,610 in 1901.[7] Migration to Chicago was on a different scale than that experienced by Glasgow; by 1880, three quarters of Chicago's population were foreign-born citizens and their children. Between 1910 and 1920, only 8.9 percent of the half million immigrants who entered Illinois were English speakers.[8] Hull House was established in 1889 and was located in a neighborhood that contained at least eighteen different nationalities, of whom it was written that "they had little experience of American customs and politics, and were capable of being herded and driven by anyone . . . strong enough to wield the rod."[9] Overcrowding, disease, crime, and the apparent failures of urban governance made it unlikely in the minds of reformers that immigrants would easily be assimilated. Muckrakers challenged assumptions that disparities between the rich and poor were unique to Europe. Just as in Glasgow, the climate appeared to be ripe for settlement endeavor.

Anxious to help the poor and to understand more about life in the slums, Reverend Samuel Barnett established the first settlement at Toynbee Hall in London in 1884. As a Christian, he believed that reform began with the individual, but he also recognized that the city needed to be "cleaned up" and the environment controlled. By 1898, there were more than twenty settlements in Britain. The city of Glasgow, together with London, Liverpool, and Birmingham, was arguably at the forefront of the British movement. Three settlements were established in Glasgow, the most notable of which was the QMS, founded by students and graduates of Queen Margaret College, a women's college of the University of Glasgow. Many settlements on both sides of the Atlantic were run by women; however, in the male-led settlements in Britain in particular, Samuel Barnett and his contemporaries were determined to restrict the influence of women for fear they would take over. Toynbee Hall itself has been described as an exclusively male enclave, cultivating close friendships between men.[10] At the QMS, the University of Glasgow Principal was one of the first honorary presidents, but decisions were taken by the female membership. Hull House had a minority of male residents and male representation on the Board of Trustees, including such notables as John Dewey.

Settlements were "transplanted" to the United States.[11] The first of these was set up in New York in 1886 by Stanton Coit, who—in common with many other American settlers—had learned much from a period of residence at Toynbee Hall. By 1910, over four hundred settlements had been established in America including thirty-five in Chicago and twenty-one in Boston.[12] What was to become the most famous settlement house in the world, Hull House, opened in Chicago in 1889 under the direction of Jane Addams,

a college graduate and daughter of a state senator. Her inspiration came initially from the British experience of settlement, when a visit to Toynbee Hall in 1886 opened her eyes to the realities of poverty. Intellectually, she was also influenced by British thinkers including John Ruskin and Patrick Geddes. However, the leadership provided by Addams led to Hull House becoming the key player in both the American and worldwide settlement movements. Hull House set the standard and example for others to follow. Under the guidance of Hull House, a Federation of Social Settlements was organized in Chicago in 1894, with the brief to "secure more effective co-operation among those working for neighbourhood and civic improvement, and to promote movements for social progress."[13] Hull House became an engine room of reform endeavor, which, among innumerable other achievements, provided inspiration for the emerging Chicago Civic Federation, a citywide reform group. During the progressive years, a creative transatlantic dialogue also developed with Hull House at its heart. Jane Addams visited Britain regularly to undertake lecture tours and to meet with those with influence. She maintained correspondence with Samuel and Henrietta Barnett throughout their lives. Others from Hull House travelled regularly to Europe. The reputation of Glasgow for excellence and innovation in municipal reform attracted some of these visitors including Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.[14] Connections between Glasgow and Chicago were reciprocal and were reflected in the educational activities at Hull House. The *Hull-House Bulletin* of March 1896 announced a lecture on "municipal reform in Glasgow," and the January issue from the same year boosted a lecture by Glasgow M.P. John McCulloch. In October 1897, Ramsay MacDonald considered the achievements of Glasgow in a talk at Hull House.[15]

All settlements were intended to be organic to their immediate neighborhoods, which implied that each should grow in response to the needs of the locality. Jane Addams wrote that Hull House "should never lose its flexibility, its power of adaption, its readiness to change its methods as the environment may demand."[16] To better understand neighborhoods and the effect of poverty on local people living there, social investigation figured prominently in the work of settlers. The social survey methodologies employed necessitated that the settlers be truly part of the neighborhood, so that some settlements were residential establishments. By living in the neighborhood, the settlers were able to view and record first hand and, in theory at least, share the experiences of local people. At Toynbee Hall, some of the residents worked in the city during the day and returned at night, indicating an intention to protect their own futures following a period of service to the poor.

Settlers wished to convey commitment and solidarity with those living in the slums. Social reform was to be achieved by reaching across in a spirit

of friendship, and settlements were therefore intended to be fraternalistic rather than paternalistic.[17] Settlement houses were essentially concerned with creating an organic "community" where it was felt that relations between the classes had broken down. Barnett believed that society was composed of the well off and the poor, living in isolation and with few means of communication in any real sense between them. Attempts to promote class harmony were stressed. Jane Addams agreed with Samuel Barnett that "the things which make men alike are finer than the things which keep them apart, and that these basic likenesses . . . transcend the less essential differences of race, language, creed and tradition."[18] Although the stuff of myths, John Ruskin's nostalgia for a lost rural age when people were thought to have cooperated and shared the same values contributed to a sense of communal disintegration on both sides of the Atlantic. Jane Addams herself had been brought up in a small community where she believed people related with each other in ways not possible in the great cities. Michael Rose points out that whereas each British settlement resembled a parish, the goal in America was to recreate a small town ideal.[19] The challenge in America was to bring together those of different faiths and nationalities—otherwise, a bleak future was thought to be the prospect for the country. The assumption that industrialization and urbanization had divided people and a passionate belief in the natural interdependence of the social classes therefore drove forward the work of settlers. Commenting on the example of Boston in Massachusetts, Sarah Deutsch has observed that "the settlement house's middle-class invasion of the cities itself was an admission of the segmented class and ethnic geography of the city."[20] By 1911, it was claimed that "the typical settlement, under American conditions, is one which provides neutral territory traversing all the lines of racial and religious cleavage."[21] In the event, the objective of an inclusive environment often evaded settlers. At Denison House in Boston, the mistrust of female residents by local women was attributed to the fact that college women were not of the neighborhood. As Deutsch points out, neighborhood networks were built on trust and common interests and rarely crossed class and gender lines.[22]

Common to many settlers was the belief that Christian ethics would help solve social problems in the slums. The renaissance of Christianity inspired by the social gospel found an outlet in settlement houses—they were a means by which to build the kingdom of God on earth. Muckraking documents such as the *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in 1883, which referred to a level of poverty and immorality barely touched by the Christian church, helped to galvanize Christians into action. In Britain, it has been observed that the majority of settlements were no more than modified missions.[23] It is estimated that two thirds of settlements in the United States established before 1917

had some Protestant affiliation.[24] The Catholic Church in America used the idea for urban mission work. The *Chicago Record* described Toynbee Hall and similar institutions in America in 1895 as examples of "the penetrating power and formative influence of the Christian religion."[25] It was widely accepted that through settlement, both rich and poor would find themselves closer to God. Religious idealism and practical social activity were features of settlements in both Britain and America.[26] Because women were prohibited from entering the ministry, settlement offered them a unique opportunity to do God's work. Jane Addams herself expressed doubts about religion but wrote that the desire to make social service was as old as Christianity itself.[27]

The actual experience of working in settlements provided the well off with a sense of redemption for wrongs done to the poor. Toynbee Hall was nonsectarian because Barnett was determined that the "call to the East" should be a united effort.[28] He envisaged a moral war in the slums to be led in the main by the churches and by university men. Barnett was quoted in the *Chicago Times* of June 22, 1891, stating that "the object is to take hold of (young men) and mingle with, and by example rather than precept, lift them to a higher moral, social and mental level. They have tried to change the conditions of the poor, although this of itself will not do much to better their moral conditions."[29] Leading religious settlers in America including William Jewett Tucker and Robert Woods in Boston agreed with Barnett's analysis that social reform was primarily a moral and not a structural issue. The uplift of the poor was seen as a central function of settlements. This was to be achieved by exposing them to all of the benefits of high culture. Some settlements resembled small colleges or art galleries. At Toynbee Hall, Samuel Barnett sought to broaden the horizons of slum dwellers through books and art. Public lectures were delivered on subjects as diverse as Italian literature, ancient history, and musical analysis. Paintings hung on the walls of the settlement, providing a sharp contrast to the harsh world outside in the Whitechapel district. John Ruskin influenced Barnett and other settlers to believe that the lives of the working classes could be enriched if they were introduced to the world of the mind. In this way, the ugliness of the city could in part at least be neutralized.[30] In Boston, Robert Woods noted that John Ruskin was largely responsible for alerting others to the need for social reconstruction and for bringing "beauty" back to the people.[31] His influence in America could be seen at Hull House, where art exhibitions were a regular feature. A contemporary account described Hull House as an "ideal home set down on the desert of a squalid and insalubrious neighbourhood."[32] Ruskin has justifiably been described as the most important spokesman of the moral and aesthetic side of Anglo-Saxon reform in the late nineteenth century.[33] Class divisions in Britain also figured in the thinking of Barnett. Concerned that a

potent combination of ignorance and lack of religious influence would lead to radical sentiment, Barnett sought to bring learning opportunities to the whole community, including newly enfranchised working men. The 1884 *Toynbee Record* noted that "without more knowledge, power might be a useless weapon and money only a means of degradation, and that without more education, local government would hardly be for the good."[34] The objective was to assimilate the working classes into a broader democracy. In the minds of Barnett and others was the idea that education was a precondition for active citizenship.

The intention to influence the poor through the example of the educated was also indicative of a view that those living in the slums needed to be saved from themselves. Barnett saw his settlement as a place where the poor might "sit at the feet" of the educated. Speaking of university teachers, Barnett claimed that "it is they who preach the Gospel . . . the means by which those enslaved by toil may move in higher and wider spheres of life."[35] Beginning with Toynbee Hall, sentiments about the right to knowledge saw settlements in both Britain and America become centers for the delivery of University Extension courses, a form of popular adult education initially established by Glasgow graduate and Cambridge scholar James Stuart in Britain in 1873. The modernization of British universities in the nineteenth century saw demands to deliver effective access to university resources for the wider population at large. Extension has been viewed as a means of spreading religious values and moral uplift,[36] and as such, it promised much for settlers seeking a vehicle by which to improve the poor. Both University Extension and settlements have been seen as the twin offsprings of Christian Socialism, sharing in particular the objective to achieve social reform through learning.[37] Before he opened Toynbee Hall, Samuel Barnett established the East London Branch of the University Extension Society. At Hull House, University Extension courses were offered in connection with the University of Chicago, which in 1892 became the first university in America to place Extension on the same organizational level as other academic disciplines.[38] The University of Chicago was said to have sustained involvement after the initial enthusiasm had disappeared elsewhere.[39] The first commissioner of education in the United States, William T. Harris, proposed that Extension "gain possession of the organ of public opinion" and that it was "one of the most important developments undertaken in our century since the establishment of the common public school."[40]

University Extension helped to meet the desire of educated men and women to seek fulfilment through service to others, a key element of settlement endeavor. Having enjoyed a privileged education, many graduates thought it was their duty to share the benefits of learning with others. John

Ruskin is believed to have encouraged a whole generation of young idealists to help the poor through education.[41] As a young man, Samuel Barnett had also fallen under the spell of an Oxford University group that included Benjamin Jowett, T. H. Green, and Arnold Toynbee. Jowett promoted the ideal of disinterested public service; Green argued that man could reach his higher self by serving others and subordinating his own needs for the common good. Toynbee, Green, and many of their contemporaries projected a sense of guilt, a common motivation indeed for other causes of Progressivism.[42] As members of a privileged class who had reaped the benefits of the industrial age, they felt they owed something to the less fortunate. The well-off, it seemed, had gained in material ways but had lost out in a moral sense. Toynbee himself expressed such guilt, arguing that the middle classes had sinned against the poor, "offering charity and not justice."[43] Action in the slums helped to abate their feelings of guilt; helping the poor gave the educated middle classes a sense of purpose and drew them inexorably toward the settlements.

In Scotland, the University of Glasgow had a strong tradition of public service. From 1866 on, Edward Caird, chair of moral philosophy and a former pupil of Jowett, encouraged the doctrine that the educated should come together in a common cause. He can be seen as taking part in a broader movement that encouraged the extension of democratic forms of citizenship in civic society. Caird promoted the idealist principles of compulsory state education and humane liberal adult education.[44] Arguing that the realization of personality could be found in social service, Caird encouraged his young graduates to teach on Extension programs in the belief that education could break down what he believed were artificial gaps between the social classes. His supporters at Glasgow University included a friend of Richard Ely, the political economist William Smart. Smart argued in favor of establishing a settlement, or as he so aptly described it, a "university colony," in the city. He claimed that this would bring people into contact with a higher culture, would extend university outreach to the city, and would act as a basis for social enquiry.[45] These objectives were in tune with the expressed purposes of London's Toynbee Hall. The relocation of Glasgow University in the midnineteenth century from the center of the city to the more prosperous West End seemed to further highlight the separation of the East End poor from the resources of the institution. Smart argued that there was evidence of demand for university education among the people, "and not a little grudge that it has hitherto been withheld."[46] This first settlement in Glasgow, which preceded the QMS, was also named Toynbee House and opened in 1886. In 1892, Caird spoke at Glasgow's Toynbee House in terms that would have been familiar to Ruskin and Barnett, stating that "[the poor] must be provided with the means of rational and refined assessment" and that "the

general condition of the life of the poor could not be raised unless they were given the opportunities of social and intellectual progress."[47] In addition to Extension classes, this first settlement experiment in Glasgow included discussion groups and a library with books on subjects intended to inspire the poor. The writings of Ruskin were given priority.[48] Caird's ideas were popular across the transatlantic world, and his influence was said to have spread from Michigan to California.[49] For example, a pupil of Caird, Robert Mark Wenley, was appointed head of philosophy at the University of Michigan in 1896 and also wrote a history of University Extension.

The late nineteenth century saw women gain the opportunity in Britain and America to enter higher education for the first time, which in turn made a distinctive contribution to the development and work of settlements. In Britain, the University Extension movement helped to meet the demand from women for higher education. It gave women a connection with the world of ideas and offered a way out of restrictions imposed by social and sexual stereotyping.[50] The secretary of the Oxford Delegacy observed that in his view, it was fortunate that a generation of women had enjoyed the advantage of liberal training, as provided by Extension, "before the future of Great Britain were committed to their hands."[51] By 1888–1889, the annual report of the Oxford University Extension Committee noted that two-thirds of Extension students were female, and they were almost exclusively drawn from the middle classes. Extension helped to increase the pressure from women for the right to enter university on the same basis as men. In Glasgow, with its traditions of support among women for the abolition of slavery, the demands for higher education struck a chord, to the extent that "human rights issues became women's rights."[52] Capitalizing on this favorable climate, the Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women (GAHEW) delivered lectures for female audiences and even provided the opportunity for women to complete certificates. The work of the GAHEW led to the formation in 1883 of the self-governing Queen Margaret College, which provided a standard of general education in the arts that was initially equal to that of men. Anxious to share the benefits of learning with other women, the young college soon established the QM Guild for the purpose of delivering "lectures and other educational aids to factory girls and to female workers generally."[53] The guild service was handed over to the University Extension Board in 1888. By 1890, Queen Margaret College included a medical school, and in 1893, the college became an integral part of the University of Glasgow, following an agreement to admit women to graduation.

Out of the efforts to create a woman's college in Glasgow emerged the QMS Association (QMSA) in 1897. The catalyst was Miss Janet Galloway, secretary of Queen Margaret College. Educated in France, Germany, and

Holland, Galloway devoted her life to ensuring full access for women to the University of Glasgow. She prepared for settlement work by visiting Chicago. It was said of her that "she never wavered in her support of the cause of women's education, for which she resolutely refused to accept any remuneration."[54] Miss Galloway was keen to ensure that Queen Margaret College promote the corporate life of women, which in turn led to the creation of the Queen Margaret Union, a forum for social activity that brought together undergraduates and graduates of the college. One of her colleagues observed, "she who will, can do."[55] For Galloway, the right of women to higher education had not been won for nothing. She was also said to be "a women's woman, and very jealous of any discriminate mixing of the sexes."[56] In short, the college women themselves intended to shape future directions. The decision in 1897 by the Queen Margaret College women to open a settlement was an example of their resolve. In the late nineteenth century, settlements offered women a viable alternative in a climate in which many careers were still closed off. Many leisured middle-class women were attracted to work in them, and they also offered an opportunity to continue the kind of charity work with which women had been traditionally associated, provided a climate in which new endeavors could flourish, all in an environment in which women made the decisions.

Equally, in the United States many women from the universities found themselves drawn to settlements. In New York, Smith College graduate Vida Scudder, having visited Toynbee Hall, opened the College Settlement in 1889. Whereas it is estimated that only 784 women were enrolled in British women's colleges in 1897, in contrast, in America by 1870, one fifth of all students in higher education were women.[57] Another estimate is that by 1880, one third of all American students were female.[58] The settlements became almost unique among American institutions during the progressive period because of their gender parity, because as many women as men were attracted to work in them. Whereas men became the leaders of the movement in Britain, women were at the fore in America. Jane Addams was among the first group of women in 1882 to be eligible to receive a degree from Rockford Female Seminary. Her graduation, as with other women in the United States, symbolized the claim of women to equal status with men.[59] At that point, she was described as "the Victorian young lady, the epitome of American feminine innocence that Henry James was so fond of depicting."[60] Addams was critical of the sheltered and pampered nature of college women. She reflected that "I desire to live in a really living world, and refuse to be content with a shadowy intellectual or aesthetic reflection of it." [61] On entering Hull House, her everlasting preparation for life was over, and she later argued that women residents got more out of settlements than their clients.

For Addams, settlement was a "subjective necessity" for those women who lacked a clear social role. Settlements allowed college-educated women to immerse themselves in urban life and to forge new career directions for their sex. Although, in common with other settlers, Addams had no grand plan at the outset and began by inviting people in to cultural events, in time the Hull House women used their college training, especially in the social sciences, to both understand and improve slum life. As Jane Addams argued, women needed to "try out some of the things they had been taught."[62]

At Hull House, a small cohort of women around Jane Addams and her friend Ellen Gates Starr provided the drive that shaped the settlement. Some of them spent a significant part of their lives in residence. Hull House provided a home and refuge where they developed their own political culture. The housing reformer Octavia Hill, among others, opposed the idea of female residence in settlements on the grounds that it was unnatural for women to live together,[63] and the practice of residence did not take off at the QMS. In 1899, the QMS Executive Council announced that it would be glad to receive applications from ladies who wished to enter the settlement as residents.[64] By 1907, only paid officials, that is, the warden, chief superintendent, and a female doctor, were in residence. The tradition in Scotland was for students to live in the parental home, and in addition, many of the young ladies were unwilling to live among the poor and downtrodden. Yet in America, Hull House drew much of its strength from the service of college women in residence: they gave it continuity over time, which was rarely in evidence elsewhere. The enduring devotion to Hull House, which in the case of Jane Addams only ended with her death in 1935, helped to deflect criticism that the women were "in" the neighborhood but not "of" it. Addams modeled Hull House on her own college experience, and female mentorship and friendship were key elements. This spirit of cooperation would foreshadow the approaches to reform taken by the women. The women learned together in settlement space. It has been observed that self-education and sororal education were the common forms of adult education for many women reformers of the period.[65] Settlements offered a unique environment in which such learning and cooperation could occur. At Hull House, around twenty to thirty individuals were in residence at any given time, including some men, although the males were secondary figures.

The communities at the QMS and Hull House had much in common. Each drew confidence from the knowledge that they were the first of their kind. Both settlements consisted of young, college-educated women. The Glasgow context of charity work and philanthropy was reflected in the women, who were largely from politically influential families with strong traditions of social service. Equally, in Chicago, the women were drawn from

socially elite groups. Florence Kelley was both the daughter of a congressman and a graduate of Cornell University. The fathers of Kelley, Addams, and other Hull House notables were politically active as lawyers, judges, and legislators.[66] At the settlements in Glasgow and Chicago, the majority of the women probably did not marry. As a new breed of college undergraduates and graduates, they did not need to be defined only in terms of marriage to a successful male: Personal ambitions were also significant, career opportunities took precedence. Janet Galloway was said to have never really cared enough about any man to be bothered about him, but she did encourage her students to marry.[67] In reality, many of the women chose not to be confined to marriage. Jane Addams and her inner circle remained single, or in the case of Florence Kelley, had divorced before entry into the settlement. In America between the 1870s and the 1920s, an estimated 10 percent of women remained single, yet between 40 and 60 percent of female graduates never married.[68] Addams observed that women would have to be patient until public opinion tolerated the double role of career and marriage. These unmarried, childless women educated and advised working-class women on how to raise their children and on general issues of motherhood. From their perspective, there was no contradiction in this.

As well-bred women from successful families and with an education that required an outlet, self-doubt was not a factor. As individuals who were excluded from many potential careers, these women had no reason to carry the same burden of guilt as male settlers. Arrogance and idealism were evident among the women in equal measure. Jane Addams wrote that her ward had seen the gradual withdrawal of more prosperous Irish and Germans and the slow substitution of Russian Jews, Italians, and Greeks.[69] For her, the changing complexity of the neighborhood intensified the need for action. Addams looked on the new arrivals in her neighborhood with less favor than those who had left. She wrote that "the first effect of immigration upon the women is that of idleness."[70] She variously described immigrants as sordid, ignorant, inefficient, and stupid.[71] As a refined lady, shocked at what she found, it is not surprising that Addams appeared elitist and certainly authoritarian in thought and action. In contrast, the treatment of immigrants at Hull House marked an advance over the nativist attitudes of the day and reflected a democratic approach typical of American settlements more generally. Although many Americans feared a clash of different cultures in slum areas, Jane Addams was concerned that America had done little to incorporate immigrants into national life. Hull House sponsored ethnic festivals, and the Immigrants Protection League (IPL) was founded at the settlement in 1908. Overseen by Grace Abbott, the IPL, among other activities, investigated and reported on the living conditions of immigrants throughout Chicago. Hull House

acted as a halfway house that sought to help immigrants assimilate, a process that valued different cultural traditions. It has been argued that Jane Addams recognized the need felt by Jews and Poles to be more than just Americans— they also wanted to be Jewish-Americans and Polish-Americans.[72]

The self-assurance in evidence in Chicago was echoed at the QMS. The establishment of a Collecting Savings Bank in 1898 was a means of teaching good habits to mothers who might otherwise waste their money. In a display of self-satisfaction and complacency, the QMS Annual Report in 1899 noted triumphantly that "the eagerness with which women await the arrival of the collector, with their card and money ready, shows that they appreciate the trouble taken to assist them in cultivating habits of thrift." The intention was to reduce dependency on relief agencies and to send out a public education message that it was better to "stand on one's own feet." Eileen Yeo has observed that "the disciplinary tradition of social work (to be found in settlements) contained many forms of educative surveillance, making continuous survey possible."[73] In this way, the poor could be viewed as problems, thereby setting aside more searching critiques of the roots of poverty. The onus was placed on the poor women themselves to learn more efficient ways of managing their household budgets. The analogy of British people working in the colonies serves as a reminder that authority and compassion were often twin allies in the majority of settlements. The privileged women of Hull House and the QMS were entering what to them were other worlds in slum neighborhoods. Seth Koven observes that the slums and the outposts of empire were often linked in the imagination; Darkest London was compared to Darkest Africa.[74] In London, emigrating to the East End presented the same level of adventure, freedom, space, and power as service in the colonies.[75] Part of the agenda for the middle-class women settlers was to teach the poor good manners and better ways of living, bringing order and discipline where they believed there was none. The implication was that the lower classes could benefit from the kind of influences that only middle-class women could bring.

Women's settlements shaped their programs and activities around the themes of home and family. The first "Memorandum of Association" of the QMS in 1897 stated that the purpose of the settlement was to "promote the welfare of the poorer people, chiefly of the women and children."[76] These areas were seen to be the natural concerns of women. Settlement women were supported by influential men in the belief that they possessed the kind of attributes that could promote peaceful change. Women were also supposed to be good at practical things and would get the job done. The more gentle feminine touch was held to be ideal for social work activities. As Yeo observes, motherhood helped to legitimize the emergent caring

professions and justified the political activity of women.[77] Religious and moral values provided a rationale for the kind of female activism that would protect the home and family. Mina Carson points out that the expression of women's spirituality was limited to the domestic sphere,[78] and settlement activities in this sense were a form of social housekeeping. There was general acceptance that society could benefit from the humanizing impact of women in civic life.

A broad range of assumptions therefore strengthened the hand of female settlers as they embarked upon their work. In reality, men resented interference in family life, where traditionally they ruled the roost. A Men's Club was not established at the QMS until 1921. It was assumed, however, that women and children held the hope for the future, and this focus provided the justification for action and pointed toward the means by which the poor might be shown better ways of living by college-educated women.

In Glasgow, although many of the QMS women had Presbyterian backgrounds, Irish Catholic girls were encouraged to participate. Clubs for all children in the area were established, with the informal educational objective of instilling values of social citizenry. The women were convinced of the moral importance of developing communal obligations among children of all classes.[79] Organized games were fashionable because they were thought to foster positive values and build character as an antidote to city conditions. In Britain, the future of the Empire was linked to the need to provide recreation and vacation schools.[80] A suggestion by the Glasgow School Board led the QMS to introduce Saturday play hours for children. The QMS endeavors helped lead in 1907 to recreation schools being included in a Parliamentary Education Act. This was just one example in which the QMS acted as an incubator for an idea that first saw life as a voluntary initiative, highlighting the need for such work to be placed on a more secure footing. The settlement women in Glasgow helped to establish a new relationship in Britain between government and the voluntary sector, which saw demands for public spending and social welfare intervention. Their display of civic maternalism resembled Mary Ward's pioneering programs of schools for handicapped children and play centers run from Passmore Edwards Settlement in Bloomsbury (London).[81]

At Hull House the needs of children were prioritized. The early establishment of a nursery was a means of building up a rapport with locals. The educational and social values of play and recreation were emphasized. In 1893, Hull House established the first public playground in the city. Addams believed that play was a great stimulus and would unite children in comradeship, reflecting her desire to build a sense of community. The Hull House women opened vacation schools, hailed by the *Chicago Times*

Herald on February 9, 1895, as "a counter-inducement to Satan's interest in idle hands."[82] Vacation schools were also part of a broader campaign led by Addams and her supporters to combat child labor. The interests of everyone demanded an end to a practice that stunted a child's development and eroded faith in the regenerative powers of the nation. The clubs and playgrounds can be seen as attempts to limit the freedom of the children and bring them under a kind of benevolent influence for their own good. By teaching the children good habits and by involving local women in this enterprise, the settlement women could also get at the mothers and influence the family as a whole, thereby bringing about social amelioration. In a broader sense, the advocacy by the women in Glasgow and Chicago in favor of public facilities characterized attempts to restore both cities through concentration on the needs of the people. In Glasgow, the practice of municipal ownership of public facilities was well established, and Jane Addams argued that Chicago should also play a role on behalf of the community. Public parks and playgrounds were examples of her drive to improve the neighborhood, for which she received widespread support. In a similar vein, Addams and her colleagues led campaigns to improve tenement house conditions and to bring about regular and efficient garbage collection. In an age when private profit ruled supreme, the women of Glasgow and Chicago argued for the public benefit to be the driving force of change.

Progressive reform measures such as changes in statutory maternity and child welfare care in Britain were implemented through support on the ground by the QMS, and the social system was arguably transformed by such work. Bringing together coalitions of different agencies, the QMS provided an anchor that allowed the initiatives to flourish. One example was the establishment of the first Invalid Children's School in Scotland, whose success culminated in a 1906 Parliamentary Act empowering School Boards to provide such schools as part of welfare reform. The school was modeled on Passmore Edwards Settlement in London. The QMS, in 1898, noted that "it is evident that no home can be legitimately expected to meet the wants of all of the children who are suffering from weak lungs, sore eyes and other ailments, which nevertheless prevent their going to school for months at a time."[83] Both the inspiration and location for the school were provided by the QMS women. The QMS contributed rooms and an ambulance for the school, the School Board provided a teacher and furniture, and the Crippled Children's League provided a man and horse for the ambulance. Children were taken for recuperative trips to the countryside, the idea being to get them away from their environment—a strategy characteristic of the period. The optimism and self-belief of the women in their methods was reflected in a report that noted that one baby returned after two years stay "a fat, rosy urchin of four,

completely cured, not even lame!"[84] The passage of the 1906 Parliamentary Act followed a nationwide campaign that included a QMS petition in support of state funding for special education. The act demonstrated how the QMS and other settlements made invaluable contributions to the development of social services in Britain through state legislation. Advocacy by the women in favor of neighborhood initiatives and pilot projects on the ground at the QMS demonstrated what was possible. In 1905, in a move ahead of its time, the QMS women went further in support of those who had been excluded from the benefits and responsibilities of daily life by setting up an Apprenticeship Committee that catered for the employment needs of disabled young adults.[85]

Other initiatives took root at the QMS. A decision by government to provide milk for infant children was based at least partly on the belief that city conditions and the poor standard of motherhood associated with them was producing a breed of people incapable of maintaining Britain's position as head of the Empire. High infant mortality rates in Glasgow and the generally poor health of the citizens, against a backcloth of comment that the army was unable to recruit enough physically qualified soldiers during the Boer War, injected urgency into the situation. Thanks to its reputation, the QMS by 1907 had taken on responsibility for the Infant Milk Depot Scheme, which included visits with an educational purpose to the homes of new mothers. As many of the QMS students were medical students, their knowledge and expertise was particularly useful. Following the passage of the 1908 Early Notification of Births Act, intended to involve professionals in family life at an early stage to cut down on mortality rates, the QMS was asked to take responsibility for the Infant Health Visitation program in the area. It was reported that the QMS visitor "hardly dares hope for much improvement in the individual baby . . . but feeds her hopes on a future generation of healthy babies whom her preaching may have helped in some measure to make possible." [86] Again, the medical background of the QMS ladies proved invaluable in this important work.

Although men were also welcome, priority was also given at Hull House to the needs of women and children. Girls Clubs were intended to prepare young women for motherhood, and more crucial work could not be imagined by the settlers and their supporters. Just as at the QMS, cookery classes were provided, and the domestic needs of women took center stage. The efforts to involve women sometimes stalled because of cultural and gender realities; for example, a party flopped because the women sent their husbands instead[87]; a public kitchen failed because immigrants preferred their traditional diets.

The successes included classes on childcare and on the preparation of nutritious food. Model flats and housekeeping centers were set up where

general housekeeping skills were taught; public schools in America adopted these ideas, and the profession of home economics can be seen to have developed from the initiative.[88] The "Hull House Circular" in 1893 described the Jane Club as a "Boarding Club for Working Girls on the cooperative plan." The 1895 "Constitution of the Women's Club" stated its purpose to be "general discussions and investigation of questions pertaining to household science, advancement of women and study of child nature." Similar provision was in evidence across women's settlements generally.

Male settlers, including Samuel Barnett, were concerned with sharing art and intellect with the poor. However, the challenge to bring people together and to build a sense of community ensured that education, including adult education, played a central role in Glasgow and Chicago. Adult education generally during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was considered to be important for the maintenance of social stability. The public adult education program in Chicago, neglected between 1863 and 1880, rapidly expanded so that by 1904, there were 52 adult schools in the city, with twenty thousand enrolments.[89] The problem of assimilating immigrants into the citizenry of Chicago became one of the chief objectives of adult education.[90] John Dewey, who, similar to many other leading intellectuals, was attracted to Hull House, maintained that adult education should fill the gap left by the decline of other agencies that formerly had ensured that people led moral lives.[91]

Education was central to the purpose of Hull House from the outset. Jane Addams believed that the older generations needed education as much as young people. She took the view that only education could repair the losses causes by urbanization.[92] As women who had experienced the benefits of education at first hand, the Hull House settlers believed that they had unique insights into how learning could transform individuals and communities.

Addams fretted that many in her ward did not come under the influence of a teacher after the age of 14 years, writing in an article "With the Masses" that "men of ability, and refinement, of social power and university cultivation stay away from them."[93] She determined to fill the void, with Richard Ely describing her in 1895 as "a teacher among teachers, doing model work for the country."[94] In a situation in which communication and interaction between the different social classes was held to be absent, Hull House provided the ideal environment for bringing everyone together. Believing that human beings had a naturally cooperative desire for common effort and identity, Jane Addams argued passionately that society could be reconstructed on the basis of "social ethic" or "community." An injection of the "right" values was intended to bring about a sense of common purpose and would help to bind together the different social classes. Adult

education held the key to the achievement of this lofty goal. The intention was to develop citizenship, eradicate isolation and antisocial attitudes, and promote a sense of American identity. At the neighborhood level, discussion groups, informal reading groups, evenings of music and entertainment, plays, and lectures all were features. Greek tragedies were performed as a means of celebrating local cultures; a library helped to stimulate the growth of public libraries throughout the city. It has been argued that the regular visitors to Hull House were teachers, clerks, and smaller employers.[95] By the end of the 1890s, however, it is estimated that one thousand local people, including those of the Catholic and Jewish faiths, attended the educational activities each week. It has been claimed that as a consequence, the barriers broke down between different social classes and different ethnic groups.[96] The *Hull-House Bulletin* of 1896 reported that educational activities should be given the same priority as purely social events. More ambitious projects were intended to educate the public at large. The *Hull-House Bulletin* in December 1896 described a forthcoming Social Economic Conference, which had attracted speakers including "the most distinguished Tolstoy student in the United States[97]." The January 1897 *Bulletin* issue noted that the conference had been "the most diversified intellectual exchange in Chicago since the Congresses of the World's Fair." It also made clear that "friendly discussion of differences was the real mode of progress."[98]

Jane Addams wrote that the settlement was a protest against a restricted view of education.[99] University Extension classes were ultimately discouraged as elitist, as Addams was concerned that learned men would come and lecture immigrants in the language of the classroom.[100] She was also anxious to ensure that knowledge link with life.[101] The *Hull-House Year Book* of 1906–1907 noted that although classes of a purely cultural nature continued, the aim was to avoid merely reproducing a college type of culture and, instead, work out a method adapted to those engaged in industrial pursuits. Addams mused that settlement had failed to work out methods of education that were specialized and adapted to the needs of adult working people.[102] It was argued that culture and politics would have greater value if related to the contemporary experience of diverse groups of people rather than being based on elite standards, which was essentially a rejection of the Ruskin-inspired approach of Toynbee Hall. This did not mean that Hull House completely repudiated models of adult education that were successful elsewhere. The Labour Museum, which drew inspiration from the example of Mechanics' Institutes, stimulated debate on labor issues, highlighted the development of traditional immigrant trades and occupations, and was a means of celebrating immigrant culture. Jane Addams was concerned that just as Lincoln had never forgotten his past, so should immigrant children understand their heritage.

As Deegan has observed, education at Hull House was "viewed as a means of creating access to knowledge and cultural ideas for all rather than an elite."[103] The intention was to democratize culture and cultivate democracy, arguably encouraging active citizenship and bridge building between the social classes. The *Hull-House Year Book* of 1906–1907 commented on the educational value of the Labour Museum, noting that it demonstrated "that there is no break in orderly evolution provided history is looked at from the industrial standpoint, meaning that the simple human experience of the immigrants be made the foundation of a more American life."

At the QMS, the women preferred to describe their activities as educational and not religious.[104] Their emphasis can be compared to the evangelistic approach of the Men's Student Settlement in the city. Despite her conservative stance against female suffrage, for example, by the standard of the times, Janet Galloway was progressive in her support for the education of girls and women. Her aim was to integrate educational activities into the life of the community. Galloway believed that education had a role to play in connecting children to society and in preparing mothers for the task of raising their children as good citizens. In 1907, the QMS opened a nursery, thereby pioneering the Montessori method in Scotland—an indication of the willingness of the settlers to embrace new ideas and new approaches in education. Nurseries offered additional space that women could occupy and that also provided job opportunities and a further means of cementing the role of women in urban life. In 1907, the QMS provided facilities for the fledgling Workers Educational Association, a new liberal adult education organization that pioneered tutorial class provision in the local district and that, in partnership with the universities, typified the idea that adult education held the key to active citizenship. The complexity of activities at the QMS and other women's settlements (i.e., liaison with other agencies, scientific philanthropy including "friendly visiting" to the homes of the poor, case study work, and general concern for the poor) led them to be an incubator for the newly developing profession of social work. Social work recognized the right of educated women to take under their wing and "show the right way" those who were less fortunate than they were. Social work training became the dominant concern of the QMS beginning in 1908. Similar developments took place elsewhere, including Chicago, New York, Liverpool, Birmingham, and London.[105] Although social work represented new opportunities for women in the social world, it also demonstrated the enduring sex-segregated nature of labor on both sides of the Atlantic. Women were regarded as the practical people, whereas men continued to be viewed as the abstract thinkers, and it was difficult—if not impossible—for the QMS women to change this

perception, despite their backgrounds in education and their obvious intellectual abilities.

The desire to learn and to understand more about the conditions in which the poor lived was common to all settlers. Settlement women came into their own in this regard, applying their knowledge of economics, sociology, and political science to the environment around them. The belief that social problems had definite causes that could be identified added impetus to their social survey work. At the QMS, the women were initially reluctant to use the settlement as a base for social investigation, for fear it might compromise their relationships with local people. However, the women gradually began to more fully appreciate the potential value of intimate knowledge of the area. They used social data at a variety of forums including the Glasgow Women's Help Committee, which dealt with women's employment issues. As a result of the training needs of social work students, from around 1907 on, the settlement was used by diploma students as a basis for social enquiries into local conditions. In 1911, the QMS hosted a study of the dietary habits of working men.[106]

In America, greater emphasis was placed on the social environment and its impact on poverty, which helped to shape the direction of reform away from concentration on the inherent failings of the poor. The Hull House women combined social research and civic activity to inform public opinion and to persuade elected representatives of the need for regulation in key areas including health, sanitation, education, and moral issues. As a consequence, citizens were encouraged to expect more from their cities and States. Politicians were provided with facts and scientific evidence, which moved them from sympathy to action. Jane Addams wrote that it was important to provide data for legislation and to use the influence of the settlement women to secure such legislation.[107] Social scientists such as Jane Addams and Florence Kelley became members of sociological networks, and notable figures such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman were attracted to Hull House by its reputation. The findings of social investigations were regularly published in the *American Journal of Sociology*.

The impact of social survey work was such that reform efforts were influenced from the bottom up. Beginning at the neighborhood level, the Hull House women moved to shape the nature and pace of reform at city, state, and then national levels. Sklar has observed that the newly emerging social sciences offered "tools of analysis that enhanced women's ability to investigate economic and social change, speak for the welfare of the whole society, devise policy initiatives and oversee their implementation."[108] Social surveys fitted the bill in cities where the public and the country at large were seen to lack

real understanding of the problems of poverty and the associated alienation of the working classes. The settlements made the diagnosis and prescribed the solutions; their physical location in poor neighborhoods and the knowledge and training of the women were decisive factors.

The effect of social survey evidence in support of progressive causes was maximized by astute political activity on the part of the Hull House women. American traditions of limited government led them to construct political coalitions in pursuit of their objectives. Beginning with other reform-minded women in Chicago, the Hull House women forged alliances across Illinois and ultimately across the nation. The success of these strategies at Hull House owed much to individuals such as Florence Kelley. She arrived at the settlement in the early 1890s, having already led a remarkable life that included socialist activity, graduate studies in Europe, and a broken marriage. As a seasoned political campaigner, writer, and social scientist, Kelley saw in Hull House the ideal environment for her work. Life at Hull House gave Kelley comradeship, effective access to a range of networks, and intellectual stimulation. She thrived in a climate that promoted discourse between individuals and groups from all levels of society and that, in turn, offered unique opportunities for action. On arrival at Hull House, Kelley became involved in a campaign already underway against sweatshops, led by the Illinois Women's Alliance.[109] As a result, she was invited to draft legislation leading to a law in 1893, which reduced the number of hours worked by women and children, regulated child labor, and placed restrictions on the kind of work that could be undertaken in tenements. In 1895, on the basis of data she had collected for the U.S. Department of Labor, Kelley was instrumental in the creation of the ground-breaking Hull House Maps and Papers, which highlighted the connections between poverty and ethnic background. As secretary of the National Consumers League (NCL) from 1899 on, Kelley fought tirelessly to agitate for legislation that would ensure better working conditions for women and children. Inspired by the example of cooperative activity at Hull House, Kelley sought to achieve such legislation through the creation of intertwining local NCL branches throughout the country. The NCL campaigns were often supported by evidence drawn from social surveys, most notably evident in a landmark case in 1907 in Oregon in defence of state laws designed to regulate working hours.[110] The climate created by Kelley's lifelong commitment to the welfare of children was instrumental in the establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912.

Examples of the many social investigations conducted under the direction of Hull House were the Sweating System in 1892 for the State Bureau of Labor; in 1893, the Slums of Great Cities (Chicago) for the Department of Labor; the 1897 Investigation of the Dietary of the Italian Colony for

the Department of Agriculture; and in 1905, a study of tuberculosis, "based on house to house investigations by Miss Bertha Hazard of Hull House," a report published by the City Homes and Association.[111] A variety of public education campaigns were supported by sociological evidence, including a call for compulsory school attendance based on the assumption that children held the hope for the future of the nation and should not be in employment. Hull House and its extended reform network were largely responsible for providing the evidence that led to the introduction of juvenile courts throughout the United States. The emphasis throughout on the needs of the mother, child, and family can be seen as a flag of convenience or a Trojan horse, in that society as a whole benefited. Shorter working hours, for example, also were extended to men as a result of the efforts of Kelley and others connected to Hull House. British reformers generally, with the exception of female settlers, emphasized social class differences in support of reform measures. In America, however, largely because of the work of women in settlements, the demands for regulation and legislation were placed in a gender context.[112] Bolstered by a strong sense of self- belief in their knowledge and survey methods, the women of Hull House were so successful in moving from lobbying on moral questions, to investigation, and then to legislation, that their views were eagerly sought. Jane Addams was consulted in 1906 on a proposed meat inspection bill and on child labor legislation. Florence Kelley herself was eventually appointed chief factory inspector of Illinois—one indication of how during the progressive era expertise replaced many of the responsibilities traditionally undertaken by powerful male politicians.

At Hull House, shared concern for the child, the home, and woman's role in the family encouraged cross-class collaboration with emerging social movements. Women fighting to gain recognition for their trade unions found common ground among settlers and their supporters at Hull House. Trade unions, after all, did mirror the kind of cooperative activity in evidence in Hull House itself. Because women were often engaged in casual labor in sweatshops and in the home, Florence Kelley and others were concerned with offering protection against their exploitation. Social survey evidence advanced the case. Support for shorter working hours for women reflected broader fears about the effect of working conditions on the health of mothers and—it was implied—the future of the race. The need also to mediate between capital and labor meant that trade unions and employers both found a welcoming environment at Hull House. As "respectable" ladies, Jane Addams and colleagues were regarded as honest brokers who stood beyond the fray. Their judgements and views were trusted, almost as if disputes could be domesticated and their effect controlled. Jane Addams defended the right of labor to organize and sought to educate the country as to the role

labor might play. *The Hull-House Year Book of 1907* recorded a series of talks including "The Sweatshop" and "How can Women's Trade Unions Best be Strengthened?" It was alleged by some employers that Hull House was on the side of the unions[113]; in a post-Haymarket climate this was a potentially troublesome charge. Addams speculated that what were radical ideas to some had been to the detriment of her community at Hull House.[114] The notion that the settlement was a magnet for radicals added to even wilder speculation that secret murderous meetings had taken place at Hull House preceding the assassination of President McKinley.[115]

Arguably, Hull House contributed more to the early development of women's trade unions than any other single organization or group in the United States. Unions that met regularly at Hull House included the Laundry Workers, Garment Workers, and Women's Union Label League. Mary Kenney was a frequent visitor. As early as 1891, the founding of the Jane Club at Hull House gave impetus to organized women's labor in Chicago. The Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) was established at Hull House in 1903, with Addams herself elected as vice president. The settlement acted as a catalyst for the WTUL by mobilizing grassroots support and forging alliances between women, which over time, spread across the state and country at large. The success of the WTUL was a demonstration of the political skill of the women of Hull House in arguing for change in the name of women. WTUL executive board members included representatives from settlements in New York and local women's trade unions. Local branches were supported by networks of settlements and women's organizations. The WTUL campaigned in support of a number of progressive causes, including demands for better working conditions for women. Their campaigning language was often couched in terms of sisterhood, a sentiment familiar to settlement women. The *Tribune* in New York, for example, on April 18, 1911, reported on a WTUL campaign in favor of better factory conditions for women. The WTUL leadership demanded a ballot "for our children's sake," urging women to participate in the vote "to assure future generations."[116]

At the QMS, Janet Galloway was against what she viewed as overt political activity. A request from H.M. Inspector of Factories in 1904 for assistance in reporting women's factory complaints was rejected on the basis that "members should guard against women who regard them as mere channels for their grievances."[117] In 1902, the warden was dissuaded from accepting a position on the Industrial Law Committee. By 1907–1908, however, the old guard at the QMS was beginning to disappear. Miss Rutherford of the QMS was elected in 1907 as a councillor in a parish responsible for poor relief. Her election was indicative of the newly emerging public and professional responsibilities of women in general. Janet Galloway herself died in 1909.

By this point, the reputation of the settlement women was such that their expertise was increasingly in demand and the women were less inclined to stand aside from challenging issues. At the University of Glasgow, Caird had shown the way through his support of the Women's Protective and Provident League, which became the Scottish Council for Women's Trades (SCWT). He had described the league in 1891 as "an agent for the moral discipline and intellectual development of the working men and women of the country."[118] Arguing for "the need to lay the facts before the public mind," Caird supported the educational work of women's trade unions in highlighting the need for regulation and legislation of working conditions. The QMS women were not found wanting. Research was undertaken on behalf of the SCWT: Out of 380 members of the Glasgow Union of Women Workers in 1908, seventy had some affiliation to the settlement. Settlement women were also prominent on the Committee of Investigation into Women's Employment.[119] In addition to the obvious pressure they could bring to bear on elected politicians and others of influence, the women brought their talents including organizational and administrative skills to a variety of forums.

Although the origins of the settlement movement lay in Britain, the American experience represented the best of what could be achieved during the period 1889–1910. Hull House became a magnet that attracted visitors from Britain and from Europe more generally. It was known throughout the transatlantic world. Many of the Hull House women including Alzina Stevens, Julia Lathrop, Grace Abbott, and Addams herself became leaders outside of the movement while also remaining in the settlement.[120] Grace Abbott, for example, became chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau and professor of public welfare administration at the University of Chicago, Julia Lathrop pioneered work in psychiatric diagnosis and counselling, and Florence Kelley headed the National Conscience League.[121] John Peter Altgeld showed his high regard for Jane Addams by writing in 1900 that "she was doing more for the social advancement and economic improvement of our people than all the millionaires in the town put together."[122] The moral vision of the women in Chicago of what could and needed to be done was projected through a variety of community activities in the neighborhood, social investigation, and campaigns of public education, all of which had an effect on the national consciousness. Unable to gain access to the main political parties and marginalized by electoral politics, the women used the space afforded by settlement to forge their own alliances in pursuit of reform agendas intended to improve the lot of mothers and their children. They challenged the American traditions of limited government during a period when the window of opportunity provided by progressive sentiment was wide open.

In Britain, the best positions in the civil service and the developing social welfare arena were reserved for men. Many men used Toynbee Hall as a stepping stone. It is estimated that one quarter of those men who resided at Toynbee Hall between 1884 and 1914 became civil servants.[123] However, although the effect of the QMS was mainly felt at local level, their achievements—including care for the disabled, girl's clubs, and pioneering work in the area of public health—should not be overlooked. In 1907, their reputation was marked with an invitation to contribute to a permanent exhibition on settlements in Boston.[124] The Liberal reform agenda saw the QMS act as a base for bringing people together, by means of which the women were able to disseminate their knowledge of the conditions in the area. The opening up of social work as a profession was largely a result of both the unique insights offered into poverty and the education and training opportunities provided by the QMS. The QMS women asserted their right to occupy and colonize their own spaces in the urban environment, leading to new opportunities for employment in nurseries and schools for the disabled. As public educators, the QMS women highlighted the need for government to intervene to bring support and relief to the poor: Their settlement acted as a laboratory for new ideas on how to combat poverty. The QMS identified gaps evident in statutory welfare provision that could only be filled by government legislation.

The sheer scale of the urban problems facing settlement women during the progressive period deemed it almost impossible for them to do more than begin the battle against poverty. Their efforts should not be underestimated, however. In both Glasgow and Chicago, the settlement women, in the name of women, saw it as a duty to use the benefits of their education to improve and to ultimately reconstruct their neighborhoods. Viewing education as a communal act, they brought their training and knowledge to bear for the benefit of others in the urban environment. Through a range of activities, they fostered closer contact between the classes and promoted more informed understanding across the transatlantic world of the conditions in which people lived. The women inspired elected representatives to support the idea of planned cities. They carved out their own public and civic roles. Their efforts were felt beyond the confines of their respective neighborhoods, so that women and children—and ultimately men—benefited. The contribution of the women in Glasgow and Chicago to progressive sentiment and to reform endeavors was both unique and significant.

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