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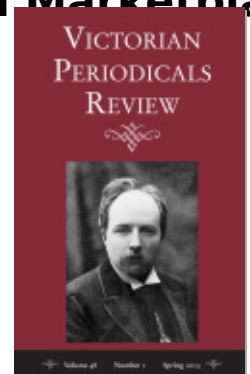
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Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace

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Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace

ANNEMARIE MCALLISTER

Onward! Lord, we press,
Onward led by Thee;
Children of our land to bless—
Drunkards to set free.
Led by thee, Almighty Lord,
Armed by Thy strong shield and sword,
Cheered by Thine eternal word,
Victors we shall be.¹

This stirring appeal comes from *Onward* (1865–1910), a children's temperance magazine which combined fervent conviction and propaganda with social commentary as a means of responding to the commercial pressures of the journalistic marketplace. As such, it offers a particularly interesting case study for exploration. This essay will map the field of juvenile temperance magazines and then examine the evolution of *Onward* as one of the highest circulation titles sponsored by any special-interest group during the Victorian era. *Onward's* marketing and survival strategies have much to teach the student of nineteenth-century print history.

Temperance periodicals, including those for children, are an under-researched genre within nineteenth-century print culture.² The temperance movement attracted large numbers of followers during the second half of the century, with over six million adults and children belonging to temperance organisations by 1900.³ Notable editors and publishers, such as G. W. M. Reynolds (1814–79) and John Cassell (1817–65), began their careers by producing temperance publications. Press directories show the importance of such titles in the market; for example, in the 1871 edition of *May's London Press Dictionary and Advertiser's Handbook*, there are

fifteen temperance periodicals listed, a number exceeded or equalled only by those classed as religious magazines (by far the largest category) and eight other large categories such as legal or science periodicals.

Despite Brian Harrison's magisterial book, *Drink and the Victorians*, to which all later scholars in the field are indebted, there has been little published on this huge nineteenth-century movement and even less on its survival into the twentieth century.⁴ From the 1830s to the 1930s and beyond, organised temperance societies sought to persuade men, women, and children to regard the consumption of alcohol as dangerous and to sign a pledge of total abstinence. The profound effect of these societies on the contemporary cultural and intellectual landscape has yet to be fully explored, but as James Nicholls remarks, the "movement struck a chord with large numbers of working people, not least because it suggested that personal salvation and social transformation were in their hands, rather than the hands of priests or politicians."⁵ On a personal level, teetotalism liberated workers by allowing them to keep their wages rather than handing them over to publicans and brewers, which benefited their families as well. By challenging drinking as a social norm, the temperance movement led men, women, and even children to engage in social and political argument, thus experiencing a sense of agency which was socially liberating in many cases.⁶

The existence of children's temperance societies may surprise modern readers. These organisations not only addressed the significant problem of child drunkenness but also sought to deter children from becoming drinkers and to convert them into lifelong temperance supporters.⁷ The foremost of the juvenile societies, the Band of Hope (1847–1995), later renamed Hope UK, was not the first such group, but it quickly absorbed other juvenile temperance societies, becoming a brand leader, to use a modern term.⁸ Its growth was in part due to its effective national organisation, which had a flair for publicity. It also offered local, district, regional, and national support and provided a thorough system of training for millions of voluntary workers.⁹ Lilian Lewis Shiman suggests that behind much of the organisation's success was the working-class desire for self-improvement and respectability, which is undoubtedly true, but there were clearly other contributory factors accounting for the extraordinary popularity and vigour of the Band of Hope.¹⁰ The organisation attracted young members by providing regular activities for them in relatively pleasant surroundings; encouraging them to identify with a group; rewarding them with markers and symbols of success, such as medals they could proudly wear; and systematically fostering their abilities and skills. But it must be remembered that the organisation was not merely established to provide childcare: it had a moral purpose at its heart. It was an overtly Christian pressure group whose aim was to proselytise and bring about legal and social change. The

message given to children was that “there is no form of sorrow, no development of sin, no kind of misery, which might not own its parentage in strong drink and intemperance.”¹¹

Brian Harrison suggests that the temperance movement, like similar popular pressure groups, had three main functions: to inspire, inform, and integrate.¹² The latter function is perhaps the most interesting to the modern reader, recalling Benedict Anderson’s concept of an imagined community that unites readers in a shared identity through which they define themselves and reinforces their membership in a wider group.¹³ Given the religious and moral imperative at the heart of the temperance movement, it might be assumed that the main purpose of education efforts and their related publications was to provide inspiration and information; however, as writers evidently realised, this sort of didacticism would not necessarily attract young readers. If groups were to survive and expand, they needed to create a sense of belonging which validated shared beliefs but also provided enjoyment. As Harrison remarks, “For the temperance movement, as for other radical movements, the answer lay in distributing periodicals.”¹⁴

In the early days of the movement, temperance publications were not very attractive to the growing number of child readers. Illustration, if provided at all, was usually confined to the front cover or a frontispiece, as is shown in the *Youthful Teetotaler*, founded in 1836, and the *Youth’s Temperance Magazine*, which first appeared in January 1842. The rapid increase in the number of temperance societies for adults and children in the 1840s saw a corresponding increase in temperance publications for children, for example, the *Juvenile Temperance Messenger and Monthly Instructor* (figure 1) and the *Sunday School and Youth’s Temperance Journal*, founded in 1846 and 1848, respectively. The latter publication anticipated one of the major success stories of nineteenth-century publishing when it opportunistically added “*and Band of Hope Journal*” to its title in 1850. However, it was soon to be eclipsed, both in circulation and visual appeal, by the two Band of Hope magazines which I discuss below.

The Band of Hope’s growth was startling from the outset: while only 300 children attended the first Leeds meeting in 1847, the number of members grew to 4,000 just a few months later. It continued to expand its national membership by the 1850s, growing to over three million members by the end of the century.¹⁵ From the outset, the Band of Hope stressed that children must be presented with lively and engaging material that would make them keen to attend weekly meetings and other events. This message was later reinforced in the *Band of Hope Chronicle* (1878–1986), a magazine which provided advice and training for thousands of volunteer workers. Children, their parents, and other volunteer organisers for the Band of Hope were also a huge potential market; thus, the organisation’s brand was an attractive feature for publishers or advertisers seeking to gain large circulations.



Figure 1. Front cover, the *Juvenile Temperance Messenger and Monthly Instructor* 1 (January 1846). Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend was founded in 1851 as an engaging alternative to the moralising fare offered by early juvenile temperance periodicals. The magazine was initially printed by William Tweedie in the Strand, a firm that published many temperance titles until 1874, when it moved its printing operations to the shop of Samuel Partridge on Paternoster Row. In addition to founding the magazine, Smithies served as editor for its first thirty-two years. The magazine's aim, he noted, was "to supplement Sunday school instruction, providing temperance advice to the young and serving as a resource for religious and moral teaching in the home."¹⁶ Smithies placed a high value on illustration, as can be seen spectacularly in his other magazine, the *British Work-*

man (1855–1921).¹⁷ By the end of the first year, the magazine's name was changed to the *Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend*, and ten years afterward (in May 1861) it became the *Band of Hope Review*, a title it retained until ceasing publication in 1937.

The Band of Hope Review presented a decided contrast to the smaller octavo publications that had previously been offered to children. It was folio sized, with four plentifully illustrated pages, and later it featured high-quality, full-page cuts on the cover. The rest of the magazine incorporated vignettes or half-page illustrations along with poems and thought-provoking addresses or short articles amid more devotional or proselytising prose. *The Band of Hope Review* was in tune with the trend for human interest stories and more easily readable features, as was already seen in cheap sensational papers and would later develop into the New Journalism. It described children in various worthy endeavours, such as saving animals in danger or calculating how long it would take “to supply a Bible to every one of the 7,000,000,000 of our poor benighted heathens, at the rate of 1,136,695, as supplied in the year 1849.”¹⁸ A key feature of every issue was the “motto,” a Biblical or advisory text enclosed within an elaborate border which supported the magazine's firmly religious tone. When quizzes were offered, they were focused on the Bible, and almost every item had an explicit reference to Christian teaching. However, this material was presented in a relatively lively way, with engaging illustrations and up to ten short items on each page. Figure 2, from the first issue, shows a typical trope in *Band of Hope* iconography: the child David challenging Goliath, who is re-imagined as “Giant Alcohol” in order to emphasise the enormity of the problem. The illustration encourages children to feel that they can defeat this enemy through ingenuity, persistence, and divine help.

Circulation figures indicate what a huge market the children's temperance press rapidly became. In 1860–61, for example, the three weekly adult temperance newspapers claimed a combined circulation of only 25,000, and two quarterly reviews achieved a joint figure of 10,000, but the *Band of Hope Review's* circulation was over 250,000.¹⁹ In comparison, *Boys of England* (1866–99), the general market leader until 1879, also claimed 250,000 copies sold but only midway through its run in the 1870s.²⁰ *The Band of Hope Review* had clearly become something of a giant itself, but another David was soon to enter the battle.

The largest regional division of the national *Band of Hope* was the Lancashire and Cheshire *Band of Hope* Union, founded in 1863. The first such union to be incorporated, it soon established itself as the fastest growing and most dynamic regional group. Exact membership figures during the early years are hard to come by, but later records indicate that by 1865 it claimed over 20,000 members and by 1870, 70,000. In the next fifteen years, it doubled this number, growing steadily to just under half a mil-



Figure 2. "The Great Giant," *Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend* 1 (January 1851): 3. Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

lion members in 1930. Entrepreneurship appears to have been one of the organisation's particular characteristics: its reports frequently reference membership drives and money-raising activities such as bazaars. Indeed, during a period when the national organisation was struggling financially (1902–5), the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union raised the massive sum of £15,000 for a new building in Manchester.²¹ Thus, it is hardly surprising that two years after it was formed, the group decided to issue its own children's periodical, *Onward: The Organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union* (1865–1910).

While the *Band of Hope Review* boasted an imposing folio size, high-quality illustrations, and a circulation of 250,000, *Onward* ventured into the field with a sixteen-page octavo format with an illustrated cover but no other illustrations. Its ambitious aim was to "maintain and extend the influence [of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union] beyond its present local phase."²² It was presumably for this reason that it was published not only in Manchester but also in London by the same firm that produced the *Band of Hope Review*. The first issue had an unvaried letterpress format and long articles with titles such as "Temperance and the Franchise," which suggests that it was largely directed at an adult readership. Taken as a whole, it is an unprepossessing production, very much on the pattern of the *Juvenile Temperance Messenger and Monthly Instructor*. This would seem to have ensured its failure, but its martial, snappy title was indicative of its potential. Rather than mimicking the *Band of Hope Review* by changing its cover image weekly, *Onward* repeated the same illustration as a trademark (figure 3). It is attractive but also fulfils a teach-

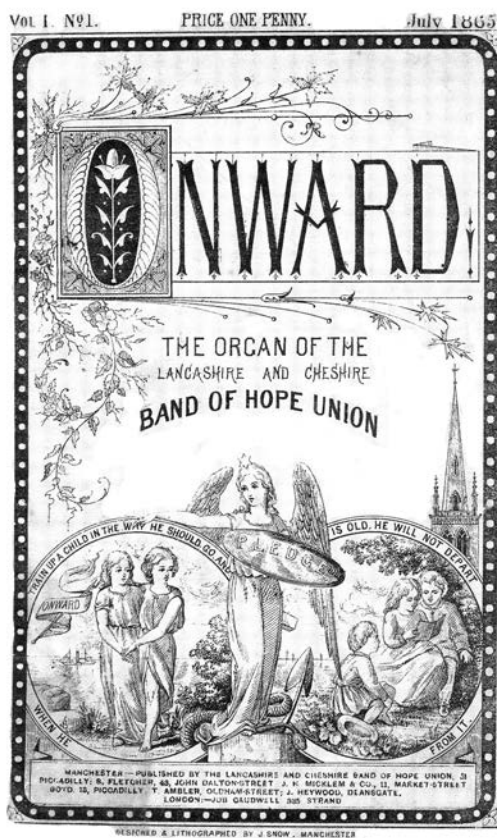


Figure 3. Front cover, *Onward* 1 (July 1865). Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

ing function by using temperance iconography. The image shows Temperance trampling a serpent with the pledge as her shield, while pointing to the biblical motto which was frequently used in the Band of Hope: “Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old, he will not depart from it” (Proverbs 22:6). The vignettes depict children in idealized rural settings rather than urban locales, and the church spire reminds readers of the organisation’s religious links. Rather than following in the footsteps of the *Band of Hope Review* by providing richly detailed illustrations such as “Christ Blessing the Little Children” (January 1865) or “Daniel in the Lions’ Den” (October 1865), *Onward* used a more symbolic emblem that encouraged children to decode and explore the layers of reference, setting a pattern for their active engagement as readers.

Reader activity and choice are keynotes of periodical consumption. Margaret Beetham defines the periodical as a mixed genre in which elements are presented and reproduced within a particular template yet are varied from issue to issue, thus encouraging a selective reading practice.²³ As readers navigate their way through the periodical, taking a customary route or forging new paths, they can choose to focus on or omit any given section. As Deborah Wynne remarks of family magazines, "The culture of thrift and recycling which underpinned Victorian middle- and lower-class life must have played a part . . . [and] newspapers and magazines were perused more intently by people lacking the distractions of other media forms."²⁴ Each issue of a periodical may be seen as offering a menu presenting a set of reading options within a familiar framework from which the reader can select, combine, and consume.

It was the menu of *Onward* that made it so different than the *Band of Hope Review*. While the periodical's contents were initially rather uninspiring, the editor showed himself well able to adapt to the needs of his audience, soon presenting jokes and songs as well as a more informal overall tone that emphasised personal interaction with readers.²⁵ Religion remained evident in references to churchgoing, divine intervention, and the holiness of temperance, but these elements were encountered in passing as part of stories or articles, rather than as the primary focus of the magazine, as was usually the case in the *Band of Hope Review*. When the word "religion" did appear with "temperance" in an article title, *Onward* acknowledged that the concepts were distinct and that it was possible to have the virtue of one without the other. For example, an 1867 article "Temperance and Religion" begins by asserting that "Temperance and Religion are two distinct things."²⁶ Even though the article concludes by "thank[ing] God that the leaders of our glorious and triumphing temperance cause are followers of Christ," it does not include the biblical mottos highlighted in a typical issue of the *Band of Hope Review*.²⁷

At the end of *Onward*'s first year, the editor wrote a retrospective preface for the collected volume indicating his awareness of the magazine's success in the competitive market for children's periodicals:

Ours is a pleasing retrospect. With diffidence a year ago we ventured to send forth a new claimant for public support and sympathy, and we naturally felt anxious for the result. Our design embraced no envious jealousies. We had no desire to oppose or injure those noble workers in the field of pure literature, the "British Workman," "Band of Hope Review," "Adviser," "Children's Friend," "Children's Prize," or the little "Dewdrop," with a host of others. To all such we say, God speed your efforts, may you increase a thousandfold. But we did feel that there was still a distinctive want, a niche in the vestibule of Temperance literature, which the rapid development of the Band of Hope

movement had created, and which we designed to fill with our little magazine. With deep gratitude to God, and heartfelt thanks to those who have so generously assisted us, we have to record a success in the first volume more than we had anticipated.²⁸

But if *Onward* sought to inspire, inform, and engage its young readers, it also needed to secure the loyalty of that audience in order to survive financially. Like publications produced by other philanthropic or religious groups, temperance periodicals often received subsidies, but they usually had to supplement these funds with proceeds from subscriptions or book-stall sales.²⁹ By the time *Onward* first appeared in 1861, the marketplace was crowded with competing publications. This glut of mass-market publishing for children resulted from the combined forces of the Sunday school movement, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and the Religious Tract Society, all of which sought to encourage and exploit the growth of literacy by engaging young readers. The editor of *Onward* regularly discussed the importance of increasing circulation. In August 1866, he noted that circulation had reached 7,000, and in the same issue, an article encouraged further subscriptions:

In many of our more prosperous Bands of Hope there is also the system, where members paying a penny or twopence each month receive in return a temperance publication monthly, such as each may choose, and periodically a free ticket of admission to tea parties or other entertainments got up for their special benefit. This is found on the whole to be a happy arrangement. The amount of temperance literature which by this plan is thrust into circulation through the children, read by themselves, and introduced into their homes to be read by the various members of their families respectively, is computed to be, at a very low estimate, no less than 120,000 numbers annually of such serials as the "Adviser," "Band of Hope Review," "British Workman," and the "Onward." One society alone disposed of 2,500 numbers in this manner, and sold 1,100 more, a total of 3,600.³⁰

Another strategy was to add particularly relevant content to local editions, known as "localizing." A local Band of Hope group agreed to purchase a regular number of copies which were supplied bound with extra local sections and covers. Sadly, few such editions have survived, but there is one remaining example from Preston with an extra four-page supplement bound onto the outside of the "standard" copy for that month which includes references to local events and news.³¹

From an early stage, *Onward* was entrepreneurial in its approach to building its readership: in its third year, for example, it made reference to subscribers in Guernsey and Swansea and proudly announced that the

“committee of the Glamorganshire Band of Hope Union is endeavouring to put ‘Onward’ in the hands of every young man and woman in the union, believing it to be the best penny monthly published; they hope to be able ere long to order at least 500 monthly.”³² Although it aimed to reach a national audience, *Onward* still remained grounded in its regional identity, a status which was frequently celebrated and even mythologised. The editor bubbles over with tales of industry and success, noting that “at Manchester we are always busy somewhere.”³³ He goes on to recount that when the Band of Hope was commenced at Newton Heath Wesleyan Sunday School two and a half years before, “there were *three* abstaining teachers: now there are *fourteen*!”³⁴ The modern reader will notice the self-referential nature of much of the editorial commentary. In its third year, *Onward* changed the title of its monthly editorial column to “Editor’s Chat,” thus referring explicitly to the role of the editor in the production of the magazine and creating a human figure to engage with readers. It explains that the change will be “expressive of greater variety, and . . . a homely one, and will better afford the freedom, so as to make our intelligence both pleasant and instructive.”³⁵ Magazines such as *Chatterbox* (1866–1953), *Little Folks* (1871–1933), and the *Boys’ Own Paper* (1879–1969) also adopted an accessible tone and presentation. *Onward*’s changes along these lines served both to integrate its readers into the Band of Hope community and to respond to the innovations made by other juvenile titles in the market.³⁶

It is interesting to compare *Onward* with the *Band of Hope Review* during the 1860s. The *Review* contains no regular editorial address (until over thirty years later) and minimal branding or self-promotion. In an 1865 advertisement, the editor notes that the *Band of Hope Almanac* “may now be had through any bookseller. The chief engraving is ‘Mike Donovan’s Looking-glass,’ which we think will be prized by our friends.”³⁷ However, such self-advertisement was rare in the *Band of Hope Review*. As this advertisement emphasises, illustrations were the glory of the *Review* and its associated almanacs. The whole attractive page on which this advert appears is shown in figure 4.

For its first eight years, *Onward* was unable to match the quantity or quality of its rival’s illustrations, but it nevertheless adopted some ingenious strategies for attracting young readers which surpassed those of its direct competitor. It not only directly addressed children as readers but also provided them with “interesting tales, anecdotes, and facts, with original and select songs, music, and recitations.”³⁸ The adult audience of the first issue of *Onward* was indicated in its solemn editorial address, but a younger readership was suggested in the second issue by the inclusion of a song. By the third issue, there were two songs and two “Pages for the Young Ones.”³⁹ From issue four, October 1865, *Onward* began addressing children in an even more personal way, with “Uncle Ephraim” narrating

236 THE BAND OF HOPE REVIEW. November 1st, 1865.

Elephant and Keeper. (Contd. from page 235.)
The governor, hearing the strange account of it, came to the spot, and was so much pleased with the generous perseverance of the honest quadruped, that he yielded to the elephant's intimation and pardoned the criminal. The poor man, in an ecstasy of gratitude, testified his acknowledgments by kissing and embracing the prodigies of his kind benefactor, who was, apparently, so sensible of what had happened, that, laying aside all his former violence, he became perfectly tame in an instant, and suffered his keeper to conduct him away without the smallest resistance.

MY PONY.
It was a joyful day when father took me into the stable, and showing me a beautiful Shetland pony, told me that it was mine, as a reward for my good conduct. The beautiful creature was very gentle, having been "broken-in" by a kind-hearted groom. My pony needed no cruel whip, for when I said, "Come, Kate, be quick," off she went, cheerfully wagging her tail, and tossing her head as though proud to carry me. Many of my young friends are having ponies given to them by their kind parents. Will they try to manage them by kindness? &c.

A Good Answer.—A TALENTED temperance lecturer was once asked, "What shall we do with all the gain that is now required for distilling?" "Feed the drunkard's wife and children with it; they have gone hungry long enough," was the prompt reply.

**MY SON,
GIVE ME THINE
HEART.**

PROV. XIII. 24

Notice.—The 'Band of Hope Almanac' for 1866, may now be had through any bookseller. The chief engraving is "Mike Dawson's Looking-glass," which we think will be prized by our friends. The 'British Workmen Almanac,' with eight beautiful engravings, is also ready.

On the 1st December, The Yearly Part of the "Ball of Hope Review," for 1865, with Harrison Weir's charming "Pony," printed in colours, on the wrapper. Price 1s.

The Yearly Part of the "British Workmen," for 1865, with "The Honest Voter," by John Gilbert, printed in colours on the wrapper. Price 3s. 6d.

The Volume of the "Children's Friend," for 1865, with William Hunt's "Sleepy," printed in colours, on the wrapper. Price Eightpence.

In the press.—"Our Children's Pets." By Josephine. Profusely illustrated. Price 3s. A companion volume to "Our Dogs' Companions."

THE OLD CHURCH CLOCK.

As I passed through the churchyard of a lonely village, in Yorkshire, I looked up at the old clock. It was sadly ticking, telling of moments rapidly flying after moments.

On its dial were the words, *Tempus Fugit*; or, *Time flies*. Thirty years before, I had visited the same village and the churchyard. What changes in the inhabitants had taken place! The squire, the farmers, and the labourers who once resided in the village were now occupants of the graves around me! Let me learn a lesson from the old clock, and never forget that **TIME FLIES**, and that **THE GRAVE**, and **STERNITY** are near at hand. **UNCLE JOHN.**

A BENEVOLENT COBBLER.

In a lonely village in Scotland, there is a good old shoemaker, who, during the last sixty years, has been the school-master to upwards of *fourteen hundred children* receiving no

pay, except the joy of trying to do good! Although he is now eighty-two years of age, still he continues to "cobble," and hear lessons. We find that he is often troubled for want of simple

lessons—books for his poor little scholars. If some of our readers will look over their school books, and send any "Alphabets," "Primer," "Marrow," "Gay's," "Catechism," "Talk to the Little Ones," by book-post (postage paid, of course), addressed to James Beattie, Shoemaker, Giffordston, Auchtermuchty, Aberdeenshire, they will gladden the heart of the worthy old cobbler. Mr. Strahan, the publisher of Good Words, has just issued a deeply interesting narrative of James Beattie, entitled "Lessons from a Shoemaker's stool." (Price Sixpence.)

OUR DOG.

Our "Keeper" is a fine old dog. Although very gentle with children, he is very savage when he sees any shabbily-dressed people coming near the house. "Keeper" seems to feel that he is like a policeman, appointed to watch his master's property.

He sets an example to many two-legged animals, worthy of their imitation—for he attends to his duty. Oh how much happier we should be if we all did our duty—to God, to our Queen and country, duty to our parents, to our brothers and sisters, and to the poor!

Printed and Published by S. W. PARTRIDGE, at the Office, No. 9, Paternoster Row, W. TWEED, 431, Strand; and A. W. BERNETT, 5, Bishopsgate Street.

Figure 4. Page layout, *Band of Hope Review* 59 (November 1865): 236. Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

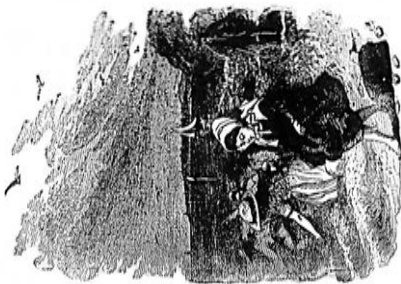
the four "Pages for the Young," writing from the unlikely sounding "Crystal Cottage, Manchester."⁴⁰ In the next issue, the children's pages were written by "Cousin Edward from London," and the adult-focused "Intelligence," which encapsulated Band of Hope news nationally and locally, was reduced to two pages. Eventually this news column disappeared entirely. From this fifth issue, *Onward* featured short fiction, and from its eighth issue it incorporated a serial story designed to maintain young readers' interest. The first story was by an unknown writer named "Adeline," but later serials were contributed by prominent temperance authors such as Clara Lucas Balfour.

Beginning with the second issue, poems were featured, and the third issue offered "An Original Lancashire Recitation" titled "Aw Tell Thee Wot, Ned," which reflected the magazine's northern origins. In the ninth issue, another recitation was offered, "Eawr Village" by Uncle Abraham, and in later years dialect poems by notable poets such as Samuel Laycock (1826–93) appeared at regular intervals. Despite *Onward's* growing national reach, its dialect poems were always in Lancashire vernacular, which may well have mystified some readers. The publication of these poems nevertheless affirmed *Onward's* distinctive northern character. Unlike the *Band of Hope Review*, *Onward* not only included poetry but also recitations and songs that encouraged readers to interact with the magazine and to engage with others.

From the fourth issue, *Onward* printed songs with sheet music, and for the next forty-five years, it continued to print at least one song per issue, once again distinguishing itself from the *Band of Hope Review*, which did not print music until 1871 and then only rarely.⁴¹ Songs played an important role in the temperance movement and consequently were more likely to appear in temperance magazines than in other children's periodicals. From its September 1866 issue, *Onward* also consistently published songs with tonic sol-fa notation, a system originally devised as an empowering and accessible method for working-class learners to read music. This method grew symbiotically with the temperance movement, sharing its emancipatory mission to offer alternative pleasures to drinking and also formed part of the rational recreation movement.⁴² Space does not allow exploration of the tonic sol-fa movement here, but it is important to note that the Band of Hope widely promoted the method, particularly in the northern unions, where the organisation's membership was high, as well as in working-class districts such as Newton Heath or Ancoats. It is perhaps less than surprising that the *Band of Hope Treasury* (1869–90), the only other children's temperance magazine yet discovered which also printed songs every month with tonic sol-fa notation, was also edited in Manchester by *Onward* contributor William Hoyle. It was a smaller and less ambitious periodical than *Onward* in terms of content, national reach, and circulation, but Hoyle was a noted composer and arranger.⁴³

Like the *Band of Hope Review*, *Onward* held competitions, but it did not usually focus these contests on Biblical questions. In May 1868, a prize was offered for an essay addressing the question “Why Am I an Abstainer?” This strategy for engaging readers developed into the regular publication of readers’ work. Figure 5 shows an example from ten years later, where an essay by a fourteen-year-old reader, “How I Spent a Day at the Seaside,” is used as the focal point of an impressive double-page spread with an accompanying illustration and poem. The young author, Bertha Davies, is placed at the centre of the text. In contrast, the *Band of Hope Review* did not incorporate children’s writing until twenty years later. When it positioned children as agents, it discussed them in the third person, for example, as “our readers,” who might “affect a positive influence on drunkards.”⁴⁴ From the early years, moreover, the names and locations of prize winners of *Onward*’s competitions were noted in the magazine. Letters from “Cousin Edward, of London” likewise encouraged readers to see themselves as a national community and to be proud of the Band of Hope—and their magazine. As Cousin Edward exclaimed, “Look for one moment at the improved and creditable manner in which our editor has brought out ‘Onward.’ Does not this look cheering?”⁴⁵

Onward was of course primarily focused on temperance, but it nevertheless provided a varied menu within this field by addressing readers informally, engaging in self-mythologisation, and publishing a variety of content designed to appeal to the differing ages, genders, and interests of its readers, with topics ranging from history and riddles to football and flowers. This wide-ranging approach encouraged what Martin Barker, in his analysis of *Jackie* magazine, calls an “unwritten contract with the readers” premised on providing a collage of different approaches and content.⁴⁶ Drawing on readers’ experiences and naming contributors further promoted the magazine’s community feeling, which was then reinforced by the regular “Editor’s Chat” feature. By reading serials, competitions, gossip, and other features of *Onward*’s regular menu, readers could define themselves in relation to the local, regional, or national Band of Hope union. Margaret Beetham and Louis James have explored the varied possibilities inherent in the consumption of periodicals, particularly the ways they provide readers with the pleasure of participating in a community with shared values.⁴⁷ Martin Conboy’s comments on newspapers also apply to *Onward*’s mission of engaging readers as a means of attaining financial viability. He notes that the “dialogue between readers and popular newspapers, whether literal, as in the letters pages, or part of the textualization of the readership in the layout, language and advertising of the newspaper, became a critical and a dynamic component in the legitimation of its popular appeal and thereby its commercial success.”⁴⁸



"HOW I SPENT A DAY AT THE SEASIDE."

First Prize Paper. Written by BERTHA DAVIES, aged 14 years, NICE LANE, EGYMOUTH, CHESHIRE.

IT was one of the happiest days of my life, the first at the seaside. Everything was full of novelty. I had never seen the sea before, and was most astonished at the gentle ebb and flow of the tide. When people were bathing in the sea, it seemed to my imagination like an enchanted bath, where everyone might wash their faces and feet. I had heard of bathing, but I had never seen it. I had left my thought for one moment to the future, and I was now in her home by "vision" must be replaced.

that small child of our boat and fingers, and played a magnificent tune. We took ever they got the chance. We took one or two of the crane's home, and this we asked name to cook them for our tea; we never thought that they would be too small, and thought nurse very kind when she taught at us, and we felt like little children when we left her. The children were very happy, and found some jelly-rich and marsh-mallows. We had no idea what the former were, but we carried one on a spade to a business, who kindly explained all about their habit to us; and as for the marsh-mallows, we did not like to touch them. The children were very happy, and found some jelly-rich and marsh-mallows. We had no idea what the former were, but we carried one on a spade to a business, who kindly explained all about their habit to us; and as for the marsh-mallows, we did not like to touch them. The children were very happy, and found some jelly-rich and marsh-mallows. We had no idea what the former were, but we carried one on a spade to a business, who kindly explained all about their habit to us; and as for the marsh-mallows, we did not like to touch them.

My greatest delight was in making small houses, and something like gentlemen to them, with the different kinds of seaweed. The green wavy seaweed served for grass, and the straight small-colored, with little bits of green put here and there, was what

AT THE SEASIDE.

We have fed the town behind us,
At the seaside, where the sun is
Where the sparkling wave doth lead us
To the bright and glazy sea.

'Mid the silvery sand and shingle,
Where the wind we roam each day,
With our little, white, and blue,
And our tongues go jingle, jingle.

For we have it much to say,
Up the rugged hills we scramble,
And with our little, white, and blue,
And our tongues go jingle, jingle.

'Mid the heather, green and humble,
Gaily plucking wild flowers sweet,
But the happy days are flying,
Oh! so very, very fast.

So many, many days,
Farewell we shall soon be crying,
For our holiday is past.

HERBERT H. ADAMS.

MORNING PRAYER.

GENTLE JESU, hear my prayer,
And let me never stray;
Thou hast called and blessed such:
I would love Thee very much.

Thou art always near to me,
Watching if I good will be;
Thou hast called and blessed such:
I would love Thee very much.

Make me like Thee, Jesus, sweet,
Loving all the good I meet,
Fighting all the bad I see,
For I this day will follow Thee.

Be what Thou wast in Thy youth;
Gentle and obedient be
To my parents dear and Thine.

So may I in favour grow,
And in Thy love abide;
Dance all the good I can,
Pleasing unto God and man.

ANNIE CLEGG.

Figure 5. "How I Spent a Day at the Seaside," *Onward* 158 (September 1878): 166-67.
Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

From the mid-1870s, *Onward* advertised itself as “A Magazine for Family Reading,” and advertisements found in the few unbound copies that still exist feature the kinds of household items usually advertised in temperance publications: cocoa, coffee, fruit drinks, and non-alcoholic medical remedies. However, even though child readers were unlikely to be consumers, they remained the main focus of the magazine. From the end of its second year, *Onward* no longer included a significant amount of material directed overtly to adults. Even when it occasionally published practical articles for adult temperance workers, advice was always at least in part devoted to empowering children. For example, one such article, “Band of Hope Management,” notes that “young speakers sometimes fail through want of confidence. . . . Time and perseverance will overcome great difficulties.”⁴⁹ Throughout *Onward*, children are addressed as empowered agents in the war against drinking. This distinguishes it from the *Band of Hope Review* which from 1870 to 1899 was dominated by religion and scripture as well as features on the welfare of animals and the exercise of virtues such as obedience and industriousness. In contrast, *Onward* was more diversified in its content. “Pebbles and Pearls,” for example, was a regular feature published at the end of each month’s issue which featured temperance-related items but also secular quotations and aphorisms beside *Punch*-style wordplay and jokes. A typical example reads, “A man who was formerly a night-watchman refers to it as his ‘late occupation.’”⁵⁰

Onward was thus informal, lively, practical, and much less overtly religious than the *Band of Hope Review*. During its first nine years, *Onward*’s more light-hearted approach was indicated through its typography, particularly its use of exclamation marks and elaborate typefaces. Deprived of the resources to include illustration along the same lines as the *Review*, *Onward* began to play creatively (perhaps even rather wildly) with the resources available in the printer’s shop (figure 6). This page, from *Onward*’s third year of operation, shows great ingenuity in attempting to make the magazine visually arresting, with engaging borders, initial letters, and typography. The typefaces draw attention to themselves both to advertise content and to create a relaxed, almost comic effect, just as they did in *Punch* during the same period. By 1872, its seventh year, *Onward* finally began to use illustrations, at first with single pages inside the front cover and then with illustrated capitals. After transferring to Partridge’s printing firm in 1874, *Onward* immediately began to integrate small vignettes and elaborate capitals in the text of the magazine. By January 1875, not only were larger vignettes used to illustrate stories but blocks were incorporated at the borders of pages to create a more creative design, one which significantly did not employ the “grid” system used by many journals, including the *Band of Hope Review*. A page from 1880 provides a beautiful example of how creative design could be used to attract readers (figure 7). It sug-

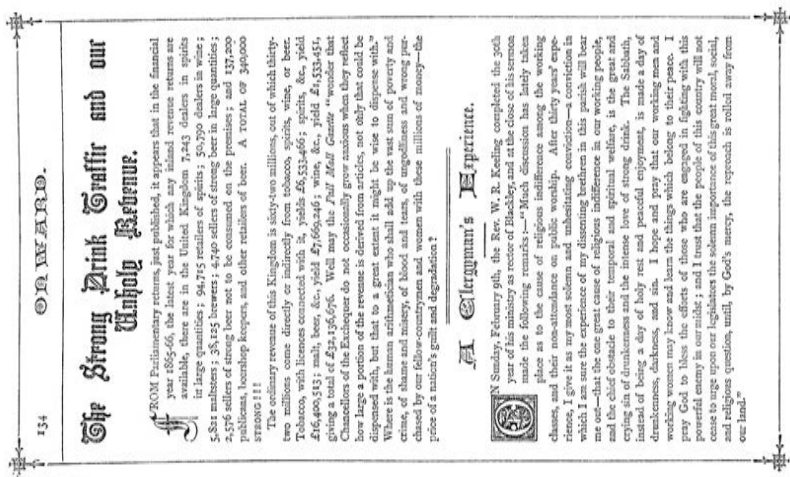


Figure 6. Two-page layout, *Onward* 33 (March 1868): 134–35. Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.



THROUGH STORM TO PEACE.

BY ARTHUR BASSINGTON.

CHAPTER VII.—WAGES.

"The wicked fleeeth when no man pursueth,"—*The Bible*.

"Conscience does make cowards of us all,"—*Shakespeare*.

"My sin is ever before me."—*The Bible*.

WHEN John Linden staggered and reeled away in the darkness, after he had thrown Jenny, bewildered by the news he had heard, terrified by the new sense of guilt which ran in his drunken brain as the words echoed and echoed again and again, "You did it!" he knew not what to do or which way to turn.

At first he went forward, too drunken and besotted to know why or where: he dreaded to go home. Scarcely conscious of the direction he took, he wandered with unsteady footsteps from one side of the road to the other, until he fell into the ditch, where he remained for some little time unable to get up. He slept, but not for long; awoke to find it all dark, and himself wet and cold. The shock he had received had helped to sober him. He feared to go home: his wife must know since Jenny knew, and he could not meet her gaze; besides, before long the police would be sure to seek him—now, while he had time and opportunity, he had better escape. The night was dark and rough with wind and rain. After some hasty reflection he made up his mind to walk, at least till daylight, on the way to London, and to gain the main turnpike-road which led to the great city he had only to go down a short country lane and avoid all the main part of the village, and be in the opposite direction to his cottage and the market town. The very thought of his home seemed to turn him almost sick and faint. He journeyed on through sleeping

Figure 7. "Through Storm to Peace," *Onward* 170 (July 1880): 97. Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

gests the movement of a child reaching for fruit by directing the reader's eye to move up and across the page.⁵¹

In addition to improving its design, *Onward* gradually began to expand in size. It never reached the dimensions of the folio *Band of Hope Review*, but there was a discernible sense of expansion. From its inception in 1865 until 1879, its dimensions were $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ or $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but from 1880 to 1889, it grew to $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, in 1890 it was enlarged to $9\frac{3}{5} \times 7$ inches, and finally from 1891 to 1910, it was resized yet again to $9\frac{3}{5} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

In making these changes, *Onward* was responding to developments in the wider field of children's magazines rather than imitating the formula of its closest competitor, the *Band of Hope Review*. While the *Review* was "lavishly illustrated by some of the best artists of the period," *Onward* incorporated an even greater number of sophisticated illustrations as well as content from well-known temperance authors, along with songs and recitations.⁵²

The 1880s, 1890s, and early 1900s can be seen as *Onward's* zenith. Following the Band of Hope's development of methods for teaching scientific temperance in schools during the late 1880s, *Onward* ran a regular science series. Subsequently "Our Club" appeared, a column in which four boys debated and discussed temperance topics of the day. The series notes that the boys are "very fond of thrashing out in their own way arguments both for and against many of the things they find existing around them. We are privileged to listen to some of their talks and to follow in their arguments."⁵³ By this time under the editorship of W. C. Wilson, the magazine continued to feature practical and self-referential items, for example, by giving advice on starting a periodicals subscription club and encouraging members to collect as much money as possible for the regional union's new headquarters. It had clearly achieved influence and a national presence; together with its sister periodical, the *Onward Reciter*, it claimed a regular circulation of 500,000 copies by 1895.⁵⁴

Over the years, the *Band of Hope Review* had begun to move closer to *Onward* in style and content—perhaps in acknowledgement of the success of its northern rival or in belated response to changes in the juvenile periodical field. The *Review* introduced the printing of songs in the 1870s although it did not publish them as frequently as *Onward*, and in 1880 it published a feature entitled "The Trial of Alcohol," which included entertaining dialogues and recitations suitable for performance.⁵⁵ The assertive tone of the 1892 poem "King Alcohol Must Go!" echoed the lively style of verse in *Onward*. By the 1890s, the *Review* broadened its range to include more heroic and scientific content, thus copying *Onward* and magazines in the wider children's publishing market.⁵⁶ And by 1894, the *Review* personalised its content by including small photographic portraits of its contributors. In earlier years, it had rarely given writers' names, unlike *Onward*, which had included authorial signature from the outset. Perhaps in response to the changing landscape of the children's press, the first issues of the *Review* in 1900 included a new feature, the "Editor's Corner," which was similar to the editorial column pioneered by *Onward* (but without the colloquial title word "chat"). It began to feature jokes and livelier competitions and to take a friendlier, less religious tone. More dramatically, after 1900 it also adopted a new size, shrinking to the same dimensions as *Onward*. Ultimately, it was difficult to distinguish between the two titles in

terms of format or content. It is important to note that *Onward* also began to borrow from the *Band of Hope Review*. Figure 8 shows an illuminated biblical motto, an item which had been a signature feature of the *Review* for nearly fifty years before it was adapted by *Onward*. Both publications also used common blocks, such as the figure of a newsboy which appeared in the *Review* in June 1899 and then in *Onward* in January 1900 and October 1903.

A comparison of *Onward* and the *Band of Hope Review* thus demonstrates that no periodical operated in isolation, especially in niche markets, where editors needed to be aware of their competitors' offerings. They could choose to respond to this competition by maintaining their distinctiveness or, if necessary, by adapting strategies from other periodicals. *Onward* probably had an advantage from the outset as it was able to position itself against the market leader, the *Band of Hope Review*, and define itself in oppositional terms, emphasising approachability rather than piety. It showed a consciousness of its Christian mission but also an awareness of the needs of its young readers. In a competitive market that included non-temperance publications, the editors realised the importance of engagement with juvenile consumers in increasingly innovative ways. In the longer term, this proved to be an approach so effective that it was eventually adopted by the *Review*.

At times, *Onward* seemed to overstate its own national importance, and its liveliness occasionally became something more like brashness. An 1882 article, for example, exclaims, "Get to the front, boys! We are living in wonderful times, so keep your eyes open. Get early to school, and when you are there make good use of your time. Don't be satisfied with knowing a little, be determined to master whatever you take in hand. Clever boys get to the front. The world's greatest men were clever boys, remarkable for their industry, courage, and perseverance."⁵⁷ While perhaps off-putting to a modern audience, this sense of energetic determination was characteristic of the magazine and perhaps the period as a whole.

Both *Onward* and the *Band of Hope Review* had a captive audience, to some extent, through the subscription system mentioned above. The existence of two viable and popular temperance magazines presented a real choice for juvenile consumers, who were capable of swiftly shifting their allegiances in response to the perceived inadequacies or superiorities of either periodical. In the early years, membership figures for the *Band of Hope* certainly would not have been as large as the circulation numbers for the two magazines, which were widely sold by sympathetic printers and stationers; their audiences thus constituted a much broader imagined community. Details of *Band of Hope* events and meetings mentioned in the periodicals would have acted as persuasive publicity for non-members who might then be tempted to join. Particularly in *Onward*, the frequent publi-

cation of ever-increasing Band of Hope membership figures, along with the publication of features designed to promote interaction between readers and writers, functioned to establish and maintain a friendly sense of community.

The Band of Hope Review ultimately became the beneficiary of *Onward's* pioneering and innovative spirit. *Onward* ceased publication as a children's title in 1910, becoming the *Workers Onward* (1910–60s), which was intended for the use of Band of Hope workers (“conductors”) and was thus only indirectly addressed to children. Study of committee minutes suggests that the widespread distribution of free copies of the magazine in an attempt to preserve market position led to financial problems after 1900. It is also possible that *Onward* suffered in the face of increased competition from the wider range of children's magazines. *The Band of Hope Review* finally overcame its junior challenger before ultimately ceasing publication in 1937, when the temperance movement was falling into decline. After the demise of *Onward*, the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union maintained its publishing operations, concentrating its efforts on songbooks, hymnbooks, the *Onward Reciter*, and an *Onward* series of prize books. The legacy of the *Onward* empire took physical form in the construction of Onward House, a meeting and office space funded in part by readers' contributions which still stands today on Deansgate, Manchester.

Onward is a fascinating case study for exploring how magazines negotiated the religious aspects of the temperance message while still providing other, more immediately attractive, elements for young readers. *Onward* can also be interpreted as a publication with a strong regional identity which achieved national success; as an innovative magazine which promoted a warm relationship with its readers; and as a title that responded to market imperatives, learning from its competitors. It can also be seen as an initially small periodical with limited funding which used lively content to develop a robust readership. Other journals from regional Band of Hope unions, such as the *Temperance Lighthouse* from Yorkshire, achieved small local circulations briefly in the mid-nineteenth century and then withered. *Onward* both survived and prospered in a competitive marketplace by employing creative strategies and engaging readers in a common purpose.

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NOTES

1. Hoyle “Onward!,” 3.
2. Harrison, “World of Which We Had No Conception,” and Niessen, “Temperance,” are standard works.
3. Rowntree and Sherwell, *Temperance Problem*, 5. This figure includes adults' and children's societies.

4. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*. See also Longmate, *Water-Drinkers*, and McAllister, "Rational Recreation."
5. Nicholls, *Politics of Alcohol*, 103.
6. Berridge, *Demons*, 36–54.
7. For example, in Liverpool in 1893, 2,378 children were arrested as "dead drunk," 113 of whom were under ten. "2,378 'Black Spots on the Mersey,'" 31.
8. By the 1860s, very few juvenile temperance societies existed which had not changed their name to incorporate "Band of Hope."
9. See McAllister, "Rational Recreation."
10. Shiman, "Band of Hope Movement," 66.
11. Barker, "Band of Hope Movement," 14.
12. Harrison, "Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain," 282.
13. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5–7.
14. Harrison, "World of Which We Had No Conception," 129.
15. McAllister, "Lives and the Souls of the Children."
16. Murray, "Band of Hope Review," 37.
17. Mountjoy, "Thomas Bywater Smithies," 47.
18. *Band of Hope Review*, June 1851. Quoted in Mountjoy, "Thomas Bywater Smithies," 47.
19. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 308.
20. Banham describes *Boys of England* as "arguably the most popular and successful of boys' magazines." Banham, "Boys of England," 69. Temperance periodicals for adults lagged behind the general adult-market leaders. For example, *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* had an estimated circulation of 350,000 in 1872. See McWilliam, "Reynolds."
21. See McAllister, "Lives and the Souls of the Children," for a detailed study of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union.
22. Antrobus, "To Our Readers," 1.
23. Beetham, "Open and Closed," 97–98.
24. Wynne, *Sensation Novel*, 20.
25. The first editor was W. D. B. Antrobus, who appears to have had no other literary or publishing links.
26. Henry, "Temperance and Religion," 38.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Antrobus, "Preface," iii.
29. See McAllister, "Temperance Periodicals."
30. Whitehead, "Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union," 21.
31. *Onward*, the organ of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union, no. 53, May 1892. This copy survives in the Harris Library, Preston. The content of the rest of the magazine is generic, with only the four pages of local material bound on as the front and end pages. The phenomenon of localisation is worthy of further study.

32. Antrobus, "Editor's Chat," April 1868, 160.
33. Ibid., July 1867, 16.
34. Ibid., September 1867, 48.
35. Ibid., July 1867, 15.
36. See Law, "Periodicalism," 552. *The Boys' Own Paper*, for example, reported a circulation of 600,000 in the 1880s. Dunae, "New Grub Street," 23.
37. Advertisement, 236.
38. Antrobus, "To Our Readers," 1.
39. "Pages for the Young," *Onward* 3:42.
40. "Pages for the Young," *Onward* 4:58.
41. *The Band of Hope Review* printed only sixteen songs, with or without music, over the forty-nine year period between 1871 and 1900.
42. McGuire, *Musical and Victorian Philanthropy*. See also McAllister, *Demon Drink?*, for a discussion of temperance music.
43. This William Hoyle, secretary of the regional Band of Hope Union and noted melodist about whom little else seems to be known, should not be confused with the other Mancunian temperance writer, William Hoyle (1832–86).
44. Murray, "The Band of Hope Review," 37.
45. "Cousin Edward's Letter," 44.
46. Barker, *Comics*, 65. Barker's appreciation of the multifarious nature of the periodical has been a great help in my reading of Victorian periodicals, and I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer who suggested it.
47. Beetham, "Open and Closed"; James, "Trouble with Betsy."
48. Conboy, *Press and Popular Culture*, 96.
49. Hoyle, "Band of Hope Management," 87.
50. "Pebbles and Pearls," 96.
51. See also the vignette illustration accompanying Bertha Davies's story, which similarly exemplifies the well-designed page by uniting elements in an attractive whole without using an overt grid system (see figure 5 above).
52. Murray, "Band of Hope Review," 37.
53. Edwards, "Our Club," 12.
54. Circulation figures are from United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *Annual Report*, 48. *The Onward Reciter* was a compendium of recitation material only, rather than a typical magazine including other elements.
55. "The Trial of Alcohol," 202.
56. "King Alcohol Must Go!," 7.
57. "Get to the Front, Boys!," 135.

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