

The Press and the Pledge: Father Theobald Mathew's 1843 Temperance Tour of Britain

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ABSTRACT: This article examines Father Theobald Mathew's temperance tour of Britain in 1843. Estimates vary, but by this point some six million people in Ireland may have made a personal pledge to abstain from consuming alcohol. This pledge involved more than individual transformation, however. Building on recent Mathew scholarship, this article explores how, through its methods of pledges, processions, and meetings, temperance offered a new mode of moral politics. It is widely appreciated that Mathew's mission became entangled in the Repeal politics of Daniel O'Connell; using newspaper sources and other contemporary accounts, the paper argues that their campaigns instantiated differently drawn scalar moral visions, and different ways of imaginatively connecting temperate bodies to broader social and political aims that were mobilized around the category of the "nation."

Introduction: the politics of temperance

For centuries past, drunkenness was the shame and the bane of Ireland; an Irishman had become proverbial for intoxication.¹

Before the great temperance movement had taken place in Ireland," the Capuchin Friar Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856) declared on a visit to London in August 1843, "that unfortunate country was stained with crimes of the greatest enormity in consequence of the habitual drunkenness of the people. No country in the world was ever affected with that sin so much as Ireland, and to be an Irishman was almost to be branded as a drunkard."² Ireland, Mathew's speech suggests, had been a synonym for drunkenness. Frank Mathew, Theobald's brother's grandson, wrote in 1890 that drunkenness was "the great fault of the peasantry, and was almost universal among them," believing that drink "made their day-dreams splendid."³ Such enduring tropes—evident in travel writing of the period—often tied concerns about land tenure and the organization of agriculture to the role of alcohol as a cultural prop and as a potential cause of poverty and disorder.⁴ Such stereotypes were not necessarily accurate, of course, and official statistics for production and apprehensions for drunkenness were more indices of regulation than offences against the law. But they nevertheless performed important cultural work, notably on the other side of the Irish Sea: as Simon Potter notes in a recent review, British attitudes from the 1798 rebellion through to the Land War often characterized the Irish as "ignorant, savage, uncivilised, superstitious, priest-ridden, lazy and land-hungry."⁵ There is, as Potter describes, a complex historiographical debate over such representations and the work antonymic civilizing discourses did to justify British government in Ireland.⁶ Nevertheless, as Mathew's declaration in London intimates, such characterizations formed an important underpinning to the emerging politics of temperance, to a dramatic movement that challenged such representations of Irish drunkenness.

Temperance, to quote James Kneale, “was not an aspect of bourgeois ‘social control’ [...] or a disciplinary crusade, producing new mechanisms for subduing an unruly mass of drinkers.”⁷ Rather, in Britain, at least, its emergence in the 1820s and 1830s was linked to the articulation of a vision of a society freed from the social and economic consequences of alcohol consumption. Scholars have connected this to the effects of the liberalizing Beer Act of 1830, which had led to an increase in the number of premises selling beer.⁸ Reproducing an early distinction between types of drinks, a parliamentary select committee in 1834 – whose radical chair James Silk Buckingham (1786-1855) would play a prominent part in Mathew’s visit to London in 1843 – blamed spirits rather than beer for a range of personal, social and moral problems.⁹ But this anti-spirits stance was itself challenged by an emerging culture of total abstinence, or teetotalism, with pioneers such as Joseph Livesey in Preston having made public pledges to abstain from all alcohol.¹⁰ This radical model of total abstinence symbolically demanded that pre-existing social structures such as the pub be challenged by counter-attractions such as reading rooms and meeting halls.¹¹ Notably, as Henry Yeomans has recently put it, building lasting temperance relied on “transforming how people perceive[d] themselves.”¹²

The teetotal message was embraced in Cork, Ireland, by a Quaker named William Martin, who established a total abstinence society in 1835.¹³ It could count amongst its members a Church of Ireland minister, a Unitarian merchant and lay-Catholics, but Martin’s masterstroke was to persuade a Capuchin friar, Theobald Mathew, to join its ranks. Born at Thomastown, in County Tipperary, in 1790, a descendent of a wealthy Anglo-Irish family, Mathew had moved to Cork in 1814.¹⁴ Having worked with Martin at the town’s House of Industry and seen there the damage caused by drink, in April 1838 Mathew agreed to sign the register of the new Cork Total Abstinence Society.¹⁵ By August 1839 CTAS claimed twenty-four thousand members. Once Mathew started travelling – to Limerick and Waterford in the winter of 1839, and then across Ireland in 1840 – he began to plant and draw together temperance communities in a broader national network.¹⁶ At the center of these emerging “routes and routines,” to quote David Nally, was the pledge.¹⁷ The candidates – or postulants – would kneel before Mathew in a semi-circle and repeat the words of the pledge:

I promise, with the Divine assistance, as long as I shall continue a member of the Total Abstinence Society, to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal or sacramental purposes, and to prevent, as much as possible, by advice and example, drunkenness in others.¹⁸

He would then place his hand on each person’s head, tracing the sign of the cross and giving them a blessing. Ideally, they would then have their names and addresses entered in the Society’s registers and receive a medal and rule card (those with means being asked to pay 8d.).¹⁹ The nature of this pledge came under sustained scrutiny. Mathew repeatedly rejected claims that the pledge was a “vow,” telling one correspondent in 1840 that it was a “resolution to perform a moral act.”²⁰ Some expressed concern that Mathew was appealing to supposed Celtic and Catholic superstitions about the powers of priests: in other words that there was no moral transformation.²¹

The centrality of claims over morals to temperance disputes is especially significant. We get a sense of this in letters from the pastor of the Independent Church in Cork, Alexander King, to Mathew and to Daniel O’Connell. In November 1842 he urged Mathew to expand the moral character of the people who had taken the pledge. “It is in, and by society, character is generally formed,” he told Mathew, arguing that temperance was only a first step towards the improvement and elevation of society.²² The pledge brought people under “the plastic power of reason and religion,” putting them “in a position of susceptibility of improvement.” It was up to Mathew to

see that the “moral power of Christianity” was harnessed to improve individuals and thus “elevate the intellectual and moral character of Ireland.”²³ But what would this improvement look like? King had already written to O’Connell, celebrated for his campaign for Catholic emancipation. “You are the man to mould the mind of the Nation,” he wrote, arguing that from his privileged position he could secure a heritage of “mental and moral dignity.”²⁴ By appealing to Mathew to consider society and to O’Connell the “Nation,” King was connecting what might have been read as matters of individual conscience to the much more extensive moral geographies of the social and the political.²⁵

Various accounts suggest that by 1843 some six million Irishmen and women had taken the pledge.²⁶ The production of spirits as recorded by the government—hence not necessarily a reliable index—had fallen, while anecdotal reports also hinted at the improved conduct and, often, appearance, of the people.²⁷ Figure 1 shows that the recorded production of spirits fell steadily in the peak years of Mathew’s movement, as did the recorded number of distillers. Even acknowledging Elizabeth Malcolm’s claim that subsequent government attempts to increase duties probably stimulated illicit production, the impact on government revenues is worth considering.²⁸ The Cambridge-trained cleric William Wight reported that in 1842-43 the government lost £300,000 in revenue on drink. Though cutting the tax-take might have appealed to Repealers—Mathew even warned drinkers that their hard-earned money was “transferred to a foreign country”²⁹—Wight reckoned that revenues from Ireland that year rose by £90,000. He suggested that people might be switching their spending to morally more desirable (though still taxable) commodities.³⁰ It is to the entwining of Repeal and temperance debates with this recurrent theme of morality that I want to turn. The next section presents temperance as a form of moral regulation and examines the moral visions that Mathew and O’Connell promoted.

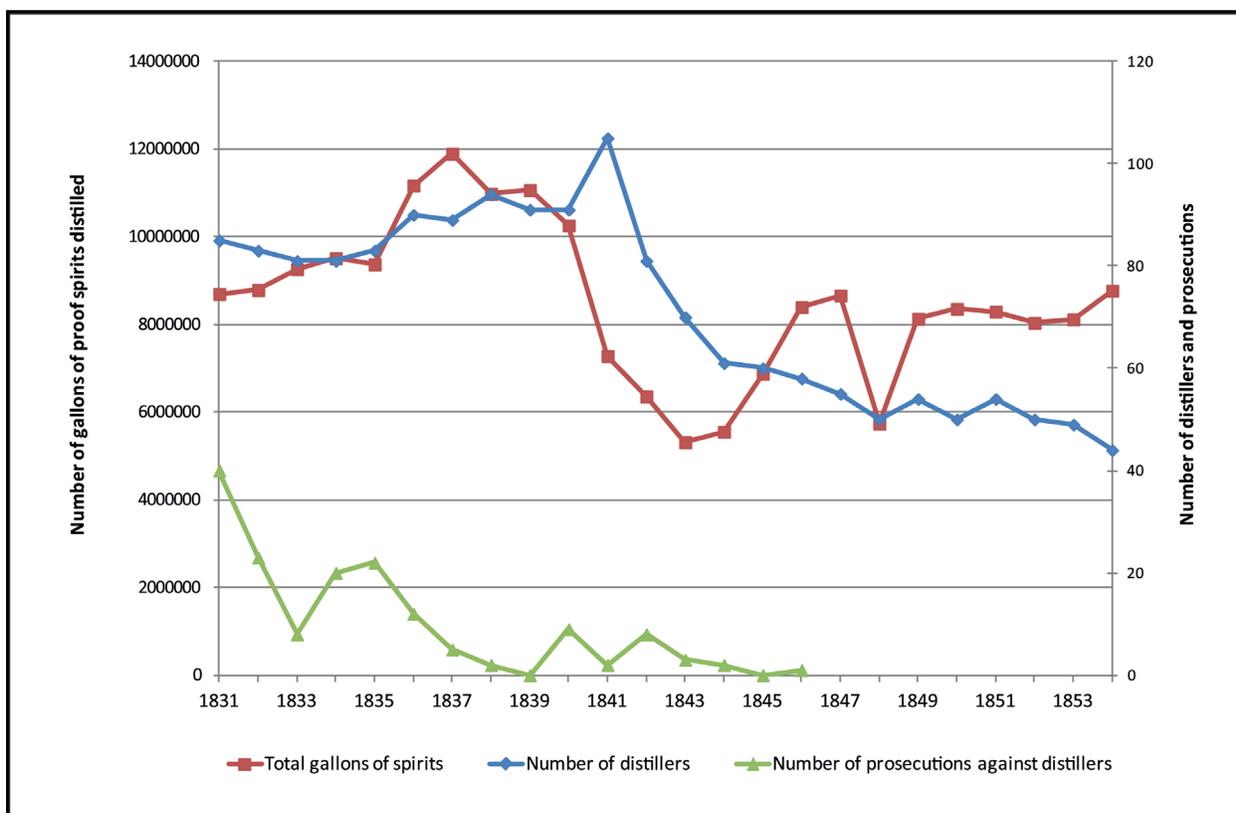


Figure 1. Recorded production of spirits in Ireland (source BPP 1854 (175) LXV, 445 “Distillers, &c.”).

Moral regulation

The scale of Mathew's movement prompts an important reflection on what James Vernon has termed the broader "public political sphere" beyond the franchise.³¹ It is important to consider the relationship between personal practices and the creation of spaces of temperance politics. With badges and banners and organizational structures to unite and empower, Vernon suggests that in Britain temperance should be seen in relation to an emerging party political culture.³² These united identities were performed in mass-participation social events such as parades. Bailey, Harvey and Brace note in their study of Methodist temperance in Cornwall that religious doctrines helped routinize and inscribe on the body particular kinds of moral behavior.³³ They also marked the spaces through which people paraded when they took to the streets with their banners, accompanied by temperance bands. Mathew defended the rights of people who had labored all week to "recreate" themselves on Sunday afternoons in such bands, though some played at Repeal meetings against his wishes.³⁴ That word "recreate" is significant here; it hints at both recreation, as in leisure, and it indicates that participants were morally re-created through routinization and inscription, through what Mark Billinge has described as temporal strategies, as in how to use Sundays, and spatial strategies such as the creation of normatively "good" spaces.³⁵ This relied on replacing the public house—which Kneale notes was widely read as "democratic and popular"—with spaces and times where people could meet to read and talk.³⁶ Mathew's friend Charles Gavan Duffy, a Young Islander and co-founder of *The Nation* newspaper, hoped that the teetotal societies could "become the clubs, the adult schools, the lecture-rooms, the parish parliaments of sober people."³⁷ This new temperance society—by which I mean socialization rather than a particular institution—was at odds with models of boisterous and unruly public assembly. And the regeneration of society was symbolically realized, Paul Townend perceptively notes, in the way sober men and women could enjoy each other's "rational company" at events such as soirées, something Mathew was also forced to defend.³⁸ In this environment, Townend suggests, women were better able to exercise "moral influence" over their sober men in this "transformed public sphere."³⁹

In his analysis of English temperance, Michael Roberts notes that, following franchise reform in 1832, "the temperance movement acted both as a claim to citizenship and a training for it."⁴⁰ But if, as Pamela Gilbert has also argued for England, "[t]he imagined community that legitimated citizenship was the nation," then, I would suggest that by creating a new kind of moral community Irish temperance was making it possible to imagine a new kind of nation.⁴¹ This was the result of an uneasy alliance of modes of ethical self-formation—or the government "of self by self" that delivered individual freedom from drink—and an alternative scalar vision of governmental self-formation that challenged the notion that the British presence in Ireland brought civility. I propose that temperance can be understood as a moral mentality and, following Michel Foucault, as a practice of freedom.⁴² John Quinn links Mathew's studiously non-sectarian and anti-confrontational campaign to a desire to gain the "goodwill of the British authorities and the Ascendancy."⁴³ But this, Quinn argues, made Mathew "a man behind his times."⁴⁴ According to Frank Mathew, the Friar would rebuke people for "their own folly," rather than simply blame English misrule.⁴⁵ By individualizing faults and failings he sought to help the Irish free themselves from the "degradation and shame" wrought by drink and so raise their children to be doctors, councilors, and judges. People freed from drink made better subjects, then. On those terms, freedom from drink was to Repealers no freedom at all. To return to Foucault, freedom is also the product of "acting ethically," of having fuller relationships with others; but care of the self only comes about where there are pre-existing conditions of liberty.⁴⁶ For O'Connell, temperance was

a means to a very different end. This reading saw individual freedom as a precursor to political self-sovereignty, calling into question what Philip Howell terms the “moral scale of the nation itself.”⁴⁷

O’Connell told a Dublin meeting in April 1841 that temperance was producing “a moral power, a magical intellectual force.”⁴⁸ It had given him a “thoroughly obedient and docile people to teach,” said one biographer in 1885, making his large and orderly “monster” meetings possible.⁴⁹ The repeated references to morality and order are telling. O’Connell went on: “[M]y friends, no country that conquers its own vices will ever be a slave to, or conquered by, any other on the face of the earth.”⁵⁰ A week later, *The Times* cast temperance as a kind of Trojan horse for Repeal.⁵¹ For *The Freeman’s Journal*, this attack went too far, the paper lamenting “that even our morality should cause us to be assailed by the English press.” Did it follow, then, “that teetotalers should have no politics?”⁵² Mathew knew that people could not be expected to give up on politics simply because they had given up drink.⁵³ All he could do was repeat that teetotalism did not control people’s political opinions and demand that temperance meetings be kept free from political discussions.⁵⁴ For this reason, he was nervous about appearing alongside O’Connell in the Cork Easter teetotal procession in 1842, an event that apparently brought two hundred thousand people onto the streets. On Lancaster Quay, O’Connell knelt down to receive Mathew’s blessing, to the recorded delight of onlookers.⁵⁵ Mathew wrote to the Dublin Quaker teetotaler Richard Allen, regretting “the insidious efforts to give to our society a political coloring, and to invoke a gloomy fanatic cry against us.”⁵⁶

The second half of this paper examines Mathew’s tour of England between June 1 and September 15, 1843, a period when Repeal activity was intensifying. The physical distance between Mathew and O’Connell symbolically highlights their contrasting moral visions, with the tour serving as an opportunity for Mathew to build the movement among people “who were alien to him in race and creed.”⁵⁷ While Mathew emphasized the separation of temperance from Repeal politics, I will argue that the reporting of Mathew’s meetings reveals that temperance assembly was, nevertheless, political.

The pledge and the press

Having docked at Liverpool, Mathew headed for York where he had been invited to a conference of northern teetotalers (see Figure 2).⁵⁸ I want to note, briefly, the importance of correspondence and correspondents in shaping Mathew’s travel.⁵⁹ Newspaper coverage of his work in Ireland meant that he was eagerly anticipated by teetotalers and spoken about by opponents. Speaking before Mathew’s arrival, Edward Grubb—a founder member of Preston total abstinence—launched into the editor of the *Yorkshire Gazette* for criticizing temperance “processions, harangues, and tea drinkings.” Grubb argued that they had every “right to parade the town,” defending their work against a rather common charge that it was somehow akin to socialism and, therefore, presumably anti-bourgeois. Tellingly, the meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the editors of three other local papers for their “disinterested” reports.⁶⁰ And parade again they would, with a procession through the suburbs and town to a place called St. George’s Fields, where Mathew administered the pledge. As well as containing Mathew in a carriage-and-four, the procession included teetotalers wearing medals, sashes, and white roses, from different religious and practical causes. The spectacle was also witnessed by the local Catholic bishop and two local Catholic noblemen, whose nearby estates Mathew would visit. Speaking later that day, Mathew referred to anonymous letters that he had received in York accusing him of “imposing upon the superstitions of the people of Ireland, by substituting teetotalism for the Gospel.” Bluntly, he told his audience, temperance was the “foundation of every Gospel virtue,” to which end he had paid for and distributed one thousand copies of the Bible and was having a 6d.-edition

printed to make the Bible accessible to “every teetotal head of a family in Ireland.”⁶¹ Echoing Alexander King that temperance put people in a position of “susceptibility of improvement,” Mathew’s defense was that temperance made other things possible.

The pattern for Mathew’s stay in England was set, with regular reports of processions, charity sermons and non-denominational meetings. He administered the pledge where possible and frequently confronted the issue of Repeal. At a breakfast meeting in Leeds, chaired by Edward Baines of the Leeds Mercury, and surrounded by temperance advocates of different religious persuasions, Mathew admitted that some teetotalers were “partisans of Repeal” but he made the point that Ireland was a country of Repealers. Three hundred thousand people could now meet and disperse without incident, when previously fifty had been unable to do so without trouble. “If I am to be blamed upon that ground,” he said, “I must bear it.”⁶² Mathew asked his audience to be “temperate also in their teetotalism” and “to be united,” as he hoped were the people of “distracted” Ireland.⁶³ He travelled on to Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax before visiting

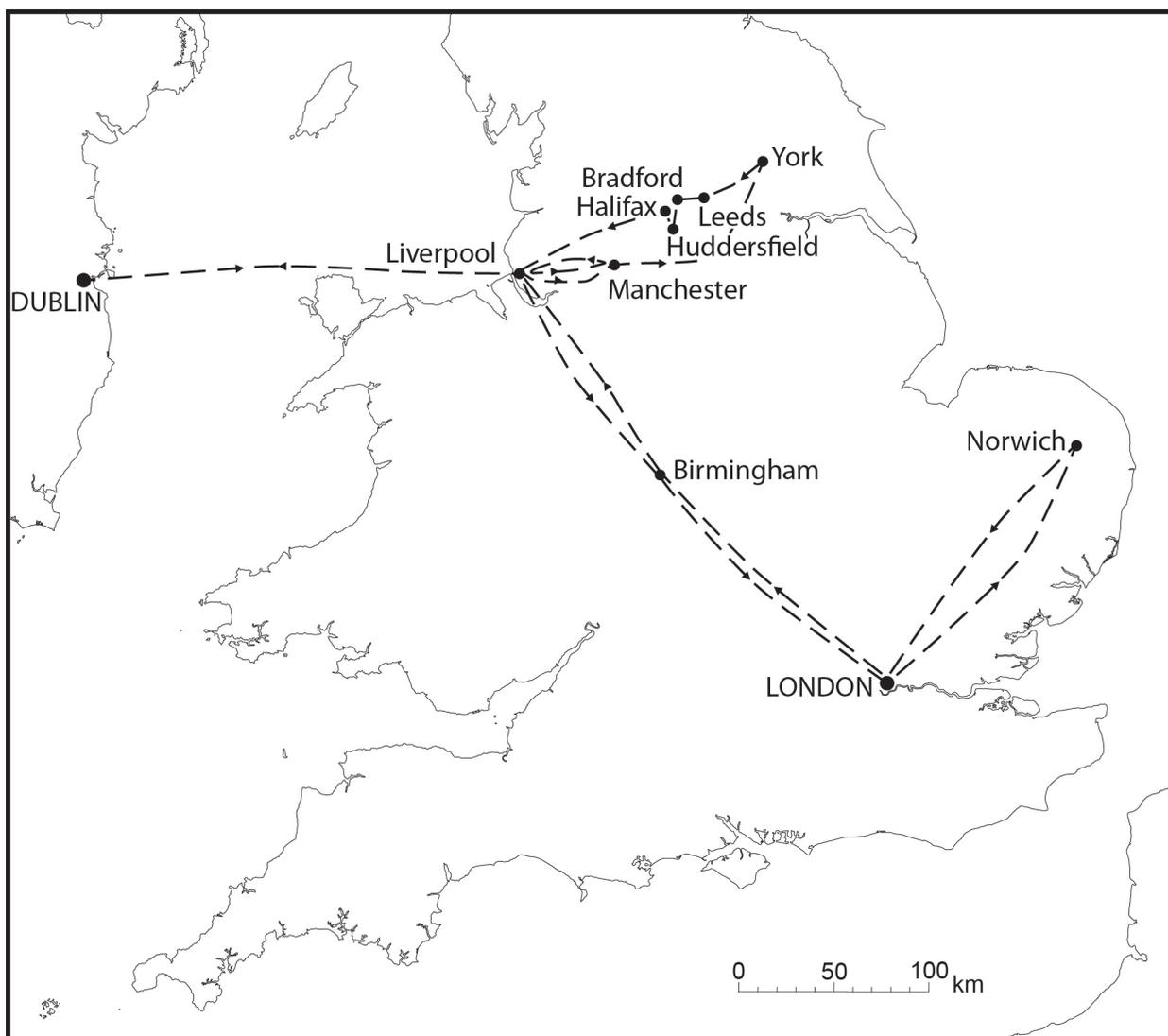


Figure 2. Towns on Father Mathew’s temperance tour.

Liverpool and Manchester. There would be no temperance procession in Liverpool, the Liberal mayor Robertson Gladstone being concerned about potential sectarian tensions.⁶⁴ Another was cancelled in Manchester after Mathew was delayed.⁶⁵ In these northern cities, he was careful to attend to the immigrant Irish communities, often delivering the pledge in Irish. Six days in Manchester apparently won eighty thousand people to the cause and three in Liverpool some sixty thousand.⁶⁶ In Manchester he reportedly offered this blessing:

May God bless you, and grant you strength and grace to keep your promise! May God in his mercy grant you every corporal blessing and every spiritual blessing! I will now mark each one of you with a sign of the cross, that you may bear in mind that you have sealed your promise with the sign of man's redemption; and should the enemy tempt you to sin again, you may say to the tempter, "Do not molest me; for I bear the sign of man's redemption, by which I have sealed my promise and pledge."⁶⁷

The value of the pledge as a kind of protection against future temptation is important. To some critics the reference to sin and the invocation of God's assistance for a healthy body and soul made the religious status of the pledge somewhat ambiguous. The reference to corporal and spiritual blessings might call to mind Foucault's theory of pastoral power, but it is important to note that total abstinence was not a religion; rather, Mathew told a Liverpool meeting that it was the "superstructure" on which it could be built.⁶⁸ For several days on two visits to Liverpool, Mathew used a cemetery adjacent to St. Anthony's church on Scotland Road to administer the pledge. The setting and the accompanying clergyman on the platform – as many as nineteen on July 17, 1843 – surely heightened the sense of a church-sanctioned ceremony?⁶⁹ Thomas Carlyle happened to be passing, and wrote to his wife to explain how he had been attracted by the flags and brass. He found Mathew distributing the pledge to a "lost-looking squadron." "I almost cried to listen to him," he wrote, "and could not but lift my broadbrim [hat] at the end, when he called for God's blessing on the vow these poor wretches had taken. I have seen nothing so religious since I set on my travels as the squalid scene of this day."⁷⁰ Thomas Carlyle's reflections reveal a belief that these squalid masses needed moral training and direction. In this context, Mathew must have seemed like an effective leader. But, as he travelled, debates about the nature of the pledge helped limit the appeal of his project.

From Liverpool, Mathew headed to Birmingham, though finding them unprepared he travelled directly to London. As well as divisions between anti-spirits activists and total abstainers, London's teetotal groups disagreed over whether a postulant should be expected to pledge not to provide other people with drink.⁷¹ Leading temperance figures such as J.S. Buckingham and Earl Stanhope, president of the Westminster Friendly Temperance Society, which had sent an invitation to Mathew as early as 1840, hoped the Friar's visit would unite and promote different temperance interests.⁷² His work in the capital began in earnest on July 31, 1843 on Commercial Road in the East End, on the site of the soon-to-be-built church of St. Mary and St. Michael. He was late, East-End Catholics apparently having insisted on parading him to the site. Earl Stanhope arrived at 1:00 p.m. and eulogized Mathew's movement before taking the pledge in public in a group of some three hundred people. It is no surprise that the papers began to debate the significance of the pledge. The Times reported Mathew as administering a vow, though he sought to correct them that it was simply a resolution. This was more than a trivial question of semantics. The Catholic Tablet noted that, in contrast to a vow to God, there was nothing inherently sinful in breaking the pledge. Sin would only result from actions committed after a return to drink. It is significant for how we theorize the politics of assembly at Mathew's meetings but also religion in the public

sphere – specifically with regard to what Habermas has termed “will formation” – that the paper identified distinguishing features of the pledge.⁷³ It was a “public” resolution, whose “solemnity” would impress the postulant. But administering the pledge to groups was also important; it made it a “joint” resolution, which deepened “the individual force of purpose.” Anyone breaking their pledge would thus risk falling in the estimation of their peers. It was this sense of collective enterprise that would bind the group, not the feeling of a promise to God.⁷⁴

Mathew came under attack from a group convinced that there was no legitimate reason to make such a declaration. The English Churchman argued that through baptism and confirmation people had effectively pledged to abstain from “carnal desires of the flesh,” while they professed in their catechism to keep their bodies “in temperance, soberness, and chastity.” It asked whether Mathew’s “theatrical performance” would “secure a larger share of the Holy Spirit” than would be received by dutiful sacramental Christians.⁷⁵ Ahead of an expected visit by Mathew to Cambridge, “A Churchman” told the town’s high church Chronicle that as they had never made such sacramental professions Dissenters would be free to participate.⁷⁶ The hostility in Cambridge was certainly vocal. “I trust every true Protestant will scorn the man in Cambridge,” wrote one correspondent to the Chronicle.⁷⁷ But Mathew never made it, some accounts suggesting that the Mayor refused the use of the town hall.⁷⁸ The Cambridge Independent Press reprinted correspondence between Mathew and the local temperance secretary Eli Walker, the Friar explaining that he had been delayed in London and had been unable “to control circumstances.”⁷⁹ But he did head from London to Norwich where, at a temperance rally, Bishop Edward Stanley repented of his previous hostility to Mathew, asking the audience to receive him on his “sacred mission [...] from a distant country.” The visit aroused some hostility, with opponents posting criticisms on walls and in shop windows that the pledge was a kind of Catholic pseudo-religion. They also raised the matter of repeal, which Mathew met with his customary argument that teetotalism did not “control the political opinions of persons” but simply made their meeting possible in a way that had previously been unimaginable.⁸⁰

From Norwich he travelled to Birmingham, where the Catholic bishop Nicholas Wiseman again probed the nature of the pledge. He noted that some preferred the idea of promising rather than resolving to avoid alcohol. Wiseman put it to Mathew that rather than making a promise to God, postulants “promised society – they promised their wives – they promised their children – they promised themselves.” In some accounts, such as in *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News*, Mathew was recorded as saying: “Precisely so.”⁸¹ The *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, the organ of the Metropolitan Total Abstinence Society, thought that most people would feel they were making “a promise to God, as well as to those around them.”⁸² Though Wiseman reckoned the distinction would be widely understood in Ireland, *The Times* expressed its belief that the “kneeling crowds, the benediction, the solemn promise made by the recipients” and the “sacred character” of Mathew all suggested that the pledge was a vow.⁸³ And it seems that Mathew lost the support of *The Tablet*’s editor Frederick Lucas here; having written to a number of Irish priests, Lucas claims to have discovered at least fourteen different views on the nature of the pledge.⁸⁴

The public nature of this discussion is worth considering. Newspapers were also used to advertise, such as the 2s. required to join Mathew for breakfast at the Mechanics’ Hall in Leeds, the 2s. 6d. for gallery seats at his charity sermon at Mount St. Marie Catholic Chapel in Bradford, or the time he would start his work at St. Anthony’s in Liverpool.⁸⁵ But coverage of the meetings and speeches was even more important if the events were to have a wider impact.⁸⁶ Jane Carlyle seems to have feared such publicity. At Commercial Road, Mathew had helped her onto the platform to witness him administer the pledge. She told her husband that she could not sleep that night, for the “pale faces I had seen haunted me.” She admitted that she would have taken the pledge

there and then had she not “feared it would be put in the papers.”⁸⁷ Others had more confidence. Administering the pledge to Henry FitzAlan-Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, at Golden Lane near the Barbican, Mathew said that it “was indeed delightful” to hear the Earl’s pledge in public. The Earl was followed in the next group by twenty-one stokers from a local gas works who, like the Earl, were presented with silver medals, Mathew reportedly quipping that when they “came possessed of £500 each they could pay him for them.”⁸⁸ The previous day Mathew had taken the Marchioness of Wellesley’s pledge in private, though she apparently expressed her desire that her example would encourage others. At the Wellington Cricket Ground near Sloane Square, Mathew made capital from her “glorious example”, praising women for their “moral courage and virtue.”⁸⁹ But the Earl’s public pledge was doubly significant, not only for its visibility but also its proximity to the stokers.

Here was Mathew’s method: appealing to people to come forward in small groups meant that this was the very opposite of a faceless, disorderly crowd. Such orderly association would be seen by casual observers, while Mathew knew about the power of the press. The attitude of *The Times*, which had earlier likened temperance to treason, stands out. Mathew singled it out, asking for three cheers for “*The Times altered*,” and elsewhere thanked it for the “partiality they had shown to him.”⁹⁰ Presumably such praise was an attempt to generate press coverage; indeed, Mathew even suggested that next to God the press was the main reason for the “success which has attended the great moral movement, total abstinence.”⁹¹ The papers, too, could report on different groups, such as stokers or schoolchildren, their proximity a central part of the universalizing aims and benefits of temperance. Seeing such scenes would encourage others to come forward. The papers, meanwhile, were also watching each other. *The Intelligencer*, for example, was critical of the “No Popery” of the *Morning Herald* and complained that *The Tablet* was ignorant of the principles of teetotalism.⁹² While Irish papers such as the *Freeman’s Journal* were keen to update their readers on Mathew’s progress in Britain, British editors were deciding how much coverage to afford events in Ireland.

The Irish in London

On the same day that Mathew was teaching the Irish poor of St. Giles in London that they could challenge the coding of their area as a “byword and a scoff” for drunkenness, Daniel O’Connell was out in Roscommon. There he had argued that “no other country could exhibit so much force coupled with so much propriety of conduct.”⁹³ Now, days after his famous monster meeting at Tara, he hailed “the mighty moral miracle of five million men pledged against intoxicating liquors” as “the precursor of the liberty of Ireland.” If he “had to go to battle,” he told them, “he should have the strong and steady teetotallers with him – the teetotal bands would play before them and animate them in their time of peril.” Together, he said, they could fight any army: “Yes, teetotalism was the first sure ground on which rested their hope of sweeping away Saxon domination” in Ireland.⁹⁴ Their second hope, he said, was their patience, virtue, and goodness. They could defeat Wellington and Peel by moral force. At this point Mathew and O’Connell were some 600 km apart; imaginatively it seems they were even more distant. For the following morning, Mathew was at the house of the Conservative MP Colonel Dawson-Damer to have breakfast with some seventy members of the nobility, including Lord and Lady Palmerston and the Marquis of Clanricarde. Wellington and Peel were to have been there, but their absence was perhaps accounted for by the impending close of the parliamentary session, Peel sending apologies that he had been detained at Windsor.⁹⁵

Readers of the *Freeman’s Journal* could turn the page from news of the breakfast meeting to find John O’Connell quoting the *Morning Herald*’s account of the rest of Mathew’s day. Mathew had gone from Dawson-Damer’s to Deptford where the platform was rushed by anti-teetotallers

wearing pint pots, a satire on the temperance medal. This was not the only such incident. John O'Connell contrasted such disturbances with the orderly nature of the Repeal movement, built on the moral force of Mathew's message. Where was "civilization now," he asked?⁹⁶ The where was as important as the now, here. Irish morality stood in direct contrast to British incivility. Temporally, too, the now was a reference to self-sovereignty, a first step towards future political self-determination. Father John Moore, a Catholic priest at Virginia Street Chapel in London, made a similar critical comparison at one of Mathew's meetings near Regent's Park. Moore likened intemperance in England to a "worm gnawing [at] society." The report of his address is worth quoting in detail, because it reveals the power of collective re-creation:

England was renowned for her naval and military strength, but if other nations had not the power of sending 100,000 bayonets across the Atlantic to enslave far distant countries, and to drag their people into the same infamous vice of drunkenness—if other kingdoms had not this tyrannical power, which enabled them to command the ocean and bid defiance to the world, they had something greater—they had that virtue, that purity and innocence of mind, which could only be derived from the observance of that beautiful virtue, temperance (cheers). Where was the man who would tell him to-day that Ireland was not, morally speaking, infinitely superior to England (cries of "No, no," "Yes, yes," and some confusion, which was drowned in the vociferous cheering of the Irish portion of the people assembled).⁹⁷

By any comparison with temperance speeches in those weeks—if accurately recorded—this was quite an extraordinary contribution, Moore's "moral imagination," to use Philip Howell's phrase, explicitly reflecting back on the failures of England.⁹⁸ But the English were not the target here; rather, the priest was appealing to the apathetic Irish in the metropolis to claim and practice their moral superiority (the *Chronicle* reported that though fifteen thousand visited the site during the day only twelve hundred to fourteen hundred took the pledge):

Father Moore concluded by declaring that Irishmen in England who did not come forward and take the pledge were no longer worthy of their country—they were abortions of Ireland, and were worse even than the wild Indians or the savage beasts of the field, who had already enlisted themselves under the banner of Father Mathew.⁹⁹

It seems that some were reluctant to "come forward" lest it reduce their chances of being employed. Here we have to realize the centrality of the public house to the circuits of hiring and paying wages for professions such as coal-whippers (who unloaded coal from barges), an issue that was raised at one of the Commercial Road meetings at the same time as legislation was being debated in parliament.¹⁰⁰ Colm Kerrigan suggests that this anxiety about Irish jobs explains the reluctance of the local Catholic hierarchy to embrace Mathew. The Vicar Apostolic Dr. Griffiths was apparently worried that teetotalism would serve as another label with which to exclude the Irish.¹⁰¹ Things may have been different further north, where, according to Ryan Dye, Mathew represented "the type of Irish Catholic that the [English] church wanted Irish migrants to emulate."¹⁰² But by avoiding nationalist questions, Mathew may have alienated sections of the Irish poor.¹⁰³

He must have been disappointed by this, particularly as it seems that the English contingent at his meetings was often motivated by curiosity rather than conversion. On a trip to Enfield, Mathew elaborated how, though drink may have been a particular problem for the Irish, it was never exclusively an Irish problem:

He said, it might be considered presumption on his part to address an English audience on the subject of temperance. It might be said, why did he not stop in Ireland? He could assure them that he came to this country on the most pressing invitations. He had another inducement also, and that was the fear of resisting the will of God; for he did believe from his heart that the cause of temperance was blessed with Divine influence. Irishmen had been a depraved race of beings through the baneful vice of drunkenness; but he was happy to say that they had now become greatly improved, and that improvement had been effected by the principles of total abstinence. Surely, then, if temperance was capable of effecting so much good in Ireland, it might be attended with similar beneficial results in this country.¹⁰⁴

To achieve this, temperance could never be sectarian, a point Mathew reiterated with regard to the constitution of Irish temperance societies.¹⁰⁵ And it could not stop at the borders of Ireland. Elsewhere he gave examples of the scale of his moral vision. In Hackney, for example, he praised “Hindoos and Mahometans” for being favorable to total abstinence. Indeed, to demonstrate his central claim that total abstinence was good for health and morals he even went as far as to claim: “If there were no religion – if there were no hereafter – it was still better to have a sober population than a drunken one.”¹⁰⁶ But, self-evidently, despite some high-profile exceptions, Mathew’s hope that his trip would help build a new movement lacked the large-scale support he had found in Ireland. As a result, it seems only to have emphasized the differences that made what Ina Ferris terms the “awkward space of Union.”¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

Temperance and Repeal thrived on what Paul Townend terms the “parallel sense of personal degradation, and the humiliating condition of Ireland as a disparaged national entity.” Townend argues that they took root in the same soil: the “myth” of Ireland’s status as “a degraded colonial slave-state.”¹⁰⁸ Even if this hints at reasons why temperance won such support in Ireland, it does not quite explain Mathew’s attempt to build relations with non-Catholic and non-Irish temperance campaigners while in England. Townend implicitly recognizes the scalar politics at work, but there are subtle differences in Mathew’s and O’Connell’s moral mentalities. Mathew unequivocally connected freedom from drink to a recreated, regenerated Ireland. Frank Mathew argued that Theobald’s dream was that “Ireland should cease to be the Cinderella of the sisterhood, and should have equal rights and laws.” But, “he left others to decide whether Ireland should be ruled from Dublin or Westminster so long as it was ruled fairly.”¹⁰⁹ As such, he saw Repeal as a short-term issue – it would succeed or fail, but either way it would have to be resolved quickly. In scalar terms, temperance was a potentially limitless challenge. The apathy and antagonism that greeted him in certain quarters in London appear to have taken their toll, Frank Mathew concluding that the Friar returned to Ireland with “no belief in the Repeal Year day-dream.”¹¹⁰ The central Repeal message, by contrast, was that the sovereignty of the self that was displayed by the temperate Irish preceded and made possible the kind of political sovereignty that others would deny to Ireland. In this sense, and in contrast to Mathew’s model, temperance was a means and not an end in itself. Freedom from drink was just the start; sobriety and order could be used to challenge the very moral scale and category of the “nation” that campaigners such as Mathew sought to improve.

I began this paper with an epigraph from the Halls. Samuel Hall published “A Letter to Irish Temperance Societies” in November 1843. He noted that in their earlier work they had challenged misrepresentations that surrounded Mathew’s campaign. Temperance, he said, had

given the Irish “an increased inclination to see, hear, think, and judge for yourselves.” Presenting the end of the Penal Laws and the passage of Catholic emancipation as “proof that England is determined to consider Ireland part of herself,” he complained of those who were striving after a vain and undesirable object. Repeal, he warned, would not deliver “ample employment and plenty of food.”¹¹¹ The government’s subsequent clampdown on O’Connell’s monster meetings in October 1843 and O’Connell’s imprisonment effectively finished the constitutional cause.¹¹² But so successful had O’Connell been in entangling Repeal with temperance that Mathew’s movement was also dealt a significant blow.¹¹³ Its fate was largely sealed before the terrible famine years transformed Ireland’s population in a very different way.¹¹⁴ But those skills of seeing, hearing and thinking that Hall identified perhaps had a deeper legacy. Paul Townend contends that CTAS’s legacy was “not so much a new standard of moral social behaviour,” but a new kind of politics, “a new benchmark for the potential of collective action in Ireland.”¹¹⁵ Townend’s remark about behavior carries weight, because so much about temperance was prospective; it sold a brighter future. Various speakers at the London meetings made claims that temperance was not intrinsically religious or political, but instead made such professions possible. Though he outlined secular justifications for total abstinence, it is probably fairer to characterize Mathew’s own position as non-sectarian.¹¹⁶ To say that temperance was not intrinsically religious belies the fact that Mathew’s mission was grounded in the transformation of private consciences, of souls and selves. Through its transformative potential, revealed in the structure of those London meetings, temperance was also always political. As is evident from the very public nature of the “pledge” – that promise to “society,” as Wiseman put it – the drama of temperance assembly held out the possibility of forging more than individual identities.¹¹⁷

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NOTES

- 1 Mr. and Mrs. S.C. [Samuel Carter and Anna Maria] Hall, *Ireland: Its Scenery, Character, &c. Vol. I* (London: How and Parsons, 1841), 33.
- 2 “Father Mathew at Fulham,” *Times*, August 11, 1843, 6.
- 3 Frank Mathew, *Father Mathew: His Life and Times* (London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1890), 23-24; Colm Kerrigan, *Father Mathew and the Irish Temperance Movement 1838-1849* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1992), 3.
- 4 Kerrigan, *Father Mathew*, 12.
- 5 Simon Potter, “Review of The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882,” *Reviews in History* 501 (2006). <http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/501> (accessed: June 9, 2014).
- 6 For more on representations of the Irish see Michael De Nie, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish identity and the British press, 1798-1882* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 25; David Nally, *Human Encumbrances: Political Violence and the Great Irish Famine* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 2011), 92 and Roy Foster, *Paddy and Mr Punch: Connections in Irish and English History* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), chapter 9.
- 7 James Kneale, “[The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914](#)”, *Social and Cultural Geography* 2, no. 1 (2001): 43-59, 45.

- 8 Henry Yeomans, "[What Did the British Temperance Movement Accomplish? Attitudes to Alcohol, the Law and Moral Regulation](#)," *Sociology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 38-53, 42-43; Michael Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 117. Also see Alan Hunt, *Governing Morals: A Social History of Moral Regulation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- 9 British Parliamentary Papers, *Report from the Select Committee on Inquiry into Drunkenness, 1834* (559) VIII, 315.
- 10 Christopher Cook, *Alcohol, Addiction and Christian Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 82; Lilian Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Macmillan, 1988), 18.
- 11 The 1834 committee had recommended the establishment of parks, libraries and reading-rooms, though it was largely ignored or ridiculed at Westminster. See Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1814-1872* (Keele, United Kingdom: Keele University Press, 1994), 106-108.
- 12 Yeomans, "What did the British Temperance Movement Accomplish?" 42-43.
- 13 Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 52.
- 14 His Franciscan novitiate followed his withdrawal from Maynooth after hosting a party in his room. The resulting freedom from Maynooth's "nationalist orientation" may have shaped his clerical and ecumenical development. See Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 35-6.
- 15 Katherine Tynan, *Father Mathew* (London: Macdonald and Evans, 1910), 28; Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 58.
- 16 Paul Townend, *Father Mathew, Temperance and Irish Identity* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002), 41.
- 17 Nally, *Human Encumbrances*, 58.
- 18 John Sheil, *Dr. Sheil's Historical Account of the Temperance Movement in Ireland* (Dublin: Samuel J. Machen, 1843), 5. Original emphasis.
- 19 *Ibid.* Quinn notes that in 1841 Mathew removed the reference to membership and later the clauses on medicinal or sacramental use, meaning people were pledging for life. See Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 63.
- 20 Rev. James Birmingham concluded that the pledge bound people for only as long as their membership of the Society, which they could revoke on request. Rev. James Birmingham, *A Memoir of the Very Rev. Theobald Mathew, with an account of the rise and progress of temperance in Ireland* (Dublin: Milliken and Son, 1840), 81.
- 21 "(From the *Ulster Times*.) Our Holy Father the Pope Again," *Times*, January 16, 1840, 6. Priests were often connected with "superstitious notions," though the Halls argued Mathew could have done more to remove the association; Hall and Hall, *Ireland*, 43. *The Standard* reported claims that Mathew had performed upward of four hundred miracles, accusing him of "spiritual and secular fraud," *Leader, The Standard*, March 11, 1840, 2.
- 22 Alexander King, *The Might and the Right of the People. Letters on Popular Education, Temperance-Political Reform, &c.* (London: Ward and Company, 1843), 20.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 17. Original emphasis. McGraw and Whelan have argued that before O'Connell "Catholic culture was denied a public sphere; after O'Connell that was inconceivable"; Sean McGraw and Kevin Whelan, "[Daniel O'Connell in Comparative Perspective, 1800-50](#)," *Eire-Ireland* 40, nos. 1-2 (2005): 60-89, 74. For more on the Catholic Church before emancipation, see Emmet Larkin, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

- 25 Kneale, "The Place of Drink," 45. Also see David Beckingham, "[Scale and the Moral Geographies of Victorian and Edwardian Child Protection](#)," *Journal of Historical Geography* 42 (2013): 140-151.
- 26 George Bretherton, "Against the Flowing Tide: Whiskey and Temperance in the Making of Modern Ireland," in *Drinking: Behaviour and Belief in Modern History*, eds. Susanna Barrows and Robin Room (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 147-164, 156; Townend, *Father Mathew*, 1. For a discussion of the numbers, see Diarmaid Ferriter, *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999), 6.
- 27 Some police inspectors did report local connections between temperance and Repeal. See Kerrigan, *Father Mathew*, 124.
- 28 Elizabeth Malcolm, *'Ireland Sober, Ireland Free': Drink and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 144; Kerrigan, *Father Mathew*, 170.
- 29 "The Very Rev. Theobald Mathew at Naas," *Freeman's Journal*, August 17, 1840, 1.
- 30 Rev. William Wight, *A Word to People of Common Sense; Or, the Temperance Movement—The Public Press—Opium Eating—Father Mathew, and English Protestants*. By a Member of the University of Cambridge (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1846), 21.
- 31 James Vernon, *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture, c. 1815-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 225.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 79 and 164.
- 33 Adrian Bailey, David Harvey and Catherine Brace, "[Disciplining Youthful Methodist Bodies in Nineteenth-Century Cornwall](#)," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97, no. 1 (2007): 142-157, 143.
- 34 John Maguire, *Father Mathew: A Biography* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Robert, & Green, 1863) 191. See "Ireland. The Peaceful Agitation," *Times*, October 3, 1842, 5.
- 35 Mark Billinge, "[A Time and Place for Everything: An Essay on Recreation, re-Creation and the Victorians](#)," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22, no. 4 (1996): 443-459, 443.
- 36 Kneale, "The Place of Drink," 45. Original emphasis. For more on the institutions and infrastructures of the public sphere see Geoff Eley, "Nations, Publics, and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century," *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992), 288- 339, 291. For an account of the Catholic Church's attempts to create a "moral monopoly" through such a transformation, see Tom Inglis, *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 1998).
- 37 Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres. Volume I* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1969[1898]), 66. Mathew would later provide a character reference at Gavan Duffy's trial. The Young Islander William Smith O'Brien also spoke in support of temperance. See Richard Davis, *Revolutionary Imperialist William Smith O'Brien: 1803-1864* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1998), 146.
- 38 Bretherton, "Against the Flowing Tide," 150.
- 39 Townend, *Father Mathew*, 122. James Vernon makes a similar observation. See Vernon, *Politics and the People*, 237.
- 40 Roberts, *Morals*, 152.
- 41 Pamela Gilbert, *The Citizen's Body: Desire, Health and the Social in Victorian England* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 8.
- 42 Stephen Legg and Michael Brown, "[Moral Regulation: Historical Geography and Scale](#)," *Journal of Historical Geography* 42, (2013): 134-139, 136. See Raúl Fonet-Betancourt, Helmut Becker, Alfredo Gomez-Müller and J.D. Gauthier, "[The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice](#)

- [of Freedom: An Interview with Michel Foucault on January 20, 1984](#)," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 12, nos. 2-3 (1987): 112-131, 114.
- 43 John Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002) 8. For more on temperance and loyalty see Matthew Allen, "Sectarianism, Respectability and Cultural Identity: The St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Society and Irish Catholic Temperance in mid-Nineteenth Century Sydney," *Journal of Religious History* 35, no. 3 (2011): 374-392, 392; Beckingham, "[The Irish Question and the Question of Drunkenness: Catholic Loyalty in Nineteenth-Century Liverpool](#)," *Irish Geography* 42, no. 2 (2009): 125-144.
- 44 Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 8.
- 45 Mathew, *Father Mathew*, 69 and 71; Anonymous, *An accurate report of the proceedings of the Very Rev. Theobald Mathew, in Dublin, in the cause of temperance, when eighty thousand persons took the pledge. With the sermon preached by him in the Church of the Conception, Marlborough Street* (Dublin: Richard Grace, 1840), 40.
- 46 Justen Infinito, "[Ethical Self-Formation: A Look at the Later Foucault](#)," *Educational Theory* 53, no. 2 (2003): 155-171, 157. For a discussion of ethics see Barry Smart, "Foucault, Levinas and the Subject of Responsibility," in *The Later Foucault: Politics and Philosophy*, ed. Jeremy Moss (London: Sage, 1998), 78-92.
- 47 Tony Ballantyne, "Ireland, India and the Construction of the British Colonial Knowledge," in *Was Ireland A Colony? Economics, politics and culture in nineteenth-century Ireland*, ed. Terence McDonough (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 145-161, 146 for a discussion of the imagination of the nation. Philip Howell, "[Afterword: Remapping the Terrain of Moral Regulation](#)," *Journal of Historical Geography* 42 (2013): 193-202, 195. Original emphasis. In some respects O'Connell's "oppositional nationalism," as David Lloyd terms it, needed to obscure alternative readings of the very forms that were held to provide a unifying identity. Lloyd profiles James Clarence Mangan, who declined to take Mathew's pledge apparently, according to Father C.P. Meehan, "because he doubted his ability to keep it"; more symbolically, this might be read as a rejection of respectability as that quality that constituted the nation. Lloyd examines how Mangan could nevertheless be recovered as an "ethical subject by identifying him with an aesthetic or political type." See David Lloyd, *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), x, 46-7.
- 48 "Teetotalism and Repeal," *Times*, April 15, 1841, 3.
- 49 S. Hubert Burke, *The Rise and Progress of Father Mathew's Temperance Mission* (London: S.W. Bleach, 1885), 4. Original emphasis. Also see Sean O'Faolain, *King of the Beggars: A Life of Daniel O'Connell* (Swords: Poolbeg Press, 1980[1938]), 297.
- 50 "Teetotalism and Repeal."
- 51 Leader, *Times*, April 21, 1841, 4.
- 52 Leader, "The Times-Teetotalism," *Freeman's Journal*, April 23, 1841, 2.
- 53 Maguire, *Father Mathew*, 231.
- 54 Speech at Lucan, June, 1842, cited in Burke, *The Rise and Progress*, 7-8; Rev. Patrick Rogers, *Father Theobald Mathew: Apostle of Temperance* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan Limited, 1943), 61.
- 55 "Grand Temperance Procession at Cork," *Freeman's Journal*, March 30, 1842, 3; Maguire, *Father Mathew*, 234-5, 237.
- 56 Cited in Tynan, *Father Mathew*, 87, and Townend, *Father Mathew*, 216.
- 57 Mathew, *Father Mathew*, 87.
- 58 Father Augustine, *Footprints of Father Theobald Mathew: Apostle of Temperance* (Dublin: M.H. Gill, 1947) 281.

- 59 Mathew frequently travelled in mail coaches. One anecdote records that he was delayed at Athy for five hours after local people demand he stop and take their pledges. See Stephen Gwynn, *Saints and Scholars* (London: Thornton Butterworth, Limited, 1929) 130. Maguire notes that protests at the “stopping of Her Majesty’s Mail” in an English paper were brought to the attention of the coach operator, who promptly gave Mathew free use of his services. See Maguire, *Father Mathew*, 55.
- 60 “Great Northern Temperance Demonstration,” *York Herald*, July 15, 1843, 6; Alex Tyrrell, “Preston Teetotal Movement,” in *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: A Global Encyclopedia*, eds. Jack Blocker, Ian Tyrrell and David Fahey (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2003), 490-491.
- 61 “Father Mathew in England,” *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, July 22, 1843, 225-7; “Father Mathew in England,” *Tablet*, July 15, 1843, 12.
- 62 “Father Mathew in England,” *Tablet*, July 15, 1843, 12. Baines had been inspired by developments in Bradford, where a society had been founded in 1830, and later helped establish one in Leeds. See Harrison, *The Drink Question*, 102.
- 63 “Father Mathew in England,” *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, July 22, 1843, 225-7, 227. Original emphasis.
- 64 “Temperance Festival,” *Liverpool Mercury*, July 7, 1843, 226 ; “Progress of Father Mathew,” *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, July 29, 1843, 233.
- 65 “Local and General Intelligence,” *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser*, July 22, 1843, 5.
- 66 “Father Mathew in Manchester and Liverpool,” *Liverpool Mercury*, July 28, 1843, 252.
- 67 “Father Mathew in Manchester,” *Manchester Guardian*, July 22, 1843, 6.
- 68 Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982): 777-795, 783.
- 69 “Arrival of Father Mathew in Liverpool,” *Liverpool Mercury*, July 21, 1843, 242.
- 70 Letter dated 24 July 1843, cited in David Wilson, *Carlyle on Cromwell and Others (1837-48)* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Turner & Co., Ltd, 1925), 232.
- 71 Kerrigan, “Father Mathew and Teetotalism in London, 1843,” *London Journal* 11, no. 2 (1985): 107-114, 107. See Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 130, for more on “schisms.”
- 72 For more on early disagreements, see Roberts, *Morals*, 150-1.
- 73 Jurgen Habermas, “Religion in the Public Sphere,” *European Journal of Philosophy* 14, no. 1 (2006): 1-25, 3.
- 74 “The ‘Times’ and Father Mathew,” *Tablet*, August 19, 1843, 521-2.
- 75 “Father Mathew,” *English Churchman*, August 3, 1849, 491.
- 76 A Churchman, “Letters to the Editor. Father Mathew,” *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, and Huntingdonshire Gazette*, August 19, 1843, 2.
- 77 A Protestant, “Letters to the Editor. Father Mathew,” *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal, and Huntingdonshire Gazette*, August 19, 1843, 2.
- 78 “Cambridge, August 28,” *Bury and Norwich Post, and East Anglian*, August 30, 1843, 3.
- 79 “Father Mathew’s Temperance Union,” *Cambridge Independent Press and Huntingdon, Bedford & Peterborough Gazette*, September 9, 1843, 2.
- 80 “Father Mathew at Norwich,” *Times*, September 9, 1843, 3; Augustine, *Footprints*, 304.
- 81 “Father Mathew and Dr. Wiseman at Birmingham,” *Times*, September 13, 1843, 6; “Country News. The Temperance Movement,” *Illustrated London News*, September 16, 1843, 183. Wiseman wrote to The Times to elaborate on this distinction. See Nicholas Wiseman, “Dr. Wiseman and Father Mathew. To the Editor of The Times,” *Times*, September 16, 1843, 6.
- 82 “Father Mathew at Birmingham,” *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, September 23, 1843, 300-302, 302.
- 83 Leader, *Times*, September 14, 1843, 4.

- 84 Augustine, *Footprints*, 323; Kerrigan, *Father Mathew*, 140.
- 85 Untitled, *Leeds Mercury*, July 8, 1842, 1; "Public Amusements," *Liverpool Mercury*, July 21, 1843, 237. For more on the impact of ticketing see Vernon, *Politics and the People*, 151.
- 86 Andy Croll has argued that the letters columns of local papers formed an important part in a kind of citizen-surveillance. Andy Croll, "[Street Disorder, Surveillance and Shame: Regulating Behaviour in the Public Spaces of the late Victorian British Town](#)," *Social History* 24, no. 3 (1999): 250-68.
- 87 Augustine, *Footprints*, 293; Mathew, *Father Mathew*, 85.
- 88 "Conclusion of Father Mathew's Labours in the Metropolis," *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, September 16, 1843, 289-296, 293.
- 89 "Father Mathew at Chelsea," *Morning Chronicle*, September 2, 1843, 4.
- 90 "Father Mathew in London," *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, August 5, 1843, 241-245; "Father Mathew at Regent's-Park," *Times*, August 12, 1843, 8.
- 91 Maguire, *Father Mathew*, 288.
- 92 "Continued Success of Father Mathew," *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer*, September 2, 1843, 273-274.
- 93 "Ireland," *Times*, August 17, 1843, 6-7, 7.
- 94 "Father Mathew in St. Giles's," *Times*, August 21, 1843, 6; "Ireland," *Times*, August 23, 1843, 5.
- 95 "Father Mathew in St. Giles's," *Freeman's Journal*, August 24, 1843, 3.
- 96 "Loyal National Repeal Association," *Freeman's Journal*, August 24, 1843, 4; "Father Mathew at Greenwich," *Times*, August 22, 1843, 6.
- 97 "Father Mathew in Marylebone on Saturday," *Morning Chronicle*, August 14, 1843, 6.
- 98 Howell, "Afterword," 198.
- 99 "Father Mathew in Marylebone on Saturday."
- 100 Mathew was reportedly interrupted by representatives of the licensed trade at Bermondsey, where an attempt was made to sabotage the supports for his platform. See "Father Mathew at Bermondsey—Outrage on the Apostle and Disgraceful Proceedings," *Morning Chronicle*, August 26, 1843, 2; Kerrigan, "Father Mathew and teetotalism in London," 111.
- 101 Kerrigan, "Father Mathew and Teetotalism in London," 112. The ambivalence of the hierarchy mirrored a general reluctance among Irish bishops to endorse Mathew's mission. See Rogers, *Father Theobald Mathew*, 150.
- 102 Ryan Dye, "Catholic Protectionism or Irish Nationalism? Religion and Politics in Liverpool, 1829-1845," *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 3 (2001): 357-90, 386; Beckingham, "The Irish Question," 128.
- 103 Peter Doyle, *Mitres and Missions in Lancashire: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Liverpool 1850-2000* (Liverpool: Bluecoat Press, 2005), 42.
- 104 "Father Mathew in the Rural Districts," *Times*, August 18, 1843, 6.
- 105 "Father Mathew in Kennington-Common," *Times*, August 9, 1843, 7.
- 106 "The Temperance Movement in London," *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, September 9, 281-288.
- 107 Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 1.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 269. My emphasis.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 157.
- 110 *Ibid.*, 125. Frank Mathew suggests that the Friar was anxious that those who followed O'Connell might be fired by a "war-spirit."

- 111 Samuel Carter Hall, *A Letter to Irish Temperance Societies, Concerning the Present State of Ireland, and its Connexion with England* (London: J. How, 1843) 1, 7, 15.
- 112 For more on the geography of repeal see Thomas Bartlett, *Ireland: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 276, though Bartlett references Mathew only in the context of an 1870s concern with respectability (see p. 301).
- 113 Townend, *Father Mathew*, 231.
- 114 Mathew's letters reveal a providentialist reading of the famine. See Quinn, *Father Mathew's Crusade*, 135.
- 115 Townend, *Father Mathew*, 268-9.
- 116 "The Temperance Movement in London," *Metropolitan Temperance Intelligencer and Journal*, September 9, 1843, 281-88, 283 and 286.
- 117 Habermas's recent emphasis on the role of religion as a source of values in a contemporary "postsecular" public sphere can be used to redress the neglect of religion and spirituality. Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan Vanantwerpen, "Introduction: The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere," in *The Power of Religion in the Public Sphere: Judith Butler, Jürgen Habermas, Charles Taylor, Cornel West*, eds. Eduardo Mendieta and Jonathan Vanantwerpen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 1-14, 4.