

Temperance Periodicals

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In terms of circulation, innovation and contemporary importance, temperance periodicals certainly claim attention, as indeed does the social, cultural and political influence of the movement they represented. Alcohol use and abuse remain very topical today: enormous amounts of money are being spent on what the UK government and media consider a serious social problem.¹ Two factors have, however, contributed to the neglect of temperance periodicals: few titles have been selected for note, study or digitisation, and they present material which can be considered propagandist, or unfashionably pious. However, with their increasing digital availability, and a growing appreciation of the contextual importance of popular nineteenth-century social and cultural movements, and of the history of consumption more generally, the time is right for a renewal of interest in temperance periodicals.

The temperance movement may require some introduction. Concerns about the abuse of alcohol in the early nineteenth century had led to the formation of temperance societies in the United Kingdom, with members largely composed of the middle classes. Influenced by developments in the United States, such societies advocated abstinence from distilled liquors like gin, and moderation in consumption of all alcoholic beverages. By 1830 there were estimated to be around 127 temperance societies in England with a total membership of around 23,000, most in the manufacturing districts of the north. Government action galvanised the infant temperance movement with the passing of the Beer Act in 1830 which encouraged the opening of thousands more outlets selling beer. Government initiatives had initially encouraged the production of gin in the late seventeenth century in order to make use of surplus grain and avoid import duties on foreign spirits. After a century of public concern

about the influence of cheap gin, the aim of the 1830 Beer Act had been to encourage beer drinking as a healthy alternative. Once again the measure proved misguided. Especially in the overcrowded industrial conurbations, beer was now consumed at unprecedented levels, and drunkenness was rife. In Liverpool, for example, “there opened more than fifty additional beershops a day for several weeks.”²The historian James Nicholls sums up the effect of this social change upon public perceptions: “by leading to a dramatic increase in beer sales, the Beer Act increased public anxiety over not just spirit drinking, but alcohol consumption per se.”³Such anxiety was no longer confined to middle-class concern about working-class behaviour: the revolutionary development of total abstinence, on the basis that any consumption of alcohol was a potential danger, was initiated and spread by workers in the industrial North West.

Preston was an industrial town with a history of radicalism. It had also suffered from increased and widespread drink-related public disorder after the 1830 Act, despite flourishing temperance societies for adults and young people. A more radical strategy was clearly needed. In August 1832 seven men from Preston including local activist Joseph Livesey jointly signed a pledge, or promise, to abstain from all alcoholic drinks as beverages, and held a meeting to formalize this on the first of September. Contemporary medical practice advocated alcohol as a remedy for many conditions, so early pledges specifically referred to alcohol taken as a beverage, leaving open the possibility of taking it upon medical advice. This movement to change people, and therefore society, was largely led by Livesey. Teetotalism, as total abstinence was also known from 1833, began as a movement of working people taking action to change their own lives, and it certainly sprang from criticism of the existing social and political order. Livesey had little time for higher-class patrons whom he saw as well-meaning but lazy dabblers. Many other radicals deplored the part which alcohol played in the perceived enslavement of working people, such as Richard

Cobden, the social reformer who wrote to Livesey, “The Temperance cause really lies at the root of all social and political progression in this country”⁴The *Chartist Northern Star* “routinely reported temperance activities” and one example of the link between the movements is the journal the *English Chartist Circular and Temperance Record* founded in 1841.⁵ For large numbers of working people the movement offered not just personal salvation but social transformation. It was fundamentally empowering in that they could bring about change for themselves and society. Teetotalism brought the liberation of keeping their wages, rather than handing them over to publicans and brewers, and of course women and children also benefited. The fiery total abstinence pioneers had welcomed both the respectable and unrespectable poor but, after conversion to teetotalism, respectability could follow. For many families, the future could now be faced with optimism. As the movement grew, middle-class members began to take prominence and some organizations, like the Church of England Temperance Society, founded in 1862, allowed them to join on a separate, non-teetotal, basis recalling the older “moderationist” view. Businessmen like Thomas Cook (the founder of the international travel company), John Cadbury of chocolate-bar fame, and publishers like John Cassell (on whom more below) all show how profit and temperance were by no means antithetical from mid-century. The movement may have become more respectable and, like many reforming creeds, become prey to bureaucracy and rigidity, but it maintained its strong base of support among working-class people. Furthermore, the definition of the word “temperance” changed. By the mid-nineteenth century, temperance groups which advocated moderation were few, and total abstinence had become the policy for most temperance societies. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was estimated that a tenth of adults were teetotal. Temperance remained an important social and cultural force until and during World War One, when it was cast as a patriotic action: the King, for example, followed Lloyd

George's appeal to take the pledge by a public statement that no alcohol would be served in the royal household for the duration of the war.

Significant temperance organisations include the Independent Order of Rechabites, founded in Salford in 1835 and claiming three million members by the end of the nineteenth century, and two originally formed in the United States, the Sons of Temperance, which was set up in the UK in 1846, and the Independent Order of Good Templars which arrived in 1868. The United Kingdom Alliance for the Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Liquors (known as the Alliance) was founded in 1853 in Manchester to campaign, ultimately, for prohibition, but has also lobbied for legal restrictions on alcohol throughout its existence. On the model of the Anti-Corn Law League, it had a radical perspective and sought to create pressure by agitation and public opinion which would then have to be heeded by legislators. After its first three years the Alliance had 30,000 members and in the 1870s had considerable influence on the Liberal party, forming a significant constituency at elections, although this undermined its radical claims. The organisation was renamed the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance in 1942 and in 2003 the Alliance House Foundation.

Women were involved in all these groups either as regular members or in women's sections, but the first exclusively female organization, the British Women's Temperance Association, was not formed until 1875. Debates about whether to concentrate solely upon alcohol-related issues, such as prohibition, or to support women's suffrage and wider intervention in social policy split the group, and in 1893 two new groups formed, the Women's Total Abstinence Union focusing only upon temperance and the National British Women's Temperance Association campaigning on a wider platform. In 1926 the National British Women's Total Abstinence Union united them, which in 1993 became the White Ribbon Society. There were hundreds of smaller, specialised temperance groups with local affiliations, or nationally for groups such as the armed services, transport workers, and of

course the medical profession. The children's movement, the Band of Hope, was founded in 1847 and, although not the first such grouping for young people, became an outstandingly successful temperance organisation. Space forbids anything like a full history or exploration of its significance, but a couple of indicative details are suggestive. The Band of Hope has operated for well over 150 years, changing its name in 1995 to Hope UK; it numbered three and a half million by its zenith in the early twentieth century (at a period when the school age population numbered only 6 million); and its periodicals achieved much higher circulations than those for adults, which were in themselves considerable.⁶

This brief survey of the temperance movement should indicate the vast scale of its activities, and it also flourished at a period (c.1840-1920) when developments in production and distribution, literacy, and public interest in self-education made periodicals a key part of such organisations' public strategy. Brian Harrison suggests that the temperance movement, in common with similar popular pressure groups, had three main functions, which he sums up as to inspire, to inform and to integrate.⁷ Periodicals were vital for all three tasks. But unfortunately relatively little has been written to survey the numerous temperance periodicals, their influence, and their interrelationship. Three key published sources are by Brian Harrison: "Drink and Sobriety in England 1815-1872; A Critical Bibliography" (1967), "A World of Which We Had No Conception: Liberalism and the English Temperance Press 1830-1872" (1969) and "Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain," (1982). Olwen C. Niessen's chapter on "Temperance," in J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel's *Victorian Periodicals and Society* (1994) is an excellent general survey, based on groundbreaking work, and deserves to be better known. Josef Alholtz in *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (1989) briefly surveys temperance periodicals as part of a chapter on "movements" and Kirsten Drotner considers those for children, briefly, in *English Children and their Magazines, 1751-1945* (1988). There have been references to individual periodicals in the

journal of the Alcohol and Drugs History Society, *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* and their annual bibliographies of work in this area, as well as its blog *Points* (<http://pointsadhsblog.wordpress.com>). But although recent studies by McAllister (2012) and Olsen (2014) explore the significance and use of temperance periodicals, relatively little work on these publications has emerged since Niessen's survey of twenty years ago.

The publications have several characteristics which make them a particularly useful resource for researchers in Victorian literature, history of art, popular culture, music, education and politics as well as media, social and cultural history. A particular feature, in many cases, is their longevity. The United Kingdom Alliance began publication of the *Alliance Weekly News* in 1855 as a penny weekly. It had a circulation of 20,000 by 1859 and in 1862 was renamed the *Alliance News*. This campaigning periodical was widely read by the temperance movement, and endured, although in monthly form in latter years, until 1991. Joseph Livesey began publication of the *National Temperance Advocate and Herald* in 1843, which in turn became the *British Temperance Advocate*, the official journal of the British Temperance League from 1850 to 1949. Two children's monthlies, the *Band of Hope Chronicle* (1878-1980) and the *Band of Hope Review* (1851-1937), similarly present substantial runs.

Allied to longevity are high circulation figures. In 1860-61, for example, the three main weekly temperance newspapers had a combined circulation of 25,000 and the two main quarterly temperance reviews a joint figure of 10,000 a month, while the *Band of Hope Review* had a circulation of over 250,000.⁸ In common with titles published by religious groups, missionary societies and other charitable groups, temperance periodicals had particular patterns in funding, publication and distribution. A personal, as opposed to a shared, copy was likely to have been gained by one of three main methods: purchase on the open market, subscription payment, or by free distribution. The assumptions which now cluster around free distribution need examining carefully, however, as this was often a

temporary expedient rather than a permanent support of a title which could not survive in the market place, and an element of free distribution does not invalidate popularity with readerships. At an early stage in the national spread of the temperance movement in 1843 Livesey's monthly *National Temperance Advocate and Herald* distributed 4,000 free copies out of its claimed circulation of 9,500. Once a periodical became more successful, free distribution of commercially available titles was unusual. Publishing records, such as those of *Onward* (1865-1910) reveal that free distribution was a tactic used at the beginning of publication, such as sending fifty copies with a speaker to distribute "in the South of England" in 1867.⁹ The substantial financial losses which free distribution would involve could not be sustained for long periods. For example, in October 1857 the *British Workman* (1855-1921) was freely distributed in large numbers by the London City Mission in the poorest districts of the city. By 1862 the paper was circulating in excess of 250,000 copies monthly, but the main means of distribution was now by subscription.¹⁰ An exception to these financial constraints was seen in the organs of the main temperance societies which could count on subscriptions and legacies from better-off members: Brian Harrison's detailed study of the finances of the United Kingdom Alliance's weekly periodicals between 1853-1875 shows a pattern of rising costs of free distribution and consequent annual loss.¹¹

Large-circulation publications such as the *British Workman* and its stablemate the *Band of Hope Review* were available on news-stands, and their large format and handsome lithographed covers were designed to attract buyers' attention in this situation. Nonetheless, subscription was the usual method of purchase. In many cases membership of a particular group, such as the Church of England Temperance Society, the Good Templars, or the United Kingdom Railway Union included subscription - in the latter case, an organ with the sprightly title *On the Line* (1882-1963). The millions of children attending Band of Hope meetings paid a halfpenny when they attended each weekly meeting,

if they could afford it, and this covered membership with associated medals, awards and excursions, and also a monthly penny Band of Hope magazine (usually either the *Band of Hope Review* or *Onward*). Such promotion was undoubtedly a key factor in the high circulations of temperance titles. The opportunity to localise also existed, and is drawn attention to in some titles: local material could be added as inserts or covers, providing groups with publications unique to them. Most copies of nineteenth-century publications were circulated widely and could expect more than one reader, but some temperance titles intended for voluntary workers contained material which were designed from the start to be reproduced many times: recitations, songs, lectures and suggested lessons were printed as resources for working with adults and children.

It will be seen that the scale of the temperance movement and its publications was so vast that it is impossible to list in the limited space available more than major titles or examples of trends. Temperance periodicals can be categorised in many ways: by frequency of publication, by publishing organisation, or by focus and policy, for example, but they will be considered here in two main divisions: those for adults and for children. The periodicals intended for adult consumption share something of a common address, whether directed to members of specific religious groups, occupational fields, workers or social activists, men or women. Similarly, the magazines addressing children have many features and approaches in common, and will be considered later. Livesey, a gifted publicist, had realised the importance of periodical publication in inspiring social reform with his *Moral Reformer* (1831-3), and continued the work with dedicated temperance publications such as the *Preston Temperance Advocate* in (1834-37), the *Progressionist* (1852-53) and *The Staunch Teetotaller* (1867-68). It is evident that he also felt the importance of creating a sense of identity and support in his publications if groups were to survive. A feature of the temperance movement was the many changes which groups underwent, and this can make research difficult: as we shall see below,

journals' titles changed and developed, as did the temperance organisations which published them. As the century progressed, new temperance groups such as the women's and church-linked societies emerged, and new publications were founded. The *British Women's Temperance Journal* (1883-92) was the journal of the British Women's Temperance Association, reborn as *Wings* in 1892. But when the majority of the committee left over the issue of single-issue campaigning in 1893, the *Wings* title remained with the suffragist and reforming Women's Total Abstinence Union; the new National British Women's Temperance Association, focusing solely on temperance, set up *The White Ribbon* (1896-present). Although confusing, the periodical history in this case draws attention to one of the most important debates in temperance campaigning for women, illuminating a key point of social history. To read the pages of *Wings* between 1892 and 1893 is to see the violent debate on beliefs and policy dramatically played out. The *Church of England Temperance Magazine* (1862-73) and its successors the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle* and then the *Temperance Chronicle*, became one of most widely read temperance periodicals in the later nineteenth century, and the periodicals' changed incarnations reflect changes in policy and even class-based attitudes to teetotalism. There were also many smaller and shorter-lived periodicals whose pages, filled with advertisements, slogans and news items, can also give us an insight into the way the temperance message was spread.

Just as most villages by 1900 could boast a temperance hall and most towns also had one or more temperance hotels and coffee shops, most districts would have published temperance periodicals. The longest-running regional title was the *Bristol Temperance Herald* (1836-59), becoming the *Western Temperance Herald* (1859-1957), but the Norwich-based *Temperance Monthly Visitor* (1858-1920) and the Derby-based *Temperance Bells* (1890-1945) could also claim impressive longevity. The regional focus of both titles ensured that they could draw on local interest, but also a wide range of readership. Indeed, the *Western Temperance Herald*

boasted of circulating nationally and internationally. Many smaller, more local temperance periodicals lasted for a year or less although, as with national periodicals, those aimed at young people were often more successful at maintaining readership: the *Hull Band of Hope Advocate* was based solely in Hull, yet ran from 1875 to 1910 (having changed its name to the *Hull Band of Hope Journal*). The three main national organisations, all non-denominational, produced the most widely-circulated temperance publications. The long-running *Alliance News* and *British Temperance Advocate* have been mentioned above, but the London-based National Temperance League (1851 until incorporation into the British National Temperance League in 1952) published a variety of titles such as the *National Temperance Chronicle* (1848-56) followed by the *Weekly Record of the Temperance Movement* (1856-69) then the *Temperance Record* (1870-1907). It will be evident that a problem for the researcher, as indicated above, is the tendency for periodicals to be continued under changed names. Where the magazine remains largely unchanged in mission, approach, and publishing team, it could be considered the same title, but to ascertain this requires much careful research and raises interesting methodological problems about the identity of a periodical.¹²

The Rechabites published a range of local periodicals, starting with the *Isle of Man Guardian and Rechabite Journal* (1836-8), but the *Rechabite and Temperance Magazine* (1870-1900) became the national publication. Similar societies such as the Sons of Temperance and Good Templars also used periodicals to communicate, inspire and create fellowship, with the latter, for example, publishing the *Templar* (1871-7), *Templar and Templar Journal* (1877-8), *Templar Journal and Treasury* (1879-80), as well as the *Good Templar's Watchword* (1874-1965). Temperance organisations in the Army and Navy, as well as occupational groups such as transport or health workers all produced their own periodicals, including those working in the many temperance hotels, coffee houses and temperance taverns. *The Coffee Tavern Gazette and Journal of Food Thrift* (1886-7) became the *Temperance Caterer* which

provided advice, support and a particularly specialised advertising platform from 1887-1923. Religious denominations also felt the need to supply the market for temperance publications, and there are periodicals published by non-conformist groups such as Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists, with the *Methodist Temperance Magazine* (1868-1906) as a lively and long-lived example. The Church of England Temperance Society had originally, in its earlier completely teetotal incarnation, produced the *Church of England Temperance Magazine* (1862-72), but with the revised adoption of “dual form membership” (teetotal or moderationist) the official organ became the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle* (1873-88; later the *Temperance Chronicle*, 1888-1914). This was one of the most influential temperance publications: Brian Harrison ranks it with the *British Temperance Advocate* and the *Alliance News*.¹³ As alcohol was often used in medical treatment, it was considered particularly important to influence medical professionals. Hence at an early stage journals appeared arguing for the pernicious effects upon the body of alcohol, such as the *Temperance Lancet* (1841-2). The National Temperance League published the quarterly *Medical Temperance Journal* (1869-92), the *Medical Pioneer* (1892-7) and the *Medical Temperance Review* (1898- 1907). With the establishment of the British Medical Temperance Association in 1876 such journals proliferated, with some featuring academic papers, such as the quarterly *British Journal of Inebriety* (1903-1946). Similarly, *Meliora* (1858-69) a quarterly journal of social science published by the Alliance, aimed to provide a platform for academic and policy debates on various social amelioration projects, including temperance.

Apart from temperance organisations, there were particular individuals or companies which were a significant source of temperance publications. Thomas Bywater Smithies (1817-1888) edited the *British Workman* (1855-21) and *Band of Hope Review* (1851-1937) until his death, shaping their values in design and format as much as the content. The bookseller, printer and publisher William Tweedie (1821-1874) was one of the honorary secretaries of the National

Temperance League and saw almost all of its publications, in addition to many more temperance periodicals, through his premises at 337, The Strand. It was Tweedie who supplied the 1861 circulation figures, as given above, from his stable of temperance newspapers and magazines for adults and children. The publisher who then took these titles on, along with many similar ones, was the printer and publisher Samuel Partridge (1810-1903), whose company, S.W.Partridge & Co. in turn shaped the approach, content, design and even size of temperance periodicals. Many publishers who would find fame with later endeavours began with temperance publications, expressing their convictions: the first venture in editorship for G.W.M. Reynolds (1814-1879) was the *Teetotaler* (1840-1), and John Cassell (1817-1865) began his publishing career with the *Teetotal Times* (1846-49) and the *Teetotal Essayist* (1847-9), becoming the *Teetotal Times and Essayist* (1849-51). Cassell, at this period a tea and coffee merchant as well as an agent for the National Temperance Society, used space in the publications to advertise his own grocery products as well as promote his total abstinence convictions. Interesting in this light too is the role advertisements played in sustaining temperance periodicals:

Younger members of the temperance community were informed, entertained and sustained by reading material, uniting them in a shared identity and reinforcing their membership of the group. Most members of Band of Hope, Cadets of Temperance, Juvenile Rechabite or Junior Church of England Temperance Society groups (who numbered well over three million by 1900) would receive a magazine by subscription as part of their membership (see above), making these publications arguably the most widely read of the period. *Onward*, for example, circulating nationally and printed in London and Manchester, claimed that, taken with its companion publication the *Onward Reciter*, monthly readership had reached half a million by 1895.¹⁴ The format of very early children's temperance publications such as *The Youthful Teetotaler* (1836) looks like heavy reading to a modern eye, and its dense letterpress would

be unsuitable for the children streaming into the Band of Hope movement, many of whom could either not read at all or had very poor reading skills. A revolution in such magazines occurred when in 1851 Thomas Smithies, publisher of the *British Workman*, founded the *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend* (*Band of Hope Review* from 1861) which provided magnificent wood-cut illustrations, including full-page cuts and more lively page design (picked up from the newer illustrated miscellanies of the 1840s such as *Reynolds's* and the *London Journal*) than existing offerings for children in the movement. It offered young readers recitations, short articles, improving stories, and bible mottos, and its association with the already successful Band of Hope was a good marketing strategy.

Desire to improve young readers and overtly religious drawing of moral offered a market opportunity for another entrepreneurial publishing house. In 1865 the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union set up *Onward*, a northern rival with a policy of even more lively content featuring songs, jokes, serial stories, and even dialect poems. From the third monthly issue, the title of the editorial was changed to "Editor's Chat" and soon children were addressed directly with a letter from Uncle Ephraim as well as having their letter answered in a column, and their own submissions printed. The *Onward* world was an informal, lively and practical one, and it is significant that a temperance publication was the site for innovations in address to children and their engagement with periodicals. Margaret Beetham defines the periodical in general as a mixed genre in which elements are presented and reproduced within a particular template but yet whose every issue is different, a genre moreover that encourages a certain selectivity in reading.¹⁵ The potential of performability, with items such as songs and recitations, created another dimension of reproduction for *Onward* and the other temperance magazines which followed its lead. The *Band of Hope Review* responded to its competition, and by the end of the nineteenth century there were few differences between the two magazines, both presenting a lively menu and engaging with

their readers by printing their written work or photographs. With lower circulations, the *Juvenile Templar* (1877-1971) and the *Juvenile Rechabite* (1890-1971) are nonetheless long-lived examples of several titles available for young members of these groups, offering a similar menu of information and entertainment, always devoted to the promotion of temperance. This had the effect of constructing the children as active social agents: not only shown the social and physical results of overindulgence in alcohol in these periodicals, children were encouraged to take a protective role towards adult drinkers and consider and debate policy issues.

The monthly magazines for voluntary workers, the *Band of Hope Chronicle* (1868-1983) and *Workers Onward* (1910-1957) also provide fascinating insights into what young members did in meetings, and how the temperance message was promoted. As the children attended on a voluntary basis, teachers had to hold their attention. Providing informal training for millions of voluntary teachers, the pages of these periodicals reveal the use of child-centred, activity-based and interactive educational techniques well before such teaching was employed in state-provided education.

It may be difficult to reconcile the potential of nineteenth-century temperance periodicals with the state of neglect in their use. Suffrage or socialist magazines have similar origins as propaganda in the cause of reform, but they have received considerably more attention, perhaps due to their lack of the religious or moralising references which, to modern tastes, may seem intrusive or out of fashion. Yet temperance was the subject of many more periodicals than other social concerns; hardly surprising, given the high membership of temperance societies for most of the second half of the century which attained over six million by 1900¹⁶. In May's Press Directory for 1871 there are 15 Temperance periodicals listed, a number exceeded only by those classed as religious (by far the largest category), legal, literature, missionary, science, official organs of societies, timetables, trade and Welsh-

language. Harrison commented in his 1969 survey that “it would be wrong to treat [temperance periodical] literature merely as an entertaining by-way: as another absurdity born of ‘Victorian’ moral earnestness,” yet it seems that scholars have fallen into the trap indicated.¹⁷ This may have led to the lack of inclusion of temperance titles in surveys, histories and plans for digitisation. It has certainly greatly complicated the task of the scholar who seeks to explore these significant resources. Sad to say, in the twenty years since Olwen Niessen’s chapter on temperance periodicals, there have been no improvement in this field as regards cataloguing, finding lists, or access to archives.

The Institute for Alcohol Studies, the Livesey Collection at the University of Central Lancashire, and Senate House Library, University of London hold the three major UK temperance archives, from the UK Alliance, the British National Temperance League and the Rechabites and other organisations, respectively. All three have long runs of certain periodicals, but exact dates or details are hard to find without a visit. The British Library, the Bodleian Library, and many local and university libraries throughout the UK hold runs or individual copies of titles, with exciting finds possible such as the single copy of *Railway Signal, or Lights Along the Line, a journal of evangelistic and temperance work on railways* from November 1893 held in the Bodleian John Johnson collection (which holds first copies of several such titles). Again, visiting is necessary, although if a particular issue or page is required, archivists can sometimes supply that remotely.

There has actually been a relative diminution in access when electronic provision is considered. Temperance titles have certainly not been among the first to be made available in digitisation schemes. Proquest’s otherwise excellent *British Periodicals* has no temperance periodicals, although plenty of citations using the word “temperance” or “Band of Hope” in other publications, indicating the popularity and importance of the movement. Similarly, the Gale/Cengage 19th century UK periodicals selection contains only one, the *British Women’s*

Temperance Journal(continued as *Wings*). This may reflect lack of academic study of the temperance field, but another important factor has been the charitable origins of the archival deposits. Such archives as those at the Institute for Alcohol Studies, the Livesey Collection and Senate House were donated by temperance organisations on the basis that they would be freely available, and the curators, rightly, have been reluctant to see material “locked up” in subscription-only collections. Alternative digitisation projects are, nonetheless, under way and should make these collections freely accessible to all within the next few years, honouring the intentions of those who originated the material. The National Library of Australia’s service, Trove, provides an excellent example of a digitised temperance title with the *Australian Band of Hope Review and Children’s Friend*(1856-61, with several changes of title). This was the first title selected for digitisation by the Digitisation and Photography Branch of the National Library of Australia and the Australian Newspapers Digitisation Programme team in 2011. It is ironic that, with much greater collections of temperance periodicals in the UK, so few have been seen as priorities for digitisation by the British Library.

Assuming that online access does become easier, and finding lists and guides develop, there are many directions in which the study of temperance periodicals might develop.

Longitudinal studies, given the long runs of publication, would be very useful and throw light on cultural change more generally as well as print and publishing history. Food and drink historians would find the advertisements, as well as the text, of great interest. Given the outstanding and innovative quality of design in some titles such as the *British Workman*, the *Band of Hope Review* and *Onward*, historians of illustration, art and design would find plentiful material here.¹⁸ Given the high circulations, the letterpress, whether factual articles, lectures, material for performance, poetry, songs, jokes, or the serialisations of novels by prolific temperance writers such as Clara Lucas Balfour (1808-1878) is surely worthy of

exploration. Temperance discourses share elements with those of radicalism, religion, the professions and social comment which would enable innovative comparative studies. Given that the movement aimed to influence hearts and minds, the copious educational material and the associated teaching strategies aimed at adults as well as for children invites attention. At the level of a single page, an issue, or a year's copies, study of these sources can reveal what thousands of Victorians received or expected from a periodical. With implications for cultural, economic, social and political historians, the representation of the world as seen by campaigners offers many possibilities for study, as does the history of the temperance movement itself. If the recent increased interest in temperance history is continued¹⁹ and open access digitisation unfolds, then it seems likely that more studies will make use of and draw attention to this neglected but wide-spread category of nineteenth-century British periodicals and newspapers.

¹ For the latest news, see the website of Alcohol Research Today.

² Webb, "The history of liquor licensing," p. 124.

³ Nicholls, "The Politics of Alcohol," p.139.

⁴ Richard Cobden, letter to Joseph Livesey, 10 October 1849, quoted in Morley's *Life of Cobden* itself cited in *The Life and Teachings of Joseph Livesey*, cxvi.

⁵ Chase "Chartism", pp. 122, 147.

⁶ See works by Shiman and McAllister for more on the Band of Hope.

⁷ Brian Harrison, "Press and Pressure Group," p. 282.

⁸ Cited in Harrison, "Drink and the Victorians," p. 308.

⁹ Minutes of Executive, Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope and Temperance Union, May 1867 (unpaginated manuscript in Manchester Central Library, Special Collections)

¹⁰Murray, "British Workman."

¹¹Harrison, "A World," p.154.

¹² It is relevant at this point too to remind readers that many US-based temperance organizations had similar names, such as the National Temperance Society and Publishing House (1865-1915). This, in addition to the preponderance of US-based temperance information on the internet, can make the study of the British temperance movement a minefield for the unwary researcher.

¹³Harrison, "A World," pp. 140-1

¹⁴United Kingdom Band of Hope Annual Report (London, 1895), p. 48.

¹⁵ Beetham, "Open and Closed," pp. 97-8.

¹⁶Rowntree, "The Temperance Problem," p.5; figure includes adults' and children's societies.

¹⁷Harrison, "A World," p. 125.

¹⁸Murray, "Often Taken," has begun this work in his study of *The British Workman*.

¹⁹See Nicholls, *Politics*; McAllister, *Demon Drink*; and Yeomans, *Alcohol*.

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