

**Arthur Sherwell (1863-1942):
Temperance Reformer and Liberal MP**

Arthur Sherwell has no entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Most British historians are unlikely to recognize his name. Even specialists in the temperance movement probably remember him only as the co-author of *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (1899).¹ Sherwell deserves to be rescued from such obscurity. Studying Sherwell's varied career adds to our understanding of late Victorian and early-twentieth century British history.

As a writer and organizer, Sherwell contributed massively to the agitation in Britain for disinterested (or non-commercial) pub management as a method of temperance reform.² Most late-Victorian and Edwardian men and women who saw themselves as respectable believed that there was a drink problem. They disagreed about how to solve it. Only a minority favored referendums for local prohibition known as Direct Local Veto, but those who did provided the energy animating the temperance movement.

The drink problem was worse in large cities, so Sherwell regarded Local Veto as irrelevant. Urban voters would not ban the sale of drink. Nor would urban workingmen honor local prohibition if it were enacted. Sherwell proposed as a practical alternative replacing the old boozy pubs with reformed public houses under non-commercial management that discouraged drunkenness.

Although not a teetotaler, Sherwell was honorary secretary of the organization that lobbied on behalf of disinterested management, the Temperance Legislation League, and was a frequent contributor to its publications. Prime Minister H.H. Asquith (who disliked prohibition) had a high regard for Sherwell who represented "the best and sanest opinion" among temperance reformers.³

Sherwell was more than a temperance reformer. His *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (1897), helped pioneer urban sociology, in particular the sociology of urban poverty. Sherwell was also a late-Victorian feminist, an ally of Emmeline Pethick and Mary Neal in their break from the West London Wesleyan Mission. Not only a champion of temperance and feminism, Sherwell was proud of the British Empire and hoped that the settler colonies would get a seat in the British Cabinet. A member of Parliament for about a dozen years, he sacrificed his political career by opposing wartime military conscription. Although Sherwell often is considered an old-fashioned libertarian Radical, he joined the 1917 Club, named after Russia's February Revolution. In that year, inching his way even further leftward, he called for an immediate end to indirect taxes, the main taxes borne by the working class.⁴ When a Labour Government created the Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales), 1929-1931, chaired by William Mackenzie, 1st Baron Amulree, Sherwell served as a member.

So why is such an important—and interesting—character so little remembered by history? The neglect of Arthur Sherwell is partly explained by “his widow[having] destroyed most of his papers after his death, and on her death what little remained, mainly the manuscripts of his books, passed to the Rowntree Trust and subsequently to the L.S.E,” that is, the London School of Economics.⁵ This paper aims to return Sherwell to his place in history.

On April 11th, 1863, Arthur James Sherwell was born in the Tower Hamlets of London as the second son of a prosperous coach maker, John Viney Sherwell (1822-95), originally from south Devon, and his wife Mary Onion (1825-1901). Arthur Sherwell's *Who Was Who* entry says that he was educated privately, which is not true. He presumably wrote the entry which raises the question, why did he mislead readers? In fact, he spent a year at the Tredegar School, two years at North London Grammar School, and three years at Handsworth Technical College

in Birmingham. Although his family was Anglican, Sherwell sought as a young man to become a Wesleyan minister. The Wesleyan Methodists attracted him because of their democratic organization and interest in social reform. He regarded social problems as religious as much as economic. Sherwell was never ordained, but he preached as a probationer for several years, including at St. Paul's Wesleyan Church in the west Yorkshire town of Brighouse

In the mid-1890s he was part of the ministerial staff of the West London Wesleyan Mission headed by Hugh Price Hughes. He presented Sunday afternoon lectures on social questions at Prince's Hall, Piccadilly. He sought a large audience and did not care that few of those attending were Methodists. Sherwell returned to Brighouse for a Mission rally early in 1894. He pointed out that the Mission addressed the needs of a half million Londoners, most of them wretchedly poor. He emphasized that "the London problem was practically the great problem of the future of England ... [and] in solving that problem would be determined the destiny of this great Empire."⁶

In the late 1800s women were increasingly active in religious and moral reform organizations. Although accepted as workers, they were not seen as leaders, and men often discouraged independent-minded women who wanted to escape patriarchal control. Sherwell, ever the feminist, supported a group of such independent-minded middle-class women when they wanted to live among the poor as a religious community.⁷ At first Hugh Price Hughes was opposed, although his wife was a champion of the "Sisters of the People." Sherwell dedicated the third edition of his first book to two of these women, Emmeline Pethick (later Lawrence) and Mary Neal. In the earlier editions the dedication was more discreet, to "My Comrades." Sherwell had worked with them at Cleveland Hall, a Mission facility for poor young women.

The *Methodist Who's Who* said that Sherwell "resigned [from the West London Methodist Mission] on theological grounds" but does not say what they were.⁸ Sherwell turned from preaching to writing about social problems.

Unlike the leaders of his party, Sherwell strongly supported women's suffrage. In a letter published in 1909 condemning the violent tactics of militants, he said that they did not diminish his support for women's suffrage. He advocated votes for women not "merely [because of] abstract principles of social justice, but [because of] personal observation and investigation of the working of women's suffrage in other lands."⁹ Despite this, Eva Gore-Booth and other militant suffragists opposed him at a parliamentary election because he was a Liberal, and the Liberal government would not support a suffrage bill.¹⁰ Unlike the United States, the United Kingdom did not have universal male suffrage, which complicated the British campaign for women's suffrage. Some male reformers would not give parliamentary votes to any women unless all men could vote too.

Sherwell focused much of his work on the urban poor.¹¹ For three years he spent his afternoons interviewing the local unemployed for the St. James district committee of the Charity Organisation Society. In 1893, at his own expense, he established a home for alcoholic workingmen. Dressed as a dosser or tramp, he visited working-class shelters and lodging houses. Too middle class to sleep there, he arranged to change into respectable clothes at a public bath before returning home. He wrote about these visits in *Advance!*, a reform magazine published by his female allies.¹²

Sherwell's major sole-authored monograph, *Life in West London: A Study and a Contrast* (1897), was a statistical study of poverty in Soho and adjacent districts.¹³ As it was part of a Methuen series of books, "Social Questions of To-Day," it may have been commissioned. In his

book, he explained how once wealthy districts became the homes and workshops of the poor. “A city is like a great hungry sea ...only [in its expansion], unlike the sea, a city leaves its driftwood behind it.”¹⁴ No admirer of middle-class Bohemia, he lamented a Soho “honey-combed with clubs, wine-rooms, restaurants and saloons.”¹⁵

The district as a whole is characterized by conditions which, if they do not defy, at least baffle accurate description. Here, for example, are all the ordinary facts of social life in crowded centres - insanitary dwellings, irregular employment, sweated wages, and chronic physical weakness, intensified by higher rents and a relatively higher cost of living; and, what is worse still, aggravated by the close proximity of those awful contrasts - the extremes of wealth and poverty, which are the special and peculiar miseries of the West End. In the east and south of London life has its deep and extended miseries, but this is not one of them.¹⁶

The book was divided into three parts. The first part focused on crowding, the result of excessive rents as dwelling places competed with workshops. The second part looked at different trades, such as tailoring. The third part looked at moral challenges, such as gambling and intemperance. Readers of the first edition complained that they were left with a sense of helplessness, so in the later editions Sherwell offered solutions. He rejected private and most society charity as wasteful. He favored instead legislation with the laws, old and new, vigorously enforced.

After publishing the *Life of West London*, Sherwell turned his attention to adult education. Investigating an adult school at York, he met Joseph Rowntree (who was not forgotten by history), a Quaker cocoa manufacturer. Sherwell became Rowntree's collaborator in a half dozen books on temperance reform. Sherwell did the research in North America and Scandinavia which the wealthy Rowntree subsidized. Together, they published their magnum opus in 1899, *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*. Well-received, this massive volume of over 700 pages, fact-filled and irenic in spirit, went through nine printings in two years and became one of the most influential books in the history of the British temperance agitation.¹⁷

They argued that, when tried, prohibition was a failure in large cities where the drink problem was worse, and advocated disinterested (non-commercial) management of the retail drink trade. W.E. Gladstone's Liberal Unionist nephew Alfred Lyttelton told his wife that he was "tremendously impressed" by the Rowntree and Sherwell book and hoped that "the wisdom of these wise men touches the vast body of fanatics and sillys, who make up so much of the temperance party."¹⁸

The *Daily Chronicle*, a sympathetic Liberal newspaper, argued on 14 April 1899: "Local Veto and Prohibition are discredited." The newspaper called for an educational campaign based on Rowntree and Sherwell with the objective of reforming the public house, the place where the working class met for social intercourse. It was not enough to reduce the number of public houses. "The only road to reform seems to us to lie in the transfer to the public authorities of the public-houses themselves, to be conducted under the public supervision." Rowntree and Sherwell advocated the reformed public house as part of rational recreation for the working class and the source of funds for other kinds of recreation. They opposed making public houses the site of such recreation.

Later editions included excerpts from the praise of many readers. For instance, the Labour politician J. Keir Hardie characterized *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* as "the beginning of a new epoch of the temperance movement."¹⁹ For the first time, drink and temperance reform were placed firmly in the context of general social reform. Methodist religious reformer Hugh Price Hughes, reviewing the book in the *Methodist Times*, agreed with Rowntree and Sherwell. "This is the only effective method of dealing with the Liquor Trade in urban districts."²⁰ He abandoned his old commitment to prohibition by Local Veto.

Sherwell published many books on temperance, some of them in collaboration with Joseph Rowntree, such as *British "Gothenburg" Experiments and Public-House Trusts* (1901), *Public Control of the Liquor Traffic, Being a Review of the Scandinavian Experiments in the Light of Recent Experience* (1903), and *Taxation of the Liquor Trade* (1906). Recently, several of the books co-authored by Rowntree and Sherwell have been reprinted. Sherwell by himself wrote *The Drink Peril in Scotland* (1903) and often published as a single author on drink topics for the Temperance Legislation League with such titles as *Temperance Progress in Germany* (1913), *The Russian Vodka Monopoly* (1915), *The War and National Sobriety* (1915), *State Purchase of the Liquor Trade* (1919), *Carlisle and its Critics* (1923), and *Prohibition and its Sequel* (1932). They remain available at research libraries. He also published extensively in *Monthly Notes* for the Temperance Legislation League. For the Liberal Party, he wrote a short booklet, *Four Years of the Liberal Government (1906-9)* (1910).

Sherwell's rejected prohibition as inappropriate in large cities. He had no enthusiasm for its mild form of Local Veto, although he conceded that it might be appropriate in lightly populated rural and suburban districts. The United Kingdom Alliance sharply criticized him for his negativism toward Local Veto.²¹ The president of the Alliance, Leif Jones, regarded Sherwell as an enemy.²² In 1902, Sherwell became a vice-president of the Garden City Association which promoted locally a form of disinterested management.

Joseph Rowntree apparently became a total abstainer around 1880. It is unclear what Sherwell's drinking habits were in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In 1910, he acknowledged that he then was not a teetotaler. At a campaign meeting on January 4th, 1910, he admitted that he "sometimes" drank wine and "very rarely spirits."²³ Shortly before the war, his home at Pangbourne-on-Thames was burglarized. The (Manchester) *Daily Citizen* (March 3rd, 1914)

reported that the temperance MP had complained that while in his house the burglars had drunk his best Burgundy.

Sherwell was an enthusiastic imperialist, at least when viewing the white settler colonies. He visited Australia and New Zealand several times in the early 1900s. His first visit to Australia in the summer of 1900 led to an interview in the *Daily News* published on November 16th, 1900, under the title ‘The Colonies through English Eyes.’²⁴ It was reproduced in the (London) *British Australasian and New Zealand Mail* on the next day and in the *South Australian Register* on December 19th. The last-named newspaper reported Sherwell as saying: “I have come back from Australia and New Zealand with an increased faith in the English-speaking race, and a stronger belief in the great mission which lies before the British Empire.” He was impressed by, “The great latent possibilities which lie buried in the colonies. The same thing struck me very forcibly when I visited Canada last year. The future belongs to these great undeveloped countries. There is a buoyancy and elasticity in Australian life which reminded me of America.”²⁵

To strengthen imperial federation, he proposed the creation of a Colonial seat in the British Cabinet. He said: “In Australia you feel that the Empire is a reality. You are conscious that it is one of the great forces of the world’s life. You completely lose the impression, the result of academic discussion in the Old Country, that the Empire is merely an idea.”²⁶

Sherwell also visited New Zealand and, although critical of prohibition districts there, was impressed by its fight against drink.²⁷ In late 1905 and early 1906 Sherwell returned to the East. As an honorary secretary of the new Temperance Legislation League, Sherwell had thrown himself into its early work.²⁸ Exhausted, he then spent several months in a recuperative 30,000-

mile journey during which he visited Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, and the South Pacific islands. In a third visit, he returned to Australia and the Pacific for four months early in 1908.²⁹

Sherwell was a member of the United Kingdom branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association that spent a month in Australia in 1913. His young wife, Amy Wadcoast, travelled with him. On route they crossed through Canada and stopped in Fiji. They visited New Zealand, and part of the delegation spent time in South Africa on the return voyage to England.³⁰

Sherwell was overseas during the general election of January 1906. After many years in the minority, the Liberal Party won a landslide victory. Although Sherwell missed the chance of being a candidate at the general election, he soon entered Parliament. In a bye-election later in 1906, he was returned for the Yorkshire mill town, Huddlesfield.³¹

Sherwell was not a typical Liberal candidate for this constituency, which usually elected millowners or other businessmen. He was an outsider known mostly for his writings on the temperance question. About a half dozen of the local Liberal establishment voted within the party committee against his selection.

The election was a three-sided one with a Labour candidate competing almost equally with the Liberal and Conservative ones. In many respects, Sherwell was an old-fashioned Radical and not a New Liberal, but much of his platform overlapped with that of his Labour opponent. Both supported Free Trade, self-government for Ireland and the Boer republics, and some kind of reform of the House of Lords, education, and the licensing of alcoholic drink. Both strongly opposed Joseph Chamberlain's call for tariff reform. Sherwell declared: "I regard the proposed tax upon the people's food as nothing short of a political crime."³² Answering a charge that he was opposed to workingmen's clubs, he insisted that he was opposed only to bogus clubs which were not run by members but by unscrupulous drink sellers.

Sherwell argued that to address the problem of unemployment and pay for social reform the government needed to cut naval and military expenditures and increase the taxation of land values and the liquor trade. He declared that he was not a State Socialist but instead a practical reformer who did “not want to waste time dreaming of impracticable Utopias.”³³

In his doctoral dissertation Robert B. Perks pointed out: “despite a more advanced stance than his predecessors in Huddersfield on social issues Sherwell's Liberalism stopped short of the state intervention or collectivism of the 'New Liberals'.” Sherwell saw poverty as a personal failing to be overcome through self-help. He supported old age pensions and housing reform but otherwise was silent on the great question of working-class poverty.³⁴ The local Liberal newspaper urged electors: “Vote for Sherwell and for Freedom, Peace, Retrenchment and Reform.” Sherwell could not move far beyond what middle-class Liberals in Huddersfield wanted, but he also had to appease working-class Liberals tempted by Labour. The *Eastern Evening News* (January 31st 1907) said that Sherwell won the election “on a programme of Social Reform.”

In the January 1910 general election Sherwell greatly increased his narrow victory plurality won in the 1906 bye-election. He was helped by the popularity among working-class electors of the Liberal fight against the House of Lords and for Lloyd George's budget proposals. He demanded that “the absolute veto of the Lords must go ... the will of the people ... must be supreme.” The local branch of the Irish League promised the Liberal candidate the Irish vote, several hundred strong.³⁵ On the budget, Sherwell split with his old Temperance Legislation League ally T.P. Whittaker, who was critical of Lloyd George's budget proposals.³⁶

Sherwell also benefited from the inexperience of the Conservative candidate, a brother of the front bencher F.E. Smith, who dropped to third place, finishing behind the Labour candidate.

In the second 1910 general election, when the Conservatives put forward a stronger candidate, Sherwell won with a much smaller majority.

In 1911, Sherwell lobbied Lloyd George over the omission of children from his insurance bill.³⁷ He “spoke splendidly” in Parliament as part of a group of MPs “pressing for wider treatment for consumption and the Medical Treatment of children.”³⁸ In the same year he defended peaceful picketing in a letter to the chairman of the Huddlesfield branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants.³⁹

Early in 1909, the middle-aged Sherwell married Amy Whadcoat, who was born in 1884 or 1886 (sources disagree). She did not die until more than thirty years after his death. They had one child, a daughter, also named Amy. She probably died in early childhood.⁴⁰

The war years saw Sherwell in bitter conflict with most Huddersfield Liberals. Ironically some of the minority who had opposed his Liberal selection in 1906, now liked him. Sherwell opposed the 1915 Coalition government and thereafter sat as an independent Liberal.⁴¹ Aggravating the schism, in January 1916 Sherwell opposed military conscription. He argued that “the men who are the real forces behind the [Military Conscription] Bill are out to use the emergency of a great war for the destruction of democracy and depriving the workers of hard-won privileges and rights.”⁴²

In February 1916, the Central Liberal Club struck his name from the list of its honorific vice presidents. Sherwell responded to the Central Liberal Club unrepentantly:

Nothing is further from my wish than to embarrass the Executive, or to show any lack of consideration to the views of those who may differ from me. At the same time I can't go back on my convictions (upon which, by the way, I was elected), nor can I consent to be a 'machine' politician. I can do no good to Liberalism or to the country in that character. Liberalism is heading rapidly for the rocks, and there will be a rude awakening presently.

Later in 1916, he accused the Government of breaking its word about conscription of

attested men of age forty-one.⁴³ In 1917, when Sherwell appeared in Huddlesfield at a conference about wartime food supplies, a trade unionist who was presiding described him as “despised and rejected at Westgate,” the local Liberal headquarters.⁴⁴

Sherwell refused a request that he meet with the Liberal Association. He promised that he would not be a candidate for reelection but would not immediately resign. In fact, he resigned only in November 1918, shortly before the general election. Sherwell’s ally in the Temperance Legislation League, T.P. Whittaker, was a supporter of the war and in 1918 was reelected as a Coalition Liberal.⁴⁵

After the war, Sherwell focused his attention on the temperance question.⁴⁶ In 1923, he helped Lady Nancy Astor (the first woman to take her seat in the House of Commons) in drafting her children’s bill.⁴⁷ He criticized the postwar Liberal policy toward alcoholic drink in *Monthly Notes*, Nov. 1928, “The Liberal Report on Temperance Policy, 1908 and 1928.”

As noted earlier, when a Labour government created the Amulree Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales), 1929-1931, Sherwell served as a member.⁴⁸ He had the pleasure of questioning Leif Jones, the president of the United Kingdom Alliance. The Royal Commission had no prohibitionist members. Sherwell acted as a voice for moderate temperance reformers.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Royal Commission, Sherwell published a two-part review of drink policies in *Monthly Notes*, August-September, and November 1932. In the first article Sherwell described what he called the inflexibility and arrogance of the United Kingdom Alliance. In 1932, it repeated its mistakes of 1871 (when it was half-hearted about Bruce’s licensing bill) and of 1899 (when it rejected Lord Peel’s Royal Commission minority report). In

1932, the Alliance condemned the Temperance Council of Christian Churches for its endorsement of the recommendations of the new Royal Commission.

Sherwell reminded readers that the temperance movement was more than organized societies such as the Alliance. Instead, it consisted of “a vast number of men and women who, although in no way organized, or associated with propagandist societies, are dissatisfied with present conditions.” They are not prohibitionists, and “they are not, for the most part, abstainers from alcoholic beverages.” They are realists.

In his second article, Sherwell argued that the war had forced a review of what worked and what did not. The most dramatic success was the Carlisle experiment, which removed the sale of drink from the drink trade and placed it in the hands of public authorities.

Sherwell seems to have been reasonably prosperous in the first years after he left Parliament. For instance, in 1920-24 the Sherwells lived in the historic Red House, first renting it and then purchasing it. The Red House was an early Arts and Crafts building designed in the late 1850s by Philip Webb and William Morris as the latter’s home. Later the Sherwells lived in Kent at Royal Tunbridge Wells until their deaths. He listed his recreations as blue-books and cricket.

Arthur Sherwell died at age 78 on January 13th, 1942. The much younger Amy Whadcoat Sherwell died in 1976. Arthur Sherwell left a surprisingly modest estate, a little more than £492, with his widow being his sole heir.

Sherwell’s career is fascinating, but did he accomplish anything? We cannot know how Sherwell judged his life, but we can guess. He must have been proud of his early books, *Life in West London* and the co-authored *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*. He probably regarded his work as a Wesleyan probationer with satisfaction and remembered happily his

overseas travels. He would have had no regrets about his opposition to military conscription. He doubtless was frustrated with what little he had accomplished on behalf of the disinterested management of the retail drink trade. In the year of his death, brewers still controlled most pubs other than in the small Carlisle experiment. He presumably appreciated being appointed to a Royal Commission on Licensing in 1929. The brevity of his parliamentary career and the decline of the Liberal Party must have disappointed him.

Historians have rarely written about Sherwell and his ally T.P. (Sir Thomas) Whittaker. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* does not provide an entry for either of them. Neither Sherwell nor Whittaker left papers for historical research. Moreover, the organization that they served, the Temperance Legislation League, is ignored. It had been organized in 1905 when the temperance movement was already in decline. Shortly after the Second World War the Rowntree Trust no longer funded the League which soon faded away. Historians interested in the League must struggle to recreate its life from its mostly anonymous publications. Sherwell will challenge any historian who ventures to write his biography.

ENDNOTES

¹ Joseph Rowntree was Sherwell's co-author. For Sherwell, see *Who Was Who*; David M. Fahey, *Temperance Societies in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020), pp. 46-47; John Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics since 1830* (Palgrave, 2003), pp. 68-72 ("Rowntree and Sherwell's New Approach"). In November 1906 as a candidate for Parliament, Sherwell was interviewed by a journalist. This interview provided much of the personal information mentioned in this article. *Brighouse News*, 23 Nov. 1906, p. 5

² For Sherwell and disinterested management, see David M. Fahey, *The Politics of Drink in England from Gladstone to Lloyd George* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2022), ch. 7.

³ Asquith to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 6 Dec. 1904. British Library, Campbell-Bannerman papers. Add. 41210, ff. 237-38. Sherwell believed that Asquith privately favored disinterested management. Sherwell on 9 July 1930 (questioning the prohibitionist Leif Jones) in *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission on Licensing (England and Wales)*, ques. 30,125 (p. 1718). Many leading politicians, Liberals, Liberal Unionists and Conservatives, privately favored disinterested management.

⁴ *New Age*, 13 Sept. 1917, p. 433.

⁵ Robert B. Perks, "The New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1885-1914, with Special Reference to Huddersfield" (Doctoral thesis, Huddersfield Polytechnic, 1985), p. 503. Hereafter cited as Perks. The London School of Economics holdings that came from the Sherwell family include more than fifty volumes of translations from drink and temperance publications originating in Germany, Denmark, Russia, and Sweden. In addition, the Sherwell materials include correspondence and papers relating to the role of the drink trade in the general election of 1910.

⁶ *Brighouse News*, 3 March 1894, p. 3.

⁷ Ellen Ross, "St. Francis in Soho: Emmeline Pethick, Mary Neal, the West London Wesleyan Mission, and the Allure of 'Simple Living' in the 1890s," *Church History* 83 no. 4 (Dec. 2014): 851, 871.

⁸ *Methodist Who's Who* (1912).

⁹ *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 October 1909, p. 9.

¹⁰ Sonja Tieman, "In Defence of Barmaids: The Gore-Booth Sisters Take on Winston Churchill," *History Ireland* 20 no. 3 (May/June 2012).

¹¹ In 1898 Sherwell was elected a fellow of the Royal Statistical Society. He joined the Sociological Society after it was organized in 1903. He is considered a pioneer in criminology who connected criminal and victim to their environment. Dennis Chapman, *Sociology and the Stereotype of the Criminal* (Routledge, 1968), p. 245.

¹²Ellen Ross mentioned that *Advance!* published “a densely researched piece of social observation, probably by Arthur Sherwell, investigating the lodging house dwellers of Soho.” “‘Disgruntled Missionaries:’ The Friendship of Mary Neal and Emmeline Pethick Lawrence at the West London Mission,” February 2009, p. 14 (online).

¹³ It received a lukewarm review in March of the same year by Helen Bosanquet in the *Economic Journal*. It was reviewed much more favorably in the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* (1897), p. 181, which called it “suggestive and soul-stirring.” Sherwell’s book is cited by modern scholars, such as Judith Walkowitz, *Nights Out: Life in Cosmopolitan London* (Yale University Press, 2012). Sherwell later contributed a chapter, “The Problem of West London,” to Richard Mudie-Smith, ed., *The Religious Life of London* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1904).

¹⁴ Sherwell, *Life in West London: a Study and a Contrast* (1897), p. 2.

¹⁵ Quoted in Susan D. Pennybacker, *A Vision for London, 1889-1914* (Routledge, 1995), p. 57.

¹⁶ Sherwell, *Life in West London*, p. 7.

¹⁷ Favorably reviewed, it went through six printings in the first eight months and two more in the following year, followed by a cheap edition in 1901, for a total of 90,000 copies sold. Rowntree published with Sherwell several other books such as *British “Gothenberg” Experiments and Public-House Trusts*.

¹⁸ Lyttelton to his wife Edith, 24 May 1899, quoted in Edith Lyttelton, *Alfred Lyttelton: An Account of His Life* (Longmans, 1917), p. 227.

¹⁹ 1900 edition, p. 783.

²⁰ Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Hugh Price Hughes* (University of Wales Press, 1999), p. 282.

²¹ “Mr. Sherwell and Local Option,” *Alliance News*, 12 Dec. 1907, p. 812. See also Guy Hayler, *The Master Method: An Enquiry into the Liquor Problem in America* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Temperance Institute, 1901), argued that prohibition worked in large towns and cities.

²² Jones to Lady Carlisle, 8 Aug. 1907. Castle Howard, Ninth Countess of Carlisle papers, J23/100.

²³ *Huddlesfield Worker*, 15 January 1910, quoted in Perks, p. 523. The *Worker* was allied with the Labour Party.

²⁴ Sam Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire: Unsettling News in Australia and Britain, 1863-1902* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 155-56; “The Colonies through English Eyes,” *Daily News*, 16 November 1900, p. 8. At the Henry George Foundation (online), Sherwell is quoted as saying “the slums of our cities are the satire on our dreams of Empire.”

²⁵ *South Australian Register*, December 19th, 1900.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ (New Zealand) *Temuka Leader* 27 Nov. 1900, “The Liquor Question.” See also Sherwell in *Review of Reviews*, 20 Oct. 1900; (New Zealand) *Daily Chronicle*, reprinted in (Canterbury, New Zealand) *Lytteldon Times*, 25 Jan. 1901, p. 3.

²⁸ For the League, see Fahey, *Temperance Societies*, pp. 48-52.

²⁹ *Edinburgh Evening News* 11 Oct. 1908, p. 3.

³⁰ *United Empire: The Royal Colonial Institute Journal*, Aug. 1913, p. 617; *British Colonist*, 3 August 1913, p. 5. It is not clear whether the Sherwells were among those who visited South Africa.

³¹ *Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, 22 Nov. 1906, p. 3.

³² Perks, p. 466.

³³ Perks, p 468.

³⁴ Perks, p. 466.

³⁵ Perks, p. 515.

³⁶ Perks, p. 519.

³⁷ John Cooper, *British Welfare Revolution, 1906-14* (Bloombury, 2017), p. 219.

³⁸ 1 Nov. 1911, in *The Letters if Arnold Stephenson Rowntree to Mary Katherine Rowntree, 1910-1918*, ed. Ian Packer (Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society, 2002), p. 67,

³⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 5 Oct. 1911, p.3.

⁴⁰ The only record of this child is a genealogical site, MyHeritage.

²⁸ Sherwell and two other Liberal MPs abstained on the vote on the finance bill, 7 July 1914, in protest at the failure to arrest Sir Edward Carson in the Ulster crisis. See *Daily News*, 8 July 1914. For Sherwell's refusal to support Asquith's coalition government, see his letter to the Liberal Chief Whip, John William Gulland, 1 June 1915, in *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 5 July 1915, p. 9.

⁴² Quoted in Cyril Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of the English Community's Opposition in the Great War* (Francis Boule, 2001), p. 150. See also Cyril Pearce, "Rethinking the British Anti-War Movement 1914-1918: Notes from a Local Study," *Quaker Studies* 7 issue 1. In late 1915 Sherwell had opposed the Derby scheme designed to encourage men to volunteer ("attest") for military service, if needed.

⁴³ *Hansard*, 24 Oct. 1916.

⁴⁴ *Leeds Mercury*, 21 May 1917, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Despite disagreements, Sherwell was generous toward Whittaker in his obituary in *Monthly Notes* (Nov-Dec. 1919), pp. 55-56.

⁴⁶ For some examples, see Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*. Greenaway (p. 222 n. 119) does not date "'Rough Notes' by Arthur Sherwell on an MS of H. Carter re Origins of Gothenburg." Methodist Church Archives, Division of Social Responsibility, MA 243.

⁴⁷ M. Takayanagi, "Astor the Fairy Godmother: The Intoxicating Liquor Act 1923," *Open Library of Humanities* 6 no. 2 (2020): 14.

⁴⁸ Greenaway, *Drink and British Politics*, pp. 145-46; George B. Wilson, *Alcohol and the Nation* (Nicholson and Watson, 1940), pp. 113-15.