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Picturing the Demon Drink: How Children were Shown Temperance Principles in the Band of Hope

Annemarie McAllister

The UK Temperance movement attracted millions of members in the nineteenth and twentieth century, including children. Probably the most successful of the many groupings was the children's organization, the Band of Hope (1847–1995), and there is a rich legacy of teaching materials, including magic lantern slides, which enables later generations to discover and evaluate its use of visual discourse. This article explores the visual means by which the message was spread and members were gained, sustained, and given material for their own missionary endeavors. The argument highlights the importance of the pioneering visual tools for communicating these messages used by the Band of Hope.

Keywords: Temperance; Band of Hope; Lantern Slides; Alcohol and Health; Economic Arguments; Morality

Orbis Sensualium Pictus (The Visible World in Picture), a textbook published in 1658 and translated into English in 1659, is generally considered to be the first picture book for children. The author, John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), advised in his preface that children should be given the book "to delight themselves with as they please, with the sight of the pictures." Although such delightful illustrations have hardly been a keynote of later textbooks, they have certainly been recognized as an obvious channel to use when attempting to instruct or influence young people. How much more important then was the use of pictures for children within the temperance movement, a popular pressure group whose three main purposes were to "inspire, inform and integrate," in the memorable phrase of Brian Harrison. ² Joseph Livesey (1794–1884), the Preston-born "father of temperance" in Britain, certainly advocated the use of illustrations, frequently invoking John Bunyan's (1628–1688) metaphor of "Eye-gate" and "Ear-gate" as key conduits through which "temperance truths" could be absorbed, and using images to powerful effect in his own publications. He developed the concept of moderate consumption of alcohol as a trap, and the later Band of Hope lantern slide "The Mouse Trap" ("Beware of DRINK— Temptation, Ruin, Ailment, Poverty") exemplifies Livesey's view that balance in drinking is impossible for many people (Figure 1).



Figure 1 "The Mouse Trap" ("Beware of Drink—Temptation, Ruin, Ailment, Poverty"), ca. 1880–1920? Hand-colored lantern slide. Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

Although Livesey's mission was primarily to address adults, he saw work with children as complementing this, so that "we have a more hopeful soil in which the seeds of truth and sobriety may be cast." The children's organization, the Band of Hope, was arguably the most successful of the temperance societies, claiming over 3 million child members consistently between the 1890s and 1914 and enduring from its foundation in 1847 to the present day (under the name Hope UK from 1995). This article will explore its use of visual discourse and how this contributed to such spectacular success in the attraction and retention of its young members.

The Band of Hope

At this point, it may be useful to outline the purposes and characteristics of the Band of Hope. Concern about children and alcohol was nothing new when the organization was founded in the mid-nineteenth century. In William Hogarth's (1697–1764) print *Gin Lane* (1851), children can be seen drinking from special glasses on the left of the picture, and by the nineteenth century such child-size portions had become known as "squibs," priced at one halfpenny. There had been young members and a stress on family membership in the Scottish Temperance Society, as shown in its first report of December 1830, and the American Temperance Society had a subsection for family temperance. However, the first official group in England for young people was formed in Preston on the first day of 1832, followed by a similar one in Paisley (Scotland) in the same year. As well as seeking to prevent children from drinking, such societies aimed to use children to introduce temperance teaching into their families; as Livesey pointed out, "While addressing children, we are, through them, addressing many others, older people, whom we cannot see."

By the 1840s, there were flourishing teetotal juvenile temperance organizations around the UK, but when the Reverend Jabez Tunnicliff and Mrs. Ann Jane Carlile held a meeting in Leeds in 1847, few would have thought that the initial group of 300 children would grow into a massive movement claiming over 3 million members. Mrs. Carlile, a visiting temperance speaker from Ireland, had talked of children banding together, and children were, of course, often seen as the hope of the future, so the name would have been a fairly obvious choice, and with its brevity and positive connotations, it became a marketing triumph. The only requirement for membership was to sign the pledge, which was, initially, "I, the undersigned, do agree that I will not use intoxicating liquors as a beverage." A few months later, 4,000 children had joined the Leeds Band of Hope. Bands were set up in other locations, including London, later in the same year. and many existing children's temperance groups took advantage of the "branding." Periodicals even changed their titles to include the potent name: the Sunday Scholars' and Youths' Temperance Journal, which had been founded in 1848, by 1850 considered it advantageous to insert and Band of Hope into its title because of what it described on its first page that year as "our now numerous Bands of Hope." National figures from the early years are difficult to ascertain, but by the 1870s the national report was claiming "an army of half-a-million young people, between seven and twenty-one years of age" by 1887 over a million, and at the UK Band of Hope Union annual meeting in 1901, it was reported that in the United Kingdom there were 28,894 local societies, with a total membership of 3,536,000 boys and girls. ⁵ The industrial conurbations around London, Yorkshire, Glasgow, and Lancashire and Cheshire were the movement's strongholds, and the last was by far the most powerful of the regional groups: when, for example, national numbers had begun to fall in 1930–1931, Lancashire and Cheshire numbers were still rising. ⁶ The Band of Hope's spectacular success would seem to have rested on several features: it developed a particularly effective structure, relying on the local bands which numbered up to 300, but from 1851, these began to join together in local bands for support and economies of scale, then into regional groupings, the first being Lancashire and Cheshire in 1863, and eventually being coordinated by the UK Band of Hope Union (also founded in 1863). This four-level structure facilitated efficiency, particularly in communication, publicity, and money-raising. The Trading Department turned over huge sums, £5,000 in 1893, for example; this would equate to nearly £2 million at current values, using average earnings as an index. ⁷ The department produced wall pictures, illustrated books, and periodicals, as well as thousands of magic lantern slides, sending material out across Europe and the British Empire as well as throughout the UK. In addition to this organizational success, the Band of Hope developed a particularly efficient training system for millions of voluntary workers, known as conductors. From its London offices, publications poured out to support the voluntary workers, from the oneoff compendium of advice, such as manuals, to the regular publication of volumes of lessons, lectures, or activity plans with inserts to give the presenter ideas for expansion. The conductors were exhorted to run entertaining meetings and frequently reminded that "truths which are read, particularly if accompanied by pictures, make a very deep impression of the minds of the young."8



Figure 2 "Four Important Questions: Can–May–Ought–Shall I Abstain? Abstinence is Both Safe & Wise." Graphic published in the *Band of Hope Review*, February 1906, 10.

The case of periodicals is a particular one, as these publications, usually appearing monthly, did indeed participate in and even originate much of the visual discourse of the Band of Hope, but their role is so complex that it would require more comprehensive treatment than is possible in this article. The *Band of Hope Chronicle* (1878–1980s) and many regional publications gave advice and examples to the adult volunteers. In the *Band of Hope Review* (1851–1937), *Onward* (1865–1910), and many other magazines, children could find temperance-related articles, poems, songs, competitions, and jokes, all richly illustrated, and even contribute their own work. More than this, however, regular periodicals, occasionally even described as "Friend" in the title, established a relationship between Band of Hope members and the sense of participation in a national and international "imagined community." Such publications could justly be considered as a wider aspect of teaching, but were consumed outside the formal Band of Hope activities, and are therefore outside the scope of the present article.

The Visual Strategies of the Band of Hope: The Blackboard

From the outset, the Band of Hope used pioneering technology to teach through visual resources. The magic lantern's technological zenith coincided with the most expansionist years in the temperance movement, and the use of dissolving views and lantern slides will be discussed below. However, children's most common experience of engaging with visual temperance material would have been through the use of the blackboard. This simple device proved its worth, enabling the prepared or impromptu illustration of any theme and facilitating children to use it to contribute to the teaching, which indeed was often advocated. Inspiring books such as *One Hundred Blackboard Addresses* (1899) and *The Band of Hope Blackboard* (1904) offered "graded lessons in the use of chalk, together with a systematic classification of the various

methods of arranging the main points of an address." ¹⁰ The periodical addressed to conductors. The Band of Hope Chronicle, featured much advice on how to use the blackboard to engage the children, even supplying model sessions featuring remarks such as "Now I will give you my share of the rhyme, and after that I shall expect your help in finishing it." The reference to "rhyme" belies the stress on visual variety and effect intended to form the basis of blackboard work. Alliterative designs, wordplay, and acrostics were used plentifully, as in "Four Important Questions: Can-May-Ought-Shall I Abstain? Abstinence is Both Safe & Wise" (Figure 2).

The descendant of the blackboard, the flannelgraph, made its debut in the 1940s, and also seems to have been a remarkably creative use of technology and ingenuity. Portable, easily erased and reconfigured, it was easy for the children to use, just like the blackboard. It consisted of a board covered with fluffy fabric to which shapes with a similarly fuzzy backing would adhere. This equipment was easily and cheaply made, and the 1942 Band of Hope Manual (popularly known as the *Blue Book*) gives advice, which evokes contemporary conditions: "It will be found a great convenience to carry the pictures in the middle of the folded board which will be small enough to handle on a bus or a train." The national organization did supply sets of figures and images, some uncolored, which "the children will love to colour," and of course the conductors are advised to "let the children compete to see who can best tell a story with the aid of the flannelgraph."¹³

Magic lanterns and Filmstrips

In the first annual report of the UK Band of Hope Union (1856), it is mentioned that President Stephen Shirley, "kindly placed at the disposal of the Union his magic lantern and about fifty slides illustrative of scenery and natural history, with other instructive and amusing subjects," and that another official had contributed eight slides of George Cruikshank's (1792–1878) The Bottle. 14 This was to prove symbolic, as for the next seventy years, the programs offered to the young viewers were a similar mixture of slides of general interest and those which preached temperance more overtly. The 1870s saw the mass production of lantern slides and lantern devices expand, and this coincided with a very significant change: until 1875 the norm was that a Band of Hope lecturer visited locations, and thus kept control of the performance and material. But, as local groups began to purchase their own equipment, the Trading Department responded by beginning to lend slides and projectors. Annual reports show huge increases in the numbers of slide sets which were commissioned and loaned. Bible stories, cartoons, jokes, and travel slides were all staples of Band of Hope programs, but specifically temperance-related slide sets were generally of four types. There were images of popular or heroic figures who advocated temperance; sporting figures such as cricketers Sir John Berry "Jack" Hobbs (1882-1963) or Sir Donald George "Don" Bradman (1908–2001) rubbed shoulders with the soldier and statesman Lord Kitchener (1850–1915) and Mickey the Mouse. Some slide sets added a temperance angle to other common categories, such as "A Temperance Journey Round the World" or "A Temperance Alphabet." There were sets of slogans, sometimes drawn from printed



Figure 3 "Jessie's Last Request," 1899. Dissolving-view, hand-colored lantern slide. Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

material such as "The Band of Hope Blackboard," or else all-new productions (such as "Drink Steals the Children's Food," discussed below). And finally, some of the most notable are illustrations of stories or poems with a temperance moral, such as "Jessie's Last Request," a dissolving-view lantern slide, in which the angels would have appeared into the scene of the dying girl and her drunkard father (Figure 3). This effect was created by superimposing images from two projection systems onto the same point on the screen.

The numbers of slides borrowed and the performances given increased, year after year, until World War I (1914–1918). The highest figure for slide stock was in 1916, when the department had 1,800 slides to lend; given that in 1892, when the slide stock was 1,200, there were multiple loans recorded of more than 37,000, the number of loans must have similarly increased. In addition, there were still performances given by the traveling Band of Hope lecturers—in 1915, there were 2,221 throughout the country. ¹⁶ Although in 1922–1923, "a satisfactory issue of slides in the hire department showed that the lantern has not lost its attraction as an educator, many societies using it regularly every month in the winter season," in the next year, 1924, for the first time ever, there was no mention of dissolving views, slides, or lanterns in the Trading Department section of the annual report. ¹⁷ The lantern was, of course, under threat from moving pictures, but the cost of equipment and, even more, filmmaking, led the Band of Hope to move to the use of filmstrips, a more direct development of lantern slides, and one which did not demand such complex production at a time when the organization had fewer resources. In addition, there were reasons related to the differing visual media: "what is needed is not a swiftly-moving entertainment, but a series of pictures appearing in turn and allowing time to drive home the lesson of each." Filmstrips reused lantern slide themes, such a

bible stories or temperance messages, but also developed new hybrid forms, reflecting postwar interest in space exploration and science fiction. Cartoons were no longer merely for amusement, for example, as characters went on journeys through bodies, being taught the effects of alcohol on humans. The handy flannelgraph, of course, always provided an alternative: "it can be used where lack of finance or man-power does not permit of frequent use of films." ¹⁹

Visual Arguments: Three-and-a-Half Categories of Content

The Band of Hope made use of a range of evolving visual technologies and media to communicate the various strands of their message to children. That message itself, and its presentation, also evolved in some aspects over time, moving, for example, from the lush sentimentality of Figure 3, "Jessie's Last Request," to the brevity and self-interest of Figure 7 (below), "Mrs. Toddiday and Mrs. Drinkwater." An analysis of temperance-related images and visual arguments reveals that most cluster into three main categories, with a fourth subcategory, national benefit, which has only been employed under specific conditions or at certain periods. These categories are, of course, a suggested form of classification, rather than being explicitly used by the Band of Hope. Such a suggested taxonomy of temperance arguments should not detract from their complexity; neither should it underestimate the time and thought which Band of Hope conductors invested in imparting them in varied ways to children. And, of course, variety and change over time would also be evident in a more detailed study of any one of the categories; however, this article seeks to present an overview.

The main three arguments, for children as well as adult audiences, can be summarized as wealth, health, and morality: that is, temperance would bring to individuals and their families prosperity, they would be healthier for it, but, above all, it was simply the right way to act according to accepted standards of conduct, hence moral. Moral arguments drew on the religious background of the Band of Hope, a nondenominational Christian organization, which had, after all, been cofounded by a minister. But to link the moral argument solely to religion is to oversimplify, as will be seen on examination of some typical material.

Moral Messages

The moral argument was the main strategy used in Band of Hope work in the early days, especially in groups linked to Sunday schools. The motto of the Band of Hope was a text from Proverbs 22:6: "Train up a child in the way he should go and when he is old, he will not depart from it." In a religious context, such training was based on biblical advice, and early symbolism drew on imagery such as the serpent of evil and guardian angels. Later, more sophisticated discourses produced rich images such as a hand-painted lantern slide which, sadly, is too faint in detail to reproduce here, depicting a man drowning in an angry sea. He is threatened by a huge wave named "gambling," smaller waves of "impurity," and his head is all but submerged under the swell marked "drink": all sweeping him toward the whirlpool of "destruction." However, the

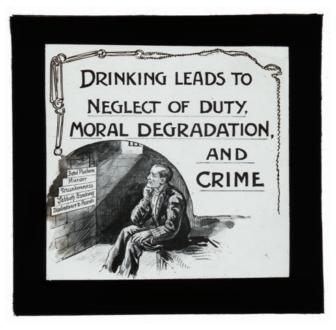


Figure 4 "Drinking Leads to Neglect of Duty, Moral Degradation, and Crime," ca. 1880–1920? Black-and-white lantern slide. Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

means of redemption are also shown in the image: a lighthouse beams rays of "The Holy Spirit" and a coastguard standing on the "Rock of Ages" throws a lifebelt marked "Christ the Saviour" while shouting "The Father Loves You." The arc which the lifebelt makes is the most clearly readable caption in the image, and is labeled "Faith."

But Christian morality intersected with social constructs of respectability and acceptable behavior. In "Drinking Leads to Neglect of Duty, Moral Degradation, and Crime" (Figure 4), the list on the left suggests that being disrespectful to parents and breaking the Sabbath are early signs of bad character, which will lead to drunkenness—which, in turn, will lead in surprisingly accelerated progress to murder and to the "fatal platform" of the scaffold. This image, undated but probably from the late nineteenth century, draws on the ruin narrative of Cruikshank's *The* Bottle, but manages to encapsulate a whole dramatic story in one lantern slide. Without such dramatic contexts, being drunk was shown as shameful, drink was presented as making beasts of humans, and the responsibility and determination shown by exercising restraint was lauded. "I am, I ought, I can, I will" (Figure 5), a lantern slides, again undated but probably later than Figure 4, is one in the "Dog to Boy" series, and shows the steps up from a mere animal existence as realization of moral duty and then the decision to act accordingly. The last slide in this series shows the boy at the top of the steps, with the implication that he can revert to animality if he refuses to act on his moral instinct. Thus the argument was grounded in personal and social, as well as religious morality—perhaps an allusion to Livesey's indictment of "the liquor that disturbs and destroys man's rationality." The argument from morality was dominant in the nineteenth century, influenced perhaps by links with churches and Sunday schools, but also due

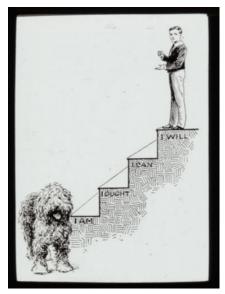


Figure 5 "I am, I ought, I can, I will," no. five of six, in the series "Dog to Boy," ca. 1880-1920? Black-and-white lantern slide. Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

to the prevalent overtly Christian discourse in society at large. It remained strong in the twentieth century, but perhaps with growing individualism and self-interest, the more tangible benefits of temperance were seen to have a stronger appeal to children. Certainly, after World War I, it began to be superseded by the other two aspects of temperance teaching.

Wealth

From the earliest days, the temperance movement had employed a familiar trope which made drink synonymous with poverty. Livesey asserted that "Teetotalism, for the poor family, means a fuller cupboard and better food; more clothing, and that clothing safe at home; more furniture; good blankets and warm bedding." ²¹ Children were often presented with images that depicted alcohol as a waste of resources, which could be better used as food and for energy in production, and, of course, a waste of money, which could be used for benefits that they would enjoy. Temperance material for adults featured detailed calculations, and this approach was carried through to the Band of Hope's work with children in blackboard lessons such as the one shown in "How Jack's Father Spent the Beer Money" (Figure 6). The conductor using this 1904 diagram would draw out the significance to the young viewers, so that they would be likely to share Jack's motivation to alter his family's spending habits. The relatively simple calculation makes it evident that, although Jack himself gets five shillings less saved in his money box over the year, the family enjoys a much better standard of living and, importantly, can afford to go on vacation. The economic argument lent itself to dramatic contrasts, producing powerful images such as the lantern slide, "Drink steals the children's food." The image shows an oversized hand

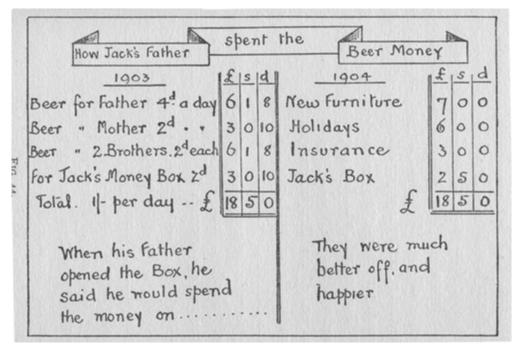


Figure 6 "How Jack's Father Spent the Beer Money." Graphic published in R. W. Sindall, *The Band of* Hope Blackboard: A Treatise on the Art and Principles of Blackboard Teaching as Applied to the Weekly Meetings of the Band of Hope (London, 1904), 95.

labeled "Drink" grasping for bread, jam, and other teatime fare. ²² The argument is powerful, if seemingly unsophisticated, as it draws on primal instincts to protect children and ensure the survival of the race: spending money on drink is directly linked to being unable to spend money on children's nourishment. It is hardly surprising to see that in the 1940s, whether in wartime or under postwar rationing restrictions, the economic argument was still being used in material for children. "Mrs. Toddiday and Mrs. Drinkwater" (Figure 7) contrasts Mrs. Toddiday, who only manages to buy a Christmas stocking costing less than a shilling for her daughter Edna, with the teetotal Mrs. Drinkwater who has a spectacular array of Christmas presents on a tree. Engaging the young reader directly, the illustration's caption inquires pointedly "...don't you wish you were a little Drinkwater?"

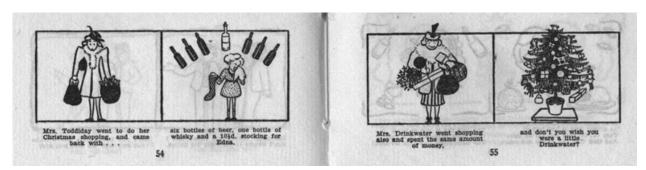


Figure 7 "Mrs. Toddiday and Mrs. Drinkwater." Graphic published in Rhymes and Reasons: Extracts from the First Three Volumes of the Wide-Awakes' Own (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1946), 54-55.



Figure 8 "The cankerous stomach of a spirit drinker," ca. 1880– 1920? Hand-colored lantern slide, no. 5 from the series "The Stomach." Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

Health

Early teetotalers could point to the evident danger to health involved in heavy drinking, and in teaching material, statistics of deaths, diseases, and injuries were accompanied by graphic diagrams of abnormal organs. "The Stomach," number 5 (Figure 8), a lantern slide, captioned "The cankerous stomach of a spirit drinker," shows that children were shocked with graphic images which established the physical danger that alcohol consumption posed to health. Alcohol, it was stressed, was a poison, and the Band of Hope supplied teachers in Board schools with materials to show this. In 1888, it began the Schools Scientific Temperance Teaching Scheme where thousands of lessons on alcohol and health were delivered in schools by volunteers; millions of children wrote essays, were tested on Scientific Temperance, and awarded certificates. At its height in 1925–1926, for example, this scheme provided 4,812 lectures to 12,053 teachers and 378,421 scholars. ²³ After this date, the formal scheme ended, but the Band of Hope remained involved in "Hygiene" or "Health" education, and eventually in providing material for Personal, Social, and Health Education. From experiments showing the destructive nature of alcohol on various organisms, to the vivid and gruesome illustrations of diseased organs, such as "The Stomach," the argument lent itself to lively illustration.

Until the early twentieth century, small amounts of alcohol were customarily recommended as a form of medicinal treatment, and early pledges often specified that alcohol "as a beverage" would be avoided, thus leaving open the possibility of consuming it as a medicine. The perceived need to assert that complete abstinence was healthier informed much



Figure 9 "The Drink Raider. Deaths from Air Raids 1915–1918: 2,051; Deaths from Alcoholism & Cirrhosis of the Liver 1915–1918: 13,852," 1919. Hand-colored lantern slide. Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

teaching material and resulted in the use of doctors as a visual symbol, sometimes lamenting the fate of their patients: "If only he was a teetotaller, I could have pulled him through," says a gloomy doctor to a nurse in one lantern slide image. More cheerful versions of this motif featured a doctor making congratulatory remarks, such as "Thank goodness you are a teetotaller," to a relieved-looking patient. Doctors were used as symbols of expert commentators on health, but those who were outstanding physical examples of it also appeared in illustrations. Sportspeople, or those famed for physical or mental fitness, were shown giving testimony that their bodies could not operate at such a peak of efficiency with the ingestion of any alcohol. Material produced for children featured cricketers, footballers, and athletes in action and Yuri Gagarin (1934–1968), the first Soviet cosmonaut, in the 1960s.

National Benefit

Patriotism was always encouraged in the Band of Hope, but in times of war, national interest was harnessed as a form of wartime temperance propaganda aimed at children, which brought the squandering of resources on drink into sharper focus. This development of the moral argument was also to be seen at periods of national economic difficulty (see Figure 7). National spending on drink was regarded as a collective moral scandal and contrasted with the alternative uses for the money at a particular time of need. "The Drink Raider" (Figure 9) is a dramatic example of the "national benefit" and "health" arguments, and illustrates how effective the combination of striking image and significant statistics could be. The "national benefit" argument was used more



Figure 10 "Temperance Promotes Health [Happiness, Energy, Advancement, Long life, Thrift, Honour]," ca. 1880-1920? Handcolored lantern slide. Courtesy of the University of Central Lancashire, The Livesey Collection, Preston, UK.

frequently in material for adults, but as with some of the previous examples, children were not shielded from material that was likely to shock them or make them uncomfortable.

Conclusion

The categories used in this article to dissect visual temperance arguments and their communication to children are, of course, simple scholarly tools which should not obscure interrelatedness of these various strands. "Temperance Promotes HEALTH" (Figure 10), exemplifies many of the techniques discussed in this paper. It is an effective combination of image and text to convey a complex message. It uses the acrostic, a particularly popular form in Band of Hope material. It depicts children in material intended to be viewed by them, and invites them to become agents, improving their lives to attain the paradise shown in the slide by the exercise of their own moral responsibility. And it uses arguments from morality, economic benefit, and health to persuade its viewers.

From the earliest days, temperance teaching was focused upon three main aspects; the moral evils of intemperance, its economic costs, and its dangers to health. Through changing public contexts, wars, and the development of scientific knowledge, the Band of Hope continued to work with these three main lines of approach, responding to new fashions, heroes, and changes in children's tastes. The moral argument ceased to hold power: the cultural climate had changed so much that discourses involving moral decline, disgrace, duty, and responsibility came to have increasingly little resonance with children and young people—or teenagers, as they became known. The economic argument was to be largely vitiated by social policies such as the welfare state, improved housing, and employment, and commercial factors such as the spread of supermarkets and cheap alcohol stores. As well as food being less expensive, relatively speaking, the cost of drink has also tumbled—possibly more so than food. The health-related argument did survive, and indeed almost all modern campaigns, reports, and programs focus on this aspect. Perhaps it suits our self-absorbed and increasingly risk-averse society. However, the employment of targets, the measuring of "units" and the rhetoric of "advice" are worlds away from the unequivocal decision of the pledge, signed by so many millions of children, thanks to the teaching of the Band of Hope between 1847 and 1995.

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- 16 Figures for lantern slide circulation are found in the annual reports of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union.
- 17 Annual Report (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1923), 14.
- 18 Tayler, *Manual*, 26–27.
- 19 N. M. Mills, "Only the Best is Good Enough," Workers' Onward, October 1949, 5.
- 20 Joseph Livesey, "A New Year's Appeal," The Staunch Teetotaler 13 (January 1868): 103.
- 21 Livesey, "A New Year's Appeal," 103.
- 22 Illustrated as Figure 1 in "Public Engagement with Visual Historical Resources: The 2012 "Temperance and the Working Class" Project," on p. 000 in this special issue.
- 23 Annual Report (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1926), 8.