‘Teetotal and Proud’: Preston and the Band of Hope Movement, 1847-1939.

“…one thing ‘Proud Preston’ ought to be really proud of was that it was the birthplace of total abstinence”.

Source: *The Preston Chronicle & Lancashire Advertiser,* 12 November 1887, spoken at a Band of Hope meeting.

by

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STUDENT DECLARATION

I declare that the following material contained in the thesis formed part of a submission for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

Signature of Candidate: ……

Type of Award: Master of Philosophy

School: Humanities and Social Sciences

Abstract

The Band of Hope was a non-denominational movement with membership open to all children who pledged to abstain from drinking alcohol. It began in 1847, grew rapidly and in some locations it maintained its popularity for over a hundred years.

The thesis is an administrative/organisational study of the Band of Hope with special reference to Preston in Lancashire. The thesis period extends from 1847 to 1939, with consideration given to earlier years in order to reveal how middle-class moderate 'anti-spirit' temperance approval was overtaken by working-class total abstinence advocacy in adults, leading to total abstinence societies for children being formed prior to the establishment of the Band of Hope.

The thesis will use primary evidence in nineteenth century Band of Hope publications and contemporary local newspapers, supported by secondary literature that places the movement in its historical context, to add knowledge to the history of Preston by examining how the Band of Hope operated in a town that is recognised for 1) its prominence in temperance history and 2) its religious make-up which distinguished it from towns of similar size and structure during the period covered by the study.

Approximately half the town's population belonged to the Established Church with the other fifty per cent divided roughly between Roman Catholic and Nonconformist churches. Significantly, Sunday school children who attended the different church sects provided the Band of Hope with a readily available group of potential recruits. In researching the Band of Hope movement in Preston in relation to its religious make-up, the study has identified that the lack of religious hegemony in the town produced levels of co-operation rather than discord between the main church sects in order to promote children's total abstinence advocacy. This occurred despite disagreement between the churches over the question of whether moderate temperance or total abstinence should prevail in adult circles.

At the same time the research has discovered that the Band of Hope operation in Preston recorded its successes more readily that it did the occasions when it suffered financial and management problems. The judgment one draws is that Preston's temperance prominence impacted upon the psyche of many Preston Band of Hope workers that made perceived failings in its operation more difficult to acknowledge than its successes.

By focussing the study on aspects of Preston's character that impacted on how a children's movement operated in the town over the period of almost a hundred years, the study contributes not only to the existing knowledge of Preston but will also benefit those whose studies cover other areas of temperance, as well as children's studies and religious studies.

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Appendices

Note on Currency:

Monetary values are expressed in contemporary pre-decimal terms. (£.s.d.) A pound (£) comprised twenty shillings (20s.) A shilling comprised 12 pence (12d.) Following the decimalisation of currency in Britain, one shilling equalled five pence, therefore one shilling and sixpence (1s.6d.) is the equivalent of seven and one half pence of decimal currency operating today.

NB: It was usual to spell the word 'teetotaler' with one 'l' in the nineteenth century. The thesis follows this form of spelling where it is used in the title or sources mentioned in the thesis. Otherwise it will appear with two 'l's.

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Abbreviations

BFTS	British and Foreign Temperance Society
LBHU	London Band of Hope Union
LCBHU	Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union
PBHU	Preston Band of Hope Union
PDBHU	Preston and District Band of Hope Union
IOR	Independent Order of Rechabites
GD “Sons”	Grand Division Sons of Temperance
UKA	United Kingdom Alliance
UKBHU	United Kingdom Band of Hope Union
CETS	Church of England Temperance Society
ABBHS	Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Band of Hope Society
GTBRM	Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Movement
LTCCB	Liquor Traffic Central Control Board
PBRGTU	Preston Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to baby George Moore who died on 6 October 2013 aged just ten months and one day, having succumbed to sepsis cause by meningitis.

During the course of this research my brother John Henry Almond passed away on the 28 March 2015, aged 64. 'Our John's' fortitude and bravery as he faced a debilitating terminal illness inspired me to complete the thesis.

INTRODUCTION

Aim of the Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to add knowledge to the history of Preston in Lancashire by examining how the Band of Hope, a children's teetotal movement, operated in Preston within the framework of two elements that formed part of the town's character during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Facets of Preston's history have been well documented by a number of historians and a consensus of views reveals that 1) Preston's religious make-up distinguishes the town from other similar sized urban conurbations and 2) Preston is recognised for its prominence in temperance history.[1] The Band of Hope sprang out of the temperance movement and these aspects of Preston's history make the town a suitable locality to study the history of a children's organisation that was the biggest of its kind, apart from the Sunday school movement, for much of the nineteenth century. Preston's religious make-up and its importance in temperance history form two strands of a thread that draw this study of the history of the Band of Hope in Preston together. Each of these developing strands ebb and flow throughout the course of the study period but never completely disappear.

From the outset, the Band of Hope movement that grew as a result of meetings held in Leeds in 1847, and which later developed its own organisational structure, was largely Nonconformist, but it was non-denominational. It was open to children of both sexes and membership was based upon taking a pledge of total abstinence from drinking alcohol. Temperance organisations that belonged to the Church of England or the Roman Catholic Church, which established a Band of Hope for their children, were managed under the aegis of the respective church, and were not affiliated to the main Band of Hope movement. Band of Hope work carried out by all the main church bodies in Preston is relevant to the thesis argument. Research for the study has uncovered evidence that despite periods of discord between religious groups in

[1] See for example D Hunt, *A History of Preston*, Carnegie Publishing, (1992, revised in 2009). B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, Keele University Press, (1994), P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit: Sectarianism, Society and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns,* The University of Toronto Press, (1983).

Preston,[2] a surprising level of collective co-operation existed between them in their desire to instil teetotal values in children.

The aspect of Preston's religious make-up

There was no overriding religious hegemony in Preston and the town's population consisted of a higher proportion of Roman Catholics, with Catholics having lived in the area prior to the influx of migrants from Ireland due to the impact of famine in the mid-to-late 1840s.[3] Approximately half of Preston's population belonged to the Established Church and the other half was divided fairly evenly between Roman Catholic and Nonconformist communities. There was no disernable change in Preston's religious mix during the period under review but one acknowledges that religious observance nationally, as well as in Preston, may have weakened as theories in the fields of science and evolution developed. Nevertheless, it is reiterated that the name 'Band of Hope' came to represent any children's teetotal society irrespective of religious affiliation, or none. A church or Sunday school of any denomination, or a secular temperance society, could form a teetotal society for children, and call it a 'Band of Hope'.

The aspect of Preston's Prominence in Temperance History

Preston's prominence in temperance history stemmed largely through the endeavours of Joseph Livesey who promoted total abstinence from alcohol, (or teetotalism), rather than moderate 'anti-spirits' temperance, as the only safe method which would combat habitual drinking. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw concerns about drunkenness, which had existed prior to that time, increase and the impact of industrialisation did nothing to quell fears regarding drunken behaviour and its deteriorating effect on society.[4] The variable nature of the textile industry could add to stress in families if a drinking habit acquired during periods of prosperity continued during times of depression in the trade. The temperance movement grew out of such fears and efforts were made by the upper and middle-classes to moderate drinking

[2] D Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 222.
[3] M Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics, The Labour Movement in Preston 1880-1940*, Cambridge University Press, (1987), 110/111. P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit,* 52.
[4] J Nicholls, "Drink The British Disease?" *History Today,* (January 2010), 11. Nicholls states that the first licensing Act, to quell troubles caused by drunkenness in alehouses, was passed in 1552.

patterns within the working classes. The passing of the Beer Act in 1830 spurred Livesey's efforts to spread the total abstinence message to other areas outside Preston. To reinforce his belief Livesey and six other men had signed the first teetotal pledge in 1832 and the historical significance of this event led to Livesey being described as 'the father of teetotalism' and Preston being mythologized as the birthplace of teetotalism and the home of 'The Seven Men of Preston'.[5] The prominence of Preston in this regard was acknowledged one hundred years later in 1932 when the centenary of the Temperance Movement was celebrated, not only in Preston but throughout the country.[6]*

As these two aspects are part and parcel of Preston's history, other characteristics of the town that are relevant to the thesis deserve one's attention

Preston

Preston was unique in its social structure and economic base. Since the Middle Ages Preston's proximity to the Fylde and improvements made to communications networks in the eighteenth century established it as a trading, marketing and legal centre, as well there being a history of linen manufacture in the district. Prior to 1782, the population had never exceeded 6,000. By 1801, the population of Preston had reached nearly 12,000, almost double that of nearly twenty years earlier and by 1831 it stood at just over 33,000.[7] Michael Anderson, who selected Preston, and the year 1851, as the focus of his seminal study on family structure, stated that the population of Preston doubled again between 1831 and 1851, which was then 5.7 times greater

[5] William Livesey, *Fifty Years Ago, Early Preston Teetotalism*, 3, Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

[6] An early reference to 'the Seven Men of Preston' is contained in *The Preston Youthful Teetotalers of 1832-34 and the signing of the first Teetotal Pledge in England,* published by G H Graham, Temperance Worker Office, Livesey Collection. Several references to 'the Seven Men of Preston' are contained in the Centenary Celebrations of the Temperance Movement papers housed at the Institute of Alcohol Studies. There are several references to "the Seven Men of Preston" in issues of *The* P*reston Guardian* newspaper, from 5 September 1932, through to 17 December 1932**.** * The words 'Temperance Society' or 'Temperance Movement' came to refer to societies that were identified as being teetotal. This occurred within a few years from when teetotalism overtook the moderate 'anti-spirits' stance of the early moderation movement.

[7] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit;* 37. Also E N Marks, *The Guild Guide to Preston*, John Heywood, Manchester, (1882), 12.

than it had been in 1801.[8] Whilst Preston had been an important market town, with a port, the cotton trade had gradually come to dominate as a result of the industrial revolution. [9] This brought dramatic physical and social changes to Preston much as it did to other northern urban areas.

Within Preston's urban structure there was little residential segregation between the classes. Residence was based on occupation rather than status and except for a top elite, who continued to live in the heart of Preston in the affluent Winckley Square area, until well into the nineteenth century, Preston was characterised by a mixing of all social groups. It was the continued presence of an urban elite which made Preston both a place of recreation and day-to-day living and this led those more affluent members of society to become active in charity work as this would not only help the poor but would also assist in keeping their joint residential areas safer.[10] The growth of large urban populations during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries was accompanied by an increase in the foundation and prosperity of voluntary societies that were concerned with a variety of activities, largely powered by a middle-class elite without reference to government aid or authority.[11] Temperance societies were part of this voluntary movement initiated by middle-class interests until temperance was overtaken by teetotalism which aligned itself more with working-class values of self-improvement. [12]

The working-classes in Preston, as in the rest of Lancashire, increasingly came to be employed in the cotton industry. By 1851 almost 17 per cent of men aged over 20 in Lancashire were engaged in cotton manufacture. Some 38 per cent of women, who represented 15 per cent of adult employees generally, were employed in the cotton

[8] M Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge University Press (1971), 33.
[9] See for example, A Andrew, "The working Class and Education in Preston, 1830-1870, A study of Social Relations," PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, (1987), 19. P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit*, 37. M Anderson, *Family Structure,* 24. D Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 159. Hunt concurs with Anderson in identifying Preston's population in 1851 as 69,361. By 1911, it had reached 117,000, see A J Berry, *The Story of Preston,* Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, London, (undated but printed after 1911), 223.
[10] M Savage, *The Dynamics of Working Class Politics,* 102/103.
[11] R J Morris, "Voluntary Society and Urban Elites, 1780-1850", *History Journal*, Volume 26, No. 1, (March 2983), 96. M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1896,* Cambridge University Press, (2004), 2.
[12] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals,* 150.

trade.[13] Technological inventions led to the introduction of machinery and the factory system gradually replaced the workshop. Both methods used child labour which has also been debated by historians. During the first half of the nineteenth century a number of Factory Acts were introduced that prohibited or limited the age and length of hours that children could be employed, and in 1844 a half time system stated that children aged from eight to thirteen could be employed for six and a half hours per day provided they also received schooling for three hours.[14] The use of child labour identifies the fluidity of childhood experience. Nigel Goose and Katrina Honeyman argue that "working children were the *norm*" where they worked in both agricultural and factories and in diverse locations.[15] That regional diversity existed is pointed out by Peter Kirby where he appraises Cunningham's article in relation to child labour.[16]

In relation to Preston, young people had similar experiences to older people of labour/capital relations and these were important in their lives. They even, to some extent, had families to support since all contributions to the family economy were essential.[17] Many of these young people joined trade unions, and working-class collective activity often involved all age groups and both sexes.[18] Preston's unique political situation during the 1830s encouraged the beginning of a radical working-class total abstinence movement that in effect replaced the moderation 'anti-spirits' platform established by middle-class interests.[19]

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[13] M Anderson, *Family Structure,* 22.

[14] M Winstanley, Ed., *Working Children in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire*, Lancashire County Books, (1995), 34. The earlier 1833 Factory Act, as well as forbidding or restricting child labour in certain trades, made the provision of two hours education per day, six days a week obligatory. See J Lawson, H Silver, Eds., *A Social History of Education in England*, Routledge, reprint, (2007), 267.

[15] N Goose, K Honeyman, Eds., "Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England, 1750-1914." Ashgate, (2013), in B B Peterson, *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth,* 7(3), (Fall 2014), 559-560.

[16] P Kirby, "How Many Children Were 'Unemployed in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century England?", *Past and Present,* No. 187 (May 2005), 201. Here Kirby uses the 1851 Census to show the level of variation that existed among child occupations. These show that for males aged 10-14 in England and Wales, collective agricultural trades occupied more children than in other industries, including coal mining and cotton manufacture. Cunningham argues, albeit in the decades prior to 1851, that "under-and-unemployment" was more prevalent, especially in agricultural areas. See H Cunningham, "The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c.1680-1851", *Past and Present,* No. 126 (February 1990), 149.

[17] A Andrew, "The Working Class and Education", 15. J Humphries, *Children and child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, (2010), 26.

[18] A Andrew, "The Working Class and Education", 15.

[19] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 150-151.

Scope of the Study

Despite its longevity, the Band of Hope has until recent years never received the attention of historians to the same extent as the temperance movement, a fact recorded by eminent temperance historian, Brian Harrison.[20] Likewise, despite Preston's role in temperance being well documented, little acknowledgement has been given to the part played by the Band of Hope operation in the town, which this thesis proposes to address. The time period covered by the study presents difficulties of scale to surmount but the choice of a particular location and the decision to focus on the two aspects of the Preston's history mentioned, allows the research to provide details of the operation of the Band of Hope that took place in Preston from the formation of the movement in 1847 to the onset of World War Two, and place them within an historical narrative. This is aided by reference to the period prior to 1847 when teetotal societies for young people, which preceded the Band of Hope, began to develop in Preston and other parts of the country.

The thesis will embody themes that relate to the movement including the role of the Sunday school and the shifting nature of the lives of children in relation to work, education and recreation. In the wider context the thesis will add to existing literature by identifying the role played by the Band of Hope in encouraging religious co-operation, the utilisation of education and advances in science and technology, with the aim of making children aware of the benefits associated with total abstention from alcohol. As a children's movement, the Band of Hope formed a connection with the Sunday school, a theme which the study will take on board.

Themes with Selected Sources

The Sunday School

The Sunday school played an important role in the Band of Hope's history.[21] The connection between the Band of Hope and Sunday schools continued to a greater or lesser degree throughout the period under review. However, during the inter-war years when the Band of Hope began to wane, one causal factor was that the Band of

[20] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 179.
[21] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 179. Also L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England,* St Martin's Press, (1988), 138.

Hope had to compete with other children's societies operated by Sunday schools as well as an increase in other leisure activities that engaged the attention of young people. The works of Phillip Cliff, K D M Snell and K S Inglis provide valuable information relating to the Sunday school. Cliff provides extensive coverage of the movement, referring to the way it adapted to meet the needs of children. Particularly, his inclusion of numerical data on the growth of the Sunday school allows its development and success to be measured alongside that of the Band of Hope.[22] Snell refers to the geographical and social implications of the Sunday school, its humanising effects on the poor and the provision of secular instruction to the new working class in the factories.[23] The Band of Hope embraced and then developed many of the Sunday schools' attributes from its inception in 1847. K S Inglis used the 1851 Religious Census to identify patterns of religious worship in England and Wales. The results of his work could be interpreted in different ways, which may limit their value as a source. Of interest however is Inglis' suggestion that the low number of adults who attended worship on a particular day did not extend to Sunday school attendance. [24]

Local studies of the Sunday school movement provide information relating to Sunday schools operated by Church of England, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist Sunday schools in Preston which reveal that the distinctive nature of Preston's religious make-up extended, as one would expect, to its Sunday schools.[25] Cartmell's work indicates that Preston was one of the first towns to establish a Band of Hope in connection with a Church of England Temperance society in 1854, confirmed by a local press report at the time.[26] For a movement that was largely associated with Nonconformity, one argues that Preston's distinctive religious make-up encouraged the forming of this society. As a local source that focuses on Preston, Cartmell's account will benefit the

[22] P Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England, 1780-1980*, National Christian Education Council, (1986).
[23] K D M Snell, "The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: child labour, denominational control and working-class culture", *Past and Present*, 164 (1), (1999), 123/124.
[24] K S Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship in 1851", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 11, No, 1 (April 1960), 77-78.
[25] T R Flintoff, *Preston Churches and Chapels*, Carnegie Press, (1985). H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools, A Brief sketch of the Churches and Sunday schools with a short account of the Sunday School Movement in Preston, and a few statistics in connection with the various Day Schools*, Snape, (1892).
[26] H Cartmell, *Preston Churches and Sunday Schools*, 97. *Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, 1 July 1854.

thesis but a limitation is that his association with the church he mentions, St. Mary's, questions the partiality of his work. On this occasion, his assertions are corroborated by the local press.

Children and childhood: Perceptions

Perceptions of childhood have changed over time and academic opinion in relation to childhood continues to be fluid. Generally, during the mid to late twentieth century, emphasis was placed on the physical, and to a lesser extent, the emotional experience of being a child whereas current thinking often gives weight to the psychological causes associated with children's behaviour. From the 1960s there was a burgeoning of interest in children and childhood by historians in which different views were expressed that culminated in a reversal of opinion on some central issues.[27]

Phillippe Aries initiated debates on childhood that have continued to provoke discussion.[28] Essentially, in the Middle Ages, extending towards the beginning of the eighteenth century children were mixed with adults in the community, sharing in the work and play of their companions, old and young alike and from around the age of seven children increasingly became the natural companion of, and were treated in law, as adults.[29] Hugh Cunningham offers a similar line of thought in some areas to that of Aries. He remarks that the medieval world labelled the first seven years of life as *infantia* where children were brought up by their mothers with kindness and a degree of freedom, a view that was supported by Colin Heywood. The second stage was *pueritia* which continued up to the age of 12 for girls and 14 for boys.[30]

During the course of the eighteenth century scholarly definitions of childhood have differed but the age of seven was again acknowledged as being one when children had a degree of independence. Girls could be married at seven but the marriage could not be consummated until the age of 12, the age of discretion for girls, whilst 14 was

[27] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, Longman, (1995), 4.
[28] For a critique of Aries' work from 1500 see for example, H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*. Also C Heywood, *A History of Childhood, Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*, Polity Press, (2001).
[29] P Aries, *Centuries of Childhood,* Jonathan Cape (1962), Source taken from the translation from the French by Robert Baldick, Vintage Books, 394-396, 412. See also C Heywood, *A History of Childhood,* 11. See also J Lawson, H Silver, A Social history of Education in England, 105. This edition states that at the age of seven common law allowed children to be punished the same way as adults, including hanging.
[30] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 34/35. C Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 19.,

recognised as the age of discretion for boys.[31] Whilst one can identify a link between the stages of *infantia* and *pueritia* and the ages of discretion mentioned above, one recognises that the situation was always fluid and children could remain as children or mature into adults at any time throughout their teenage years.[32] Nevertheless, scholars have often considered "the eighteenth century as the period in which the idea of childhood crystallised."[33]

Towards the end of the eighteenth century attempts to separate childhood from other ages arose with the recognition that the child needed a period of separation before he was allowed to join the adult world. Schooling was at the core of this concept of separation and as schooling gradually spread and was extended, childhood lasted longer.[34] The idea of family began to assume a moral and spiritual function which inspired new feelings towards children. This moral ascendancy of the family originated as a middle-class phenomenon, rather than from upper or lower class influences.[35]

For the majority of the population education centred around a gradual initiation into the world of adult work, either through apprenticeships or by carrying out tasks within the home or on the land. When one turns again to the end of the eighteenth century Cunningham argues that schooling began to replace apprenticeships, which separated children in the second stage of childhood from adults. As teachers imposed discipline the relationship between childhood and schooling generated a separate world of childhood.[36]

Within the above evidence, one recognises that the ages of seven and fourteen emerge as turning points in the lives of children. This is one reason why the Band of Hope, once it became fully established as a national movement, allowed children from the age of seven to enrol as members.[37] Membership extended to the age of sixteen,

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[31] J Lawson, H Silver, A Social history of Education, 105. K Gleadle, "The Juvenile Enlightenment: British Children and Youth During the French Revolution", *Past and Present,* (2016) Volume233 (1), 145.
[32] K Gleadle, "The Juvenile Enlightenment, 145.
[33] K Gleadle, "The Juvenile Enlightenment", 145.
[34] P Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, 412/413. H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 6/7.
[35] P Aries, *Centuries of Childhood,* 413/414.
[36] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 34/35. C Heywood, *A History of Childhood*, 19.
[37] For example, the rules for Bands of Hope as recommended by the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, Annual Report 1 April 1889 to 31 March 1890, stipulated the age of seven for membership, 48.

arguably in recognition of the fact that as Sunday school was not compulsory and many youngsters stopped attending around the age of fourteen,[38] the Band of Hope would continue to provide moral guidance to juveniles as they entered more fully into adult society. The age at which children entered work was fluid, progressing upwards during the course of the nineteenth century, and often correlated with the economic needs of the family.[39] There were no hard-and-fast definitions of childhood, but Walvin argued that by 1914 children were entering more fully into the adult world which could for many children be around the age of 14. [40]

Children Lives: work; education; leisure time

From the late eighteenth century with early industrialisation, to the year when the Band of Hope was founded in 1847, childhood for working-class children, including children as young as three, often involved them in the world of work. As industrialisation increased and textiles moved from home production to the factory children were considered a key component of the workforce.[41]

Children's involvement in work, education and leisure differed according to which social class a child belonged.[42] Whilst the Band of Hope was by no means exclusive, the majority of children who attended were from a working-class background.[43] The Band of Hope was for children of both sexes but Stephanie Olsen argues that from the

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The membership age was not enforced in all Bands of Hope and some individual Bands allowed children to attend from a younger age. Membership was of course based on signing the Teetotal Pledge.

[38] J Livesey, "Remarks on the Present State of Sunday Schools", Preston (1829), 6. In this early work on the Sunday school Livesey lamented that very few children entered or remained after the age of 12 or 14.

[39] J Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge University Press, (2010), 26.

[40] J A Walvin, *A Child's World, A social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914*, Penguin Books, (1982), 12/13.

[41] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 87. Here Cunningham states that John Locke had advised government that working schools be established for parish children from as young as the age of three, so that they could be instructed in the textile industries.

[42] H Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood.* Also *Children and Childhood,* Chapter Six. P Horn, *Children's Work and Welfare 1780-1890,* Cambridge University Press (1994). J Walvin, *A Child's world*. In the extensive time period covered by Walvin he covers the growth in child population, Sunday schools and education, including ragged schools, workhouse schools and later the introduction of youth organisations.

[43] L. Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* p.147. Also Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, First published by Manchester University Press (1971) p.152.

1880s a model of masculinity was being used to promote Christian endeavour. [44] Boys' Clubs were introduced to provide a measure of order to the lives of youths who would otherwise idle their time away on street corners.[45] Melanie Tebbutt develops the theme of masculine expectations through mention of the interwar expansion of Boys' Clubs.[46] As Boys' Clubs were designed to cater for boys aged 14 to 18, they crossed with the older age level of Band of Hope membership which was 16. The prodigious press coverage of Boys' Clubs in Preston during the inter-war years presents a legitimate reason to consider whether they posed a threat to Band of Hope influence in Preston at this time.

At the same time, the late Victorian and Edwardian period through to the commencement of the Second World War presented increasing opportunities for children of both sexes outside the world of work, including the introduction of compulsory education from the 1870s, increasing leisure facilities and the forming of other children's organisations.[47] The Band of Hope, as well as the Sunday school, managed to cope successfully with competition for children's attention until the inter-war period. The 1920s offered new forms of entertainments to young people, particularly the popularity of the cinema, the music hall and dance halls which replaced the social life provided by the church.[48]

Selected sources relating to Temperance History including the Band of Hope

A number of historians have debated temperance history, each presenting nuanced views that cover social, economic, political, cultural, educational and legal aspects of temperance.

The pre-eminent temperance historian is of course Brian Harrison, whose research into temperance history cannot be overstated. His seminal book *Drink and the Victorians*

[44] S Olsen," Raising Fathers, Raising Boys: Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914", (September 2008), 203.
[45] M Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, *Youth, Leisure and Identify in the Inter-War Years*, Manchester University Press, (2012), 23.
[46] M Tebbutt, *Being Boys,* 27.
[47] H Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990*, Cambridge University Press, (1997), 82.
[48] M Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, 23.

provides a detailed discussion of the temperance question which it places in its historical context. The book covers all aspects of the drink question in England from 1815 to 1872, as well as untangling the complex landscape of early Victorian temperance. Harrison considers views on drink within English society; the origins of total abstinence, including issues that caused society to move from a toleration of temperance to the acceptance of teetotalism; and the connection between temperance and religion. Particular aspects within Brian Harrison's book are of specific value for this research including the way he scrutinises the importance of working-class leadership within the teetotal movement as temperance opened up opportunities to the working-class that would have been inconceivable in earlier decades. Teetotalism offered a means of self-improvement. At the same time reformed drunkards were abandoning former friendships and the popular recreation that the drinking place had to offer. Temperance societies were designed to provide an alternative venue for companionable social intercourse as, for many working-class drinkers, signing the pledge was akin to undergoing a religious conversion, which they perceived would change their lives.[49] A pertinent aspect of Brian Harrison's work is his reference to Preston and to Joseph Livesey in terms of the political, social and economic situation of Preston in the 1830s. Preston was shaking off its aristocratic patronage at a time when Nonconformity was gaining strength. The buoyancy of the local economy in 1830s Preston was impressive at a time when teetotal zeal was high.[50] Teetotalism was also promoted by the use of tracts.[51] Joseph Livesey's use of tracts provided a means for visiting the homes of the poor which he saw as a means of social engagement with those on the fringes of respectable society, a point he emphasised in evidence to the Select Committee into Drunkenness in 1834.[52] Harrison suggests that Livesey had been a somewhat neglected figure in nineteenth century

[49] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 50.
[50] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 112.
[51] B Harrison, 'Drunkards and Reformers, Early Victorian Temperance Tracts' *History Today,* (1963) 13, 178-185.
[52] PP. 1834(559) Report from the Select Committee Enquiry into Drunkenness, Minutes of Evidence, Joseph Livesey Evidence, 89-96.

history.[53] Since this view was expressed, Livesey's work has been more widely recognised by other temperance historians.

The strength of Harrison's work is that he offers a thorough background to the reasons for temperance becoming a viable and influential movement, which provides the context for other temperance researchers to build upon. A limitation in respect of the thesis is that his book only covers the period up to 1872, with a brief reference to the remainder of the nineteenth century.

One aspect that is of value is Harrison's reference to Joseph Livesey's assertion that the rearing of children to sobriety should not be at the expense of reclaiming parents.[54]* This is a reference to the Band of Hope, which Harrison commented at the time of his book:-

> "...has yet to be written, The official history – R Tayler, *The Hope of the Race* (1946) is a mere brochure...Lilian Shiman's, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England* (1988), Chapter six, has a fuller discussion of the Band of Hope...[55]

Harrison's mention of the Band of Hope is brief but underlines the thesis as one that contributes to historical knowledge of the Band of Hope and which also adds a further dimension to the history of Preston.

Lilian Shiman devotes a chapter of her book *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England,* to the Band of Hope.[56] This offers a cultural view of the movement and is essentially a reprint of an earlier article by Shiman, under the title, 'The Band of Hope movement: respectable recreation for working-class children'.[57] The usefulness of her work for this thesis is how she illustrates the differences between the provincial Band of Hope organisations in the north to those in the London area, during the early days of the movement. The working-class self-help principle was stronger in the north than in the south, and socially, many working-class children benefited from membership of the Band of Hope, not least in that it provided a stepping stone to respectability and

[53] B Harrison, 'Drunkards and Reformers' 179.
[54] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 178. *Joseph Livesey was in favour of Bands of Hope, but he felt that their good work might be undone by drinking influences in the home. See "Bands of Home and the Care of Children" which contains a tract by Joseph Livesey "Oh! Save the Children!", Livesey Collection.
[55] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 179.
[56] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, (1988).
[57] L Shiman, 'The Band of Hope movement: respectable recreation for working-class children', *Victorian Studies,* September, (1973), 49-74.

produced a new aristocratic working-class with which they became associated.[58] A limitation of Shiman's work in respect of this study is that she too only covers the nineteenth century. Her view that temperance lost it way from the beginning of the First World War is one the thesis will challenge, certainly where the Band of Hope is concerned. The thesis period extends beyond the Victorian Era to take account of the first four decades of the twentieth century when, arguably, the Band of Hope remained largely influential, only gradually beginning to lose its popularity as the 1930s decade commenced.

More recent works on the Band of Hope are provided by Annemarie McAllister, whose research relating to temperance and particularly the Band of Hope, has re-ignited both academic and popular interest in the subject. Among the list of McAllister's growing publications, of particular benefit for the thesis is her use of visual resources to express the dangers associated with the 'demon' drink. McAllister was instrumental in engaging public interest in temperance through the 'Temperance and the Working Class' Project which has been exhibited at a number of locations. Her works on the Band of Hope in a regional context, particularly the north-west is a useful reference point for the thesis to draw upon.[59] McAllister discusses the employment of visual imagery such as the lanternslide and the blackboard to promote the temperance message to young minds.[60] The thesis will show that the Band of Hope maintained its use of visual sources through the changing context of society and cultural climate by adopting the use of new technologies and the changing opportunities enjoyed by children as the twentieth century progressed.

For works that extend the history of temperance into the twentieth century, James Nicholls offers a social, as well as political view. A number of the points he covers are recognised in the thesis. Particularly, Nicholls refers to the social stratification of alcohol that occurred centuries prior to the temperance movement.[61] He considers how temperance pledges reflected the cultural and class differences that existed in

[58] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 150/151.
[59] A McAllister, "The lives and souls of the children; the Band of Hope in the North *West", Manchester Regional History Review*, 22, (2011), 1-8.
[60] A. McAllister, "Picturing the Demon Drink: How Children were Shown Temperance Principles in the Band of Hope", *Visual Resources*, (2012), 309-323.
[61] J Nicholls, "Drink the British Disease?", 10-17.

early temperance history and reiterates that total abstinence from alcohol was not a requisite of early temperance societies.[62] Nicholls' work features in the article "The Pleasure and Problems of Drink", in which he considers that alcohol was the dominant drug of western society over a period of centuries; only with the ascendance of the temperance movement did the perception arise that alcohol could also be a social menace. For some alcohol can be a social pleasure, for others it is a habit-forming drug ultimately leading to social dislocation.[63]

Recent works by Henry Yeomans also extend into the twentieth century and are nuanced towards the legal and cultural aspects of temperance history. These explore the impact of temperance on society, the interaction between moral regulation and the implementation of laws that restricted drinking in the nineteenth and twenties centuries. Yeomans' work focuses on the period of the First World War when he considers the operation of laws introduced by the British government to restrict alcohol intake during the period of conflict.[64] The latter arguably provides one reason to explain why the Band of Hope was able to maintain its influence throughout the war period at a time when the country was suffering great upheaval.

Earlier works relating to the Band of Hope

A number of sponsored publications contribute to knowledge of the Band of Hope. *The Origin of the Band of Hope Movement* by G H Graham provides information relating to juvenile temperance prior to the Band of Hope.[65] *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume,* edited by Frederic Smith adds to Graham's work. It offers details of the input made by churches to temperance work and lists the chronology of the movement's progress to 1897.[66] One is aware that such sponsored sources may contain bias and be partial in

[62] J Nicholls *Politics of Alcohol: a History of the Drink question in England*, Manchester University Press, (2009), 103/104.
[63] A McAllister, J Nicholls, Eds., "The Pleasures and Problems of Drink", *Visual Resources, An International Journal of Documentation*, Volume XXVIII, No. 4, 2012, 283-289.
[64] See H Yeomans, 'What did the British Temperance Movement Accomplish? Attitudes to Alcohol, the Law and Moral Regulation', *Sociology*, 45 (1), (2011), 38-53. T Blackshaw, Ed., H Yeomans, C Critcher, *The Demon Drink: Alcohol and Moral Regulation, Past and Present,* Routledge Handbook of Leisure Studies, (2013), 309. H Yeomans, 'Providentialism, the Pledge and Victorian Hangovers: Investigating Moderate Alcohol Policy in Britain, 1914-1918', *Law, Crime and History*. Volume 1, Issue 1, (2011), 95-107.
[65] G H Graham, *Origin of the Band of Hope Movement,* 4th Edition, (1889), 2/3, Livesey Collection.
[66] F Smith, Ed., *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume,* London (1897), Livesey Collection.

nature. As language style changes over time, the wording they use may appear parochial, but in reflecting the contemporary period they can add richness to the historical narrative.

All the above mentioned selected sources provide welcome contextual evidence in relation to temperance and the Band of Hope, but they do not focus especially on Preston. For evidence of Band of Hope activity in Preston one needs to explore the availability of primary source material.

Primary Sources

Primary sources underpin this thesis. Prior to the official inauguration of the Band of Hope in 1847, a number of publications promoted children's total abstinence from intoxicants and identified a connection between the Band of Hope and the Sunday School.[67] Financial restraints resulted in the closure of the *Band of Hope Journal* in 1853, and readers were encouraged to transfer their patronage to the *Band of Hope Review,* which commenced in 1851 and continued until 1937. The early volumes of the magazine gave advice on how to form and conduct Bands of Hope, which the thesis will draw upon.[68] The *Band of Hope Record,* volumes 1 and 11 from April 1862 to December 1862, also identified a strong connection between Sunday schools and the Band of Hope.

The *Band of Hope Chronicle*, published by the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU) from January 1878, provides details of Band of Hope activities.[69] A useful regular feature of the magazine is the Records of Progress section, giving Bands of Hope throughout the country a platform from which to publish their activities to a wider audience. Some district unions sent in reports of the activities of their affiliated

[67] The *Children's Temperance Magazine,* commenced in 1840. The *Sunday School and Youth's Temperance Journal,* began in 1848 and was by 1850 renamed the *Sunday Scholars and Youth's Temperance Magazine and Band of Hope Journal.* The latter two journals demonstrate a connection between the Band of Hope and Sunday schools, the magazine was renamed the *Band of Hope Journal* in 1852, Livesey Collection,

[68] *Band of Hope Review*, No. 23, (November 1852), 92, Livesey Collection, This provides one example of such advice.

[69] The *Band of Hope Chronicle* was published quarterly and issues that will benefit the research are available in the Livesey Collection for the years 1878 to 1901. The magazine ran until at least 1995 but the intermittent twentieth century issues that are available in the Livesey Collection were published in a very condensed format.

societies on a regular basis that covered several years. Others, such as the Preston union sent in occasional reports, often at times of special local events involving their society. The disparate means by which Band of Hope work was reported resulted in a decision being made not to provide a comparative experiential analysis of the Band of Hope in Preston with one in a similar area, due to the subjective nature of such an endeavour if carried out over the time period covered by the thesis. It was felt that the available data was too inconsistent for such a time series to be undertaken as it might be misleading and present a skewed version of the facts.[70]

The Band of Hope *Onward* magazine, published in Manchester as the organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU), commenced with volume one in July 1865. Monthly issues of the magazine ran until 1910, after which it continued as a magazine for workers, *Workers' Onward,* until 1960. The magazine offered children interesting tales, anecdotes and facts alongside selected songs, music and recitations.[71] A number of local editions of *Onward* were printed and a bound copy of twelve monthly issues focussing on Preston for the year 1892 will benefit the discussion relating to Preston during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Three further sources add to discussion that focuses on Preston: the Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Band of Hope Minute Book, 1884-1900, an extant copy of a monthly magazine called *Upward,* named as 'the organ of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union' dated November 1895, and a handwritten version of the Church of England Temperance Society Ashton-on-Ribble Minute Books , 1903-1908.[72]

[70] The provision of information regarding Band of Hope events and its operation in Band of Hope publications or local newspapers is dependent upon a number of factors, including the zeal of Band of Hope secretaries in relating details of activities; or may be more prevalent at times when a Band of Hope was enjoying particular success or associated with an anniversary in the locality. Such provision does not extend over a period that would allow a meaningful analysis to take place. A Band of Hope may have been a very active society but not submit details for publication, do so only for a short period of time, or intermittently. For example, between 1848 and 1851 the Sunday School and Youths' Temperance Journal was concentrated almost entirely upon activities in Bolton, with one reference to Wigan and one to Preston. A record of Preston's Band of Hope activities appeared regularly in the *Band of Hope Chronicle* during the period that Charles Hawkins was the Band of Hope secretary in the late 1890s, more so than at any other time, which will be discussed in a later chapter in the body of the thesis.

[71] A McAllister, "Onward: How a temperance magazine for children used material strategies to survive and flourish", *Victorian Periodicals Review,* 48/1 (Spring 2015): 42-66.

[72] Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Band of Hope Minute Book (1884-1900), Lancashire Archives, (BPR ACC5458).

The annual reports of the UKBHU and those of the LCBHU are a valuable source of information. The UKBHU was established as the overarching union, followed by regional and district unions. The thesis will use data extracted from these annual reports to demonstrate how Band of Hope numbers fluctuated at local and regional level at the different periods of its history. In addition, the LCBHU Minute Books provide evidence of regional activity with data relating to Preston and its locality.

There are strengths and weaknesses attached to the above mentioned primary source material. They provide a first-hand account of events that were taking place at the time. Somewhat limiting is the fact that there are no continuous Band of Hope publications or reports available for research that cover the time scale of the thesis and gaps occur in the availability of issues of these publications. To some extent these can be overcome by reference to other material that is available and which covers the same period.[73] The *Band of Hope Chronicle*, which published progress reports sent in by unions and societies, commenced in 1878, almost thirty years after the inception of the movement. There are no available copies after 1901, apart from one in the 1930s where the format is much reduced from that of former issues. Again, a major consideration that one has to take into consideration is the subjective nature and lack of comparability offered by these publications. One is on firmer ground with statistical evidence but one has to remember that numbers might not be presented accurately; what is claimed might not necessarily be correct. Statistical data is useful to the thesis as it allows one to provide trend patterns that reveal how Band of Hope membership rose (or fell), over a given period of its history

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ONWARD - A Band of Hope, Temperance and Family Magazine, Harris Library Community History section, Preston, (H25BAN). This publication contains a special supplement at the back of the magazine reporting one year's activities which took place in Preston for the year 1892, 315-348.
UPWARD, The organ of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union, No. 11, (November 1895), Lancashire Archives, (PR3081/14/44).
Church of England Temperance Society, Ashton-on-Ribble Minute Book, (1903/1908), Lancashire Archives, (PR3279/14/3 and PR3279/14/4).

[73] A ten year gap in the availability of United Kingdom Band of Hope Union reports from 1896-1905 can be overcome somewhat by reference to the regional Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union Minute Books covering that period.

Contemporary local newspapers, such as the *Preston Guardian* and the *Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser* are an important source for this thesis.[74] The Preston Guardian was published by Joseph Livesey and provided him with a means to promote anti-Corn Law policy, his views on the ills of the Poor Law as well as total abstinence advocacy.[75] The *Preston Guardian* seems an obvious choice for Band of Hope material but scrutiny of both the above newspapers reveals that the *Preston Chronicle* was equally diligent in providing Band of Hope information; in some cases they mirror each other. The *Preston Chronicle* was a liberal newspaper and it may be that Livesey was content on occasion to leave Band of Hope matters generally to that newspaper, allowing him to devote his publication to adult temperance matters and to other reform issues in which he was involved. When he sold the paper to George Toulmin in 1859, the evidence points to there being no discernible difference in the frequency in which these newspapers reported Band of Hope activity in Preston.

Historians acknowledge the worth of newspaper reports in providing a window on the past, despite a degree of partiality or selectivity that such reports may display. There may be a tendency (as will be demonstrated in the thesis) to "overplay the good and downgrade the bad" to add prestige to the local area.[76] Nevertheless, local newspapers are a useful means of corroborating dates or identifying a sequence of events, or they provide a description of contemporary life.[77] They also help to corroborate 'official' Band of Hope sources and provide a record of Band of Hope activity in Preston and surrounding districts that is not available elsewhere.

Accounts of the celebrations of the Preston Guild Merchants offer primary evidence that contributes to the thesis. Preston was unique in holding its Guild celebrations once every twenty years; the term "once every Preston Guild" when used colloquially, refers to something that happens very infrequently. Significantly, Preston Guild

[74] With regard to this thesis, digitized copies of the *Lancashire Chronicle and Preston Advertiser* were accessed through the British Library online service extending to the end of 1893. Coverage for the whole period of the thesis for the *Preston Guardian* was accessed in microfilm format in the Community History Section of the Harris Library in Preston.

[75] A Hobbs, "Reading the local paper: Social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900", PhD Thesis, University of Central Lancashire, (2010), 51. Joseph Livesey sold the *Preston Guardian* to George Toulmin, a total abstinence advocate, in 1859.

[76] A Hobbs, "Reading the local paper", 153.

[77] S Tate, "The professionalisation of sports journalism, c.1850 to 1939, with particular reference to the career of James Catton", PhD Thesis, (2007), 3.

records reveal the religious structure of the town. The records for the Guild celebrations that took place in 1862 and 1882 identify the number of scholars and teachers attached to Church of England, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist churches that marched in the procession of churches during these Guild years. [78] The strength of these records is that as a rare event in Preston's calendar, the details recorded would be presented with a degree of accuracy. They reveal that Sunday school scholars provided the non-denominational Band of Hope, with the potential for a large pool of children from which to draw as well as providing details of the religious allegiance of these children.

Structure of the thesis

This study of the Band of Hope with specific reference to Preston develops two main arguments that have particular relevance to the town. These are 1) that Preston's religious make-up distinguishes the town from other similar sized urban conurbations and 2) that Preston is prominent in temperance history.

Chapter one will consider the social and political landscape within which temperance advocacy developed to identify how the temperance movement, out of which the Band of Hope sprang, came into being. As moderate "anti-spirits" temperance was overtaken by total abstinence advocacy, it will refer more locally to the politico-socio situation of Preston during the 1830s and how far radical elements operating in the town influenced young people to be the instigators of total abstinence from alcohol at a time when many of Preston's adult temperance devotees favoured the moderate 'anti-spirits' pledge.

Chapter two will give consideration to prevailing concepts of childhood and how far these led to the forming in 1847 of a national children's teetotal movement under the collective name 'Band of Hope'. It will identify how within twenty years this movement developed from a few societies into a growing network of societies that formed district and regional unions that ultimately came under the umbrella of a United Kingdom Band of Hope organisation.

[78] D Longworth, *Celebration of the Preston Guild Merchant of 1862*, Longworth Brothers, Friargate, Preston. (1862). See also E N Marks, *The Guild Guide to Preston.*

The purpose of chapter three is to consider the methods that the Band of Hope used to enable it to maintain its appeal, having grown to become a nationally recognised children's movement, through to the 1870s. It will explore how the Band of Hope adapted these methodologies in the wake of new opportunities provided by developing innovations in technology and improving transport links. The bearing these had on the Band of Hope throughout the country and more locally in Preston will be considered within the discussion.

Chapter four will examine two elements that surfaced during the second half of the nineteenth century. One was Gospel Temperance which became associated with the Blue Ribbon Movement to form the Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Movement, and which appealed to the emotions. The second, scientific temperance teaching in day schools occurred largely as a result of the gradual introduction of mandatory elementary education into the country from the 1870s. It was based purely on scientific knowledge without reference to religious or moral persuasion. Both these schemes contributed to increasing an awareness of the benefits of teetotal advocacy in adults and children, to the advantage of the Band of Hope nationally as well as to Preston.

The purpose of chapter five is to use evidence relating to recruitment endeavours carried out in the 1890s, which were known as 'Million-More' schemes, to identify how they portray the work of the Band of Hope when carried out in an atmosphere of confidence that Band of Hope influence was on the rise. By giving regard to the involvement of the Band of Hope in Preston in these endeavours, the chapter will identify how far the town reflected the opportunities presented, as well as any difficulties experienced, by the wider Band of Hope during the 1890s and the first decades of the twentieth century.

Chapter six will consider the changing nature of society following the impact of the First World War in the light of knowledge that the Band of Hope was able to maintain its membership throughout the war and for much of the inter-war period. It will focus on the extent to which the difficult social conditions, but also the opportunities provided by leisure outlets impacted upon the Band of Hope operation, particularly in

Preston. It will assess how far Preston's prominence in temperance history as well as the loosening of religious ties affected the operation of the Band of Hope movement in the town. Attention will be paid to how the national Band of Hope fared as it had to compete with other children's organisations, leisure activities and the challenge to religious authority that were occurring within society.

The concluding chapter will draw from the evidence presented in the thesis to identify the importance of understanding how and why Preston's religious mix as well as its prominence in temperance history affected the Band of Hope operation in the town to a level that arguably would never have been foreseen by earlier teetotal advocates. By making Preston the focus of the investigation, the thesis will identify a previously unwritten narrative of the history of the Band of Hope in a local setting which provides fruitful lines of enquiry of value to those whose work encompasses other historical genres.

CHAPTER ONE - JUVENILE TEMPERANCE WORK PRIOR TO THE BAND OF HOPE

Introduction

When the Band of Hope was inaugurated in Leeds in 1847, the occasion did not mark the beginning of total abstinence advocacy in children. Rather, it was the culmination of events that stemmed in part from philanthropic endeavour during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries aimed at easing working-class lives affected by the acceleration in industrial activity and a burgeoning factory system, and in recognition that industrialisation caused dislocation and changes that impacted upon the social structure of the country, particularly the working-classes.

Temperance advocacy, located within the sphere of middle-class moral reform voluntary action was part of this philanthropic effort and it included juveniles as well as older adults. Drunkenness affected all levels of society. It could disrupt domestic harmony in the homes of all classes, and could prove disastrous if allowed to impact upon the economic viability of working-class families.

In urban conurbations many young working people were members of temperance associations. Moreover, many of the younger generation were instrumental in instigating juvenile societies that advocated total abstinence in place of the more moderate temperance 'anti-spirits' pledge. Preston was no exception and in 1834 a number of young people in Preston formed a juvenile total abstinence society within the Preston Temperance Society. The same year two members of this society established a children's total abstinence society within a Preston Sunday school before the term 'Band of Hope' identified such societies under a unifying name.

Against this backdrop this chapter will consider the social and political landscape within which temperance advocacy developed throughout the country during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. More locally, it will refer to the politico-socio situation of Preston during the 1830s and how far radical elements operating in the town influenced young people to be the instigators of total

abstinence from alcohol at a time when the majority of Preston's adult temperance devotees favoured the moderate 'anti-spirits' pledge.

The reasons for temperance

Initially, aristocratic concerns over events that had taken place in revolutionary France, coupled with a rising manufacturing middle-class resulting from the huge industrial transformation, led many upper and middle-class reformers to support voluntary organisations in order to ameliorate the worsening living conditions that many working-class families had to endure as a result of an expanding factory-based working environment. It has to be said that such aims were often based on moral reform initiatives inspired by a sense of duty, coupled with a sense of class consciousness and self-assertion, rather than support for political reform through extending the franchise.[1] Those who supported voluntary effort were often associated with more than one society. Anti-slavery advocates might also support the establishment of mechanics' institutes or Sunday schools.[2] Importantly, many members of voluntary societies and moral reform initiatives collectively applauded temperance and as these societies flourished so temperance sentiment, based on a moderate 'anti-spirit' drinking platform, grew. However, whilst many middle-class reforming groups were connected by, and supported temperance values, they were opposed to teetotalism which they saw as introducing a radical working-class element that considered total abstinence from all alcohol necessary in order to improve the conditions under which they and their working-class contemporaries lived.[3] Significantly for the thesis, teetotalism gained a foothold in Preston through

[1] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886,* Cambridge University Press (2004), 85.

[2] R J Morris, "Voluntary Societies and Urban Elites, 1780-1850", *Historical Journal*, Volume 26, No. 1 (March 1983), 95/96. Morris asserts that whilst voluntary societies had existed prior to 1750, the growth of large and urban populations was accompanied by an increase in the foundation and prosperity of voluntary societies that until 1850 were designed to achieve their aims without reference to government aid or authority. Also L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England,* St Martin's Press, (1981), 1. Shiman points to the contemporaneous and overlapping nature of social reform initiatives that included the temperance movement.

[3] PP. 1834 (559) *Report from the Select Committee Enquiry into Drunkenness with Minutes of Evidence, Volume VIII.* Joseph Livesey argued that abstinence from drinking alcohol would help alleviate poverty rather than the earning of good wages if these were spent on alcohol. B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872,* Keele University Press, (1994 edition), 127.

radical elements operating in the town, which led to the establishment of juvenile teetotal societies and the ultimate forming of a national movement that included children under the banner of the Band of Hope. To understand why this was the case one needs to consider the changing structure of society during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Prior to 1780 population increase was gradual and society was structured by a 'classless hierarchy', loosely defined as aristocratic property owning patrons and the 'lower orders' for whom they took a paternalistic responsibility. This structure was broken after 1780 as a society based on rank gave way to a new class-based order consisting of aristocracy or upper-class, a rising middle-class, and the working-class who supplied the labour to fulfil the demands of technological innovations.[4] Social dislocation and the impact of adapting to new situations in urban and industrial growth affected all levels of classes, principally the middle and lower class sections of society. As an emerging group, the middle-classes were conscious that newly acquired social, economic and political power and privileges were open to threats associated with food scarcity, crime, public disorder as well as working-class labour organisation and radical ideological and political action, an aspect which has particular relevance to Preston. It was in order to maintain authority that many major manufacturers and other professionals supported a growing network of voluntary societies in order to meet the challenges presented by a developing economy.[5] As voluntary societies, they often relied upon subscriptions to obtain funding to remain viable. Typically, money was collected from members, funds were distributed and activities organised by a committee of officers elected by the subscribers at the annual general meeting. Such a process is one that future Band of Hope workers would successfully adopt to support their own organisation's funding strategy.

It was often the case that a higher status member of the voluntary society was elected President. A secretary, and treasurer were selected from those with suitable backgrounds, and a committee which included a number of hard-working

[4] R J Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850*, MacMillan, (1979), 1.
[5] R J Morris, "Voluntary Societies", 99-101.

regular attendees was appointed. This provided a compromise between the middle-class striving for self-respect and independence and the reality of hierarchical society's massive inequalities of wealth and power, even within the middle-class. At the bottom of the hierarchy came the members themselves. The need for financial support, and in many cases for men of property and probity to act as trustees, meant that patronage was welcomed by many members of lower status.[6] At the same time, the moral values of those who respected hierarchy and inherited rank might be different from those that promoted individual autonomy and freedom of contract. The paternalistic nature of an elaborate hierarchy of patrons, vice-presidents, trustees and grades of membership tapped particularly into metropolitan elite culture more so that in northern areas where there developed a culture of social levelling within the different classes in society.

Whilst moral reform voluntarism covered many areas, part of its appeal was the potential to build experimental bridges of co-operation across the chasms of regional, occupational, gender and religious difference.[7] Temperance was a case in point. Moderate 'anti-spirit' temperance societies had helped to bolster hierarchical social respect, whereas total abstinence involved this process of cultural levelling.[8] One sees aspects of a geographical divide between metropolitan elites and northern self-achievement displayed later in the thesis in regard to the Band of Hope. Arguably, the reason why those who supported middle-class 'anti-spirit' drinking opposed the more radical working-class teetotal advocacy was simply due to reluctance on their part to accept a view that might be seen to undermine their authority within the community. Such disinclination is better understood by looking more closely at how 'anti-spirit' moderation and total abstinence advocacy originated.

The Origins of the Moderation 'Anti-Spirits' Temperance Movement

The 'anti-spirit' temperance movement was considered by some to have originated in the textile manufacturing areas of Ulster and Glasgow from where it spread into

[6] R J Morris, "Voluntary Societies", 101/102.
[7] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals,* 3.
[8] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals,* 151. B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians.* See chapters 4 and 5 for a full description of the origins of the Anti-Spirits Movement and the origins of Total Abstinence.

England.[9] 'Anti-spirit' temperance was one of several contemporary attempts to propagate the respectable lifestyle. The Lords' Day Observance Society and the British and Foreign Temperance Society (BFTS) were founded in 1831. The leaders of the London co-ordinated BFTS set out to recruit the sober, respectable and influential Christian portion of the community to a campaign designed to raise public awareness of the social damage caused by the 'uneducated' use of alcohol.[10] The BFTS had as president the Bishop of London with peers and bishops among its vice-president and in 1837 secured the Queen's patronage.[11] As such it typified the metropolitan form of voluntarism based on hierarchy and privilege. Total abstinence attacks on the BFTS reflected a provincial nonconformist distaste for its aristocratic and Anglican structure. The BFTS was closely wedded to the established church and Nonconformists were sometimes embarrassed at having to act under the local vicar. Joseph Livesey complained in 1835 that the Society acted from expediency, seeking to please and secure the patronage and approval of the great instead of the working classes.[12] Here one sees the differences that were exposed between 'anti-spirit' devotees and those who campaigned for total abstinence. The failure of the BFTS to attack beer-drinking prevented it from reducing drunkenness in beer-drinking areas, which were most prevalent within working-class localities. The pronounced differences in regional drinking patterns led teetotallers to claim that only a total abstinence pledge could achieve success in beer-drinking areas. In addition, a fundamental distinction between 'anti-spirit' supporters, exampled by the BFTS, and teetotal advocates, is that the former did not try to reclaim the drunkard, who "by allowing himself to reach such a state, held himself to be almost irreclaimable."[13] Total abstinence, on the other hand, paraded its reformed drunkard success.[14] Joseph Livesey was foremost among those who challenged the traditional belief that drunkards were irredeemable and his actions bears directly upon the ascendancy of Preston in introducing total

[9] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 85.
[10] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 150.
[11] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 12
[12] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 109.
[13] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 10.
[14] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 110.

abstinence temperance principles as an alternative to 'anti-spirits' temperance advocacy, to which the discussion will now turn.

The origins of Total Abstinence

The introduction of the New Poor Law during the 1830s had led to union workhouses being built to house poor people. The harsh conditions imposed upon workhouse inmates became feared by many of those who needed help. Such dread allowed philanthropic and voluntary charity organisations to further perform their own role in relieving the deserving poor. Charities became valued agencies among urban provincial middle-class elites, heartened by the moral surveillance standards that were built into a new generation of evangelical urban mission societies that were now developing. All this encouraged optimism among established urban volunteer elites. At the same time however, other groups were forming outside the circles of well-established urban philanthropic endeavour that claimed qualification for public standing on grounds of moral worth. Among these were the leaders of total abstinence temperance.[15] Their views differed from 'anti-spirits' temperance supporters and centred largely on class, religious, cultural and regional variations.

Harrison argues that in both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, individuals practiced teetotalism prior to the initiation of any total abstinence organisation.[16] But, and this allowed Preston to claim its prominence in teetotal temperance history, it was following the personal pledge taken by Joseph Livesey to abstain from all forms of alcohol in 1831 that a consolidated movement developed when total abstinence temperance societies, similarly to the 'anti-spirits' temperance societies they replaced, formed in several places independently. One has to consider how total abstinence societies managed to persuade individuals, including former drunkards, to adopt a pledge that would inevitably involve a change in their lifestyle.

Collectively, total abstinence societies required great personal sacrifice from their members, the impact of which was softened by these societies providing a framework within which the converted might socialise. The pub was not just a

[15] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals,* 149.
[16] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 111.

building where drink could be purchased, for many working-class individuals it was a social hub in their lives. In order to bridge the gap between aspiring to teetotalism and achieving its aim, an alternative set of social institutions was required. Temperance halls, temperance hotels, temperance friendly societies and temperance periodicals developed in order to preserve a total abstinence membership within a society where drink was available in plentiful supply. One of the total abstinence movement's achievements was to advertise total abstinence as a remedy not for drunkenness alone, but for many social evils.[17] Although not the first in the field, Preston total abstinence proponents were the first who vigorously propagated this new cause. This was in part due to the peculiar political, social and economic situation of Preston in the 1830s.[18] Preston therefore provides a platform for discussing how total abstinence sentiment was shaped within an expanding and increasingly urbanised population.

Preston and Total Abstinence

Since the Middle Ages Preston had been a trading, marketing and legal centre. It was associated with linen manufacture but the cotton trade gradually came to dominate.[19] The industrial revolution brought change to Preston, as it did in other northern urban areas. Preston began to experience the same dramatic physical and social changes as several other towns, owing to the rapid expansion of the cotton industry.[20] That said, the local economy of Preston in the early 1830s was buoyant; the cotton and flax spinning trades were prosperous. Preston's rise into a town of first-rate importance occurred when total abstinence zeal was reaching its peak.[21] At the same time, the fact that in political circles and in relation to the electoral system that existed at the time, Preston was an open borough signifies that Preston

[17] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 110/111.
[18] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 112.
[19] A Andrew, "The working Class and Education in Preston, 1830-1870, A study of Social Relations," PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, (1987), 19. P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit; sectarianism, society, and politics in Victorian cotton towns*, University of Toronto Press, (1983), 37. M Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge University Press (1971), 24. These sources reveal that Preston's proximity to the Fylde and improvements made to communications networks in the eighteenth century established the town as a trading, marketing and legal centre. Many of the nobility and gentry of the county maintained residences in the town.
[20] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit,* 37.
[21] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 114.

was a town of historical importance.[22] It was a process of radicalisation which had been developing in urban pockets across the north of England and South-western Scotland for some time during the early decades of the nineteenth century that helped to change Preston political landscape. In the 1830 by-election in Preston, the aristocratic Stanley family were defeated by the radical MP Horatio Hunt. As a result the Stanley family severed their connection with the town which gave Joseph Livesey the opportunity to rent their cockpit as a lecture hall for radical and moral reform causes.[23] The Preston Guild Records of 1842 confirm that between1822 and 1842 political and social changes had taken place: "The few vestiges of the 1822 aristocratic little borough of old remained. Preston had become a large and populous manufacturing town." [24] Aspects relating to the result of the 1830s election in Preston had a bearing on the opportunities it presented to total abstinence advocates which deserves one's attention.

Electoral and parliamentary politics before 1832 did not exclude the middle-classes. The electorate reached well down the social structure, although it did not extend down to the bottom, or in proportion to numbers in the population. However, the interests of manual workers emerged strongly in open boroughs, such as Preston, Westminster and Bristol.[25] At the time of the 1830 by-election, therefore, an element of liberal/radical Nonconformist total abstinence support had allowed Preston to shake off its aristocratic patronage and elect radical MP Henry Hunt to represent the constituency. Total abstinence was not supported by all

[22] J Garrard, *Democratisation in Britain, Elites, Civil Society and Reform since 1800,* Palgrave, (2002), 21. Garrard argues that political representation in the nineteenth century in England was out of kilter with the geographical spread of the population. Whilst England's population was shifting northwards and towards larger towns, most parliamentary seats were concentrated amongst small southern communities. Many substantial industrial towns, including Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester and most Lancashire cotton towns were represented only through their respective counties. Lancashire's textile interests and towns were virtually represented only by Preston, an open borough, and the two county MPs.

[23] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 112.

[24] *A History of the Preston Guild*, Dobson and Harland (P.433DOB), 67. The Preston Guild is an event celebrated in the town once every twenty years. The event was postponed from 1942 to 1952 due to the Second World War taking place from 1939 to 1945. The last Preston Guild was celebrated in 2012.

[25] J Garrard, *Democratisation in Britain,* 26/27. Garrard states that taken overall, the pre-1832 electorate was estimated to comprise 13.6 per cent gentry and professions, 5.8 per cent merchants and manufacturers; 20.5 per cent retailers; 39.5 per cent skilled craftsmen; 14.2 per cent semi-skilled workers, and 6.4 per cent in agricultural occupations.

Nonconformists but the movement's prominent early supporters came from the Liberal/Radical Nonconformist section of society and received the backing of the Whig *Preston Chronicle* against the Tory *Preston Pilot.*[26] The printed word was a valuable propaganda machine which the total abstinence movement used to further its aims.[27] If one considers urban politics in general, these have been depicted by some historians between 1820 and 1850 as marked by rivalries between local elites with politico-religious elements; Tory Anglicans against Nonconformist Whig/Liberals.[28] In Preston, whilst total abstinence was a convenient way of combining political and religious radicalism in the 1830s, Harrison argues that it never degenerated into a substitute for more radical reforms, due in part to Joseph Livesey, the prominent total abstinence supporter.[29] This presents an appropriate opportunity to look at Joseph Livesey in more detail.

Joseph Livesey

Brian Harrison's suggestion in an early article that Joseph Livesey had been a somewhat neglected figure in nineteenth century history[30] has been redeemed by studies of Livesey's life (1794-1884) in which the consensus is that Livesey deserves his place in total abstinence temperance history as the prominent leader of the cause.[31] As the orphaned son of a Lancashire small businessman, who from the age of seven was reared by a poverty-stricken grandfather, the deprivation of his early life led Livesey to feel at ease with the working-class poor. Having risen from his humble background he agitated publicly against class-imposed structural burdens (such as the Corn Laws and a bureaucratised Poor Law) while at the same time encouraging the working-class to realise that the resources for self-respect lay

[26] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 112.
[27] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 14.
[28] S Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian middle-class, Ritual and authority in the English industrial city* 1840-1914, Manchester University Press, (2000), 22. Gunn states that rivalries were sometimes finely balanced as in Leeds, for example. In the 1834 election the Whig, Edward Baines, defeated his Tory rival, Leeds banker Sir John Beckett by the smallest of margins.
[29] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 112.
[30] B Harrison, "Drunkards and Reformers, Early Victorian Temperance Tracts", *History Today,* (1963) 13, 179.
[31] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals.* J Morris, "Voluntary Societies and Urban Elites" are some of the independent secondary sources that give testimony to Livesey's work.

within their own control.[32] Abstention from alcohol was, in Livesey's view, the key to prudent living but unlike the self-interested nature of middle-class moderate temperance, Livesey felt that those who failed to discipline themselves, for example, the drunkard, could be reclaimed through compassion rather than by being ignored, an aspect that receives further mention on page 37.

By the early 1830s Joseph Livesey had sufficient means to support a family and found a family run newspaper publishing business. Whilst Livesey had been issuing tracts against drunkenness since 1826, he now had the means to publish his monthly *Moral Reformer* (1831-3) which attacked the Corn Laws and which later became the first total abstinence periodical.[33] In 1844 Livesey founded the *Preston Guardian* which grew to become a successful publication and provided a means for promoting anti-Corn Law policy, Livesey's views on the ills of the Poor Law as well as total abstinence advocacy.[34] Livesey had personally been a total abstainer since 1831, presenting his reasons for total abstinence advocacy in a *Malt lecture* first delivered in February 1833 in which he demonstrated the poor nutritional value of malt liquor.[35] Livesey's views on the benefits of malt liquor were largely swayed by government thinking at the time, particularly the introduction of the Beer Act in 1830.[36] By expanding access to beer, as Livesey would argue, drunkenness increased. The Beer Act motivated abstainers to recommend more urgently that a total abstinence pledge should replace the moderation pledge. James Nicholls argues that abstaining from spirits, even when coupled with a pledge to apply moderation to other forms of drinking was an act of cultural self-assertion as much as an act of moral reform.[37]

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[32] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 174.
[33] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 114. Also M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 174.
[34] A Hobbs, "Reading the local paper: Social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900", PhD Thesis, (2010), 51. Joseph Livesey sold the *Preston Guardian* to George Toulmin, a total abstinence advocate, in 1859.
[35] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 115.
[36] PP1830 (266) 11 Geo IV-Sess.1830. B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 74. The Beer Act resulted from Parliamentary Committee recommendation that the Excise supply beer retailing licenses to anyone who paid the two guinea fee. It was designed to attract the population from spirit drinking; primarily it had in mind the working-class who were perceived to be spirit drinkers, although the middle-class were not above purchasing spirits for home consumption.
[37] J Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol, A History of the Drink Question in England*, Manchester University Press, (2009), 88.

The relevance of Nicholls' view in relation to this thesis is, arguably, that those who practised moderation were identifying themselves with a set of practices that characterised middle-class values whereas those who insisted upon a teetotal pledge saw this as a means whereby everyone could aspire to improve their living conditions. It was the passing of the Beer Act that ultimately persuaded Livesey to promote total abstinence. Livesey had helped to establish a local mechanics' institute and he promoted a mutual improvement society which held meetings in the cockpit, which he rented when the Stanley family left Preston. Livesey also commenced an adult Sunday school that promoted temperance ideals. This led to the forming of a total abstinence society for young people in Preston which ultimately resulted in a teetotal society for children being established in a Preston Sunday school prior to the inauguration of the Band of Hope. Ideological differences between moderate 'anti-spirit' temperance and total abstinence advocacy formed the circumstances that helped to instigate this children's teetotal society in Preston, which the thesis will now address.

Temperance versus Total Abstinence

The Temperance movement initially proposed moderate rather than no consumption of alcohol as its goal. Manufacturers welcomed this anti-spirits stance and the moderate drinking of other forms of alcohol as it was conducive to ensuring a sober workforce, as well as aiding domestic harmony. Temperance was a means "calculated to prevent the formation of habits of intemperate drinking" rather than attempt any more dramatic form of repression or re-socialisation.[38] Arguably, a consequence of middle-class consciousness and self-assertion in supporting temperance as a means of controlling the habits of workers, was that it motivated working-class agitators towards the radical choice of pursuing 'self-help' means in order to take control of their own lives. While moderate, 'half-way' temperance endorsed behavioural standard-setting in order to cement ties of hierarchical social respect, total abstinence involved a process of cultural equality. This appealed more to northern industrial areas rather that the southern metropolitan philanthropic elites who were as yet unwilling to take a pledge of abstinence that

[38] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 150.

was aligned with working-class provision of mutual support to those affected by intemperance.[39]

It is not surprising therefore that it was in Lancashire and other urban conurbations that total abstinence from alcohol rather than moderation, was promoted by the working-classes as a means by which they would achieve self-improvement in their lives and status. Similar to 'anti-spirits' temperance societies, total abstinence societies were formed in several places independently but Preston gained prominence for promoting its message vigorously to other localities, earning the epithet of being the 'Jerusalem of the Temperance movement'. Joseph Livesey, who provided the means to further this aim through his publishing capability was recognised as the pioneering total abstinence advocate, and received the accolade of being recognised as the 'Father of Teetotalism.'*[40] The recognition granted to Livesey was given support by the result of the 1830 election in Preston when Preston returned the radical Hunt as its MP. In similar vein, the radical nature of taking the teetotal pledge is evidenced by the fact that by committing oneself to teetotalism one was effectively adopting a prohibitive stance in relation to one's personal behaviour. Nationally, the complete prohibition of alcohol consumption never received the approval of British public opinion and, unlike in America, any effort to support such a view in law never succeeded in this country.[41] When the young men who attended Livesey's adult school (see below) formed the first 'anti-spirits' society in Preston,[42] one argues that it was the apparent radical nature of teetotalism that prevented the society from immediately adopting a teetotal

[39] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 150-152.

[40] "The Preston Youthful Teetotalers of 1832-4 and the signing of the first Teetotal Pledge in England", unpaged pamphlet, Author unknown but it contained extracts from *The Temperance Worker,* 1834-1835, (c.1900), Livesey Collection. *The use of the word ' teetotal' to mean 'total abstinence' was first applied to the pledge drawn up by Joseph Livesey in September 1832. Reformed drunkard Richard 'Dickie' Turner avowed at a meeting in 1833 that nothing but tee-te total would do, emphasising the pronunciation of Tee. This was seized upon and adopted and the term 'teetotal' and its derivatives have the same meaning as total abstinence when used within the thesis.

[41] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 225-229. This relates to the defeat of the Liberal Party at the 1895 general election which showed that the working-classes were neither anti-publican nor anti-drink. At a later analysis of the election few denied that the temperance issue had contributed to the defeat of the Liberal Party in the 1895 election.

[42] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 114.

pledge. However, this state of affairs was temporary in nature, as the following discussion reveals.

By the time Joseph Livesey had taken his personal pledge to abstain from all forms of alcohol in 1831, he was operating an adult Sunday school. As a result of him supplying temperance tracts, a number of teachers at the school decided, in January 1832, to establish a temperance society within the school. Arguably, and in support of one's view expressed earlier that teetotalism was associated with radical ideas, this led the majority of members to opt for a pledge to abstain from spirits only and apply moderation to imbibing fermented liquors, rather than a teetotal pledge that was proposed by John Brodbelt (who became one of the "Seven men of Preston").[43] This youths' society merged into the Preston Temperance Society which was officially established on 22 March 1832. Despite this merger young members of the society took steps to form a separate section known as the Youths' Temperance Academy.[44] Two men who attended this academy are particularly significant for the thesis. Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin typify working-class endeavour for self-improvement. Aged 17 and 19 respectively in 1832, both men came from humble backgrounds and joined the workforce as children. Walmsley was the son of a hand-loom weaver and George Toulmin the son of a cheese factor. Later in life Thomas Walmsley became President of the Preston Band of Hope Union and George Toulmin rose to become a member of the Preston Town Council and was a Justice of the Peace.[45] As will be shown shortly, these two men were instrumental in putting Preston on the temperance map by instigating a children's teetotal society in Preston in 1834, prior to the creation of the Band of Hope.

[43] "The Preston Youthful Teetotalers of 1832-4 and the signing of the First Teetotal Pledge in England", Livesey Collection.
[44] W Livesey "Fifty years Ago; or Early Preston Teetotalism", Conference Paper delivered on 5 September 1882, 3, Livesey Collection. Also "The Preston Youthful Teetotalers of 1832-4". Also T Walmsley, *The First Juvenile Temperance Society,* Written when Walmsley was President of the Preston Band of Hope Union, (undated but c. 1882), 9-11.
[45] T Walmsley *The First Juvenile Temperance Society*, 9-11.

As far as the Youths' Temperance Academy was concerned, armed with advancement in knowledge and confidence in pursuing radical ideas, 17 out of 20 youth members formed a new youth's society. Launched at a public meeting held in the Cockpit on the 18 April 1834, one hundred young people of both sexes pledged themselves as teetotallers. What is significant is that this event occurred at a time when the adult society was operating a two pledge policy, one that advocated moderation, the other teetotalism.[46] Joseph Livesey had urged a teetotal pledge be adopted by Preston Temperance Society members in September 1832 which was rejected by all but seven men (including Livesey) which gave rise to the legendary 'Seven Men of Preston' being celebrated as pledged advocates of teetotalism in Preston. From that point membership of the Preston Temperance Society was based on either pledge. It was not until March 1835 that membership was based on one pledge only, that of teetotalism. Those who were not prepared to adopt such a pledge would after three months cease to be accepted as members.[47] Therefore, it was the young people who instigated teetotal advocacy in Preston, along with the 'Seven Men of Preston', an aspect one considers worth pursuing for the questions it raises. Could ideas other than radical ones explain why young people were the main advocates of teetotalism? Why the reluctance of some members of the Preston Temperance Society to adopt the teetotal pledge? Was the acceptance of either 'anti-spirits' temperance or teetotal temperance determined by the perceived social standing and cultural experiences of those who lived in the community? In other words, how far did middle-class mores favour moderation, and conversely, did the reality of working-class life lean towards supporting teetotalism in Preston as well as further field?

Industry had impacted upon the lives of the working-classes, particularly in northern urban areas such as Preston. The workforce included children, many of whom were sent out to work, often for long hours. During the first half of the nineteenth century, despite a number of Factory Acts being introduced that prohibited or limited the age and length of hours that children could be employed, the use of child labour points to there being no prolonged childhood (by modern

[46] "Preston Youthful Teetotalers". Also T Walmsley, *The First Juvenile Temperance Society*, 5/6.
[47] W Livesey "Fifty Years Ago", 4.

definitions of childhood) as work commenced at an early age. During much of the nineteenth century young people experienced similar experiences in labour/capital relations as did their older counterparts, which were important in their lives. Some had families to support and often their contribution to the family economy was essential. Many of these young people belonged to trade unions, and working-class collective activity often involved all age groups and both sexes.[48] One argues that it was work experience gained as children living in the town that gave the youthful members of the Preston Temperance Society legitimacy in pushing for their own teetotal promoting society, which they saw as one means of improving their working lives.[49] At the same time, the push for teetotalism produced class-based schisms within temperance structures, evidenced in Leeds as well as Preston, which deserve mention.

Early anti-spirits temperance societies received support from some MPs and other local public figures. The Preston Temperance Society's first committee consisted largely of 'ministers, doctors and moneyed men', similar to the Leeds Temperance Society. These groups were the same ones that had sponsored the anti-slavery, moral reform and voluntary association movements. Harrison argues that the rise of teetotalism within the anti-spirits movement represented "a *coup* by an elite of working men allied with middle-class radicals and nonconformists."[50] This view suggests that radical elements of teetotalism were not restricted to working-class propagandists but also engaged the minds of middle-class radicals as well as those with nonconformist sympathies. Arguably, teetotal views might have been accepted alongside moderate temperance views until the teetotal emphasis switched from the anti-spirit sentiment of safeguarding the sober to the teetotallers' desire to reclaim the drunkard. As was mentioned on page 32, a fundamental distinction between 'anti-spirit' supporters and those who supported teetotalism, related to opposing views as to whether a drunkard could be reclaimed from his drunken ways, or not. When teetotal advocates began to express their belief that even the habitual drunkard could become sober and should not be

[48] A Andrew, "The Working Class and Education", 15.
[49] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 142. Harrison asserts that self-improvement and social mobility were ideals pursued by working-class temperance society members and that teetotalism was a step on the ladder towards this goal.
[50] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 131.

rejected by the movement, many supporters felt that this would result in the movement losing its original respectable basis of support.[51] One argues that such fears lay at the root of why it took three years to persuade members of the Preston Temperance Society's committee to accept a teetotal pledge; it was simply the fear that in doing so, they would lose the 'respectable' status they had earned through association with the norms of middle-class society. Such a view is more pronounced by what happened in Leeds, when a dramatic schism occurred over the introduction of an exclusive teetotal pledge in 1836.[52] High-status committee members who had founded and sponsored the society objected on the grounds that such a proposal did not give due consideration to the respectability and station in life of those who opposed the imposition of a teetotal pledge. Such was the feeling aroused that when objections to the teetotal pledge were defeated, these committee members saw this as a rejection of their social authority and they left the society.[53]

At the same time, whilst a number of high-status temperance society members were agonising over the changes in the cultural approach to temperance that were taking place, local activity within working-class teetotal circles was proving useful. Many working-class people had gained some knowledge by means of voluntary association and were now able to put it to good use in the teetotal cause. Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin, whose efforts in this connection are detailed below, were two working-class individuals in Preston who had benefited from the education they received in Joseph Livesey's adult Sunday school. In addition, efforts to spread teetotalism in Preston were assisted by Joseph Livesey's publishing business and the support of teetotal advocates in the town, which made Preston the main publishing location of teetotal tracts and other publications on temperance during the 1830s.[54] The dissemination of temperance teaching by

[51] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 131, Chapter six 'Moderationists versus Teetotalers: 1834-1848', presents an exhaustive account of the schisms that occurred within the Temperance movement during this period.
[52] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 132.
[53] R J Morris "Voluntary societies and Urban elites", 102. B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 132. Harrison states that Leeds produced the most dramatic schism, where moderationists were forced, against their will, into an open debate with their teetotal opponents, and were defeated.
[54] Livesey's *Progressionists,* The *Preston Temperance Advocate*, and the *Moral Reformer,* are examples of Livesey's publishing capabilities.

means of tracts and extensive home visitation (action approved by Livesey) were features in the society's operation. It was asserted that such methods led to good results in strengthening the weak and also in converting those who had not joined the society.[55] Chapter five of this thesis will show that the adoption of similar methods helped the Band of Hope achieve a membership of over three million children in recruitment campaigns carried out in the late nineteenth century.

Mention of the Band of Hope provides an appropriate point to return to youthful members of the Preston Temperance Society who pioneered the adoption of a teetotal pledge in Preston, alongside Joseph Livesey and other teetotal stalwarts. By 1832, juvenile temperance societies were being established in different areas of the country. A juvenile association at Paisley founded in 1830 consisted mainly of boys aged twelve or fourteen up to twenty-one.[56] A second Scottish juvenile temperance society at Saltcoats resembled more closely the later formed Band of Hope by accepting children from the age of eight. Societies attached to the Wesleyan Sunday schools accepted children below the age of 14.[57] Similar to Preston, initially many of these societies pledged moderation but an increasing number of them began to recommend a pledge of total abstinence. A Preston publication *The Youthful Teetotaller* identified that several youths' temperance societies and associations had been established by 1836, including Bolton, Huddersfield, Lancaster, Liverpool, Salford, Stockport and Thirsk, some with a membership of several hundred. In Huddersfield membership included young people of both sexes from the age of 12 to 25. Boys aged 12 to 14 were reported as attending the Preston Youths' Society.[58]

One sees a trend pattern emerging in the way these societies were attracting younger people to their membership. Furthermore *The Youthful Teetotaller*

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[55] W Livesey, "Fifty Years Ago", 6.

[56] N Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers, a history of temperance,* Hamish Hamilton, (1968), 121.

[57] D Burns, *Juvenile Temperance Work prior to the Band of Hope Era,* Chapter in F Smith, Ed., *The Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement*, United Kingdom band of Hope Union, (1897), 18.

[58] *The Youthful Teetotaller*, Issues 1 to 6, January to June, 1836, Community History Section, Harris Library, 8, 12/14, 16, 23, 26,31,39. *The Youthful Teetotaller* was issued by John Brodbelt and George Toulmin. (Toulmin had gained experience by serving time with a Preston printer). Following the June 1836 issue the format of the magazine changed and it was merged into the *Preston Temperance Advocate.*

identifies that a common feature of these youths' teetotal societies was that they were most popular in areas of urban growth which attracted working-class labour of all ages. Why was this?

The establishment of these societies offered children, if some as young as eight were being attracted to teetotalism, the prospect of partaking in 'rational' recreation, similar to that offered by Joseph Livesey in his adult Sunday school. Areas of urban growth attracted working-class labour of all ages. Many children were familiar with the world of work from a young age and the impact of child labour was referred to on page 36. Importantly for the thesis, a feature of children's lives was their exposure to drink from an early age, from infancy in some cases. The effects of drunkenness on children's lives, both as partakers and victims of drink, will be discussed more fully in chapter two, when explaining why the Band of Hope accepted children from the age of seven. At this point, the fact that individuals involved in youths' temperance society work were aware that the dangers of drink were not restricted to adults and youths, and were taking steps to combat drunken behaviour in younger children, re-introduces the actions of two Preston men into the discussion. George Toulmin together with Thomas Walmsley, were both associated with the Preston Youths' Temperance Academy and had benefited from Joseph Livesey's adult Sunday school. In 1834 both these young men were connected with a Primitive Methodist Sunday school operating in Preston. In Walmsley's words "in the Sunday school, in addition to the precepts of religion and Biblical knowledge, the younger scholars were also instructed in reading."[59] Having come from humble backgrounds, these men typify how self-help principles motivated the actions of working-class individuals, in this case to train the young, as Walmsley put it:

> to instil into their minds the grave evils which befall those who take intoxicants, and to band them together in a society, where they should mutually exhort and help one another to steadfastness of purpose and pledge.[60]

[59] T Walmsley *The first Juvenile Temperance Society*, 6.
[60] T Walmsley, *First Juvenile Temperance Society*, 6/7. Also "The Preston Youthful Teetotalers" stated that "two members of the Academy, Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin, in 1834 established in connection with the Primitive Methodist School the first teetotal Sunday School, the designation of which in later years was that of a Band of Hope."

By these words, Walmsley was expressing an idea that was crystallised in Leeds in 1847 and which gave birth to the Band of Hope. Arguably in 1834, some fifteen years before the Band of Hope's inauguration, Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin established what they claimed to be the first temperance society for boys and girls, in a Sunday school which adhered to a teetotal pledge. The association of teetotalism with radical views is again suggested by the fact that Walmsley and Toulmin were the only two members of the chapel who welcomed this new society. It was the support of members of the Preston Youths' Temperance Society, one being John Brodbelt, that overrode any reluctance and the motion to establish a teetotal society for children within the Sunday school was carried.[61] A point of interest is that this children's teetotal society was, similar to the Preston youths' temperance academy, operating as a teetotal society one year prior to the adult society itself backing a teetotal pledge. Also, it was the younger members of the Primitive Methodist chapel who instigated this society for the children attending the Sunday school. Furthermore, it introduces the Sunday school as a vehicle that temperance advocates could use to instil teetotal values into the minds of younger children of both sexes, which is now examined.

The Sunday school Movement

Sunday schools began forming across the country from the late eighteenth century.[62] Whilst most of the teachers in the early Sunday schools were working class, from the dawn of the nineteenth century, Sunday schools became associated with moral reform voluntarism and a class of respectable persons was coming forward to teach.[63] These Sunday schools taught working-class children the precepts of religion and Biblical knowledge, but they also offered children instruction in reading, as occurred in the Preston Primitive Methodist Sunday school mentioned above. The history of the Sunday school has been well documented, but significantly for the thesis, it provided the Band of Hope with a readily available group of children as potential recruit material. Evidence of this lies in the fact that

[61] T Walmsley, *The First Juvenile Temperance Society*, 7.
[62] P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement,* 5. Cliff argues that in the sense that Robert Raikes's contribution was to give publicity to the effects of the Sunday schools, to keep alive the growth, extent and progress of them, he was the founder of the movement.
[63] P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 6 and 58.

by 1833 it was claimed nationally that the number of those who attended Sunday school outnumbered those in day schools. Between a quarter and three-quarters of the children who attended Sunday school were not receiving any other education.[64] The number of Sunday school children in Britain in 1818 estimated at 425,000; rose in 1830 to between 800,000 and 1,500,000; by 1851 it reached about 2,600,000 and climbed to over 6,000,000 in 1911.[65]

These figures show the numerical strength of the Sunday school but they do not take account of the operation of Sunday schools in local communities. The Stockport Sunday school for example adopted an ecumenical approach. Begun by Methodists in 1784 the school was intended to minister to the poor children of all the Protestant denominations (including Anglicans). In 1805 a new building was erected, raised from contributions mostly given by mill-owners. The school was managed by an inter-denominational board for the benefit of children of all backgrounds. In 1837 there were 5417 pupils registered and by 1870, 85,390 scholars had been educated by the Sunday school.[66] Sunday schools in other area operated differently and were less ecumenical, as in the case of Preston.

Sunday schools belonging to different denominations in Preston were established during the first half of the nineteenth century. The first meeting of the committee for the establishing of Church of England Sunday Schools in Preston actually took place on the 12 June 1787.[67] The first Preston Methodist Sunday school was established around 1810. Roman Catholic schools were established by 1824, represented by St Mary's and St Wilfred's churches, with four more being added by the time of the 1862 Preston Guild.[68] In 1824 the number of scholars in the various schools in Preston was estimated as:

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[64] K D M Snell, "The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: child labour, denominational control and working-class culture", *Past and Present*, 164(1), (1999), 125.
[65] K D M Snell, "The Sunday School Movement in England and Wales", 126. Also P B Ciiff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement,* 129. Cliff presents rounded growth figures of almost half a million in 1831, rising to three and a half million by 1870.
[66] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Sprit*, 87/87.
[67] T R Flintoff, *Preston Churches and Chapels,* Carnegie Press, (1985), 23/24, 62. D Longworth, *Celebration of the Preston Guild Merchant of 1862,* Longworth Brothers, Friargate, Preston, (1862), Harris Library.
[68] T R Flintoff, *Preston Churches and Chapels*, 62.

Established Church Sunday Scholars	1260	
Catholic	700	
Methodist	573	
Congregationalist	360	
Baptist	120	Total 3013.[69]

Table 1 Estimate of Scholars attending Church Schools in Preston, 1824
Source: History of Bairstow Street School.

The significance of this information is that it reveals that from 1824, there was no overriding religious hegemony in Preston due in large measure to a higher percentage of Roman Catholics living in the town than lived in similar sized conurbations.[70]

The lack of overriding religious hegemony in Preston and the bearing this had on the Band of Hope operation in the town is one strand of the thread that runs throughout this thesis. Differences existed between the religious bodies operating in Preston, but there is also evidence that when it came to children, (and this will be highlighted in the next chapter) co-operation developed between the denominations, particularly when important events in the history of the town were taking place.

In recognising that Sunday schools throughout the country provided a pool of children larger than any other organisation at the time, one is also aware that these schools were also aligned with the teaching of their own denominational bodies. The different approaches to Sunday school work exhibited by the various churches, and the acceptance that there were some children whose lives were not governed by a particular religious authority, were factors that encouraged the Band of Hope, when it was established under that name, to adopt a non-denominational stance from the outset of the movement. Membership was open to children of all faiths and none and was not restricted by class.

[69] *History of Bairstow Street School,* Harris Library, 11/12. Whilst the numbers given cannot be verified, information contained in contemporary Guild records corroborates the existence of a significant proportion of children attending Roman Catholic Sunday schools. Also see *A Full Account of the Guild Merchant of Preston 1842,* Harris Library, 29/30. This confirms the existence of Roman Catholic Schools in operation at the time the 1842 Preston Guild took place.

[70] Confirmed also in PP.1852-3, lxxxix, *Religious Worship (England and Wales) Report on the Census of Religious Worship in Great Britain carried out in 1851,* cclxvi.

Conclusion

It was stated at the beginning of the chapter that the inauguration of the Band of Hope in Leeds in 1847 did not mark the initial promotion of total abstinence from drinking alcohol in children. The chapter has identified the developing circumstances that led to the creation of an organisation that would represent all children's teetotal societies under a collective brand name. Importantly, it has shown that the changing emphasis from 'anti-spirit' moderate temperance advocated by self-asserting middle-class groups to one of teetotalism supported by working-class individuals aspiring to self-improvement, fractured the temperance movement irrevocably. The desire to maintain middle-class 'respectability' by ensuring that those who were sober remained so, clashed with the working-class teetotallers' view that the drunkard deserved his chance of redemption. Schisms within the temperance movement led to some societies operating a two-pledge policy until such time as the majority of societies chose to support a teetotal pledge, largely as a result of the zeal of teetotal advocates, such as Joseph Livesey who spread the teetotal message from Preston to other areas of the country.

The rejection of moderate temperance in favour of total abstinence was most pronounced among young working-class men who had experienced the realities of labour from an early age and felt that their chance to achieve self-improvement was aided by teetotalism. At a time when many adults fearful of a loss of 'respectability' were reluctant to accept teetotalism, the world of work experienced from a young age gave legitimacy to juveniles to take steps to establish their own teetotal societies. As teetotal advocacy grew juvenile temperance societies were established that catered for children from a younger age. Just as Preston was at the forefront of spreading teetotal advocacy into the wider area, it was in Preston that one of the first teetotal society's for children, which had the hallmarks of a Band of Hope, was established for Sunday school scholars. Thomas Walmsley first expressed his view that the banding of children together in a (teetotal) society would provide mutual support in 1834 and yet it was not until 1847 that the Band of Hope was inaugurated, raising the question of whether the formation of an overall unifying organisation was desirable or even necessary, an aspect that leads to the next chapter of the thesis.

The next chapter will discuss the establishment of the Band of Hope in Leeds in 1847. An element of the chapter will be to expand on some of the issues raised in chapter one, such as to question how far the schisms experienced within the adult temperance movement may have influenced the uniformity of purpose of the Band of Hope to operate as a non-denominational movement designed for children from the age of seven, whatever their religion or their social status. The chapter will take account of prevailing conceptions of childhood and children's experience of work and schooling. At local level, in discussing Band of Hope work in Preston, the chapter will consider the extent to which Preston's distinctive religious make-up may have had a bearing on how Band of Hope work in Preston was conducted.

CHAPTER TWO - ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BAND OF HOPE

Introduction

During the first half of the nineteenth century many juvenile temperance societies insisted upon a teetotal pledge before it was generally accepted by a number of adult societies. The impact of industrial growth on all age groups within the working-classes and the awareness that children were not excluded from drinking places created a desire within teetotal circles to protect younger children from the dangers associated with alcohol dependency. The ethos of training children to shun alcohol occurred prior to 1847, the year the Leeds Temperance Band of Hope was formed, with the increasing realisation that it would be more effective to raise abstainers from childhood before drinking habits had become firmly established.[1] This chapter will discuss the inauguration of the Leeds Temperance Band of Hope in 1847, and the circumstances that influenced its formation. The discussion will reflect upon how prevailing social conditions, views of childhood and children's experiences of work, school and leisure, advanced Band of Hope work beyond Leeds. In relation to Preston consideration will be given to how far Preston's distinctive religious make-up and its standing in temperance circles influenced the way Band of Hope work was conducted in the town.

When Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin formed a children's teetotal society in a Preston Sunday schools in 1834,Walmsley referred to it as one that would "band them (children) together in a society..."[2] Clearly the word 'band' implies connectivity with like-minded individuals and it was in Leeds in 1847 that the term 'Band of Hope', derived from the belief within temperance circles that children were seen as the hope for the future, was first used to denote the children's section of the Leeds Temperance Society. The name was adopted by many temperance societies and church organisations to signify their juvenile groups and became

[1] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England*, MacMillan, (1988), 134.
[2] T Walmsley, "First Juvenile Temperance Society", A Sketch, written when Walmsley was President of the Preston Band of Hope Union, (undated but c. 1882), 6/7.

generic for all such youth groups both religious and secular.[3] The Band of Hope organisation that developed from that formed in Leeds was 1) non-denominational from the outset and membership was based on a teetotal pledge, and 2) concerned itself with children of both sexes from around the age of seven. These aspects were not accidental but were chosen deliberately.

In the first instance, taking a non-denominational stance would remove any constrictions that might be placed on children to attend a Band of Hope because of their religion. The adoption of a teetotal pledge was, one argues, in order to avoid the schisms that had arisen within the temperance movement regarding the efficacy of moderate "anti-spirits" drinking and the adoption of teetotalism. Whilst for many temperance adherents, teetotalism had gradually overtaken moderation, it had produced hostility within the movement that the Band of Hope would surely have no desire to emulate. Evidence presented later in the thesis will show that this decision achieved its aim by producing a level of co-operation within communities that outweighed sectarian differences. This co-operation would have particular relevance to Preston because of its distinctive religious make-up. The Band of Hope, as the name implied, was for all children irrespective of religious persuasion and was equally open to children with no religious attachment.

Turning to the second point, concepts of childhood developed over the last five hundred years or so, and these changed over time. This aspect was discussed in the introductory chapter but germane elements are worth repeating at this stage. The Medieval world labelled the first seven years of life as *infantia,* which was followed by a period known as *pueritia*.[4] Children's experiences varied but during the course of the eighteenth century, seven was the age when they were considered to have gained a level of independence with the age of discretion acquired by children accepted as 12 for girls and 14 for boys.[5] By the late eighteenth century proto-industry had accustomed people to seeing young children in regular work. With increased industrialisation during the course of the nineteenth century, the age at

[3] L Shiman *Crusade against Drink*, 134.

[4] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, Longman, (1995), 34/35. C. Heywood, *A History of Childhood, Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times,* Polity Press (2001), 19.

[5] K Gleadle, "The Juvenile Enlightenment: British Children and Youth During the French Revolution", *Past and Present,* (2016) Volume233 (1), 145.

which children entered work was fluid but the choice of the age of seven for Band of Hope membership suited the medieval concept of childhood as well as the later Puritan and Romanticist views of children that prevailed prior to the nineteenth century.[6] If humans were innately sinful children would need to be trained to absorb correct values; conversely if childhood was a time of natural goodness and innocence which was lost in adult life, then childlike qualities needed to be preserved. Arguably, as children generally began to be familiarised with work from around the age of seven, (and accepting a degree of flexibility here), they would be in increasing contact with individuals outside the family. Arguably, the Band of Hope management were adroit in choosing seven as the membership age as it engaged with childhood concepts that were prevalent at that time. Band of Hope adult members would be able to train children about the benefits of teetotalism prior to any adverse adult influence, or counter influences within the family where older members drank alcohol, taking hold. Equally, by the age of seven most children would be able to have some understanding of the commitment they were about to undertake as members of a teetotal movement, which they would take into their adult lives.

As children were to be the recipients of Band of Hope teaching, it is worth considering aspects of their lives, in terms of child population numbers and childhood experience during the first half of the nineteenth century, which has relevance to the current discussion.

Children in the nineteenth century

In 1841 children and infants in England and Wales numbered around five and three quarter million, a total which by 1901 had risen to ten million. Just over three million of the 1841 figure referred to children aged between five and fifteen.[7] James Walvin claims that throughout the years from 1801 to 1914 people aged 14 and under never formed less than one third of the total population.[8] These

[6] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood,* 77/78. P Horn*, Children's Work and Welfare 1780-1890,* Cambridge University Press (1994), 2/3.
[7] *The Sunday School and Youths' Temperance Journal*, (Volume 1, 1848), 2, Livesey Collection, Also J Walton , J Walvin, Eds., *Leisure in Britain 1780-1939,* Manchester University Press, (1983), 228.
[8] J Walvin, *A Child's World, A social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914*, Penguin Books, (1982), 12.

numbers indicate that there was a large and increasing potential audience of children, who would be eligible to join the Band of Hope movement. But, a salient question to ask is how would children themselves benefit from joining the Band of Hope? One turns to the prevailing social conditions experienced by the working-classes to provide an explanation.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, working-class children were part of the workforce and exposed to the behaviour of people around them. In some families, though not all, fathers' earnings were top-sliced before reaching wives and children, to finance alcohol. The household economy and family relations were affected if self-regulation to avoid poverty was not always adhered to due to the addictive characteristics of alcohol and tobacco.[9] The impact of drink on families extended throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. In Elizabeth Roberts' account of women's lives she refers to the detrimental effect of parental (often fathers) drunken behaviour on family harmony both in terms of causal poverty and moral condemnation from neighbours.[10] Babies were sometimes given small diluted amounts to 'help them sleep' and children were able to purchase drink. If babies got a taste for alcohol they would be more likely to yield to it as they grew towards adulthood. It was only in 1886 that the Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act prohibited the selling of alcohol for consumption on licensed premises to children under the age of 13.[11]

Not all children imbibed but they often encountered adults getting drunk and some were the victims of poverty or neglect caused through over consumption of alcohol.[12] It was the exposure of children to such behaviour that encouraged the creation of a distinct organisation for children to warn them against the dangers of alcohol. Similar to juvenile temperance societies that sought to counter dangerous influences that might lead the juvenile into temptation associated with drink, Band

[9] J Humphries, *Children and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution,* Cambridge University Press (2010), 101.

[10] E Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An oral history of working-class women 1890-1940,* Blackwell, (1994), 83, 194.

[11] H Yeomans, *Alcohol and Moral Regulations, Public Attitudes, Spirited Measures and Victorian Hangovers,* Policy Press, University of Bristol, (2014), 135. This states that the Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act of 1886 prohibited the sale for on premises consumption of alcohol to persons under the age of thirteen; raised to fourteen by the Intoxicating Liquors Act of 1901.

[12] A McAllister, "Giant alcohol – a worthy opponent for the children of the band of hope", *Drugs education, prevention and policy,* 11 November 2014, 104.

of Hope workers set out to capture the minds of younger children of both sexes from the age of around seven to the age of 16. By this means children would avoid the evil influences to which they may be prone as juveniles and when many may have chosen no longer to attend the Sunday school.[13] Understandably, Sunday schools would serve as a fitting partner to support Band of Hope work. As an organisation they were cognisant of the words of the proverb "Train up a child in the way he should go: and when he is old, he will not depart from it."[14] The Sunday school offered children the prospect of partaking in 'rational' recreation, similar to that offered by Joseph Livesey in his adult Sunday school, as indeed had the increasing number of juvenile teetotal societies established prior to the Band of Hope. Children represented the future and society would benefit if they could be guided to absorb correct values where innocence rather than vice flourished. [15] This presents an appropriate opportunity to consider the circumstances that led to the creation of the Leeds Temperance Band of Hope in 1847.

The forming of the Band of Hope

With the growth of juvenile organisations in different parts of the country that advocated teetotalism in young people, a number of individuals began to realise that it would be effective to raise abstainers from childhood before drinking habits could be firmly established. Among these were Jabez Tunnicliffe, a Baptist minister, and Mrs Ann Jane Carlile, an active temperance worker. Both are named as responsible for forming the Band of Hope and the salient points relating to the circumstances that led to this event appear below.

Essentially, Jabez Tunnicliffe and Mrs Carlile sought, in September 1847, to establish a children teetotal society as an auxiliary of the Leeds Temperance Society.[16] It was the desire to choose a name to distinguish this children's section

[13] Attendance at Sunday schools was never mandatory. Joseph Livesey lamented that many youths ceased to attend Sunday school around the age of 14. See Joseph Livesey, *Remarks on the present state of Sunday Schools with Hints for their improvement, also a recommendation of Youths' Schools, and of Doctor Chalmers' "Local System",* Preston, (1829).

[14] K D M Snell, "The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales", p.122 quoted from Proverbs 22:6 of the Authorised version of the Bible.

[15] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 135-136.

[16] The formation of the Leeds Band of Hope society is well documented in the following sources and only points relevant to the thesis are presented here. See D Burns, *Bands of Hope from their Origin in 1847 to the formation of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union in 1885*, in F Smith, Ed., *The*

of the adult society that the name 'Band of Hope' was chosen, as a fitting reflection of a group of children who were seen as the hope for the future. Interestingly, concurrent with the event taking place in Leeds, the following appeared in a September 1847 edition of a Preston local newspaper under the heading of Miscellaneous News:

> A SINGULAR SCENE – A Berlin letter of the 31st ult. (August) says - "A singular scene took place yesterday. On the invitation of the Temperance Society there was a meeting of 3,000 of from four to sixteen years of age. They are to complete 'The Band of Hope' for the complete abolition of the use of spirituous liquors and the propagation of gymnastic exercises. After singing some hymns, 'The Band of Hope' separated, in the midst of loud huzzas."[17]

This article was placed in a section of the newspaper that included notices of events taking place abroad. As a temperance-related notification, it provides evidence that the term 'Band of Hope' was used simultaneously with the meeting taking place in Leeds, to denote teetotal advocacy in children. Why might this be? It will be recalled that Thomas Walmsley used a similar term in relation to the Primitive Methodist Children's Teetotal Society that he helped to establish in Preston in 1834. It is understandable that other temperance advocates might think along similar lines and adopt the term 'Band of Hope' so that its usage would become common currency wherever children's teetotal advocacy was promoted. In accepting that the reference to the Berlin meeting being a singular scene is an indication that this might have been an initial meeting for that purpose, a gathering of 3,000 children would surely have required some prior organisation, which suggests that adult teetotal advocacy had been spreading into parts of Europe.

Lilian Shiman makes the assertion that the title 'Band of Hope' would eventually be used as a generic term for all such youth groups in England.[18] Yet, from the newspaper evidence, the term was used in Berlin around the time that Jabez Tunnicliffe and Mrs Carlile met in Leeds. An important point to make is that whilst

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Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement, United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (1897). G H Graham, *Origins of the Band of Hope*, (1889), Livesey Collection. N Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers,* Hamish Hamilton, (1946). The *Leeds Mercury,* 1 January 1848, British Library Newspapers. This edition records that the Leeds Temperance Band of Hope held its first Christmas Festival. The *Leeds Mercury*, 30 June 1849, indicates that within eighteen months of its inauguration this Band of Hope consisted of 4,000 children of both sexes.

[17] *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser,* 25 September, 1847.

[18] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 134.

the appropriateness of the term 'Band of Hope' might encourage its occasional use, it had not at that stage become popularised to represent an amalgamation of children's teetotal societies operating throughout the country. This did not occur until after the Leeds meeting. In fact the society formed in Leeds was initially known as 'The Temperance Band of Hope' in order to clarify that it was a teetotal organisation for children.[19] One could argue that the term 'Band of Hope' struck a chord with temperance workers as epitomising their desire to access all children and band them together through a common cause. Therefore, it is credible that temperance workers in other countries would view such a term as an ideal representation of their own ambitions, Berlin being a case in point.

When the Temperance Band of Hope Society was formed in Leeds in September 1847, it adopted a pledge which stated "I agree to abstain from all intoxicating liquors, and from tobacco in all its forms."[20] Whilst Jabez Tunnicliffe was appointed President, a ladies committee was formed to visit schools made accessible to them through Mrs Carlile's efforts, in order to introduce children of the schools in Leeds to the principles of the society.[21] This identifies Mrs Carlile as having established a rapport with schools in the area which allowed temperance teaching to take place. Such action indicates that children in schools were receiving temperance knowledge prior to the scientific temperance teaching scheme which the Band of Hope introduced into schools later in the century, provisioned by the Education Acts that were passed from the 1870s onwards.[22] (This aspect will be examined in more detail in chapter four of the thesis.) Equally, women are identified as being involved in committee work in this Band of Hope society from its foundation. Having given women this important role, one questions whether their contribution continued in the same capacity as the movement developed. Shiman acknowledges the role of women in the initial planning of the Leeds Band of Hope but asserts that

[19] D Burns, *Bands of Hope from their Origin in 1847,* 47/48.
[20] G H Graham, *Origins of the Band of Hope*, 9.
[21] D Burns, *Bands of Hope from their Origin*, 47.
[22] Parliament passed a number of acts during the 1870s which began the process of making elementary education mandatory in day schools.

they only played a minor role in the full development of the organisation. [23] How valid is Shiman's assertion?

The construction of women's lives in the nineteenth century carries many nuances.[24] There are so many facets that relate to women's role outside the domestic sphere to which they were allotted during much of the nineteenth century that one chooses a few that are most relevant to the current discussion. Many working-class women ventured outside the home out of necessity to earn a living in the work place. Middle-class women with time on their hands were increasingly called upon to be agents of social improvement and a distinctive feature of women's work in the nineteenth century was philanthropy, particularly when it was aimed at the young and the elderly.[25] In other words women's engagement in public work hinged upon notions of femininity and female behaviour. The word 'mission' was often used to characterise women's work in the nineteenth century.[26]

One argues that as the Band of Hope involved children, women were seen as the natural agents for promoting teetotal advocacy to them during the early stages of the movement. Later, when a more scientific method of teaching teetotal values in schools was adopted there is no existing evidence that supports women's active involvement in this role, although this does not mean that they had no involvement at all. The fact that men generally took managerial roles in Band of Hope meetings merely reflects the patriarchal nature of nineteenth century society when it was uncommon for a woman to make a public speech.[27] That said, Shiman's perception of the minor role of women in the Band of Hope needs to be set against the impact of the work allotted to them in the movement's organisation. Woman took part in Band of Hope society committee work and in many organisations it is often the case

[23] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 136. Lilian Shiman acknowledges the role of women in the initial planning of the Leeds Band of Hope but asserts that they only played a minor role in the full development of the organisation.
[24] K Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Palgrave MacMillan, (2001), 1-6.
[25] F K Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England,* Oxford University Press, (1980), 6/7.
[26] F K Prockaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 1.
[27] F K Prockaska, *Women and Philanthropy,* 2. See K Gleadle, *Borderline citizens: Women, Gender, and Political Culture in Britain, 1815-1867*, Oxford University Press (2009), 14. Gleadle seeks to explore and explain the extent of women's role in politics, 14.

that committee workers wield power and influence decision making. Any conclusion is therefore nuanced by the definition of a minor role in a nineteenth century construct. An important feature of Band of Hope work conducted by women is that it enabled them to partake in the widening sphere of activity opening up to women as the nineteenth century progressed.

Mrs Carlile exemplifies the importance of women in the promotion of teetotal advocacy. When she left Leeds she travelled around the country and instigated the forming of a London based Band of Hope society in Walworth in 1848. Reports indicate that by 1850 Bands of Hope had been formed in Westminster and Woolwich as well as in other areas of the metropolis.[28] Between 1850 and 1855 Bands of Hope began to be established in Preston as well as, for example, Birmingham, Bradford, Bristol, Derby, Gloucester, Ipswich, Hull, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Sheffield, York, and one in Belfast where Mrs Carlile had been addressing meetings and forming societies.[29] The prominence of another woman, Mrs Lewis is noted in chapter five in relation to her role in promoting Gospel Temperance in Blackburn. At this stage, having mentioned the forming of Bands of Hope in several areas of the country, it is apposite to look at how the movement operated as its membership spread.

Initial Operation of Bands of Hope – Leeds and Beyond

Following the inauguration of the Band of Hope in Leeds, between 1847 and 1851 there was a steady growth in the number of children's teetotal societies operating in various towns throughout the country, although there was no formal organisation and any temperance supporter could begin a group and refer to it as a Band of Hope.[30] One challenges Shiman's view that the isolation of individual societies posed problems for this pioneering work as they had no previous models on which to base their work.[31] Arguably, young people who had helped to establish juvenile teetotal societies as well as juvenile members who had benefited from such associations and had previous experience to call upon, were among those

[28] F Smith, Ed., *The Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement,* 53, quotes from the June 1848 edition of the *Teetotal Times*. Also D Burns, *Bands of Hope from their Origin,* 55.
[29] D Burns, *Bands of Hope from their Origin*, 61/62.
[30] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 135.
[31] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 136.

teetotal adherents who were involved in forming Bands of Hope. Thomas Walmsley from Preston, for example, was one such individual. It will be recalled that he aided the setting up of a teetotal society for Preston Sunday school scholars.

As Band of Hope societies grew in popularity, the discussion will now focus on how the movement managed its growth. The key to expansion, and equally important, maintenance of its membership was due in part to the Band of Hope having an efficient structure and also by it developing a culture and adopting rituals that allowed children to identify collectively with a movement designed specifically with them in mind.[32] As Band of Hope societies became established in different areas of the country, the way this growth was managed nationally, regionally and on a local basis in Preston will form part of the discussion.

The growing Band of Hope network

Band of Hope District Unions

Within a few years of the inauguration of the Band of Hope in 1847, some areas experienced several societies forming independently but in close proximity to one another. This was prevalent in urban conurbations where population levels had increased.[33]

Realising that some form of local association would be beneficial, the first amalgamation of Band of Hope societies occurred in Bradford in 1851. This became the Bradford Band of Hope Union and was the first of many district unions formed in populous areas during the 1850s. By 1855 Band of Hope unions had been formed in Bristol, Sheffield and Birmingham. These early unions proved successful and other societies followed the example to the extent that soon various types of unions connected large sections of the country.[34]

What may seem surprising is that Leeds, where the Band of Hope brand began, did not feature as a location where these early Band of Hope unions were formed, despite, or perhaps because of, its proximity to Bradford and Sheffield where such

[32] A McAllister, "'The lives and the souls of the children': the Band of Hope in the North West, *Manchester Regional History Review*, Volume 22, (2011), 10.

[33] *Band of Hope Review* issues in 1851 provide evidence of several Bands of Hope forming in populated areas.

[34] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 136.

unions formed. One's view is that this is indicative of the fact that children's teetotal societies had existed prior to 1847 and these societies recognised the marketing value of assuming the term 'Band of Hope'. Furthermore, it was circumstantial that Leeds was the location where the Rev Tunnicliffe and Mrs Carlile met to discuss support for children's teetotal advocacy, which resulted in the popular use of the term 'Band of Hope' to represent such societies. Such an event could have taken place within any temperance society operating at the time. That said, just as Preston Is known for its eminence in promoting teetotalism, Leeds merits recognition as being the place where the 'Band of Hope' brand became effective. In fact, evidence reveals that a Band of Hope Union was established in Leeds at some point before 1875.[35] A union of Bands of Hope societies in Preston did not occur until around 1864, (see later discussion regarding the year).[36]

What the evidence reveals is that the prominence of Preston in terms of pioneering adult teetotal advocacy, and the standing of Leeds as the birthplace of the branding of children's teetotal societies into the Band of Hope, was not a guarantee that these localities would necessarily benefit from such repute as the Band of Hope grew into a national movement which came to be known as the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU). In the case of Preston, elements within the thesis explore how far its Band of Hope operation was affected by the town's pioneering teetotal role. Reference to the UKBHU in relation to Leeds and Preston leads the discussion to now consider the steps that led to the establishment of this overarching union that encompassed all Band of Hope societies in the country.

The London Band of Hope Union 1855-1864

The later established UKBHU owes its existence as the overarching union of the Band of Hope, to the London Band of Hope Union (LBHU) receiving the support of Stephen Shirley, a publisher who possessed a magic lantern with a collection of instructive and amusing slides, which he placed at the disposal of the London

[35] The United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU) Annual Report for 1884 stated that Leeds had 76 societies with about 10,000 members. This same report included an NB which stated that "in 1875 Leeds had 61 societies with 9000 members...", 37. The UKBHU was established in 1864 and is discussed further on pages 58/59 of this chapter.

[36] F Smith, Ed., *The Jubilee Volume of the Band of Hope Movement,* 313. The UKBHU Annual Report for 1884 stated that the Preston Union consisted of 27 societies with around 5000 members, 39.

union.[37] Sixteen Bands of Hope had united to form the LBHU in 1855 and Shirley produced suitable Band of Hope literature that societies could purchase collectively at a reduced cost.[38] Basic dissolving views (magic lantern slides), to support lectures had been operating since the 1840s; the technology improved during the 1850s but until the 1860s, Band of Hope societies mainly used them at special events.[39] Dissolving views using magic lantern technology presented an illustrated lecture, which was particularly suited to social reforming groups such as the Band of Hope. The magic lantern show became central to Band of Hope work as a means of mass visual communication. By 1914, nearly every Band of Hope in the United Kingdom had its own equipment and some slides.[40] One can understand why Shirley's acquisition of lantern slide machinery would be advantageous to the LBHU but at this point, the discussion will remain with the LBHU's organisational structure which has particular relevance to the thesis.

The LBHU's committee consisted of a working part and an ornamental part. A patron, president and 16 vice-presidents which included twelve ministers of religion represented the ornamental section of the committee, and were appointed in an advisory capacity rather than in the transaction of business of the union. The working committee consisted of a member appointed from each of the sixteen societies in the union, a treasurer and two secretaries. Stephen Shirley used his printing capabilities to write to ministers of religion, teachers and temperance reformers emphasising the importance of temperance teaching to children. The letter also contained a constitution which read:

Title – That this Association be called the "Band of Hope Union".

1. That its object be the promotion of the disuse of all intoxicating drinks as beverages among the young, by the establishment and encouragement of 'Bands of Hope'.

[37] Facsimile of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Report for 1856, Lambeth Palace Library, 10.
[38] R Hill, "The Story and Work of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union", chapter in F Smith, *The Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement*, 77. Stephen Shirley was not the first in this field. Earlier in the century Joseph Livesey of Preston had put his own publishing capabilities to good effect by producing thousands of temperance tracts for distribution through the country.
[39] A McAllister, "To assist in the pictorial teaching of Temperance": the use of the Magic Lantern in the Band of Hope", in L Vogl-Bienek and R Crangle, Eds., *Screen Culture and the Social Question,* Bloomington, Indiana University Press, (2014), 127.
[40] A McAllister, "To assist in the pictorial teaching of Temperance", 127.

2. That all persons subscribing to the funds of the society not less than 1s. (one shilling) per annum be members.
3. That the business of the Society be conducted by a President, Vice-Presidents, and Committee, to be chosen annually by the members at a meeting called for that purpose.
4. That the Society be based on Christian principles, and carried on in a religious spirit.[41]

This was the first constitution of the LBHU and it importantly reveals something of the Band of Hope's character. The constitution was based on Christian principles but the wording reveals that the Band of Hope was a movement that extended its aid to Bands of Hope without regard to sect or party. In terms of financial assistance the wording is somewhat ambiguous. Membership of the Band of Hope was based on children signing the teetotal pledge. If children were expected to pay a subscription, then the annual membership payment of one shilling may have seemed a large amount to hard-pressed working-class families. On the other hand, the money spent over one year on drink could amount to far more. Any payment however small, would have granted children a personal stake in the movement, which they might not achieve elsewhere. On balance, one's view is that this constitution item referred to adult temperance advocates who wanted to show their support by subscribing to the movement. As stated in the previous chapter page 25, money was collected from members of voluntary organisations to provide financial support. The LBHU adopted this process in order to fund their own organisation's activities.

The wording of the LBHU's constitution formed the basis of later constitutions and rules for members adopted by the national Band of Hope Movement. However, whilst most of the aims of the LBHU were welcomed outside London, the appointment of an ornamental board was not considered necessary by many Band of Hope unions formed outside the capital, particular those in the north of England where "there was less concern with the formal structure of the movement (and)

[41] R Hill, "The Story and Work of the UKBHU", 77-81.

the working-class self-help principle was stronger..."[42] This aspect is enlarged upon on page 60.

Regional Band of Hope Unions

During the period that the LBHU had been developing in influence, regional (or county) Band of Hope unions began to take shape. One of the largest was the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU) which commenced in 1863. The Yorkshire Band of Hope Union followed in 1866.[43] Regional unions were part of an extended family of Band of Hope operations throughout the country; each of which offered support to local (sometimes called district) unions and individual societies, on payment of a nominal annual affiliation fee. Given the apparent strength of regional unions, (Lancashire and Yorkshire were industrial areas of the north and would include densely populated towns where one would expect many Band of Hope societies to exist), what circumstances led the LBHU to take steps to assume overall control of the Band of Hope organisation and form the UKBHU.

The United Kingdom Band of Hope Union

To understand the validity of the London union's claim one needs to consider the activities of the union during the period from 1855 to 1864. When the LBHU was first formed, affiliated societies paid an annual fee of five shillings which gave them priority of claim in cases were speakers were required and it offered a reduction in the charge for hiring dissolving views for lectures, with associated staff and travel costs.[44] This affiliation fee would no doubt be assisted by the one shilling annual fee paid by members (see page 58) to cover the London union's costs. The LBHU union president Stephen Shirley, through his publishing capabilities, gave the London union the means to publish Band of Hope literature and provided a significant quantity of magic lantern lectures for the use of other unions.

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[42] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 137.

[43] G H Graham, *Origin of Band of Hope Movement*, 5. Also see L Shiman, 137. Shiman refers to these two northern based unions as being the strongest in the provinces. Robert Tayler, *The Hope of the Race*, Hope Press, (1946), 33, also states that the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union would prove to be the largest and most influential Union in the Provinces. Tayler puts the year of the formation of the Union in Yorkshire as 1865, (one year earlier than the Graham account), 34.

[44] *London Band of Hope Union,* Fifth report, (1860), printed inside the endpaper front cover under the heading of "Objects Contemplated.", Lambeth Palace Library.

Conductors of local Bands of Hope welcomed magic lantern slide lectures as they provided pleasurable, and suitable, entertainment, a point constantly being emphasised by the movement at large. At this stage lantern machinery was complex in nature and as the London union owned the equipment, it held responsibility for sending out the apparatus and slides with approved lecturers.[45]

Within two years the LBHU was sending representatives to a number of counties, including areas such as Hampshire and Yorkshire, action which was claimed to have helped to stimulate the formation of unions throughout the country.[46] Such attributed growth pointed to a natural progression of the LBHU to take on the mantle of becoming the central union of the organisation, and in 1864 the LBHU changed its name to become the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU). In giving the construction of the new organisation below, it is important to point out that a level of interaction took place between the UKBHU and its affiliated unions which, as will be shown below, facilitated the acceptance of the UKBHU as the principal union.

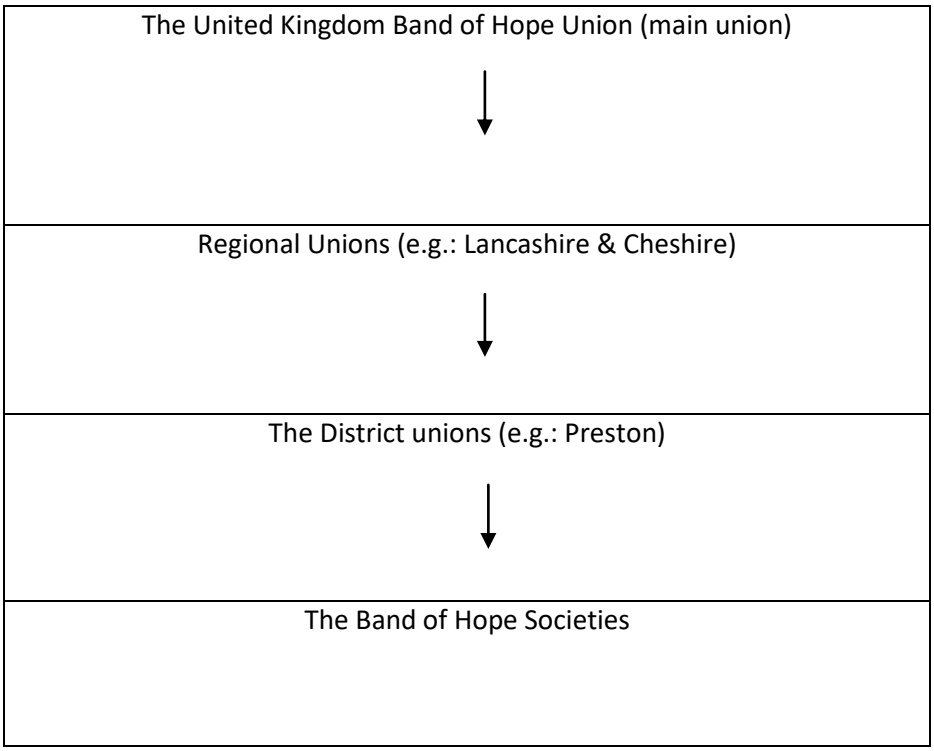

Figure 1 Band of Hope Organisational Structure.

[45] A McAllister, "To assist in the Pictorial Teaching of Temperance", 129.
[46] R Tayler, *The Hope of the Race*, 33.

In 1865 the UKBHU issued what it named as its tenth report, effectively including the years during which the union operated under the title 'The London Band of Hope Union', in which it stated that many provincial unions had now become amalgamated into this central union. Whilst the UKBHU was considered the overarching union, local societies could retain their autonomy and a number of teetotal juvenile societies continued to remain independent entities.[47] This implies that there had been some resistance to the control granted to the UKBHU which was ameliorated by them granting affiliated unions a level of self-sufficiency in their management. To what extent therefore was there national acceptance in Band of Hope circles of the UKBHU's role?

When the UKBHU took over the remit of the LBHU to become the UKBHU, it maintained a committee formation which included an ornamental board, (see page 57) which did not necessarily appeal to northern mores. Efforts by the London union to organise the Band of Hope within an overall structure were often opposed by the LCBHU and the Yorkshire Union.[48] Opposition centred on the class and cultural differences, highlighted by local pride and northern dialect, that existed between the working-class self-help principle that was stronger in the north than it was in the middle and upper class metropolitan circles of the Band of Hope.[49] These cultural differences were a reflection of those that were faced by early temperance workers who strove towards a pledge of teetotalism as a means of achieving self-improvement in their lives and status. One argues that a number of southern unions may have objected to the use of northern idiom in Band of Hope renditions, especially prevalent in Lancashire and other northern urban conurbations, because it was a reminder of the differences that had caused schisms in the early temperance movement between teetotalism and moderate 'anti-spirit' temperance. The ideology of 'anti-spirit' temperance was approved by the southern metropolitan areas as it was deemed to cement ties of hierarchical social respect.[50] This related to the question of 'respectability', a driving force of middle-class

[47] N Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers*, 125.
[48] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 136.
[49] L Shiman, "The Band of Hope Movement: respectable recreation for working-class children", Victorian Studies, (1973), 55. Also L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 137.
[50] M J D Roberts, *Making English Morals, Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England 1787-1886,* Cambridge University Press, 150-152.

consciousness that could be achieved and maintained by being and remaining sober. Such thinking clashed with the working-class view which saw reason to celebrate the 'reformed drunkard' who, it was felt, deserved his chance of redemption. These divergent views, as was explained in chapter one, had led to schisms within the temperance movement where some societies, including Preston, operated a two-pledge policy, one "anti-spirits" only and the other teetotalism until the majority chose to support a teetotal pledge.

One might argue that an awareness of the sometimes bitter struggles that had occurred in a number of moral reform movements over the vexed question of moderation or teetotalism, the British and Foreign Temperance Society (see page 27) being a case in point, added to the reasons why the Band of Hope adopted a teetotal pledge from the outset. This would effectively remove the possibility of schisms developing that might result from any difference of opinion relating to observance of a teetotal pledge. By the same token, Band of Hope workers saw no benefit in causing a rupture within their own organisation. To avoid such a possibility, explains why the constitution of the LBHU was accepted outside London despite the fact that the appointment of an ornamental board was not considered necessary by many Band of Hope unions formed outside the capital and the strong working-class self-help principle which was less concerned with the formal structure of the movement.[51]

Joseph Livesey went further by stating his view that, in relation to Band of Hope work "any three thorough-going teetotallers may form a Band of Hope, unaided by either union, minister or committee."[52] Of course, given the growth of the Band of Hope it would be unrealistic not to have formal committee representation but Livesey's views (which are added to below) do illustrate the varied opinions of those who worked to support a common cause. It was acknowledging the existence of diversity within the Band of Hope that assisted the equilibrium of the overall organisation.

[51] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 137.
[52] *The Temperance Lighthouse*, Yorkshire Band of Hope Union, No. 1 (April 1871), 10.

To illustrate this point, whilst the UKBHU was considered the overarching union, the LCBHU which was affiliated to it, began publishing its own magazine in Manchester which was named *Onward.* It began in 1865 which was the year following the formation of the UKBHU in 1864. This reveals a spirit of independence being adopted by this regional union and it confirms that Bands of Hope could exercise autonomy whilst being in affiliation to the main organisational body. As it was associated with one of the largest provincial unions, the Manchester *Onward* had the capacity to appeal to a vast number of readers in what was a densely populated region. Arguably this would aid the Band of Hope by increasing knowledge of its work in promoting children's teetotal advocacy. By achieving a level of acceptance of the variant views that existed between north and south, the Band of Hope was able to flourish and fulfil this primary objective. The fact that Band of Hope societies could choose to operate independently and develop their own personality introduces a local element to the discussion. When a Band of Hope union was formed in Preston in the mid-1860s, (see below), a question one asks is what level of support did it receive from local societies and adult temperance workers in the town, including Joseph Livesey?

A cursory examination of Joseph Livesey's view of the Band of Hope may appear to indicate that the movement did not receive his wholehearted approval. Brian Harrison claims that Livesey was alarmed at "the tendency to concentrate on rearing children to sobriety instead of reclaiming their parents."[53] Livesey felt that adults ought to be persuading to become abstainers first, as they would then influence their children to do likewise, or as Livesey put it, "make the tree good and the branches will be good also."[54] At the same time, it should be said that a number of Joseph Livesey's writings displayed a deep regard for children, based on a romantic perception of childhood (see below), who needed care and protection from drunken influences. "Oh! Save the Children!" wrote Livesey, when he extolled the virtues of sober, cheerful children, who in advancing years would fall prey to drink, if the home did not provide the example of teetotal parents.[55] This is why

[53] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* 178.
[54] Joseph Livesey, "Bands of Hope and the Care of Children", (undated, 18--), 4, Livesey Collection.
[55] J Livesey, "Oh! Save the Children!", An undated pamphlet housed in the Livesey Collection.

Livesey was keen to induce adults to become abstainers; it was in order for them to influence their children to remain sober individuals. Without doubting that teetotal parents could prove to be models of sobriety to their children, much as Livesey argued, the reality was that not all parents were teetotal. For children in these families the Band of Hope offered them set boundaries that advocated teetotal values. Having a sense of purpose in a shared community would encourage children to uphold these values as they entered adulthood.

The reference to Joseph Livesey's romantic view of childhood presents an appropriate opportunity to revisit theories relating to concepts of children and childhood that may have influenced Band of Hope work. Historians have expressed differing views on this subject, the consensus being that these changed over time. In many respects, the experience of childhood, how long it lasts, its quality and the opportunities it offers to a child, all vary according to the societal situation of the parents.[56] The nineteenth-century child brought up in a poor family would materially have a radically different experience of childhood than the child brought up in a well-established middle-class household. From a psychological point of view, a poor child may envy the apparent affluence of his richer compatriot whereas the child rich in material wealth may experience loneliness and the lack of family banter that often took place within overcrowded household conditions. Hypothetically, one argues that this provides an example where children of all backgrounds would benefit from attending the Band of Hope. The poor child would gain physically by knowledge that being teetotal helped to ward off poverty, whilst the more affluent child could gain companionship through attendance at Band of Hope meetings.

A further view expressed by Joseph Livesey, mentioned above, also has relevance to the discussion. Theoretically, it was possible for a small group of dedicated teetotallers to organise Band of Hope societies, as Livesey maintained.[57] Prior to the Band of Hope, it was in Preston that Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin had formed the first teetotal society for Sunday school children and the early years of the Band of Hope saw societies established by small groups of people. However, at

[56] C Heywood, *A History of Childhood,* 9.
[57] *The Temperance Lighthouse*, No. 1 (April 1871), 10.

a time when the Band of Hope organisation had become established nationally, Livesey still appeared to place small group effort above organisational structure. This view, coupled with his opinion regarding the importance of adult teetotal advocacy, allows the original question of whether there was wholehearted approval of the Preston Band of Hope Union when it was formed, to be seen in a different light. This aspect has not been considered in previous accounts of temperance history. If, as Harrison claimed, Livesey insisted that temperance work among adults must take priority, and taking into account Livesey's championing of individual societies, to what extent, if any, would this have affected the operation of a Band of Hope Union in Preston? To seek answers the discussion will now consider evidence relating to the formation and operation of the Preston Band of Hope Union.

The Preston Band of Hope Union

A Preston Band of Hope Union (PBHU) was established between 1864 and 1866.[58] A union had definitely been formed by 1866 as the local press reported that a deputation from the PBHU attended the usual fortnightly meeting of the Preston Band of Hope Society in August 1866.[59] Both the *Preston Guardian* and the *Preston Chronicle* indicated that it commenced in 1865.[60] A report in the December 1887 issue of the *Band of Chronicle* put the year at 1866 but more importantly for the thesis this article stated that:

> The home of the English temperance movement celebrated recently the "coming of age" of its (Preston) Band of Hope Union. For twenty one years with varying fortunes, but a single aim, it has sustained its useful work. The proceedings were inaugurated by a conference under the chairmanship of Mr T Walmsley, the president of the union…[61]

The appointment of Thomas Walmsley as president of the union displays a level of continuity in the Band of Hope operation. It will be remembered that Walmsley's desire to install teetotal values in children began when as a young man of 17 he

[58] *The Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement* stated that 1864 was the date the Preston Union commenced, 313. W Pilkington, *The Makers of Preston Methodism and the relation of Methodism to the Temperance Movement,* (1890), 236, Livesey Collection, gives the date as 1866.
[59] *Preston Chronicle,* 18 August 1866.
[60] *Preston Guardian*, 29 May 1869, recorded that the fourth anniversary of the PBHU took place that year and the *Preston Chronicle* 10 June 1871, recorded the PBHU celebrating its sixth anniversary in 1871.
[61] *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 12, (December 1887), 195, Livesey Collection.

attended the Youths' Temperance Academy in Preston in 1832 and he had been an instigator of teetotal advocacy in children in Preston in the 1830s. As president of the PBHU, Walmsley would have witnessed the "varying fortunes" of the PBHU during its 21 years existence. The *Band of Hope Chronicle's* reference suggests that the operation of the PBHU was not always plain sailing. With no indication of what these "varying fortunes" entailed and irrespective of which year the PBHU was established, evidence suggests that the union did not immediately affiliate to the LCBHU.

The UKBHU Annual Report for the year 1 January 1876 to 31 March 1877 listed Preston under Town and District Unions not associated with County Unions.[62] This did not occur until the following year when the report listed Preston under the section of those unions associated with the LCBHU, at which time the PBHU reported having 17 societies.[63] This implies that the PBHU did not affiliate to the LCBHU until the year 1877. The issue is complicated further by a notice given in the *Preston Chronicle* in July 1875, which mentioned that efforts were being made to resuscitate the old Preston Band of Hope Union.[64] Some clarity is required here. The union was extant in 1871 when it celebrated its sixth anniversary.[65] Did the union suffer some setback after the 1871 celebration and before 1877 when, with the realisation that it would benefit from being part of the larger organisation, it then affiliated to the LCBHU?

At this point Joseph Livesey's views come into play. As the prominent proponent of teetotalism Livesey's views carried weight in temperance circles, especially in Preston. Is it possible that in emphasising the importance of persuading adults to become teetotal, Livesey's view was interpreted by some temperance supporters in Preston as a lack of enthusiasm for Band of Hope work in the town? Clearly, as revealed earlier, Livesey was in favour of the Band of Hope. He chaired and often spoke at Preston Temperance Society Band of Hope meetings and other children's

[62] United Kingdom Band of Hope Union Annual Report, (1.1.1876-31.3.1877), 47.
[63] UKBHU Annual Report, (1.4.1877-31.3.1878), 31.
[64] *Preston Chronicle*, 10 July 1875.
[65] *Preston Chronicle*, 10 June 1871. This date supports the earlier reports in both the *Preston Guardian* and the *Preston Chronicle* that the PBHU was formed in 1865.

teetotal societies. Rather his support leant towards the efforts of individual Band of Hope societies that he felt did not require the formation of an organisational tier in order to operate effectively. The PBHU was one such tier and Livesey's attitude to it may have been lukewarm with the result that although he was the recognised figurehead of teetotal advocacy in Preston, he did not spearhead the formation of the PBHU but left it to others to manage its operation.[66]

Arguably, the leading proponent of the Band of Hope in Preston was Thomas Walmsley. Although this thesis gives credit to Walmsley as an important figure and tireless worker in the Band of Hope, his reputation did not match the prominence that was accorded to Joseph Livesey. Whilst cognisant of the fact that Joseph Livesey's views may have had a bearing on the experience of the PBHU following its formation, the evidence shows that at some stage prior to 1877 the PBHU did become affiliated to the LCBHU. Returning to the question of whether the PBHU realised that it would benefit from being part of a larger organisation, and despite Livesey's views, evidence suggesting that this was the case is provided in the *Band of Hope Chronicle*.

Under the heading of 'Record of Progress from Associated Unions – Lancashire and Cheshire', in the January 1878 issue of the *Band of Hope Chronicle*, it was recorded that "Preston had 23 societies in its union with meetings greatly increased in interest; 34 meetings having been arranged by the union and its associated societies."[67] This burgeoning activity within the PBHU in the year following its affiliation to the LCBHU provides endorsement that the unifying nature of this method of approach was achieving success. At the same time one argues that the above evidence reveals a level of fluidity in the Band of Hope operation in Preston. The PBHU would go on to suffer periods of uncertainty and these will be examined

[66] Livesey's views may explain why the *Preston Guardian*, which was produced by Livesey was more informative with regard to temperance work than to that devoted to the Band of Hope. Examination of nineteenth century issues of the *Preston Guardian* do not add significantly to the information provided in the *Preston Chronicle*; in some cases they mirror each other. The latter was a liberal newspaper and as such Livesey may have been content to leave Band of Hope matters generally to this newspaper, allowing him to devote his publication to other reform issues in which he was involved.

[67] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 1, (January 1878), 18.

within the time framework of the thesis, taking on board Preston's prominence in temperance history and the expressed views of Joseph Livesey presented above.

The chapter has thus far considered how the Band of Hope developed, as a result of efforts made by temperance reformers, into a national children's teetotal movement. Mindful that the purpose of the thesis is to consider the Band of Hope specifically in Preston, the adoption of a different approach is required when examining documented evidence of the town's past. Facets of Preston's history which may previously have been marginalised might have significance for this thesis and therefore merits one's attention.

Preston – a brief history

There was no significant increase in Preston's population until the late eighteenth century when it stood at around 6,000. By 1831 it had risen to 33,000, rising to 70,000 by 1851.[68] This was due to increased industrialisation that had impacted particularly upon urban areas of the north. The 1851 census defined an urban area as being a community of 10,000 persons which made Lancashire the most urbanised county in Britain. At that time, half the population of Lancashire lived in 14 towns with populations of over 10,000, such as Preston, but excluding Manchester and Liverpool, which were considerably larger.[69] More widely, between 1801 and 1850 the population of Great Britain had almost doubled from less than eleven million to more than 21 million. For the first time in the history of any large nation half the population was urban.[70]

Industrialisation led to rapid growth and the building of working-class housing in Preston to accommodate the emergent workforce in the newly established cotton mills built around the town. Textiles dominated with weaving providing the bulk of the labour force alongside other trades that included printing machinery, transport

[68] M Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, Cambridge University Press (1971),33. D Hunt, *A History of Preston*, Carnegie Publishing, (1992), 159. E N Marks, *The Guild Guide to Preston*, John Heywood, Manchester, (1882), 12. The population had reached 117,000 by 1911, see A J Berry, *The Story of Preston,* Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, London, (undated but printed after 1911) 223.
[69] M Anderson, *Family Structure,* 32.
[70] K S Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, University of Toronto Press (1963), 3.

and the docks.[71] Preston was characterised by a mixing of all social groups, based on occupation rather than status. For example, Winckley Square was an elite residential area close to the centre of Preston. Close by, the Avenham district was occupied by some of the poorest people in the town. [72] Arguably, if the elite of the town continued to live cheek by jowl with the working-classes, then this would encourage philanthropic endeavour, an aspect discussed in chapter one, as a means by which the affluent could cement their respectable status by active charity work that would not only help the poor but would help to ensure social stability. As well as providing working-class housing to accommodate the workforce, underpinning this philosophy was the view that the religious needs of the community should also be met. Preston was not alone in experiencing a huge increase in its population. Before looking at Preston's religious structure in detail it is worth considering this aspect in its wider perspective. Not least, it helps one to understand why, in order to appeal to different religious denominations and secular institutions alike, the Band of Hope adopted a non-denominational stance from the outset.

A further impact of industrialisation was that it led to a huge increase in immigration from rural areas. The national census of 1851 showed that in all towns except Leeds at least half the inhabitants were immigrants from the countryside. Many rural immigrants, although actual numbers cannot be verified, had worshipped in their village where religious practice was a familiar occurrence. Going to church was part of the custom of village life that was not always maintained if there was no regular practice within the community in which they now resided, particularly if there was no church to accommodate them. This aspect, coupled with a fear of a spread of French revolutionary ideas to this country, led to efforts being made between 1800 and 1850 to build churches mainly on secular grounds in lower class residential areas. The Church of England had the assistance of the state in its efforts to gain working-class worshippers, money being

[71] J G Timmins, *Preston, A Pictorial History*, Phillimore & Co Ltd (1992), Introduction, no page number given. Printing machinery would have been useful to teetotal advocates, such as Joseph Livesey, to publish thousands of temperance tracts produced for distribution into the wider community.
[72] M Savage, *The Dynamics of Working Class Politics, The Labour Movement in Preston 1880-1940*, Cambridge University Press, (1987), 102/103.

granted from Parliament to aid church building in populous areas to meet the needs of the "most ignorant and neglected of the population".[73]

At the same time it is worth mentioning that during this period, there was a revival of evangelical religion. Evangelicalism engaged the active co-operation of people from different churches. True evangelicals believed that faith and doctrine mattered more than denomination, and inter-denominational societies formed to bring religion to the poor.[74] D W Bebbington argues that the Religious Census of 1851 illustrated that the numbers of those who attended church could not all have come from the middle-classes. Whilst he accepts that the majority of the working class did not attend church, nevertheless "a significant proportion did".[75] One argues that both the Established church and Nonconformist churches would have wanted to extend their ministry to embrace such people.

There was one body, the Roman Catholic Church, who could claim a steady increase of working-class adherents during the first half of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century Catholics in England had been a tiny and somewhat persecuted body. Even after the Roman Catholic relief Act of 1829 had removed almost completely the civil intolerances which Catholics had suffered for centuries, they were still reluctant as a body to evangelise other countrymen rich or poor. However, Irish immigration had increased, due to episodes of famine, particularly the failure of the Irish potato crop, in the mid-to-late 1840s. This significantly increased the number of Irish immigrants to the large towns in Lancashire who arrived through the port of Liverpool. The conversion of John Henry Newman to Catholicism in the mid-1840s, together with the leadership of Henry Manning brought to the Catholic Church men with crusading zeal. Refugees from famine in Ireland gave Catholicism an opportunity to appeal to those who were being ignored by other church groups.[76] In light of this evidence, consideration will now focus on Preston's religious structure and why it might possibly impact upon any Band of Hope operation in the town.

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[73] KS Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, 7.
[74] K S Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, 3-6.
[75] D W Bebbington, *Evangelism in Modern Britain: a History from the 1730s to The 1980s,* Routledge, (2003), 208.
[76] KS Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, 16-18.

In 1851 a Census of Religious Worship in Great Britain was conducted.[77] It is questionable that the census carried out on the 31 March 1851 gave an accurate measure of religious attendance but it has some use for the purpose of this study. Preston's index of attendance fell below that for all large towns. In fact it was placed at the bottom of this index at 25.5. In gauging attendance as distributed between denominations some religious bodies fared better than others. It was stated that in certain towns Roman Catholic attendance prevented the figures from the other main denominations reaching 50 per cent of the total. In accepting the dubious nature of the figures in the census, it was shown that in these towns, attendance as a percentage of total attendance in Preston stood at Church of England 20.4; Nonconformist 43.8 and Roman Catholic 35.8. A larger percentage of Roman Catholics attended church in Preston on the census day than in either Liverpool, recorded in the same order as (40.7, 26.8, 32.5), or Manchester (34.4, 42.3, 23.3). In towns comparable in size to Preston the figures were, Wigan (46.1, 25.7, 28.2); Blackburn (44.4, 44.8, 10.8); and Bolton (41.7, 45.2, 13.1).[78]

There is a caveat to the above figures which should be borne in mind in relation to Preston. Roman Catholic attendances appear to have been higher than the Church of England, but this may be misleading. Inglis argues that this was one of the few cases in which the number of missing returns was substantial; returns were not submitted for seven out of seventeen Church of England buildings in Preston which may have made the proportion of Roman Catholic worshippers more striking.[79] Allowing for the missing returns, while Preston belonged to the group of towns in which Church of England attendances were lowest, the picture may not have been as bleak as these figures suggest.

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[77] K S Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship". Inglis states that in 1851 an official census of religious worship was held in Great Britain. England and Wales were covered by one report, with a separate report for Scotland. The report when issued was open to several interpretations; as one interpretation was that it showed half the nation to be Nonconformists, parliamentary defenders of the Establishment resisted any proposal to repeat a census in this format, 74.

[78] K S Inglis "Patterns of Religious Worship", 82/83.

[79] K S Inglis, "Patterns of Religious Worship", 83. This is confirmed by perusal of the Census relating to *Religious Worship in England and Wales, 1851*, which states that for Preston "the number of attendants is not given for seven places of worship belonging to the Church of England and for one place belonging to the Roman Catholics.", *Summary Tables,* cdxvi, www.histpop.org (accessed 8.09.2012).

The above evidence needs to be viewed with some scepticism as it does not take account of those worshippers who might have attended regularly but did not attend a particular service on a particular day, through illness or for other reasons. It should also be borne in mind that despite the Church of England in Preston having a lower attendance than the other main sects, Phillips argues that traditional elements of Preston's governing class had accepted manufacturers in the town as fellow leaders of the community and these were predominantly Anglican. With no rival Nonconformist elite, class tension rather than sectarian conflict was more in evidence in Preston at mid-century than in other Lancashire towns.[80]

At the same time, as the 1851 Religious Census indicated that a larger percentage of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics in Preston attended church on the day the census was carried out, this does support the thesis argument that whilst a preponderant Anglican elite may have governed the political direction of the town, there was no overriding religious hegemony. Appendix 1 serves to confirm this by showing the number of churches and their religious affiliation that had been established in Preston by 1860.

A final aspect to consider is that whilst the Census of Religious Worship of 1851 may have suggested that Church attendance was low on a particular day, statistics compiled from the national census of 1851, presented in 1854, indicate that there was a good Sunday school attendance.[81] When it came to Sunday school scholars in Preston, the Church of England fared better than the figures for adult attendance in the 1851 Religious Census suggest, although this did not alter the fact that the proportion of Roman Catholics in Preston was significant.[82] Moreover, the Catholic

[80] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit: Sectarianism, Society and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns,* University of Toronto Press, (1983), 40.

[81] C Hardwick, *History of the Borough of Preston*, Worthington and Company, (1857), 486/487. Hardwick states that a comparison with the returns from forty-five of "the principal boroughs and large towns" shows that Preston had above the average number of Sunday scholars in proportion to the population.

[82] The Preston Guild records for 1862, offer an estimation of how many children attended the various Sunday schools in Preston at that time. These state that a procession of over 25,000 Preston Sunday school children entered Avenham Park for the celebrations. Of these, nearly half the places were allocated to schools in connection with Church of England, approximately 12,000, and just over half divided between Dissenters (Nonconformist) and Roman Catholic church schools, circa 6,800 and 7,000 respectively. Longworth, *D, Celebration of the Preston Guild Merchant of 1862,* Longworth Brothers, Friargate, Preston. (1862).

Church had maintained a strong presence in Preston, which preceded the influx of Irish migrants resulting from the impact of the potato blight in Ireland.[83] How does the above discussion relate to the operation of the Band of Hope in Preston? Arguably, as a town with no overriding religious hegemony, the non-denominational stance of the Band of Hope would have been of particular interest to the movement in Preston as it would not have prevented a potentially significant number of Roman Catholic children from attending. In addition, without denying that religious differences did exist, Preston's distinctive religious make-up allowed for a degree of co-operation between the main church sects in relation to temperance and Band of Hope work in the town. This point was emphasised by Joseph Livesey, when he asserted that "The congregation that could not endure a thorough teetotal sermon in the chapel, has no objection to allow a Band of Hope in the school-room…"[84] At the same time, in penning these words, Livesey was expressing a view that would suit Band of Hope work in Preston because of its distinctive religious make-up. It has to be said that in this connection, Livesey practiced what he preached. When St Ignatius, a Catholic Church, formed a temperance society in 1864, Livesey showed his support for this endeavour by agreeing to address the audience at its inaugural meeting.[85]

Joseph Livesey was aware that among those prominent in Catholic circles, there existed those who considered that teetotal principles would not conflict with their religious adherence. In his speech Livesey acknowledged the example or Father Mathew who became a lifelong teetotaller. [86] This event appertains to the aims of the thesis in a number of ways. In inviting Joseph Livesey to speak at its first meeting St Ignatius was acknowledging Livesey's standing in the temperance community. By the same token, it must have occurred to the organisers that Livesey's presence would help to ensure a good attendance at this Catholic Temperance society. Teetotal advocacy often transcended other differences that

[83] M Savage, *The Dynamics of Working-Class Politics,* 110/111.
[84] J Livesey, *The Temperance Lighthouse*, No. 1 (April 1871), 8.
[85] *Preston Chronicle*, 25 February 1865. Also see T A Smith, "St. Ignatius' Temperance Society", *North West Catholic History Journal*, Volume XXIV, (1997), 18.
[86] E Malcolm, *Ireland Sober – Ireland Free*, Syracuse University Press, (1986), 137. Born in Tipperary, Father Mathew formed the Cork Total Abstinence Society in 1838 and became a lifelong teetotaller who considered the pledge to be a sacred vow.

might occur between organisations, whether religious or secular. Moreover, Livesey himself would have been aware of the Catholic presence in Preston. Livesey's support for the St Ignatius Temperance society therefore, reflected not only his awareness of this fact but also substantiates a point mentioned on the previous page. That is, Livesey's view that in bringing adults (in this case the Catholic adults in Preston), to accommodate teetotal values, these could then be instilled into their children.

Much of the above discussion arose as a result of the outcome of the Census of Religious Worship undertaken in 1851. In Preston, the Census suggested that church attendance was low on a particular day and it confirmed Preston's distinctive religious makeup. The census also indicated that there was a good Sunday school attendance. One of the first Bands of Hope in Preston (following the inauguration of the movement under that brand name), was established for Sunday school scholars. But first, the discussion of Sunday schools that commenced in the previous chapter will now reveal how they became connected with Band of Hope work.

Band of Hope Societies and Sunday School Scholars

Prior to and during the first half of the nineteenth century, children were receiving some form of elementary education brought to them through a number of agencies. Dame schools, charity schools, industrial schools and Sunday schools were among those who provided knowledge of the 3 Rs, training for a trade or religious instruction.[87] Many working-class families also had books, often of a religious nature in the household.[88] The returns of the *Committee of Inquiry into the Education of the Lower Orders,* published between 1816 and 1818 indicated that "there were over 478,000 children attending the 14,300 unendowed schools and 165,432 children attending the 4100 endowed schools."[89] However, the

[87] W B Stephens, *Education in Britain 1750-1914*, MacMillan, (1998), 1/2.
[88] J Walton, J Walvin, Eds., *Leisure in Britain*, Chapter by D Vincent, *Reading in the Working-Class Home,* 213.
[89] M G Jones, *The Charity School Movement: a study of eighteenth-century Puritanism in Action,* Archon Books, (1964), 331.

availability of schools for working-class children was patchy throughout the country and the proportion of children attending varied from parish to parish.[90]

Sunday schools often provided a means for promoting teetotal advocacy prior to 1847, illustrated by one in Preston and continued following the Band of Hope's inauguration.[91] Although the *Band of Hope Review* dropped reference to the Sunday school in its publication title from 1851, there are several examples that point to a continuing association with Sunday schools.[92] Furthermore, under the heading of "Sunday School circulation of the Band of Hope Review", it was reported that at a meeting of the committee of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Sunday School Union (comprising about 120 schools), it was resolved that a copy of the *Band of Hope Review* be sent to each School in the Union.[93] What this suggests is that a number of Sunday schools did discuss temperance advocacy but it does not imply that the school operated a Band of Hope where children took the teetotal pledge. Sunday school attendees could pledge to be teetotal through attendance at a Band of Hope attached to a church temperance society or to a secular temperance society.

Nevertheless, there was acknowledgement that common interests existed between the Band of Hope and Sunday schools with the *Band of Hope Review* indicating that a number of Band of Hope societies were organised to cater for all the Sunday school scholars living in an area on a collective basis. Whilst these may have been attached to a secular temperance society, the *Review* also added that some Sunday schools formed their own Bands of Hope to cater solely for their scholars.[94] As the

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[90] M G Jones, *The Charity School Movement,* 332.

[91] The children's teetotal Society established by Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin in a Primitive Methodist Sunday school in Preston in 1834 testifies to this fact. See T Walmsley, *The first Juvenile Temperance Society ,* 6.

[92] *Band of Hope Review,* No 11 (November 1851), 44. Sunday schools in less populated areas were valuable in forming Bands of Hope. One in Kendal Fell Side Sunday school was formed in 1851 that claimed to enrol 50 names. Also, *Band of Hope Review*, No. 24, (December 1852), 94, stated that when notice was given in the *Band of Hope Review* that the Sunday School Union Jubilee would be celebrated in 1853, *Review* readers were invited to join in its celebrations. Also *Band of Hope Review*, No. 31, (July 1853), 27 which stated that at a conference of Sunday school teachers the same year, efforts were to be made to further the temperance cause "amongst the rising generation".

[93] *Band of Hope Review*, No. 36, (December 1853), 47.

[94] *Band of Hope Review*, No. 2 (February 1851), 7. For example, a meeting in Darlington's Central Hall in November 1850, to which most of the Sabbath schools were invited, resulted in a juvenile

examples in the footnote reveal, the choices made in these cases was likely governed by the number of scholars living in the area at that time. The Manchester society alone had 223 scholars, whilst the collective number in Darlington at that time was not much higher, averaging around 300 scholars. A note penned in the January 1853 issue of the *Review* from Haverfordwest arguably carries more significance. This stated that a demonstration in connection with the Bands of Hope of the Church of England, Baptist, Wesleyan, Tabernacle and Welsh Methodist Sunday schools had taken place.[95] What this reveals is that Bands of Hope were operated by churches with differing religious beliefs. The ecumenical nature of such a gathering was due to the non-denominational stance adopted by the Band of Hope. Importantly, it suggests that sections within the Church of England were engaging with children's teetotal advocacy, prior to the acceptance of adult teetotalism by the Established, and some Nonconformist church authorities. Before providing an example of individual effort within the Church of England in Preston to demonstrate this view, attention will be given to the first two Band of Hope societies established in Preston, following the adoption of the term 'Band of Hope' in Leeds in 1847, as these provide a link between religious and secular organisations in Preston that was encouraged by the non-denominational stance adopted by the Band of Hope.[96]

The secular Preston Temperance Society formed a Band of Hope in 1851. In addition, temperance societies in other localities in the north-west commenced operating Bands of Hope during the 1850s.[97] As a national organisation, one

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society for around 150 boys and girls which then held meetings once a fortnight, with an average attendance of 300. *Band of Hope Review*, No. 21 (September 1852), 84. This states that a Band of Hope established in Manchester at the Rusholme Road Sabbath School consisted solely of their scholars, which numbered 223 members.

[95] *Band of Hope Review*, No. 25 (January 1853) 4. By 1853 a Band of Hope formed at Bridgewater in connection with the Wesleyan Sunday School had 870 members enrolled. In Sheffield, a Juvenile Temperance Band of Hope in connection with the Red Hill Wesleyan Sunday school was holding quarterly meetings.

[96] Around 1850 the Orchard Free Methodist Band of Hope was established and the Preston Temperance Society's Band of Hope society was formed in 1851. This society held its meeting in the Corn Exchange. W. Pilkington *The Makers of Wesleyan Temperance* (1890), 234/5. *Preston Chronicle,* 11 October 1851. *Preston Guardian*, 11 October, 1851.

[97] *Band of Hope Journal,* (formerly *Sunday Scholars and Youth Temperance Magazine*), Volume V (1852), 23. *Preston Chronicle,* 22 April 1854; *Preston Guardian,* 15 May, 1858. Bolton, Chorley and Darwen are named as having formed Bands of Hope within their temperance societies during the 1850s.

recognises that Bands of Hope operated throughout the country as well as in Preston. However, a decision not to provide a comparative experiential analysis of the Band of Hope in Preston with a similar area is based of the subjective nature of such an endeavour if carried out over the time period covered by the thesis. At the time of writing, available evidence might be misleading and present a skewed version of facts.[98] One is on firmer ground in offering a statistical analysis of Preston in relation to other areas at times in its history, and subsequent discussion will reveal how Preston fared numerically in comparison to other similar towns.

Preston – Band of Hope Societies and Sunday School Scholars: 1850 to 1862

The first record of a Band of Hope in Preston was in connection with the Orchard Methodist Free Church circa 1850. Not surprisingly, given that local ministers who supported teetotalism often took such action, the minister at this church was himself a teetotaller.[99] The secretary of the church was a tradesman by occupation, who later in life went on to become Mayor of Preston for the years 1887, 1888 and 1889.[100] Appendix 2 uses examples taken from working-class autobiographies to reveal several instances where those from humble backgrounds rose to positions of eminence within their local, and also wider, community. Those selected were born prior to 1863; none were reported to be workhouse adults or children but a number became associated with the Sunday school, teetotalism and/or the Band of Hope.

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[98] The provision of information regarding Band of Hope events and its operation in Band of Hope publications or local newspapers is dependent upon a number of factors, including the zeal of Band of Hope secretaries in relating details of activities; or may be more prevalent at times when a Band of Hope was enjoying particular success or associated with an anniversary in the locality. Such provision does not extend over a period that would allow a meaningful analysis to take place. A Band of Hope may have been a very active society but not submit details for publication, do so only for a short period of time, or intermittently. For example, between 1848 and 1851 the *Sunday Scholars and Youths' Temperance Journal* was concentrated almost entirely upon activities in Bolton, with one reference to Wigan and one to Preston. A record of Preston's Band of Hope activities appeared regularly in the *Band of Hope Chronicle* during the period that Charles Hawkins was the Band of Hope secretary in the late 1890s, more so than at any other time, which will be discussed in a later chapter in the body of the thesis.

[99] W. Pilkington, *The Makers of Wesleyan Temperance*, 234/5. The society's secretary was James Burrows, a tradesman who later went on to become Mayor of Preston for the years 1887, 1888 and 1889.

[100] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 4. Shiman asserts that by 1880 a number of the early working class teetotallers had established themselves in local political circles and positions of influence. See J Burnett, D Vincent, *The Autobiography of the Working Class*, Volume 1, 1790-1900, New York University Press, (1984).

A year later, the *Preston Guardian* reported that a meeting for the formation of a 'Band of Hope' or 'Sunday Scholars' Temperance Society' took place in the Corn Exchange, attended by 1500, mainly Sunday scholars.[101] The same meeting, reported in the *Preston Chronicle* stated that upwards of 2000 Sunday school children and their friends attended. [102] The *Sunday Scholars' and Youths' Temperance Magazine and Band of Hope Journal* stated that 1500 children attended, mainly Sunday scholars, and gave the date of the meeting as the 6th October 1851.[103] The difference in attendance numbers can be explained either as a simple typographical error made in one of the reports, or the number of 2,000 quoted in the *Preston Chronicle* may be one of those occasions where a local newspaper leant towards recording a higher number to add prestige to the local area, rather than a deliberate attempt to deceive.[104] It should also be considered that the *Sunday Scholars and Youths' Temperance Magazine* was, in its October issue, quoting from the *Preston Guardian*, or vice versa. The important point to draw from this evidence is that it emphasises that a large number of children attended the meeting in the Corn Exchange and that the majority of them were Sunday school scholars. [105]

In regard to the name of the association, one can understand why the *Journal* article particularly, would wish to incorporate words used in its own title to describe the group as a 'Band of Hope' or 'Sunday Scholars Temperance Society'. This title was also used by the *Preston Guardian* and it is plausible that the use of such a title would attract the sympathies, and financial support, of both religious bodies and temperance advocates in Preston. What it also suggests is that the term 'Band of Hope' was still in the throes of being adopted generically by all children's teetotal societies throughout the country. Equally observers might argue that as the

[101] *Preston Guardian,* 11 October 1851.
[102] *Preston Chronicle,* 11 October 1851.
[103] *Sunday Scholars' and Youths' Temperance Magazine and Band of Hope Journal*, Volume IV 1851, 132. This corroborates the date of both newspapers editions which were dated 11 October 1851, the *Preston Chronicle* having stated that the meeting had taken place the previous Monday evening.
[104] A Hobbs, "Reading the local paper: Social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900", PhD Thesis (2010), 153. Hobbs suggests that local newspapers may tend to "overplay the good and downgrade the bad" to add prestige to the local area, which historians should aware of.
[105] A similar situation occurring in Darlington where a Band of Hope was established collectively for all the Sunday school children living in the area, (see footnote 94, pages 75/76).

Band of Hope was a non-denominational movement for all children, any reference to Sunday scholars was unnecessary as their inclusion was based upon accepting and maintaining the teetotal pledge and not on other grounds.

A final point of note is that within a few months, the *Band of Hope Review* commented in reference to Preston that "This birth place of the Temperance Movement contains a promising Band of Hope."[106] One of the factors examined in the thesis relates to the extent to which Preston's eminence in temperance circles affected the town's Band of Hope operation, the other related to Preston's distinctive religious make-up. As mentioned earlier, Joseph Livesey, was largely responsible for the town's teetotal eminence, but he also recognised that in Preston, co-operation was key to maintaining successful teetotal advocacy in children. The Preston Temperance society Band of Hope, from its foundation in 1851, demonstrated such co-operation. One may recall from chapter one that church attendees might also be associated with teetotal advocating temperance societies and Preston was no exception. At the second meeting of the Preston Temperance Society Band of Hope in November 1851, a Nonconformist church minister aided the society in promoting the Band of Hope to the large mass of children in attendance, some of whom gave recitations and all were included in singing temperance melodies.[107]* The society met in February 1852 when Joseph Livesey himself presided and addressed the children.[108]

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[106] The *Band of Hope Review*, February 1852, No. 14, 5/6.

[107] *Preston Chronicle,* 8 November 1851.***** From this point the society was referred to as the *Preston Band of Hope Society* rather than the *Sunday Scholars Temperance Society*. It is suggested that as the *Band of Hope Journal* dropped the reference to the *Sunday Scholars and Youth's Temperance Magazine* from its title, it reflects the fact that the term 'Band of Hope' was increasingly being used as the generic name for children's teetotal societies.

[108] *Preston Chronicle,* 1 March 1852. Perusal of issues of the *Preston Guardian* indicate that less direct references were made to the Band of Hope in Preston than occurred in the *Preston Chronicle* during the 1850s. As a newspaper owned by Joseph Livesey this seems strange. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, page 19, the *Guardian* did refer to temperance related issues and one possibility relates to Joseph Livesey's belief that it was important to imbue adults with teetotal ideals so that they could pass these on to their children. (See Joseph Livesey, "Bands of Hope and the Care of Children", (undated, 18--), 4, Livesey Collection. As the Band of Hope, in its generic application was still in its infancy and as the *Guardian* served to some extent as a regional newspaper for central Lancashire in the nineteenth century, Livesey may have decided to leave it to the *Preston Chronicle* to inform readers of local Band of Hope activities during this period. Where appropriate, references to the Band of Hope in the *Preston Guardian* will be included in the text.

The above evidence has revealed that at least two Bands of Hope had been established in Preston by 1851. As the first was formed within a Nonconformist church, what connected Sunday schools to Band of Hope work in Preston at this time? Evidence contained in the local press and contemporary issues of the *Band of Hope Review* reveal that when Sunday school scholars pledged teetotalism this was done through the aegis of either a church's temperance society, or the secular temperance society Band of Hope. There is little to indicate a direct link beween individual Sunday schools and the Band of Hope in Preston in the early 1850s. This may appear surprising and merits some explanation.

Religious-associated Bands of Hope were attached to the church, especially if the church had established its own temperance society. Sunday schools and day schools were also part of the church's operation. Children who attended a Sunday school or day school could also (or not) attend the Band of Hope associated with the church if one had been formed, or could attend the Preston Temperance Society Band of Hope. Light can be shed on how teetotal advocacy was conducted in the town, by reference to events that took place in Preston during the 1850s.

Each year, in line with similar towns, Preston held a Whitsuntide procession and in May 1852 the various schools connected with the Band of Hope were requested to join in the procession.[109] This could indicate that either various schools had established their own Bands of Hope, or more likely, that children who attended different schools in Preston were collectively members of the Preston Band of Hope or of the Orchard Methodist church Band of Hope, the one known to be in existence at that time. A point worth noting is that all but one of Preston's churches had day or Sunday schools attached to them in the 1850s.[110] Children's education was not mandatory during the 1850s and at that time there were more Sunday scholars than day scholars.[111] Children who attended Sunday school were therefore a natural target for the Band of Hope in efforts to promote teetotal

[109] *Preston Chronicle,* 22 May 1852. Also *Preston Guardian*, 15 May 1852, which reported that the Preston Temperance Society would hold their procession on Whit Monday but the report contained no mention of the Band of Hope.
[110] M Savage, *The Dynamics of working-class Politics,* 103/105. Savage indicates that St. George's Church in the town centre was the only one not operating a day school. This church catered mostly for the affluent of Preston's population whose sons attended 'public' fee-paying schools.
[111] K D M Snell, "The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales", 125.

advocacy, be it in Preston or in other parts of the country. When education became compulsory later in the century, a different situation arose which will be discussed in chapter four.

Local press reports of the annual Whitsuntide procession in Preston in 1853 also indicate that the procession route involved the scholars of the various church Sunday schools and members and the Band of Hope and Temperance society.[112] If the Preston Band of Hope consisted largely of Sunday school children, did these scholars march in the procession as part of the Sunday school they belonged to, or as members of the Preston Band of Hope? Sunday school children in Britain in 1851 numbered around 2,600,000.[113] The Preston Band of Hope with around 1500 to 2000 children attending its first meeting (and not all necessarly became pledged members), together with those children who were members of the Orchard Free Methodist Church Band of Hope, would only have represented a small proportion of Sunday scholars in Preston.[114] If Sunday school children who were members of a Preston Band of Hope at that time, were allowed to march as part of that contingent, it would indicate that Preston Sunday schools were willing to offer their support because of the Band of Hope's non-denominational stance. Given the higher number of Sunday school children, such a gesture would not have impacted upon the number of remaining scholars who did march with their Sunday school in the procession. Arguably, it made sense for them to do so as many of the children who were members of the Preston Band of Hope would have attended different Sunday schools in the town, or attended none.

The Whitsuntide procession presented Sunday schools with the opportunity to co-operate with a society which was attended by a number of their own Sunday school scholars and by adding to those who participated in the temperance portion of the procession it provided an opportunity to demonstrate Preston's prominence in temperance history. This brings the discussion back to the question of why there is

[112] *Preston Chronicle*, 7 May 1853.
[113] K D M Snell, "The Sunday School Movement in England and Wales", p.126.
[114] Table 1 on page 42 refers to just over 3000 Sunday scholars in Preston in 1824, but Preston's population had increased significantly during the period to 1853. By the time of the Preston Guild in 1862 an estimated 25,000 Preston children were involved in celebrating that event.

little evidence that individual Sunday schools in Preston operated Bands of Hope in the early 1850s, apart from the one mentioned above.

One argues that a further theory, perhaps speculative, is that as the birthplace of teetotalism, Preston was proud of its teetotal advocacy. It was in Leeds however, that the name 'Band of Hope' was adopted as a generic term for children's teetotal societies. This being the case, the local press perhaps limited its reporting of the Band of Hope in Preston, at least until its success as a collective movement became evident. Between 1853 and 1860 there is little information provided in Preston's local press that relates to individual Bands of Hope having been established in Preston. On the other hand, mention was made of Bands of Hope operating in other areas of Lancashire. Examples are Accrington – 1853, Chorley – 1854, Blackburn – 1855, Haslingden – 1855, Darwen – 1858, and Lancaster – 1860.[115] Prior to 1860 most were admittedly allied with the local temperance society but from 1860 Bands of Hope were increasingly established in connection with churches such as the Wesleyan Association and the Primitive Methodists. It was from 1860 that regular reports of Band of Hope activity in Preston began to appear in the local press which reveal the movement's development in the town. Evidence relating to the Preston Temperance society's Band of Hope also provides some clues that supports the presence of other Bands of Hope in the town.

A report in the *Preston Chronicle* stated that in January 1861 the Preston Band of Hope held its meetings on a fortnightly basis and now numbered around 450 members.[116] However, the *Preston Guardian* reported in March 1862 that the Preston Band of Hope numbered 780 members, and again in April 1862, whilst confirming that meeting were held fortnightly, stated that membership had risen to 900 members.[117] A doubling of membership in sixteen months is surprising, but given the rise in numbers in one month would not have been impossible and would confirm that the Band of Hope was a growing movement. At the same time, these figures do fall short of the 1500 or 2000 who attended the first meeting of the

[115] *Preston Chronicle*, 26 March 1853, 22 April 1854, 28 July 1855, 1 September 1855; *Preston Guardian*, 15 May 1858, 18 August 1860.
[116] *Preston Chronicle*, 26 January 1861.
[117] *Preston Guardian*, 22 March 1863, and *Preston Guardian* 26 April 1862.

society in 1851. Arguably, and importantly, the reason for what was an overall drop in numbers since the Preston Band of Hope's inception was due to children who, having initially availed themselves of the Preston Band of Hope had now joined a Band of Hope that had been formed in association with their own church's temperance society.

Associated with this is the point made earlier that Bands of Hope were often organised by individual congregations of all types of churches and chapels. If the local minister supported teetotalism a band was usually established at his church.[118] It will be recalled that the minister at the first church Band of Hope in Preston, the Orchard Free Methodist was a teetotaller and the same argument is borne out by a Band of Hope formed in connection with the Preston Church of England St Mary's Temperance Society. It is fortuitous that the forming of this Band of Hope was recorded in the local press due to its significance for the thesis.

St Mary's Church of England was founded in 1852 under the incumbency of the Rev H R Smith.[119] The Rev Smith was a teetotal devotee who immediately founded both the temperance society (1852) and then a Band of Hope (1854) in connection with St. Mary's church. [120] It was the first Band of Hope society in Preston that was connected with the Church of England. [121] The distinctive nature of this Band of Hope lies in its formation taking place almost a decade before the national Church of England organisation established Bands of Hope, to cater for children of that religion. St. Mary's Band of Hope included children of both sexes, which contrasted with one of the rules of the Committee for establishing Sunday schools in Preston, which insisted that boys and girls be taught separately.[122] This identifies the Band of Hope as operating differently to the Sunday school as the rules did not base membership on sex, but, and this included the adult society, upon the signing of a pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquor as a beverage.[123]

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[118] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 135.
[119] *Preston Guardian,* 24 January, 1852.
[120] *Preston Chronicle*, 1 July 1854.
[121] H Cartmell, *The Preston Church and Sunday Schools*, *A Brief sketch of the Churches and Sunday schools with a short account of the Sunday School Movement in Preston, and a few statistics in connection with the various Day Schools*, 96.
[122] T R Flintoff, *Preston Churches and Chapels*, *Carnegie Press, (1985),* 23.
[123] H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools*, 97.

The above evidence reveals that St Mary's Temperance Society and Band of Hope adhered to a teetotal pledge at a time when most Church of England members supported a moderation pledge for adults, which was to abstain from drinking strong spirits only and to apply moderation to other forms of alcohol. The Rev H R Smith was ahead of his time in promoting teetotal principles in his church. The Church of England Total Abstinence Society was formed in 1862.[124] Like-minded people in the established church who advocated teetotalism supported it and in 1873, it was reconstructed as the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS).[125] The CETS would later establish and control its own Bands of Hope and in 1884, the Society reported its desire to establish a separate Juvenile Union for work among the young of the upper and middle-classes, and especially in public and private schools.[126] The uniqueness of the Band of Hope formed in connection with St. Mary's Temperance Society in 1854 is that the church was situated in a working-class area of Preston and catered for working-class children in the parish.

One year prior to the formation of the original Church of England Teetotal Society in 1862, a further Band of Hope had been formed in Preston, in connection with St. Luke's Church of England Temperance Society, which was operational by the end of 1861.[127] Similar to St. Mary's, St Luke's was situated in a working-class area. It had an average attendance at its day and Sunday schools of 180 and 400 respectively.[128]* Shortly after its formation, the society reported that it had 228 members.[129] Whilst this is confirmation that during this period Sunday schools scholars outnumbered those attending the day school, and thus offered the Band of Hope the potential to attract more children, more importantly it points to the Church of England in Preston actively promoting teetotal principles in the town

[124] *The Church of England Temperance Magazine*, Volume 1, No. 1, (October 1862), 3, Livesey Collection.
[125] A McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class,* Kindle Book (2014), Chapter 4, Section: Support and Fellowship Temperance organizations.
[126] *The Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, the organ of the Church of England Temperance Society, 3rd May 1884, 6, Livesey Collection .
[127] *Preston Guardian,* 8 January 1862.
[128] The Lancashire Online Parish Clerks Project (accessed 7 June 2016) provides this information. It stated that this is reproduced from *Our Churches and Chapels* by Atticus (A. Hewittson) and was printed at the "Chronicle" Office, Fishergate, Preston, 1869. *****It should be noted that these figures, which show average attendances, are roughly in line with those in Appendix 3 which puts adults and children connected with St. Luke's at 535.
[129] *Preston Guardian*, 11 January 1862.

prior to their full acceptance by the Church of England. Arguably, the reason for this relates to Preston's distinctive religious make-up.

One has stated that children could attend any Band of Hope because of the movement's non-denominational stance. Without doubting the sincerity of the efforts of those Church of England teetotal advocates who sought to promote teetotalism in children in Preston, one has to consider how far their intentions were guided by Preston's religious character. Theoretically, to a degree at least, the Church of England represented around half of worshippers in Preston, but it did not dominate the town. It is reasonable to suggest that it would be a natural desire on the Church's part to ensure that children of their religion attended a Band of Hope organised by them. It is also fair to question whether such a desire would have been equally acute in an area dominated by the Established Church. In these areas, the majority of children who attended a Band of Hope associated with a Temperance Society would belong to the Church of England and therefore less likely to be subject to influences, however small, through any association with children of other religions who attended the Band of Hope. In Preston, any fears in this regard would have been underlined by the significant number of Catholic children who lived in the town who would also have been able to attend a Band of Hope. The initiatives adopted by the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church in Preston to promote Band of Hope work is one that is given further attention in the next chapter.

At this stage the Preston Temperance Society Band of Hope welcomed all children and the society benefited from the building of a new designated Temperance Hall in the town. Several towns built Temperance halls which provided an alternative to the public house. These halls offered members the opportunity for social intercourse which had previously been provided by drinking places. The Preston Temperance Hall could seat up to nine hundred persons, which would allow large social events and gatherings to take place. The celebration of the opening of the hall included the Band of Hope with a meeting for the children, which consisted of addresses, recitations and the singing of temperance pieces. This was free for

children but a small charge for adults was one means by which the Hall received financial support.[130]

One argues that this Band of Hope society benefited both psychologically and materially from the opening of the Temperance hall. Not only did it give the children a dedicated facility in which to hold future meetings, having previously held them in the Corn Exchange, it encouraged a sense of identity for the children who could see that they were part of the wider temperance movement, ostensibly it might also encourage the children to remain within the temperance community as they reached adulthood. Any attempt by the Band of Hope to achieve this goal would require organisational skills and methodologies, which also receive mention in the next chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Leeds Temperance Band of Hope in 1847, and the adoption of the name 'Band of Hope' to represent all children's teetotal advocating societies in Britain and abroad in one case. The growth in the number of Band of Hope societies led to the establishment of first local, then regional and ultimately the overarching UKBHU to effectively manage the organisational requirements of this expanding movement. An accurate membership assessment is difficult to define during the early period of the Band of Hope but the fact that unions were formed that combined societies in different areas of the country to manage its operation, confirms the movement's expansion.

Discussion of childhood perceptions and childhood experiences revealed why a movement for children that became known as the Band of Hope was established to provide a safe environment for children to partake in rational recreation away from the influence of drink. A brief history of Preston has shown how the town, historically an important trading centre developed into an urban conurbation with significant population growth. The impact of industrialisation on the town's

[130] *Preston Chronicle,* 5 July 2856 and 12 July, 1856.

working-class population and its social structure led to philanthropic effort being made to relieve the living conditions of the poor, particularly as neighbourhoods accommodated those of mixed social standing. Teetotal advocacy was promoted as one means of ensuring social stability in these areas.

Consideration of the distinctive religious make-up of Preston has revealed how the lack of overriding religious hegemony in Preston encouraged the promotion of teetotal values in both religious and secular circles. This gradually percolated through the Band of Hope operation in the town leading to church and the secular Preston temperance society forming Bands of Hope for children, assisted by its non-denominational stance. In concert with this, the chapter has identified that Band of Hope work was spearheaded by individual teetotal advocates in the Church of England prior to teetotal values being adopted generally in the Established Church. The significant population of Roman Catholics living in Preston proved to be of reciprocal benefit in promoting teetotal advocacy, aided by prominent teetotallers such as Joseph Livesey supporting efforts to establish a Catholic temperance society in the town.

The aim of the next chapter connects with the above as it will consider the methodologies used by the Band of Hope in the wake of developing innovations in technology and improved transport links. The success of the Band of Hope rested on its willingness to adapt its message, not only to maintain the interest of its members but to encourage others to join the expanding Band of Hope family. The discussion will include the involvement of the main religious sects in Preston in the promotion of Band of Hope activity that took place, taking into account the town's distinctive make-up.

CHAPTER THREE – BAND OF HOPE METHODOLOGIES

Introduction

The Band of Hope, from its commencement, adopted strategies that were designed to interest children to be enthused by the teetotal message and take it to heart. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the methods that the Band of Hope used to enable it to maintain its appeal, having grown to become a nationally recognised children's movement. It will explore how the Band of Hope adapted these methodologies in the wake of new opportunities provided by developing innovations in technology and improving transport links. The bearing these had on the Band of throughout the country and more locally in Preston will be considered within ensuing discussion.

The means by which the Band of Hope sought to attract children to the organisation were sometimes subtle, whilst on other occasions more overt methods were used. Whilst the main surge in the number of Band of Hope societies occurred from the mid-1850s onwards, the efforts of the initial supporters of Bands of Hope will not be ignored as arguably it was their energies that led to the developing success of the Band of Hope and which continued due to the movement adapting its modus operandi to take account of opportunities as they arose. The focus of the chapter is on the methodologies that were used by the Band of Hope prior to the popularity of Gospel Temperance and the introduction of mandatory elementary education, which will be discussed in chapter four.

Initial Methodology

The adoption of the name 'Band of Hope' to represent all children's teetotal societies was itself a marketing tool.[1] The potential for such a name was recognised prior to 1847 by Thomas Walmsley when he used the words 'Band them together in a society' when referring to children in the teetotal society formed by himself and George Toulmin in a Preston Sunday school in 1834. The simplicity of the name

[1] In today's society, the power of branding is considered an important aspect of marketing a product. Names such as 'Reebok', 'Heinz', or the famous 'Big Mac', are a few examples that are widely recognised by consumers for what they represent.

'Band of Hope' made it easy to remember and readily recognisable as a collective name for children's teetotal societies. Equally, as the name did not carry any sectarian connotation it would appeal to religious and secular bodies alike.

From available evidence it is clear that simplicity was a key factor in the initial steps taken by the Band of Hope to promote its work. The importance of keeping the teetotal message straightforward was emphasised in early temperance publications where it was stated that "to write for the educated and well informed is comparatively easy, but not so for the young. For them everything should be childlike."[2] This recommendation continued to be a hallmark of Band of Hope meetings for several years, thus indicating an awareness that a number of methods stood the test of time, even in a movement, as will be shown later, that was flexible in its approach to adopting techniques that suited changing mores in society.[3]

The reference to the word 'childlike' given in the above advice to Band of Hope workers arguably portrays children in the mid-nineteenth century as being 'innocent', 'pure', 'naïve' or 'trusting'. Such words suggest that the Band of Hope adopted a romantic view of children, but was this actually the case?

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, prior to the inauguration of the Band of Hope, life for many working-class children often involved the world of work, where they were mixing with adults from a young age and by the age of seven were subject to the same common law that applied to adults.[4] Diverse views on the extent and variety of child labour have been expressed by historians.[5] An example provided here is that Cunningham argues that in agricultural areas particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "under and unemployment

[2] *The Sunday School and Youths' Temperance Journal*, (1848), 3, Livesey Collection.
[3] The *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No.1 (January 1878), 12, Livesey Collection. In a discussion of Band of Hope Management, the advice given by William Hoyle, Hon Secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union was that every address at a Band of Hope meeting should be intelligible to the minds of children. Long words and hard definitions should be avoided.
[4] J Lawson, H Silver, *A Social History of Education in England,* (1973), Routledge reprint, (2007), 105.
[5] See N Goose, K Honeyman, Eds., *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England, 1750-1914,* Ashgate, 2013, where emphasis is given in the book to the diversity in children's experience and location of work. See also J Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution,* Cambridge University Press, (2010), 26. Children's non-attendance at school resulted from the necessity for them to work to support subsistence levels of families.

were the norm".[6] Peter Kirby counters this view, albeit using the later 1851 census records, to show that in relation to child labour occupations in England and Wales, agricultural associated labour in the 10-14 age group accounted for around 40 per cent of the workforce.[7] When considering school attendance, it is clear that regional variations also existed. Whilst the ages of the children who attended could be erratic, children did receive some form of education or had acquired some literary skills; Sunday schools also taught reading (and in some cases writing) as well as religion.[8] In urban areas Charity schools provided free religious instruction, basic knowledge of the 3Rs and incorporated training for a trade to children from around the age of seven.[9]

Childhood experience was touched upon in chapter two which is added to below. One suggests that the word 'childlike' when used in this case was recognition that the Band of Hope was the first non-denominational organisation dedicated to children that required a teetotal pledge as a basis for membership. Designed primarily for children between the ages of seven and sixteen, it was a novel experience for children and an element of nurturing to gain children's trust was necessary so that they would be more accepting of the teetotal message.

In similar vein, evidence indicates that as well as offering nurture, Band of Hope meetings should be attractive as well as instructive. They should offer variety in the form of short lively addresses, recitations and above all, singing.[10] The advice below that was offered to adult workers, not only identifies the informal nature of early meetings but it recognises a fundamental difference between mid-nineteenth century social attitudes relating to children and those prevalent in the twenty-first century, which needs to be taken into account. Such advice did not provoke adverse comment and was deemed socially acceptable at the time, whereas if

[6] H Cunningham, "The Employment and Unemployment of Children in England c. 1680-1851, *The Past and Present Society,* No. 126 (February 1990), 149.
[7] P Kirby, "How Many children were 'Unemployed' in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century England?", *The Past and Present Society,* No. 187, (May 2005), 199-201.
[8] W B Stephens, *Education in Britain 1750-1914,* MacMillan Press, (1998), 4, 21-25.
[9] J Lawson, H Silver, *A Social History of Education*, 233. W B Stephens, *Education in Britain* 2.
[10] *The Sunday Scholars' and Youths' Temperance Magazine and Band of Hope Journal,* (Volume III, 1850), 3/4.

offered today, it would not only be considered socially unacceptable but likely result in legal sanction:

> Invite a number of children to meet you either at the school, or your dwelling house... explain what evils are being inflicted upon families by the use of intoxicating drinks…accompanying the same with explanations adapted to the capacity of children…[11]

Whilst these words seem to support the view expressed above, which emphasised the importance of adopting the correct tone to gain children's attention, they also identify a view expressed in the thesis that children's lives and experiences were fluid and changed over time.

In the mid-nineteenth century many working-class children not only worked alongside adults but they could avail themselves of alcohol without censure if they so wished. Mindful of prevailing social attitudes towards drink and the drinking place, Band of Hope workers were aware that addressing children in language they could understand, as recommended above, might interest them initially, but to maintain children's attention necessitated a variety of activities that would attract children out of drinking places and into a Band of Hope meeting. One offers a different view to that expressed by Robert Roberts when he stated that the Band of Hope offered the only entertainment for many children prior to the introduction of the cinema.[12] The Band of Hope may have been the highlight of the week for many working-class children but drinking establishments competed for children's patronage throughout the Band of Hope's history and it was this recognition that prompted Band of Hope workers to ensure that meetings were entertaining as well as instructive.

To aid this goal the Band of Hope created a movement that children could identify themselves with through collective goals. These included taking the pledge, wearing a badge or ribbon, participation in membership campaigns that offered certificates or prizes as well as group activities such as processions, tea parties and day trips.[13]

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[11] *Band of Hope Review,* No.2, (February 1851), 7, Livesey Collection.

[12] Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, Manchester University Press (1971), 152.

[13] A selection of activities of this nature includes an excursion to Lytham, a Lancashire coastal resort, in connection with the Preston Band of Hope, featured in the *Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, 28 July 1860. The *Preston Guardian* Saturday 12 May 1860 recorded that at a meeting of the Preston Band of Hope, thirteen children received prizes for the excellent renditions. Likewise the

A sample is given in the footnotes but one treat depicting a group activity that merits attention occurred in Chorley, not far from Preston. On this occasion children connected with the Band of Hope Temperance Society in Chorley were treated with buns and coffee at the residence of a Mr T Watts, having walked there in procession from the Temperance room. Children not connected with this society were allowed to partake of the treat on the payment of one penny each.[14] Arguably, this treat would serve another purpose. As well as marching as a group in procession, by offering child members a treat it provided an occasion where children not yet members of the Band of Hope might be encouraged to join, having been made aware that such indulgencies lay in store for Band of Hope members. It was however at the regular meetings of the Band of Hope that the teetotal message was reinforced, aided by the reading of Band of Hope periodicals.[15] What evidence exists to illustrate how the Band of Hope impressed the dangers associated with drinking alcohol upon the minds of children?

Temperance discourses often depicted that even the smallest amount of alcohol could lead to the 'road to ruin', aptly visualised in pictorial images regarding the 'demon drink'.[16] Band of Hope workers recognised the importance of ensuring that the movement incorporated the latest developments and followed the latest trends in presenting its message to children. As the dangers posed by drinking were always present, the Band of Hope used visual strategies to illuminate the moral and physical dangers of even moderate drinking, which could lead to habitual drinking; as opposed to the safe choice of being teetotal. One image, which was in the form of a lantern slide, taught a moral lesson showing a man seated looking dejected in a prison cell with the following words written in huge letters:- DRINKING LEADS TO

Preston Chronicle reported on 29 December 1860 that in connection with the Band of Hope several prizes were given to a number of juvenile reciters.

[14] *Preston Chronicle,* 22 April 1854.

[15] A McAllister, "The lives and the souls of the children: the Band of Hope in the North West", *Manchester Regional History Review*, 22, (2011), 10.

[16] See *Visual Resources Special Issue, The Pleasures and Problems of Drink,* F Murray, "Picturing the "Road to Ruin": visual Representations of a Standard Temperance Narrative", 1830-1855, 290-308, and A McAllister, "Picturing the Demon Drink: How children were shown Temperance Principles in the Band of Hope", 309-323. There is also a journal article by H Yeomans and C Critcher entitled "The Demon Drink, alcohol and moral regulation, past and present", *Routledge handbook of Leisure studies*, Ed., T Blackshaw, Routledge, London, (2013).

NEGLECT OF DUTY, MORAL DEGRADATION, AND CRIME.[17] Such images reinforced the message of the dangers that accompanied intoxication and was arguably a subtle way of making children think about the consequences of drink. If drink could produce such dire results then, by inference, these would be remedied by being teetotal.

The blackboard was also used as a visual resource to teach teetotal advocacy. In contrast to the inconsistency of adult behaviour depicted in the above lantern slide example, a young girl can be seen gazing at a blackboard which asks four important questions. The words CAN, MAY, OUGHT, SHALL, precede the words I ABSTAIN? These make up the four questions, and the message is underscored by the words "Abstinence is both safe and wise".[18] Here one sees a view being expressed that is different to, but does not nullify Joseph Livesey's opinion regarding the importance of teaching teetotal advocacy to adults first. The Band of Hope was justifying the teaching of teetotal advocacy in children as it was by this means that they could avoid the pitfalls that might result from acquiring a drinking habit.

Band of Hope publications formed part of initial methods used to teach lessons in thrift. The example below adds to observations made by Stephanie Olsen in relation to the positive/negative approach to temperance teaching. Positive teaching leads the child to emulate the message put to them by the teacher; negative teaching leads the child to think about the consequences of their actions.[19] A blackboard lesson that used a few simple sentences serves to illustrate below the positive/negative aspects in relation to the savings that can accrue by being teetotal, against the penury that can result through drinking beer.

[17] Image from black and white lanternslide collection, c.1880-1920, 316, Livesey Collection. This lantern slide appeared in A McAllister, "Picturing the Demon Drink".
[18] A McAllister, "Picturing the Demon Drink", 312.
[19] S Olsen, "Raising Fathers, Raising Boys: Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914", PhD Thesis, (2008), Department of History, McGill University, Montreal, 194.

Water	Beer
Water, the gift of God **A** glass of water is cheap **T**rue to its colour **E**ndures hard work with its help **R**efill the glass with water	**B**eer is the work of man **E**mpties the pocket * **E**ver deceiving the drinker **R**efuse the glass of beer
*2d a day makes £3.0s.10d in one year, in 10 years £30.8s.4d.	

Figure 2 Band of Hope Blackboard Illustration 1
Source: *The Band of Hope Chronicle,* No. 2, (April 1878), 26.

A further strength of the Band of Hope was its ability to take account of advances made during the nineteenth century in the fields of physiology and chemistry and the greater understanding of how the body worked. From the simple illustration above that demonstrated to children the benefits of thrift, the blackboard drawing below reveals how the Band of Hope kept abreast of current events, on this occasion using observations made by German anatomist Walther Flemming during the 1870s which culminated in his highly accurate description and interpretation of cell division in 1880.[20]

[20] W Flemming, *Contribution to the Knowledge of the Cell and its Vital Processes,* originally published in German in 1880 and reproduced by: Source: The Journal of Cell Biology, Volume 25, No. 1, Part 2: Mitosis (Apr., 1965), 1-69.Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1604549

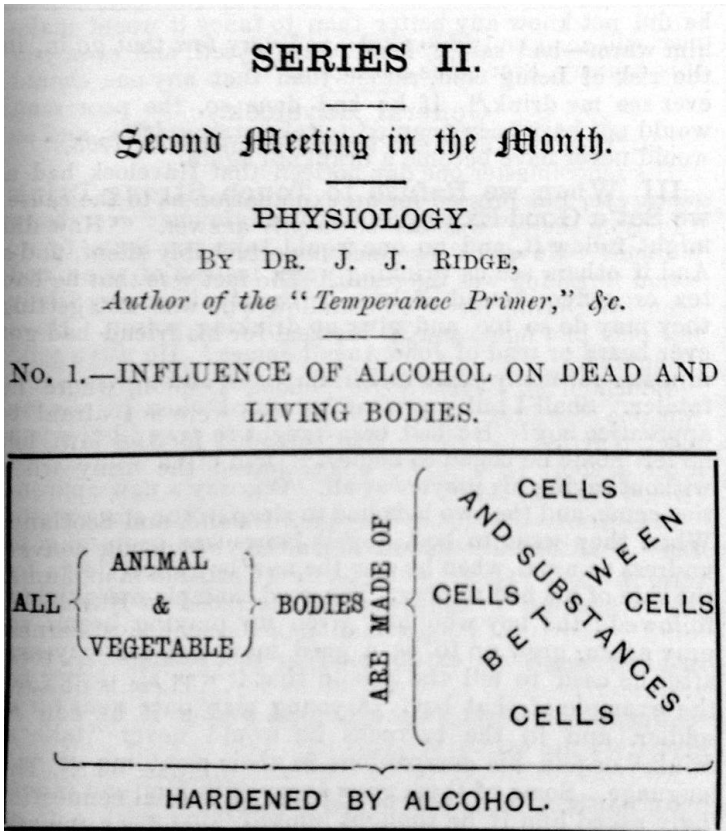

Figure 3 Band of Hope Blackboard Illustration 2
Source: *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 1, (January 1880), 5.

These examples illustrate that by such methods the Band of Hope's aim was to instil the teetotal message into the minds as well as the hearts of children not only in Preston but throughout the country.[21] It was in endeavouring to achieve this aim that the Band of Hope arranged a range of activities for its members to enjoy.

A number of Band of Hope activities demanded a level of organisation which would be best served by shared co-operation within Band of Hope circles as well as the good will and support of sympathetic members of the community. In Preston, certain events that took place during the Preston Guild of 1862 depict how co-operation between different groups occurred in the town. An amalgamated procession was supported largely by Nonconformist temperance societies, but included St. Mary's Church Temperance Society, Temperance Friendly Societies, the Preston Band of Hope and the St. Ignatius drum and fife band, plus supporters from

[21] A McAllister, "The lives and the souls of the children", 18. McAllister describes these actions taken by the Band of Hope as luring children away from drinking alcohol by impressing itself upon 'the lives and souls of the children'.

other Lancashire towns, thus demonstrating the inclusiveness that the Guild could invoke.

If one were to extend this argument further by questioning the inclusive nature of the Band of Hope, Lilian Shiman's view suggests that the Band of Hope was not successful in enrolling children living in slum conditions, who were more concerned with day-to-day survival.[22] One agrees that Shiman was making a valid point in thinking that the Band of Hope's message of the benefits of teetotalism might not have much appeal for these children. However, that should not imply that destitute children were excluded from the Band of Hope per se. Voluntary moral reform initiatives assisted the establishment of Bands of Hope in ragged schools thus offering the opportunity for these children to take part in Band of Hope activities. In fact, the *Band of Hope Review* advised that it would commission its October 1851 edition especially for "the Ragged School Scholars of London."[23]

Ragged schools were described as Sunday schools for children that also met during the week to offer destitute children some secular instruction. Supported by benevolent members of society they were often situated in the areas were the poorest members of society lived.[24] A Ragged School Union was formed in April 1844 at which time there were 16 ragged schools in London. By 1862 nearly all large towns provided ragged schools.[25] The decision to circulate the *Band of Hope Review* in 1851 to children attending ragged schools reveals that the Band of Hope was prepared to adopt an 'open-door' policy that welcomed all children very early in its history. The question of whether the Band of Hope itself would appeal to ragged children themselves, as Shiman suggests, deserves attention, which can be achieved through the example of Preston.

In Appendix 3, under the heading of 'Other' in the table, the list includes ragged schools and workhouse schools.[26] In 1854 in Preston a ragged school designed to accommodate between 300 and 400 children was erected in Mill Hill, a street in an

[22] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 148/149.
[23] *Band of Hope Review*, No. 9, (September 1851), 36.
[24] *The Children and Youth' Temperance Magazine and Juvenile Miscellany,* Volume VII, (1846), Midland Temperance Press.
[25] *Band of Hope Record*, Volumes I and II, (April to December 1862), 361.
[26] The table is included as an appendix for ease of reference as the information is referred to at other points in the thesis, (see page 84, footnote 128 and page 100, footnote 43).

area described as a "hotbed of destitution", thus subscribing to the view expressed above that ragged schools were situated in areas of deprivation.[27] A Band of Hope was established in connection with the Preston Mill Hill ragged school in 1857 which had a reported membership of 300.[28] Evidence of this nature confirms that 1) poor children were not excluded from the Band of Hope, and 2) that three-quarters of the children in this ragged school were receptive to the Band of Hope message. Local press issues indicate that the Mill Hill Ragged School continued to hold Band of Hope meetings for its children over a period of several years.[29] These efforts on the part of Band of Hope workers surely took place because such action was considered to be a worthwhile enterprise in reaching poor children in society. Cognisance of the impact of periods of unemployment on communities such as Preston, which had an expanding working-class population, was no doubt a motivating factor that led the Band of Hope in Preston, as well as in other areas, to open its doors to all children including the very poorest children.

As well as ragged schools Band of Hope meetings were organised for children living in the workhouse. The *Band of Hope Review* revealed that one of the large union workhouses in the North of England established a Band of Hope as early as 1852.[30] This was not named but it was not referring to Preston where work only commenced on erecting a large union workhouse in 1865, prior to which Preston had several smaller workhouses in and around the area that covered Preston union relief districts.[31] Upon completion of the Preston union workhouse the Band of Hope conducted meetings for child inmates with Thomas Walmsley being among those adults who conducted such meetings, and these continued to take place regularly over a period of years.[32] The above evidence identifies that there was a level of continuity in the approach to Band of Hope work in ragged schools and the workhouse which points to such work being considered worthwhile. Union

[27] *Preston Guardian*, 15 July 1854.
[28] *Preston Chronicle,* 7 November 1857.
[29] *Preston Chronicle,* 28 November 1857; 31 December 1859; 23 March 1867 and 5 February 1881, provide examples of Band of Hope meetings held in the Mill Hill ragged school.
[30] *Band of Hope Review*, No. 21 (September 1852), p.84.
[31] L Darwen, "Implementing and administering the New Poor Law in the industrial north: a case study of Preston union in Regional context, 1837-1861", PhD Thesis, Nottingham Trent University, (August 2015), 28.
[32] See for example *Preston Chronicle,* 10 April 1880.

workhouses were a government-led model, but Band of Hope meetings that were organised for workhouse children resulted from moral reform efforts by individuals whose aim was similar to that of the earlier teetotal pioneers, namely to instil in children the self-improvement ideal that by adopting teetotal advocacy, being honest and industrious they, too, could rise above their adverse start in life to become respectable citizens.[33] Such thinking conforms to a view of childhood that children could be moulded by circumstance and opportunity; that children living outside the family also deserved to be safeguarded and reformed.[34] Band of Hope work aimed at children in union workhouses was not restricted to Preston. The *Band of Hope Chronicle* reported that the Frome Band of Hope Union also organised periodic Band of Hope meetings in its workhouse.

Further evidence that poor children were included in Band of Hope work in Preston relates to the Preston Shepherd Street Mission. The aim of the Mission was to rescue destitute children and provide temporary accommodation to homeless adults. It stemmed from a move by eight members of the Lancaster Road Congregational Chapel who transferred to the Lancaster Road House Mission Temperance Society between 1876 and 1879.[35] By 1879 the mission had moved to Shepherd Street when it became the Shepherd Street Mission.[36] It was not state aided and was partly maintained from subscriptions and donations from the public of Preston.[37] Once more, moral reform voluntary association played a part in the establishment of this mission and its connection with a temperance society from its foundation perhaps explains why the mission resolved during its first three committee meetings to support a four-fold pledge which was to forbear drinking, swearing, using tobacco and gambling. Associated with this, in August 1880 a Band of Hope was established at the Mission, with Thomas Walmsley again playing a part, as he did with the workhouse Band of Hope, by being invited to speak to the

[33] See *Preston Chronicle,* 10 April 1880 and *Preston Chronicle*, 12 March 1881.
[34] P Aries, *Centuries of Childhood,* Jonathan Cape (1962), 396/397.
[35] *Preston Chronicle*, 9 October 1880.
[36] Copy of Minutes of work of Lancaster Road Congregational Church Christian Mission, afterwards Sheppard Street Mission, January 28 1878 to November 16th 1883, Livesey Collection, SSMC, (SSM3).
[37] Shepherd Street Trust, www.shepherdstreettrust.co.uk, search History (accessed 1 October 2011).

children.[38] From the mission's inception to 1901 over 1,500 children had spent some time living in the home.[39] The Mission's minute book reporting of Band of Hope work, although small, does indicate that it continued to be associated with Band of Hope work until just after the First World War. [40] Without knowing the number of children who were associated with the mission after 1901, available evidence suggests that the number of children associated with the mission who would have had access to its Band of Hope, was well over one thousand. As the mission continued its Band of Hope work over such a long period, one argues that the strategy of reaching out to poor children was not wasted and that the Band of Hope achieved positive results through its association with the mission.

One's argument that the Band of Hope benefited from including poor children within its remit should not lessen the importance attached to the co-operation of Sunday schools, in promoting the Band of Hope's teetotal message. The importance of social intercourse offered by temperance societies was extended to social interaction between the Band of Hope and the Sunday school movement, which provided a platform that allowed many Band of Hope initiatives to bear fruit during this period.[41] Sunday schools and Bands of Hope joined together to provide treats to the children that aided both movements, an aspect worth pursuing bearing in mind Preston's distinctive religious make-up.

The Band of Hope was claimed to be Protestant in spirit, initially connected largely with Nonconformity and secular temperance societies.[42] If this was the case, might it prove a drawback to Band of Hope work in Preston? Whilst there was no overriding religious hegemony, the Church of England accounted for around half the population, with Nonconformist churches and Roman Catholics accounting for

[38] Lancaster Road Christian Mission, Shepherd Street, Band of Hope and Temperance society, (SSM1).
[39] *Short History of the Shepherd Street Mission and Children's Home, Shepherd Street Mission, Details of origin and development of the Movement,* (SSM13).
[40] Shepherd Street Mission Minute Book, Committee Meeting 6 January 1919, (SSM5).
[41] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, Keele University Press, (1994), 50. Harrison commented that the social pleasures offered by drinking places were provided by temperance societies. Social intercourse with Sunday schools would assist the Band of Hope in implementing strategies that would attract children towards teetotal advocacy.
[42] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 134. In this connection the Nonconformist chapel on Liverpool Street and the secular Preston Band of Hope were the first to form Bands of Hope in Preston.

approximate half each of the remaining fifty per cent.[43] At the same time it should be remembered that the non-denominational stance of the Band of Hope allowed the Preston Temperance Society Band of Hope to welcome all children irrespective of religious allegiance from 1851.

Initiatives involving the Sunday school

Through its *Onward* publication, the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU) expressed its desire to establish a Band of Hope in connection with every Sunday school of almost every denomination.[44] The reason seems clear; numerically the Sunday school movement had increased from just less than half a million in 1831 to more than three million by 1875.[45] Equally important, as the 1860s loomed the Sunday school movement was beginning to support teetotal ideals and largely oppose the sale of drink to children.[46] Numerically and ideologically the Band of Hope could only benefit from such an approach. It is worth pointing out, and this will be enlarged upon shortly, not all Sunday school teachers were teetotal and felt that emphasis should be on religious beliefs rather than the material benefits of being teetotal.[47]

Evidence presented in chapter two revealed the establishment of Bands of Hope during the 1850s that were formed largely in connection with a secular temperance society or associated with a church temperance society that catered for those of its Sunday scholars who wished to pledge teetotalism.[48] Arguably this had allowed those church members who preferred to emphasise religious aspects to devote their time to the Sunday school, leaving those who valued teetotal advocacy to manage the Band of Hope. In Preston, increasing support of teetotal values within the Sunday school movement coincided with an increasing number of Band of Hope

[43] Appendix 3 relates to the Preston Guild of 1862, which is an event celebrated in the town once every twenty years. It offers an estimation of the number of children living in Preston and allows the town's religious mix to be demonstrated.
[44] *Onward,* Volume 1 No 1, (1865), 16.
[45] P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England, 1780-1980,* National Christian Education Council, (1986), 129.
[46] P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement,* 144.
[47] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 138.
[48] See examples given in chapter two under the heading "Band of Hope Societies and Sunday School Scholars".

societies being established in Sunday schools during the 1860s.[49] One argues that such increase resulted from a recognition that elements of similarity in their operation could serve to promote mutual assistance that benefited both movements. Neither organisation was mutually exclusive. Despite the different views expressed by some, supporters could, and often were, committed to the work of the Sunday school and the Band of Hope. Clearly, Thomas Walmsley's commitment to the work of the Sunday school equalled his devotion to the Band of Hope. He used meetings held under the auspices of the Sunday school to stress the importance of the Band of Hope movement.[50] Joint enterprise between the Sunday school and the Band of Hope is identifiable by the continuance of day trips and treats, mentioned on page 91.

Improved railway networks allowed both Sunday schools and the Band of Hope in Preston to facilitate outings that took the children to areas never before explored, thus adding to the sense of enjoyment and wonder that attracted children's minds.[51] There was a nominal charge for tickets to participate in these treats but the reported thousands of children taking part, suggests that the payment of a small amount was considered worthwhile by working-class families. Lessons in thrift as part of the initiatives adopted by the Band of Hope were referred to on page 94 Figure 2. By making a small charge, the Band of Hope was again teaching the children to use their money wisely. It reinforces the view that the Band of Hope, and the Sunday school for that matter, faced the challenge of children having to cope with the lure of drink during their everyday lives. It demonstrated to the children that money spent on the momentary pleasure of drinking alcohol could be put to better use by the enjoyment of adventure that an outing to pastures new would afford. It was with this realisation in mind that to ward off the temptation to drink, the adults involved in these organisations were prepared to expend their

[49] A random example from among Bands of Hope formed in the 1860s was the Fishergate Baptist Chapel Band of Hope, reported in the *Preston Guardian,* 16 February 1867.

[50] *Preston Chronicle*, 29 June 1867. When a gathering of 5,000 people met in the Corn Exchange for a meeting under the auspices of the Sunday school Thomas Walmsley used the occasion to stress the importance of the Band of Hope movement.

[51] From 1860, arrangements were made that, following each Whitsuntide Procession day excursions by rail would take place for children in the Band of Hope and for those who attended the various churches in Preston to such places as Blackpool, Morecambe and the Lake District for an outing as a special treat, see *Preston Guardian,* 14 June 1862.

energies in arranging events whose magnitude would have required much time and organisation on their part.

When considering methodologies used by the Band of Hope in combination with Sunday schools, one also needs to take into account Preston distinctive religious make-up. Inter-church and inter-denominational collaboration within the town's Band of Hope circles were a key component, bearing in mind that many church members were associated with work carried out by secular organisations, such as the Preston Band of Hope Society, concern with workhouse children and the Orphan school, where children were given Band of Hope publications that promoted teetotal values.[52] The use of this initiative incidentally subscribes to the findings of Olsen that prior to the advent of mandatory education, both formal and informal teaching served to provide children with literacy skills largely of a moral or religious persuasion transmitted through oral or written discourse.[53]

Inter-church co-operation in Preston was supported by the pooling of resources within Bands of Hope that operated in proximity. If a Band of Hope had a choir or a Tonic Sol-fa class, this resource would be used to support other Bands of Hope. [54] The Tonic sol-fa music teaching method provided a means for those with little conventional musical literacy to adopt this easily learnt system, to help instil temperance principles in adults as well as children, on a wide basis.[55] There are sound economic reasons why this method was used by the Band of Hope. As Tonic sol-fa notation was cheaper to produce than conventional notation, there would be

[52] *Preston Chronicle,* 5 January 1867. At the annual tea party held on New Year's Day 1866 in the Preston temperance hall, 100 orphan children were among the children that attended, many of whom received prizes which included volumes of Band of Hope material.

[53] S Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*, *Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914,* Bloomsbury, (2014), 7/8.

[54] *Preston Chronicle,* 2 November 1867. Reported in September 1867 that a meeting of the Croft Street Wesleyan Band of Hope received support through recitations given by the Walker Street Tonic Sol-fa class.[54] The choir of the Wesleyan Mission House, Canal Street, who sang several temperance melodies to support a meeting of the Lune Street Wesleyan Band of Hope, in October 1867, provides a further example of reciprocal co-operation.

[55] A McAllister, "Temperance battle songs: the musical war against alcohol", *Popular Music,* Volume 35, issue 2, (Music and Alcohol) (May 2016), 197.

a financial benefit in cases where significant copy was required to cater for large audiences.[56]

A further initiative of the Band of Hope was the use of the word 'lifeboat' as a common metaphor for their work. [57] As a symbol for saving lives it was an obvious choice. The primary purpose of a lifeboat is to save lives, often during stormy weather. The Band of Hope was the 'lifeboat' that would guide children through the temptations that beset them at times when others may be urging them to drink alcohol. The Preston Band of Hope had its own 'lifeboat' crew of children who were used to help interest other children to sign the pledge.[58] There is no record of how this crew was established, but its name was a reflection of the uniform worn by a group (crew) of children that visited different societies to add to the interest of the meetings. The children in the group may have performed as part of a procession on a float decorated as a lifeboat, where their uniform was in full view.

The representation of children as a 'lifeboat' crew who were integral to the mission of rescuing others from habitual drunkenness is significant in identifying that children were being used as exemplars by the Band of Hope during the 1860s. Arguably, this example of a methodology used by Band of Hope occurred prior to Olsen's view that it was the 1880s that saw the beginning of a changing focus in the conception of childhood that acknowledged the moral potential of children as future citizens.[59] One accepts that the representation of children as exemplars was not new as evidenced, for example, by Penny Pritchard. The "saintly, or morally

[56] Petrucci Music Library, www.IMSLP.org (accessed 16/02/2015.) states that Tonic Sol-fa is a system of presenting music by using the initial letters of the solfege scale - Do Re Mi Fa So La ti – thus d r m f s l t and that the system had the advantage of being cheaper to print than engraved or typeset music. For a more elaborate explanation of the Tonic Sol-fa system, see McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy*, 8-13. Also *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 1, (January 1878), 33. This issue stated that a selection of music for the annual meetings held in Exeter Hall was offered as follows: sheets of Tonic Sol-fa notation at 3d. each or 2s. per dozen; old notation was priced at 8d. each or 6s. per dozen. A selection of music that was to be used at the Crystal Palace in Tonic Sol-fa notation was price as 4d each or 3s. per dozen.

[57] A McAllister, "Giant alcohol – a worthy opponent for the children of the band of hope", *Drugs education, prevention and policy,* published online 11 November 2014, 3/4.

[58] *Preston Chronicle*, 27 June 1868. This issue reported that at the first meeting of the Penwortham Wesleyan School Band of Hope in June 1868, the Preston Band of Hope lifeboat crew helped to interest a large number of children to sign the pledge.

[59] S Olsen, "Raising Fathers, Raising Boys", 46.

exemplary child" is considered by Pritchard in relation to actual children lives and those portrayed through works of fiction and preceded the 1860s.[60]

Turning the discussion to addressing inter-denominational co-operation in Preston with regard to Band of Hope initiatives, and again bearing in mind Preston's religious mix, existing evidence suggests that members of different church sects co-operated in promoting children's teetotal advocacy. Whilst this would no doubt benefit the movement in Preston it does merit some explanation which leads one to briefly reflect on Preston's religious history.

Paul Phillips made the point that Dissenters' influence never took hold in Preston and that there was a spirit of ecumenism evident among some of Preston's Nonconformists and Churchmen.[61] In addition, the influx of Roman Catholic Irish to Preston tended to cause religious and racial conflict between them and English workers, rather than class conflict, particularly at times of trade depressions, where Irish immigrants were largely blamed for ensuing hardship in the community. The traditional English element of the Catholic Church in Preston was inclined to display a less combative and more conservative attitude towards the social order.[62]

Phillips argued that in Preston it was teetotalism that made efforts to develop a distinct sect with a blurred class membership that was both working-class and middle-class in origin. Working-class self improvement was added to middle-class desire for the general social improvement of the community.[63] In other words, teetotalism became a sect in itself which dissolved differences of class or religion that had previously existed. Such a view does not claim to resolve long held religious divisions that existed in any community but it would be significant in Preston, as it would override religious allegiance and encourage church

[60] P Pritchard, "Young Saints and the Knots of Satan: Moral Exemplarity, Ministry and Youth in Early Modern Dissenters' Writing", *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies,* Volume 4 No 2 (2018), 225.
[61] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit: Sectarianism, Society and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns,* University of Toronto Press, (1983), 56.
[62] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit*, 52/53.
[63] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit*, 54/55. M Savage, *The Dynamics of Working Class Politics*, *The Labour Movement in Preston 1880-1940,* Cambridge University Press (1987),103. Savage alludes to Preston being characterised by a mixing of all social groups except for a top elite. The adoption of a teetotal sect would help to alleviate possible class tensions that might arise from different social classes living in proximity.

congregations to jointly support Band of Hope work. An acceptance of sectarian teetotalism also allows the motivation for Joseph Livesey to support the Catholic St. Ignatius Temperance Society at its inauguration in 1865, (referred to on page 73 and later, on page107) to be seen in a different light. Acceptance of an authoritative teetotal sect, aligned with Livesey's overriding support for teetotal values, would in Livesey's mind, dissipate religious or cultural differences that existed in Preston. The implication is that it would negate any impact that Preston's distinctive religious mix might have on the Band of Hope operation. However, there is a caveat to this view which is that despite Preston's prominence in teetotal circles, not everyone was teetotal. In such cases the idea of a commanding teetotal sect would not hold water and religious adherence would carry authority. At the same time one should recognise that in any sect, be it based on teetotalism or religion, differences of opinion occur that exist alongside harmonious relations.

The Band of Hope received the joint support of the main church sects but in showing their support, different methods were adopted and deployed. Having shown that Joseph Livesey placed teetotal advocacy above religious differences by supporting Roman Catholic efforts in this regard, and aware of the percentage of Roman Catholics living in the town, as pointed out by Father Nugent below, one now considers the initiatives taken by the Catholic Church to support teetotalism and the Band of Hope.

Roman Catholic initiatives in Band of Hope work in Preston

Sermons against the evils of drink had been given at Catholic churches in Preston from round 1857.[64] Although not necessarily promoting teetotalism, they discouraged drunkenness and when in 1872 a Catholic Total Abstinence League was established in Liverpool, St Augustine's and St. Ignatius's Teetotal associations then joined this league.[65] At the same time, the combined action of Roman Catholics in the fight against intemperance on a wider basis, culminated in the formation of *The*

[64] T A Smith, "St. Ignatius' Temperance Society", *North West Catholic History*, Volume XXIV (1997), 16. Churches named are St. Ignatius, St. Walburge and St Augustine Catholic churches.
[65] Almanac for the Diocese of Liverpool, Catholic Publishing Department. (1879), Talbot Library, Preston, 55. The Almanac stated that a Catholic Total Abstinence League in Liverpool was established by the Rev. Father Nugent on 29 February 1872.

League of the Cross organisation founded by Cardinal Manning in 1873, although the year 1872 is given in a separate source.[66]

The work of the *League of the Cross* indicates that Preston was part of a wider endeavour of the church in promoting teetotal advocacy. When Father Nugent visited Preston in 1878 he alluded to the significant proportion of Catholics living in the town when he stated that "there was no portion of the diocese of Liverpool that had the same religious opportunities as Preston; it was so well manned with priests…[67] A lack of evidence in relation to specific Roman Catholic Band of Hope work in Preston is therefore surprising given the number of Catholics in the town's population. It may be that past records have not survived but Catholic numbers in Preston are confirmed by Thomas Walmsley when he lamented at a Preston Band of Hope conference in 1869 that there was not one Band of Hope connected to the Catholics in the town where one third was composed of Catholics.[68] The fact that there are so few contemporary mentions, does suggest that the Roman Catholic Church did not officially sanction the setting up of Band of Hope societies, possibly because of the movement's association with Nonconformity. There are however, pointers that indicate that the Roman Catholic Church in Preston was involved in promoting teetotal principles aimed at children.

Thomas Walmsley's comments regarding the lack of a Catholic Band of Hope in Preston applied to 1869, but a few years later, once the *League of the Cross* was established, junior branches may have operated that performed the function of Bands of Hope. In fact by 1879 the St Ignatius Teetotal Association mentioned above was operating a society that it referred to as a Band of Hope among the schoolchildren that practiced teetotal principles.[69] Arguably this society had the ability to interest a large number of children of both sexes; as early as 1862 St

[66] *The League of the Cross*, The Catholic Truth Society, St. Williams Press, (1890), Preston, 3. There is another source which states that *The League of the Cross* was founded by Cardinal Manning in 1872; See T. Smith, "St Ignatius Temperance Society", 19. It is possible that the Catholic Total Abstinence League in Liverpool founded in 1872 by Father Nugent, joined the *League of the Cross* when it was established in either the same year or 1873, and which represented the wider Catholic community.
[67] *Preston Chronicle,* 23 February 1878.
[68] *Preston Guardian*, 6 November 1869. Evidence that a Roman Catholic operated Band of Hope existed by 1879 is shortly revealed in the chapter.
[69] Almanac for the Diocese of Liverpool, 55.

Ignatius School was catering for 1772 scholars.[70] It is not known when this Band of Hope commenced but it adds substance to the idea of a teetotal sect (for those in teetotal circles), operating in Preston. One argues that as the initial efforts by members of St Ignatius to establish a temperance society were supported by Joseph Livesey, the church chose to refer to its children's teetotal society as a Band of Hope, (and in a Catholic publication), as an acknowledgement of past co-operation by teetotal supporters, of different religious persuasion.[71] Whatever the reason, the important point in relation to this Catholic Band of Hope in Preston is that it provides evidence that associates the Roman Catholic Church in Preston with the aims of the Band of Hope movement. It is also worth repeating that Roman Catholic children would not have been excluded from the non-denominational Band of Hope and could with parental permission attend Preston Band of Hope meetings held in the Temperance hall.

Thomas Walmsley included the Established Church in his remarks at the 1869 Preston Band of Hope conference when he stated: "if the Church of England would join them the Band of Hope would flourish."[72] Walmsley's remarks suggest that there were occasions when relations between the main religions in Preston may have been strained. Walmsley, as a protagonist of the Band of Hope in the town may have been frustrated at what he perceved as a lack of enthusiasm by the Catholic and Established church in regard to the Band of Hope. Walmsley's words confirm that in Preston no church sect had overall authority, but one could argue that within a few years they were not a true reflection of efforts made by the churches to promote children's teetotal advocacy in the town. Having considered Roman Catholic efforts in this connection, one now gives thought to the methods adopted by the Church of England to aid Band of Hope work in Preston.

[70] D Longworth, *Celebration of the Preston Guild Merchant of 1862,* Longworth Brothers, Friargate, Preston. (1862), 60.
[71] The only evidence found from available sources that refers to a Catholic children's teetotal society as a Band of Hope is the one associated with St. Ignatius church in Preston. See Almanac for the Diocese of Liverpool .
[72] *Preston Guardian,* 6 November 1869.

Church of England Initiatives in Band of Hope work in Preston

By 1871 Church of England temperance societies that supported total abstinence were reported to be in existence in Preston; every parish in Preston had a temperance society and these united annually in the holding a large public meeting, which also included their associated Bands of Hope.[73] The evidence links with the earlier argument in chapter 2, pages 69/70 under the heading of 'Preston a Brief History' that the Church of England was attempting to reach the working-classes within the church's parish community. The parochial machinery of the church was suited to rural communities but became more difficult to operate in areas densely populated. One of the aims of the Church Building Acts after 1850 had been to make the urban population more accessible to parochial care by dividing parishes into smaller ones.[74] Whilst it was claimed that little was achieved initially, the examples of St. Mary's and St. Luke's indicate that in Preston efforts were being made to benefit these districts by promoting the adoption of teetotal principles.

Progress was made in this direction as the annual report of the Preston Temperance Society 1871 stated that the Manchester, Chester and Ripon Diocesan Church Temperance Society, instituted in 1866, had formed an auxiliary in Preston, whose object was to start a temperance society at every church in the town.[75] The stated intention of this Diocesan Church Temperance Society was that "temperance ought not to be banished from religion, and, in addition to promoting adult temperance, a Band of Hope ought to be looked upon as a necessary auxiliary to every Sunday school."[76] Was such a statement necessary? A similar desire had been expressed in the LCBHU *Onward* magazine in 1865, which seemed to be placating the views of the church by adding that "in promoting Bands of Hope in Sunday

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[73] H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools*, *A Brief sketch of the Churches and Sunday schools with a short account of the Sunday School Movement in Preston, and a few statistics in connection with the various Day Schools*, T Snape & Co, (1892), 28/29.

[74] K S Inglis *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, University of Toronto Press, (1963), 24/25.

[75] *Preston Chronicle,* 22 April 1871. H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools,* 28/29. Henry Cartmell, a Superintendent at St. Mary's school, corroborates the *Preston Chronicle* account by remarking that during 1871 the various churches in Preston formed branches in association with the Manchester, Chester and Ripon Diocesan Temperance Society, instituted some five years previously.

[76] *Preston Chronicle,* 22 April 1871.

schools, the object was not to put temperance in place of religion…"[77] To some, there was a natural connection of religion with temperance. Nevertheless, not all Sunday school teachers were teetotal and some thought that the emphasis should be on religion and not the material benefits that derived from being teetotal. [78] It is suggested that the establishment of a Band of Hope in connection with every Sunday school was an initiative that 1) took into consideration the Established Church's increasing acceptance of teetotal advocacy and 2) sought to avoid confrontation that might be caused in the ranks of Sunday school teachers, as it conveyed that religion and teetotalism were equally important in improving children's lives.

St Mary's and St. Luke's churches in Preston are two examples that show that Church of England temperance societies in Preston had operated Bands of Hope for some time. The Diocesan Church authority's intentions suggest that where a Band of Hope was associated with a church's temperance society, it would remain so, but there would be a greater co-operation between Sunday schools and Band of Hope work. Band of Hope meetings would continue to be held separately from Sunday school lessons in order to maintain the non-denominational stance of the Band of Hope. (One could argue that it was this very reason that allowed the St. Ignatius Catholic Band of Hope in Preston to exist.) How far then did the Preston auxiliary of the Diocesan Church of England Temperance Society adopt strategies that would spread the teetotal message in Preston and to what extent did they reflect those of the mainly Nonconformist Preston Band of Hope Union (PBHU)?

The churches of St Paul and St. Saviour in Preston provide two examples that reveal that in 1871 the Diocesan strategy was for the Bands of Hope attached to these churches to provide suitable entertainment, which included singing, recitations, and that it kept abreast of technical innovations in order to maintain the children's interest through offering illustrated lectures.[79] These initiatives were similar to

[77] *Onward,* Volume 1, No. 1, (1865), 16.
[78] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 138.
[79] *Preston Chronicle,* 14 January 1871. St Paul's Church Band of Hope entertained the children with a magic lantern exhibition, recitations were presented by Band of Hope boys and girls and the children joined the Band of Hope choir in singing. Also *Preston Chronicle,* 4 March 1871. A meeting at St Saviour's church Band of Hope was attended by around 830 persons and following an address songs

those used by the PBHU and the evidence suggests that the Church of England was achieving some success in expanding Band of Hope work in Preston during the 1870s. There was a large attendance of members at St. Saviour's, which, for a church situated close to the centre of Preston in an area densely populated, is not surprising. The geographical location of St. Saviours offered the church a recruiting platform to attract children to its Band of Hope. This adds a dimension to Thomas Walmsley's comment in 1869 that "if the Church of England would join them the Band of Hope would flourish."[80] Despite (or perhaps because of), the Church of England's progress in establishing their own Bands of Hope, it chose not (for reasons that are enlarged upon in the next chapter), to associate its societies with the PBHU, whose numbers would no doubt have increased by such a move.[81] This brings Preston's lack of religious hegemony into play.

It is fair to suggest that whilst co-operating in supporting the aims of the overall non-denominational Band of Hope movement, the Church of England would want children from families living in the parish who were Church of England adherents, to attend a Band of Hope that was associated with their church. If this was the case, it contests the idea that a teetotal sect existed in Preston that overrode religious affiliation. Perhaps a judicious view is that for some teetotalism became their 'religion' whilst for others their religious observance led them towards teetotalism. In other words, religious and teetotal observances prevailed in Preston but neither had overriding authority. It might be that collective teetotal advocacy which had produced ecumenical co-operation and promoted Band of Hope work in Preston, thus allowing it to grow, was now producing elements of rivalry. The lack of overriding religious hegemony in the town may have induced a desire within individual religious bodies to now receive acknowledgement for their role in Band of Hope work. Conversely, the aim of the different churches in assuming individual

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and recitations were given by several of the members who were thanked for their efforts. Perusal of issues of the *Preston Guardian* during the 1860s also reveal Band of Hope activity taking place, which largely concerned Nonconformist associated societies.

[80] *Preston Guardian,* 6 November 1869.

[81] Membership of Church of England operated Bands of Hope was based on a teetotal pledge, whereas teetotalism was not insisted upon in their adult temperance societies, where the voluntary principle was adopted. It may be for this reason they chose not to affiliate to the teetotal advocating PBHU, non-denominational as it was.

responsibility for promoting teetotal advocacy in children may simply have been that they saw it as another method to be used to increase Band of Hope membership more efficiently.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered a number of the strategies and methods adopted by the Band of Hope to manage its operation and increase membership of the movement in the awareness that children were not immune from the lure of drinking places. Consideration of how children from the poorest of backgrounds in Preston were offered Band of Hope teaching revealed that this initiative was successful in appealing to the majority of them.

The non-denominational stance of the Band of Hope was itself a strategy that opened the movement up to all children. The movement applied a degree of subtlety in the nature of some of the methods it adopted by taking account of children's lives, circumstances that might encumber them but also the changing views of childhood that opened up new opportunities for children outside of the world of work. Teaching methods suited to children were employed but recognition was also given to advances in technology and transport links. As an inducement to children to maintain their teetotal pledge, the prospect of a train journey or the collective enjoyment of a tea party would be exciting, and help to prevent the lure of the drinking place from taking hold.

The Band of Hope's association with Sunday schools provided a platform for initiatives and methods to be applied through joint association. In Preston, the lack of overriding religious hegemony and the substantial population of Roman Catholics, led to initiatives being adopted by the different church sects which promoted Band of Hope work in the town. At the same time, the view that an authoritative teetotal sect existed in Preston and the extent to which this countered religious difference was examined in relation to Band of Hope support. This revealed a level of co-operation between those who held different religious opinions as well as secular views, to jointly promote teetotal values and Band of Hope work in the town, as well as the impact of elements of rivalry this may have produced.

Finally, to assess whether the initiatives and methods used so far by the Band of Hope were successful in assisting its development into a national children's organisation, requires a brief analysis of statistical evidence. Whilst such data is always open to interpretation, it allows a growth trend in the Band of Hope that increased exponentially from the 1870s to be identified. From the inception of the Band of Hope as an overall banner for children's teetotal advocacy in 1847, by 1876 the UKBHU reported a claimed membership of 150,033 with 944 societies, which consisted of metropolitan and provincial Bands of Hope associated with the United Kingdom union. Of this number the LCBHU reported that it had 19 district unions, 427 societies and 60,000 members.[82] The LCBHU increased in size from 1876 to a reported 1,078 societies with 180,000 members in 1887. Similarly, in 1876 the PBHU consisted of 17 societies.[83] By 1886, it numbered 27 societies and approx. 4,000 members.[84] By 1887 the UKBHU reported 6,673 societies and 90,855 membership probably did not include (and the word 'probably' is inserted in the report), 1,991 societies and 268,785 members of juvenile teetotal associations operating as Bands of Hope outside the UKBHU. Importantly, the overall numbers did not take into account of Church of England Band of Hope branches operating nationally, which were reported as 3,000 with 327,000 members.[85] These overall Church of England numbers would have included Preston and the initiatives and methods adopted by this Church, in tandem with other Preston teetotal advocates, revealed in the chapter, suggests that Preston's distinctive religious make-up did not distinguish the town, but rather the town's efforts reflect those of the overall movement, which allowed the Band of Hope to become a nationally recognised children's organisation.

The next chapter will consider the impact on Band of Hope work of two seemingly opposing elements that arose during the later decades of the nineteenth century, Gospel Temperance and Blue Ribbon movement, and the introduction of

[82] UKBHU Annual Reports (1.1.76-31.3.1877), 39, 43.
[83] UKBHU Annual Report, (1.1.76-31.3.1877), 47. Membership numbers were not recorded for Preston in this report which may be due to it not being an affiliated union at this time. (See chapter 2, page 66). The number of societies is gained from it being listed in the report under 'Town and District Unions not associated with County Unions'.
[84] UKBHU Annual Report (1.1.85.-31.3.86), 42.
[85] UKBHU Annual Report, New Volume, (1887), 5.

mandatory elementary education. Ultimately these led the Band of Hope into a different direction, which produced a fundamental change in the Band of Hope's methodology. The chapter will assess the impact of these elements on the Band of Hope as it adapted to a changing social, cultural and political scene.

CHAPTER FOUR - GOSPEL TEMPERANCE AND SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE TEACHING

Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth century excessive drinking continued to be blamed for many troubles that occurred in society. George Melly, MP expressed concern in 1869 that drunkenness still caused pauperism.[1] These sentiments echoed those of Joseph Livesey in evidence he gave to Parliament in 1834, confirming that problems associated with drink had not disappeared. Temperance historians have observed that the effects of drunkenness not only affected the poor but also more affluent workers, whose earnings capacity was determined by economic output and adversely affected by periodic trade depressions that characterised the last half of the nineteenth century.[2] There was also a moral cost, conveyed in oral testimony accounts obtained by Elizabeth Roberts, which claimed that the actions of men, even those who were well paid, received censure, if the amount spent on drink led to the physical and financial detriment of their families.[3] The problems that were associated with excessive drinking and its impact on a society, where affluence achieved could easily be lost due to circumstances outside ones control, united the efforts of religious and secular workers into supporting anti-drink campaigners in efforts to promote teetotalism within society. Concern for the spiritual as well as the material well-being of workers resulted in the formation of two elements, relevant to the thesis, that surfaced during the second half of the nineteenth century. One was Gospel Temperance which became associated with the Blue Ribbon Movement to form the Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Movement (GTBRM) and appealed to the emotions. The second was the introduction of scientific temperance teaching in day schools which was built on scientific fact. Historical opinion is in agreement that the popularity of the GTBRM was relatively short-lived. Its zenith occurred during the 1880s but evaporated

[1] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England*, MacMillan Press (1988), 94.
[2] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians,* Keele University Press (1994), 297. L Shiman *Crusade against Drink*, 94.
[3] E Roberts, *A Woman's Place, An oral history of working-class women 1890-1940*, Blackwell, (1984), 122/123. Throughout the period men were generally the main wage earners in families. Roberts' evidence points to the view that drink was a prime cause of stress in marriage. The opinion that a man was good could soon change if he turned to drink.

during the early 1890s.[4] Scientific temperance teaching on the other hand gained a permanency that eluded Gospel Temperance.

The aim of the chapter is to examine these two approaches to identify how each contributed to increasing an awareness of the benefits of teetotal advocacy in adults and children, to the advantage of the Band of Hope nationally and more locally in Preston.

The chapter will add to the views expressed by temperance historians by including in the discussion the impact of contemporary criticism of proselytism. Furthermore, it will argue that the importance of the GTBRM for the thesis rests not on its short-lived popularity but because it enabled scientific temperance teaching to accomplish its initial objectives successfully. To demonstrate why this was the case, consideration will first be given to relevant facets of the GTBRM.

Gospel Temperance and the Blue Ribbon Movement

Gospel Temperance

The GTBRM can be defined as having two meanings. Broadly speaking Gospel Temperance referred to an association of temperance with any degree of religion and thus by 1870 it included different sections that supported the temperance cause, including the Church of England, even though there were those in its congregations who supported moderate drinking rather than teetotal advocacy. The Church of England, who had displayed an ambivalent attitude towards teetotal support, increasingly recognised that it had the potential to curb excessive drinking and thus alleviate many of the social ills associated with drink. [5]

The introduction of the Blue Ribbon

In its narrowest sense, Gospel Temperance referred to a specific movement that arose in the late-1870s and swept through England, following a visit by English

[4] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 27. L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, Chapter 7. P T Winskill, *The Temperance Movement and its Workers,* Volume IV, (1892), 32, Livesey Collection.
[5] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 96. Divisions resulting from debates over moderation versus teetotal advocacy in the Church of England will be discussed later in regard to scientific temperance teaching.

temperance lecturer William Noble, to the United States in 1877 where he was introduced to the work of the Blue Ribbon movement in New York.[6] This association of Gospel Temperance with the Blue Ribbon movement is one that P T Winskill described as "a great tidal wave of temperance (that) caused much stir in the world at the time".[7] The use of the words "great tidal wave" by Winskill, and Shiman's likening of the Blue Ribbon movement to "a wave of blue", certainly imply that the movement was transient and within a decade of its introduction the popularity of GTBRM began to wane although the effects of Gospel Temperance in its broadest setting lasted longer.[8]

The popularity of Gospel Temperance and the wearing of a Blue Ribbon

William Noble initially promoted the GTBRM through a series of gatherings, known as missions, held in London in 1877.[9] However, it was the oratory skills of an American Richard T Booth in 1880, coupled with his organizational ability that spurred an upsurge in the GTBLM that changed it from a local to a national one that advocated teetotalism. Booth and his followers were keen to use the enthusiasm they roused to establish more permanent missions, which proliferated throughout the country and became known as the *Blue Ribbon Gospel Army.*[10]

The word 'Army' generally has a military meaning but it can also refer to a crowd or a mass of people allied to a singular cause.[11] The words 'Blue Ribbon' symbolised an allegiance to temperance principles, suggested by words in the Old Testament to the children of Israel, (Numbers 15:37-8), which commended them to wear a ribbon of blue as a daily reminder of the commandments of the Lord. Importantly, the wearing of a blue ribbon showed that whatever class a person belonged to, they

[6] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 111.
[7] P T Winskill, *The Temperance Movement* Volume IV, (1892), 32.
[8] L Shiman *Crusade against Drink*, Chapter 7 is headed " 'A Wave of Blue' – The Temperance Army, to describe the movement,
[9] *The Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission*, Report of the proceedings of a conference held on 21 May 1883, Hoxton Hall, 3/4, Livesey Collection.
[10] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 117.
[11] S Olsen, "Raising Fathers, Raising Boys: Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914", PhD Thesis, (September 2008), Department of History, McGill University, Montreal, 203. Olsen indicates that during this period a male model was increasingly being used to promote Christian endeavour in order to advance Britain and its Empire.

were connected in a single cause by signing the teetotal pledge. This in effect cut through some of these earlier class-related antagonisms that had beset the temperance cause and many teetotallers of long standing welcomed the opportunity to wear a blue ribbon as a symbol of respectability.[12] At the end of the 1880s, it was claimed that more than a million people, from the highest ranks of society to those of low birth, had signed the pledge and wore a blue ribbon.[13] Even those who objected to Gospel Temperance such as Roman Catholics still recognised the potential of wearing a ribbon as a means of collective identity. Not wanting to be closely identified with Protestantism, they chose to wear a green ribbon, whilst other temperance groups chose a white, or a yellow ribbon.[14] Why did the collective wearing of a Ribbon, be it blue, or another colour, become so popular during this period? What does it say with regard to social identity and class structure in late nineteenth-century Britain?

Some academic historians have argued that the industrial revolution had produced a single working class conscious of its own status and identity while others have increasingly observed a growing fragmentation of the working class and recognised that class identity is not fixed but has changed over time and has varying characteristics.[15] Even Marx who based his analysis of society upon relations between capital and labour recognised that "at any given moment in history there existed several intermediate classes."[16] At the same time, the working-classes formed the majority of the population and were collectively poor compared to those who controlled the nation's wealth and property and even for those workers who considered themselves relatively affluent the fear of poverty was always present.[17] Whilst skilled workers, sometimes referred to by historians as the

[12] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 27.
[13] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 112. Also P T Winskill, *The Temperance Movement,* 33. Winskill did not mention a specific number, but stated that "large numbers of pledges were taken; men and women of all denominations and classes."
[14] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 112.
[15] For example, the works of E P Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class,* Pantheon (1964). Thompson has produced a number of articles related to class structure in 1970s issues of *Past and Present.* R Gray, *The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth-century Britain c.1850-1914,* The Economic History Society, (1981), 9.
[16] R J Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850*, Studies in Economic History, (1970), 23.
[17] P Murray, *Poverty and Welfare, 1830-1914,* Hodder Murray, (1999), 6.

'labour aristocracy', could afford to make some provision for the future, they too might find themselves suddenly facing poverty. Technological changes could destroy the prosperity of respected workers as had happened to handloom weavers. Cyclical depressions in trade were nuanced and subtle in the later nineteenth century, and employees were beginning to experience slumps that were sometimes in the form of short-time and wage cuts rather than lay-offs.[18] Temporary poverty could at some time therefore affect the majority of the population.

One argues that the popularity of wearing of a Blue ribbon was associated with the changing culture and ideology of 'respectability' within different groups as they adapted to their own situation. For the working-classes respectable behaviour was related to problems of survival and to self-discipline imposed by the conditions of industrial labour. Influences outside their control, such as periodic trade depressions, mentioned above, could threaten their ambitions and the Blue Ribbon became a reminder not only of what they had achieved but what they risked losing if drink was every imbibed.[19] In efforts to exert control over one's life, 'respectability' in the form of wearing a Blue Ribbon as an indicator of sober behaviour would be particularly attractive to those working-class groups that aspired to better themselves. When Elizabeth Roberts posed the question to interviewees of what sort of man was considered a 'real gentleman', the usual response was expressed not in terms of class-consciousness but in the moral and social context of family relations.[20] The testimony implies that in the different working-class groups the capacity to earn money was thought less important than how it was spent. In this context, spending money on alcohol to the detriment of family harmony would not be considered gentleman-like behaviour.

The virtue of self-restraint, imposed by the wearing of a Blue Ribbon is perhaps obvious to working-class ambitions, but arguably its appeal to wider society lay not only in it being perceived as a virtuous example of sober behaviour which set an example to those in a lower station in life but in its tangible benefits which

[18] J Walton, *Lancashire, A Social History, 1558-1939,* Manchester University Press, (1987), 201.
[19] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 121.
[20] E Roberts, *A Woman's Place,* 83.

extended beyond the working-classes. Sobriety could avert tensions in the workplace, resulting in increased production which would in turn help the economy of the country and thus profit the upper classes and the government. It is however recognised that whilst the boundaries between the working and middle-class groups were becoming more fluid, many of the latter still considered that a clear distinction existed between them. This leads one to ask how the GTBRM sought to satisfy middle-class mores whilst maintaining its popularity within the wider temperance community.

The establishment of Blue Ribbon missions provided an outlet where those attending could publicly deny the temptation to drink and sign the pledge. The ceremonial fanfare that accompanied such a practice was not to the taste of those who wished to pledge privately, and for these people pledge booths were made available where they could pledge without such ceremony.[21] Of course any ritual associated with pledge taking accorded with the earlier working-class teetotallers' celebration of the 'reformed' drunkard whereas the desire of those wishing to do so quietly reflected the former middle-class view that regarded such festivity with disapproval. At the same time, as the wearing of a Blue Ribbon was popular with all ranks of society there is nothing to suggest that class-related issues had a bearing on whether one publicly or privately signed the pledge. If one accepts the view expressed by Gray that class distinction became more fluid and less rigid during the nineteenth century, influenced by cultural and political activities that could cut across the differences,[22] it could be argued that in temperance terms, the GTBRM encouraged further the blurring of any lines that had divided the social classes. On the other hand, the GTBRM was accused by some temperance workers of actually creating rivalry in teetotal circles with regard to who carried out the most earnest work. Some older temperance workers were indignant that GTBRM missions appeared to be taking over the methodical approach adopted as part of more traditional temperance practices. Among those who expressed doubts about its efficacy was Joseph Livesey, Preston's teetotal veteran. Although Livesey was approaching the end of his life (his death occurred in 1884), as an 'elder statesman'

[21] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 116.
[22] R Gray, *The Aristocracy of Labour,* 9.

of teetotalism his word still carried weight and his objections merit brief mention at this stage.

Criticism of GTBRM

Blue Ribbon missions attracted huge audiences who were urged by stirring rhetoric to sign the teetotal pledge. Meetings often served to provoke a 'conversion' experience in the audience by featuring testimonies of past infamy coupled with emotional promises of change.[23] Joseph Livesey's view was that it was important for individual teetotallers to go among the poor and work with them on an individual basis, a practice he had carried out earlier in his life.[24] This presents a paradox in that Livesey had not objected to the celebratory manner that greeted the 'reformed' drunkard's pledge to teetotalism earlier in the century, much to the disapproval of anti-spirits campaigners.[25] In relation to Livesey's view regarding the importance of individual effort in promoting teetotal values, one argues that any opinion expressed by him would likely make an impression in temperance and Band of Hope circles in Preston and would be taken on board by those in other areas of the country.

Martin Field, Honorary Secretary of the Bradford Band of Hope, although acknowledging the sincerity of Blue Ribbon workers, referred to the GTBRM as superficial when comparing the haphazard and impulsive nature of putting on the Blue Ribbon and becoming abstainers enthused by the rhetoric of Blue Ribbon speakers, against the thorough method adopted by Band of Hope societies in ensuring that children were aware of the important step they were embarking upon in taking the pledge. Field, like Livesey, felt that pledges taken on impulse would soon be retracted whereas those that secured a lifetime of teetotalism were obtained through painstaking and careful management.[26] In the case of those who

[23] A McAllister, "The Alternative World of the Proud Non-Drinkers: Nineteenth century public displays of temperance", *The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs,* Volume 28, No. 2 (Summer 2014), 162.
[24] PP. 1834(559), *Select Committee on Enquiry into Drunkenness,* Joseph Livesey's Evidence, 89.
[25] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 111. Harrison claims that Livesey had not being afraid to be seen "walking through the streets of Preston arm-in-arm with drunkards in the past."
Also J Curtis, "Methodism and Teetotalism", A History of the Methodist Church and Teetotalism", PhD Thesis, University of Exeter (2016). 76.
[26] LCBHU *Onward*, Volume XVIII, (1883), 26.

took the pledge at Blue Ribbon missions, one suggests that the views of Livesey and Field appear to be justified as evidence reveals that a percentage of those who pledged to be teetotal at Blue Ribbon meetings, subsequently reneged on their pledge and of those who reneged, some would be stirred at a subsequent meeting to pledge again.[27]

On the other hand, not all Band of Hope children continued to remain adult teetotallers, a point argued by Joseph Walshaw at the annual meeting of the Yorkshire Band of Hope Union in 1878. Walshaw referred to what he considered the great loss (although he does not provide any numerical data), of senior members who seemed to lose all interest in temperance as adults.[28] Shiman offers a placatory tone to this debate by suggesting that among those who may have lapsed from taking the pledge, many still supported the temperance movement at organised public meetings and by insisting on the better regulation of public drinking facilities.[29] Indeed, some teetotallers felt that any movement that could bring people to teetotalism through a mixture of religion and temperance teaching should be encouraged as the benefits outweighed any defects if it made people aware of the teetotal message.[30] This introduces an aspect worth considering which relates to the view expressed by P T Winskill that prior to the GTBRM some churches had been indifferent in their support of teetotalism, which they associated with secularism.[31] By exploring such a view, it is possible to see whether it was justified but more importantly, identify why this would ultimately prove to be disadvantageous to the GTBRM?

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[27] *Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission,* Report of Proceedings, 7. Returns for 1882 and up to 31st March 1883 show that taking a representative group of 25 towns and villages ranging in population from 1,610 to 400,757, 15 percent of those who signed were reported to have reneged on their pledge. Also 'Light in Darkness' Eleven page publication produced by The *Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission,* undated but c.1890, 5, Livesey Collection. This states that during 1890, 80 percent of men and 45 percent of women had been faithful to their pledge, leaving 20 percent and 55 percent respectively who did not keep the pledge. It was reported that 29 women signed no less than 81 times between them, one women signed 6 times, one 5 times, ten 4 times.

[28] *Band of Hope Chronicle,* No. 10 (October 1878), 65.

[29] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 154.

[30] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 118/119.

[31] P T Winskill, *The Temperance Movement*, 32/33. Winskill described Gospel Temperance as "a great tidal wave of temperance" which created a stir in the world at the time, and he opined that one reason some churches had been indifferent in their support of teetotalism in the past was that they perceived it to be a largely secular movement.

Prior to the GTBRM the official stance of churches in support of teetotal advocacy had been inconsistent with some congregation members choosing to pledge total abstinence in secular temperance societies. Although the GTBRM's popularity proved short-lived, the use of prayer by its advocates in the battle against drink, increased pressure on all religious institutions, and this included those in Preston, to take a more active role in combating problems caused by alcohol. By the 1890s almost all the major churches in England had established their own denominational societies [32] At the same time existing secular temperance society members argued that any assumption that they had been up to that point purely secular was wrong and that they did acknowledge religion by including prayers at their meetings.[33] In his study of Methodism and Teetotalism, Jonathan Curtis succinctly states that in regard to teetotalism Joseph Livesey and his fellow abstainers "started the notion of preaching (in a secular sense) on the subject."[34] Perhaps a more rounded definition offered through the thesis is that teetotalism began as a secular movement advocated largely by those who had a religious conviction but as Joseph Livesey's *Malt Lecture* given in 1833 revealed, were prepared to use scientific knowledge of the day to advance their argument, an aspect that lends itself to later discussion relating to the introduction of scientific temperance teaching. By bringing Livesey back into the discussion, the implication of Livesey's view that the emotive nature of the GTBLM led to repeated pledge taking by some adherents, is one worth pursuing as it offers one reason that explains why the GTBRM ultimately failed to maintain its popularity.

Criticism that GTBRM encouraged repeat pledge taking was addressed by a record being kept of those who were donning the blue ribbon as existing pledged abstainers, and those doing so for the first time.[35] This was evident at a Blue Ribbon meeting held in Preston in 1883 which recorded that of the 345 people in total who donned blue ribbons, 265 of them did so having pledged for the first

[32] L Shiman, "The Blue Ribbon Army: Gospel Temperance in England", *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1932-1986,* (Volume 55, No. 4), 391 (accessed 3 August 2015). Also L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 119/120.
[33] P T Winskill, *The Temperance Movement,* 33.
[34] J P Curtis, "Methodism and Abstinence", 68.
[35] P T Winskill, *The Temperance Movement,* 34. Also L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 116.

time.[36] In addition, and more importantly, agreement was reached that churches would be given the names of those churchgoers who had been interested in temperance but were stimulated to pledge abstinence at GTBRM missions.[37] Arguably, this decision influenced the churches to establish their own temperance societies, possibly to guard their own interests, viz: if the GTBRM had prompted an increase in the number of members of church congregations to support teetotal advocacy, the churches best interests would be served by the creation of their own denominational temperance societies to cater for their congregational teetotal members. Therefore, the success of the GTBRM in promoting teetotal values became the cause of its downfall. It no longer received the patronage of churches and other temperance organisations who, through the popularity of the GTBRM now sought to establish and promote their own societies. A number of Gospel Temperance missions continued but these were largely due to a few dedicated workers, one of whom is worth mentioning.

Mrs Elizabeth Ann Lewis (1849-1924) helped to introduce a Blue Ribbon Mission in Blackburn circa 1882.[38] When this ended, she decided to continue the work and established Mrs Lewis' Temperance Mission, later called Mrs Lewis' Teetotal Mission.[39] Her dedication to Gospel Temperance work was recognised when she was presented to the King and Queen during their visit to Blackburn in 1913. Mrs Lewis's contribution to Gospel Temperance would necessitate a separate thesis but her work does emphasise the role played by women in promoting teetotal values which is underlined by action taken by the GTBRM. In recognition of women's work it was suggested in 1883 that instead of referring to the movement as the *Blue Ribbon Gospel Army*, the title should be changed by replacing the word 'Army' with the word 'Mission, to "more accurately express the intention and character of the movement".[40] What prompted such a decision to be made? Might it be that the

[36] *Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser,* 7 April 1883.
[37] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 116.
[38] J S Blocker, D M Fahey, I R Tyrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History*, *An International Encyclopaedia,* Volume 1 (A-L), ABC-CLIO Inc, (2003), 366.
[39] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 122. Chapter five provides a description of Mrs Lewis's contribution to Gospel Temperance.
[40] *The Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission* Report, 3/4. The suggestion was made by the chairman speaking at a GTBRM conference held at Hoxton Hall in May 1883.

use of the word 'army' reflected the initial need for the GTBRM to adopt an aggressive spirit to fight intemperance, as epitomised by the stirring words of Booth that had raised anti-drink forces to fever pitch.[41] As religious organisations were joining in the endeavour, the word 'army' seemed no longer appropriate and there was a desire not to be thought connected with the Salvation Army, in order to avoid the assumption of association more with one religious group over another.[42] But could the decision to replace the word 'army' with 'mission' also be that it acknowledged the role of women in Gospel Temperance work? [43]

The word 'mission' in relation to the perceived role of women in Band of Hope work earlier in the century was discussed in chapter two (page 54), and the debate over its use at this stage bears upon the level of fluidity that existed in relation to nineteenth century gender issues. Melanie Tebbutt suggests that women, generally, were beginning to enter the public realm and increased opportunities of paid labour for women had helped to weaken patriarchy.[44] The actions of the GTBRM suggest that they recognised that a societal change was taking place when even hard-line patriarchal views were being eroded and that class structures were beginning to adopt a degree of flexibility.[45] To underline the fluid nature in relation to patriarchal views, some missions outside London chose to continue to use the title *Blue Ribbon Gospel Army,* such as one in Preston that operated in 1885.[46] The Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) also considered the use of military language to be appropriate to promote Band of Hope work. Ensuing discussion of GTBRM work in Preston will highlight this aspect and the extent to which it reflected the national scene.

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[41] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 117.
[42] *The Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission* Report, 10/11. Also L Shiman *Crusade against Drink*, 117.
[43] 'Light into Darkness', *Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Mission,* 5. This booklet referred to women as the 'mothers of the people'. Such wording perhaps places women's participation in Band of Hope work more in the domestic sphere than in the public gaze, which many considered a male domain.
[44] M Tebbutt, *Women's Talk? A social history of 'gossip' in working-class neighbourhoods, 1880-1960,* Scolar Press, (1995), 26.
[45] *R Gray, The Aristocracy of Labour,* 9.
[46] *Preston Chronicle,* 14 March 1885 reported that a *Blue Ribbon Gospel Army* met, where it was claimed that the 'Army' was doing good work in Preston, many persons who had been drunkards having been reclaimed.

Gospel Temperance and the Blue Ribbon Movement in Preston

Contemporary evidence in the Livesey Collection confirms the formation of a Preston Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union (PBRGTU).[47] From this document it is clear that Preston chose to use the word 'union' rather than 'mission' or 'army' in the title of this organisation, (see Appendix 4). One might argue that representation on the organising committee suggests that this was a deliberate choice, made to reflect the town's religious mix. The Rev J H Rawdon, Vicar of Preston, was its President and Thomas Walmsley, President of the Preston Band of Hope Union (PBHU) and a Nonconformist was involved.[48] The committee consisted of one representative from each Temperance Society and Band of Hope and six from the Preston Temperance Society. The make-up of the committee suggests that the Preston Temperance Society played an authoritative role in the PBRGTU and that it included the participation of religious and secular bodies in its organisation. There was less likelihood of official Roman Catholic involvement in the enterprise for reasons expressed on page 117.

It is suggested that the preponderance of Preston Temperance Society involvement was due to the PBRGTU being formed during the time when some churches were still in the throes of forming their own temperance societies in order to benefit from the popularity of the GTBRM. Although the formation date of the PBRGTU is not known, there is evidence that reveals that the Preston Temperance Society committee promoted a series of meetings known as a Blue Ribbon campaign in Preston in November 1882. The campaign resulted in 1436 new pledges and 2821 ribbons donned, bringing the total of new pledges "since the inauguration of the movement in the town to 1759 and ribbons donned to 3266."[49] What this reveals is

[47] A leaflet entitled *Preston Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union*, is housed in the Livesey Collection. This is undated but lays out the constitution, objects and membership of the union.
[48] Thomas Walmsley was one of the two people who created the first teetotal society for children at the Lawson Street Primitive Methodist Sunday School, Preston in 1834, (see Chapter One). H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools, A Brief sketch of the Churches and Sunday schools with a short account of the Sunday School Movement in Preston, and a few statistics in connection with the various Day Schools*, T Snape & Co, (1892), 33. See *Preston Chronicle,* 20 October 1883.
[49] *Preston Chronicle,* 11 November 1882. It should be noted that this campaign preceded the blue ribbon mission meeting held in Preston mentioned on page 122 when 265 persons who attended

that Preston followed the general practice of holding Blue Ribbon missions over a number of days and that in welcoming old and new teetotallers, pledge signing was restricted to those who had not already signed a pledge of abstinence.[50] On this occasion, of the total 3266 who donned blue ribbons, 1759 took the pledge, the remaining 1507 were already pledged abstainers.[51] The campaign in Preston reveals how the wearing of a blue ribbon could inject a feeling of solidarity and support among workers. Arguably, the companionship of new as well as seasoned teetotallers would bolster Band of Hope workers to continue their task of bringing yet more children to acknowledge the dangers associated with drink. Irrespective of whether the PBRGTU had been formed prior to this campaign, there are aspects of the PBRGTU that merit further attention in relation to the involvement of children.

Membership of the PBRGTU was restricted to pledge takers aged 16 years and upward.[52] Whilst this effectively barred younger children from joining, one could argue that Band of Hope children would be aware of their commitment to teetotalism and might be encouraged to join the PBRGTU at 16 to continue to benefit from their association with teetotalism through the companionship offered by Gospel Temperance and the attractive proposition of donning a blue ribbon. In addition, evidence presented below indicates that children were not barred from wearing blue ribbons at Band of Hope meetings in Preston.[53]

In relation to the popularity of the GTBRM , the above discussion mentioned the number of pledges taken at GTBRM meetings in Preston. Without disputing the attractiveness of the GTBRM within the temperance community, if one takes into

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signed the pledge but 345 people (who were already pledge abstainers), donned blue ribbons. Reported in *Preston Chronicle,* 7 April 1883.

[50] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 115/116.

[51] *Preston Chronicle,* 11 November 1882. The *Chronicle* reported that the campaign was attended by Thomas Walmsley, James Duthie, Secretary of the Preston Temperance Society, as well as temperance workers from Blackburn and Burnley.

[52] *Preston Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union.*

[53] *Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Band of Hope Minute Book*, Lancashire Archives, Preston. The document is unpaged and contains minutes that record actions dating from 7 January 1884 to the last recorded minutes taken on 5 April 1900. When the Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Sunday school formed a Band of Hope Society in 1884, the founding committee of this society named it the 'Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Sunday School Band of Hope and Gospel Temperance Society, which points to it being associated with children.

account the accrued number of pledges taken as a result of Blue Ribbon mission meetings in Preston, doubts are raised about the overall popularity of the movement in the town. Preston had a population of around 96,000 in 1881.[54] The accrued total of pledges as a result of Blue Ribbon meetings in Preston amounted to 3,266 in November 1882. Even accepting that subsequent pledge taking would have occurred, there is no evidence to suggest that this number rose significantly during the popular years of Gospel Temperance. If, as the evidence suggests, numerically at least, Gospel Temperance had little impact on temperance or Band of Hope work in Preston, one has to look elsewhere to determine the significance of the GTBRM on Band of Hope work in the town.

The criticism of the GTBRM by Joseph Livesey, Preston's veteran teetotal advocate has already been mentioned. It is interesting that Livesey's name does not appear in literature that relates to the forming of the PBRGTU, not even in an honorary capacity. Why might this be? As a critic of the movement, Livesey may have expressed a desire not to be associated with its creation. However, a more logical explanation is that Livesey was in the final years of his life and would have passed away during the potent years of the GTBRM. It is unlikely that Livesey would have allowed his personal views of the methods used by the GTRBM to get in the way of his support for any organisation that encouraged teetotal values in Preston's population. The originators of teetotalism were now either elderly or were deceased. During their lifetimes they had seen a gradual acceptance of moderate and increasingly, teetotal values within religious and secular bodies which was swelled by the impact of the GTBRM. This is where the significance of the support given to the GTBRM by the CETS in Preston, through the influence of the Rev Rawdon, engages one's attention.

The Rev Rawdon was without doubt a supporter of the wearing of the Blue Ribbon. Not only was he President of the PBRGTU but also President of the Preston Church of England Sunday School Association.[55] In this capacity he would be in a position to influence Bands of Hope operated by the Church of England in Preston to

[54] T C Smith, "County Borough of Preston Population Returns for the year 1881", *Guild Records*, Harris Local Community Library, 55.
[55] H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools,* 33.

support the movement. When mention was made above that children were not barred from wearing a Blue Ribbon, a Band of Hope meeting at St Thomas's church in Preston is a case in point, as several Blue Ribbon boys gave recitations and dialogues.[56] What this shows is that whilst membership of the PBRGTU applied to those 16 and over, individual societies could choose to allow those who had pledged teetotalism to don a Blue Ribbon irrespective of age. This of course mirrors the autonomy afforded to individual Band of Hope societies operating within the Band of Hope organisation to manage their own affairs if it advanced Band of Hope work. To emphasise this point further, Preston's St Matthew's Total Abstinence Society recommended the wearing of the Blue Ribbon, which they saw as a sure method of advocating temperance principles in the young.[57]

Bearing in mind that the Band of Hope had served as a model for temperance youth groups established by the Church of England, it is important to emphasise that in respect of teetotal adherence, the CETS did not allow the dual basis moderate/teetotal policy of its adult societies to be upheld in its Bands of Hope, where all the children had to pledge to abstain from intoxicants. Perhaps this prompted the CETS to initiate the Church Lads Brigade which was designed to cater for those too old for the Band of Hope but too young for the adult societies.[58] Arguably this would encourage the Blue Ribbon boys who attended St Thomas's Band of Hope to eventually join the Church Lads Brigade as they grew older and enable them to maintain their teetotal advocacy should they then join a Church temperance society that did not insist on total abstinence. Reference to the Church Lads Brigade relates to a point discussed on page 124, referring to the use of militaristic language when presenting teetotal principles to the young. This is underlined by a series of meetings held by the Preston CETS under the heading of a *Juvenile Church Army* organised by the captain and officers of the Church of England St Thomas's and St. Philip's Church Army, at which over 300 children and 200 adults reportedly attended.[59] It also supports Olsen's view that from the 1880s

[56] *Preston Chronicle*, 5 May 1883. The *Chronicle* referred to the youngsters as 'Blue Ribbon boys' in its report.
[57] *Preston Chronicle,* 29 September 1883.
[58] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 106.
[59] *Preston Chronicle,* 14 March 1885.

a male model was increasing being used to promote Christian endeavour to advance Britain and its Empire.[60] At the same time, Tebbutt's view expressed on page 124 suggests that opportunities for women had begun to increase and this had helped to weaken patriarchy.[61] This again underlines the fluid nature and changing historical observations of male and female roles in society which allows one to argue that in concentrating attention on the Band of Hope, evidence lends support to either view. The Band of Hope was designed for children of both sexes whilst some Sunday schools had, and most newly established children's organisations were, based on sexual segregation, such as the Boy Scouts movement started in 1907, followed by the Girl Guides in 1909.[62] One acknowledges that on occasions when children enjoyed treats, these may have embraced both sexes of these movements; nevertheless the forming of separate organisations for boys and girls could be interpreted as supporting male identity in terms of Britain's place in the world whilst also recognising the widening horizon of opportunities now available to females.

With reference to earlier discussion that stemmed from the use of the word 'army' or 'mission', it is worth remembering that Preston adopted the name 'Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union' for its governing body rather than either of these. In temperance terms, and remembering that individual societies could operate autonomously, one argues that the PBRGTU chose its title in recognition of the fact that in Preston no church body had overriding dominance and the inclusion of the word 'union' would promote a feeling of unity of purpose within the ranks of temperance and Band of Hope workers in the town. Why is such a view significant in relation to Preston?

Significance and legacy of the movement for Preston

If one extends the view that the GTBRM influenced many churches to implement teetotal advocacy in their own temperance organisations and united the efforts of religious and secular workers, and relate it to Preston, it identifies an aspect of the

[60] S Olsen, "Raising Fathers, Raising Boys:", 46 and 203.
[61] M Tebbutt, *Women's Talk?,* 26.
[62] J Joll, *Europe since 1870*, Penguin Books, (1990), 156.

GTBRM that had particular resonance for the town. It shows that the significance of the GTBRM in Preston rested not on its numerical popularity but rather in it promoting the united efforts of church and secular bodies in Preston to collectively support teetotal advocacy. By doing so, it alleviated some of the challenges that may have impacted upon the success of the second element that the chapter will shortly consider, the introduction of scientific temperance teaching in day schools.

This argument is premised on the fact that following the introduction of mandatory elementary education, Government legislated that school boards, which were non-denominational, should supplement voluntary schools and from the 1880s, these schools introduced scientific subjects taught from a secular rather than a religious perspective.[63] Preston differed from other districts by choosing not to appoint a school board during the time that scientific temperance teaching was being taught in schools.[64] This effectively meant that Preston's voluntary church schools, workhouse and ragged schools would be responsible for satisfying Government legislation, which at that stage did not state that scientific temperance teaching was a requirement of school curriculum. Essentially, for Preston schools to be expected to implement a scientific temperance teaching programme without any religious basis required their co-operation, especially that of Church of England voluntary schools. Having emphasised that Preston had no overriding religious hegemony, it should be remembered that the Church of England still represented approximately half the child population of Preston.[65] At the same time, one suggests that

[63] A Fyfe, "Science and Religion in Popular Publishing in 19th-Century Britain", P Meusburger, M Welker, E Wunder, Eds., *Clashes of Knowledge, Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Science and Religion,* Springer, (2008), 129/130.

[64] M Savage, *The Dynamics of Working Class Politics, The Labour Movement in Preston 1880-1940,* Cambridge University Press (1987), 108 Savage argues that Preston was the largest town in Britain without a School Board, and hence without rate-funded education. All education was based on the voluntary schools provided by the churches. P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit,* University of Toronto Press (1982), 56. Phillips states that the attitudes of those belonging to the different church sects as well as teetotallers made the institution of a school board difficult. J S Hurt, "Board School or Voluntary school: Some determinants", in *New approaches to the study of Education,* Ed. R Lowe, History of Education Society, Publication No. 4, (Spring 1979), 2. *Development of Elementary Education 1815-1902 in Preston,* Harris Local Studies Library, 173. Also *Peter's Preston, Life in Victorian Times*, Harris Local Studies Library, (2003), 25. This includes an excerpt taken from the *Preston Guardian* newspaper 20 June 1903, which states that no board schools operated in Preston and that there were 37 voluntary schools.

[65] W Pollard, *Preston Guild Merchant, 1882,* produced by H Oakey, Preston (1883), Harris Local Studies Library, 119.

Nonconformist and Roman Catholic voluntary church schools in Preston would not object to such teaching if it did not resort to proselytisation. If one accepts that the GTBRM had promoted widespread awareness as well as support for teetotal values, and this included those in prominent positions in the Church of England generally, then surely it would help to persuade church authorities in Preston to be more amenable to accepting the concept of the Band of Hope leading a programme of scientific temperance teaching which, because it was free of any religious or moral argument, would not offend the views of different church sects operating in the town, but which might help to curb drinking excesses in the rising generation. As the teaching should in no way proselytise, prevailing contemporary views on proselytism will help to explain why churches would agree to such teaching.

To understand the significance of the desire to avoid any form of proselytisation one must delve into the realms of international history. Fears of proselytisation had been shaped to some extent by reaction to the Indian Mutiny in 1857, which heralded the Raj and they continued to prevail within the upper echelons of society including Queen Victoria and her government. The Queen's expressed concern following the Mutiny in 1857 remained unchanged in 1882 when in responding to a request by Sir Henry Ponsonby she cited her attitude towards those British female medical missionaries working in India who used acts of mercy to convert the masses by stating that: "The Queen <u>does</u> support the *Medical Women for India* as else they die for want of any help – but not to connect this with religion at all."[66] Those in positions of influence and affluence in this country may have been prompted to support scientific temperance teaching, at least financially, in the knowledge that the Queen herself frowned upon proselytism. Of course, as will be made clear, this was not the overriding reason why scientific temperance teaching had to be free of religious or moral overtones, but, with the Queen's obvious distaste for proselytism, it is another facet in the understanding of why the Church of England establishment would support teaching based on scientific knowledge alone.

[66] PP/Vic/1882 14808 memo by Ponsonby to Queen Victoria 30 November 1882. Quoted in S Lang, "Queen Victoria and the Medical Women of India", Unpublished Thesis, Archives of the Royal Free Hospital, London, 18.

Overall, the interest in temperance that the GTBRM had aroused within all levels of society, both Church and secular, extended beyond Preston. When its popularity waned, it provided the impetus that allowed purely scientific temperance teaching to flourish and be supported by society at large. After all, the aim of the GTBRM in relation to children was the same as that proposed through scientific temperance teaching, but by using a different approach. Both desired to dissuade young people from drinking alcohol. Having considered the GTBRM attention will now focus on the second element under consideration in this chapter, the introduction of scientific temperance teaching into day schools.

Scientific Temperance teaching in Schools

Scientific temperance teaching in day schools occurred largely as a result of the gradual introduction of mandatory elementary education into the country from the 1870s. This was not the only factor and these will be considered, but as Preston did not appoint a schools board to manage its day schools, Preston's education policy differed somewhat from other localities. The reason relates once again to Preston's religious make-up. Given the higher numbers of Catholics living in Preston relative to other towns, one reason for the lack of a school board in Preston stemmed from the fear that Catholic children, both English and Irish might be involved in future school-board projects and this led many Prestonians to defeat the idea. The existing school facilities organised by voluntary church schools, whether Established, Nonconformist or Roman Catholic were deemed satisfactory.[67] Such a view might imply that a strained relationship existed within the different church communities in Preston. Whilst this would seem to make the support for scientifically based temperance teaching more challenging in Preston schools than in other localities, a counter argument is that religious opinion in the town would not be offended by a scheme designed to teach teetotal advocacy in schools without regard to morals or religion. There is also another strand to the argument which deserves attention.

When Government policy laid the foundation for introducing board schools, these were to supplement and not replace voluntary schools. Preston relied on voluntary

[67] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit,* 57.

schools to satisfy the educational requirements of its children throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. At the same time there were other districts in Lancashire where the number of voluntary schools remained larger than the number of board schools. In 1903 when Preston operated 37 voluntary schools, Blackburn was reported to have 40 voluntary schools and 7 board schools; Burnley had 20 voluntary schools, and 11 board schools.[68] Arguably, such evidence only serves to emphasise why the Band of Hope would stress that teetotal advocacy, when taught in schools, should be founded purely on scientific knowledge alone.

The religious make-up of Preston presented the Band of Hope with an appropriate locality to test the scientific teaching scheme. If the Band of Hope could succeed in fulfilling its objectives in Preston, through voluntary church schools, it should be able to match this success in areas where education provision was through both voluntary and board schools. At the same time it is important to mention other developments that were taking place in the country, all of which encouraged the Band of Hope in this endeavour.

Technological developments, that had assisted the Band of Hope in adopting initiatives and methods to promote its message earlier in the century, continued to advance alongside new scientific discoveries. The increasing rail network led to faster transport links between localities, allowing reading material of a religious and secular nature to be widely distributed and which children with their newly acquired literacy skills could enjoy.[69] Technological advances in printing, such as the 'Linotype' promoted magazine production at a time when science was discussed in many of the popular magazines aimed at young people.[70] Tapping into these new inventions enabled the Band of Hope organisation to formulate a plan to introduce a non-religious based scientific temperance programme into schools and to use its own publications to set national exams to suit different age levels. As an inducement to gaining children's attention, the Band of Hope would use the time-

[68] *Peter's Preston, Life in Victorian Times*, 25. Excerpt from *Preston Guardian* 20 June 1903.
[69] A Fyfe, "Science and Religion in Popular Publishing", 124/125.
[70] C Schlesinger, *The Biographyof Ottmar Mergenthaler, Inventor of the Linotype,* Oak Knoll Books, (1989), 26. Ottmar Megenthaler invented the mechanized typecasting machine, known as the 'Linotype', which evolved during the late 1870s and early 1880s, with orders for commercial operation commencing in 1886.

honoured method of offering prizes to reward deserving effort. By providing all children with knowledge of the dangers associated with drinking alcohol, one argues that the ultimate aim of the Band of Hope was to encourage children to join a Band of Hope and take the teetotal pledge. One may ask why the Band of Hope considered it necessary to take this course of action.

The reason for involving day schools in teaching children of the dangers of alcohol through scientific means lies in a growing awareness on the part of some Band of Hope workers that, having existed for forty years, (inaugurated in 1847), the Band of Hope had by 1887 attracted less than a quarter of those children in the population who were eligible to join.[71] This point was stressed by W Chandos Wilson, a day school lecturer in Lancashire and a prominent member of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU). Chandos Wilson remarked that as more children attended day schools than attended Bands of Hope, it followed that day schools were the best medium for temperance teaching.[72] If this was the case, would such teaching, designed to be devoid of any religious element, affect the Band of Hope's relationship with Sunday schools? How were Sunday schools themselves faring during this period?

Following the Education Act of 1870 it is possible to trace a gradual decline in Sunday school attendance, which became more apparent after 1900, as day schools developed numerically.[73] Between 1880 and 1890, the Sunday school was still a growing enterprise but the rate of growth was slowing down. The average growth of Sunday schools in the Anglican and Nonconformist churches in England was 26.2 per cent between 1870 and 1880 and 15.8 per cent between 1880 and 1890. After

[71] F Smith, Ed. *Jubilee of the Band of Hope*, *a jubilee volume,* published by the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, (1897),115/116. UKBHU reports claim that national membership in 1887 stood at 1,683,463 members in 3,450 societies. This number represent less than one quarter of the child population, as claimed by F Smith. Also see *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 11, (November 1888), 165 The *Chronicle* based its data on all juvenile temperance societies and claimed that in the United Kingdom overall membership in 1887 stood at 1,716,000 young people aged seven and above. Likewise the *Chronicle* claimed that the population of elementary school children aged seven to thirteen was five million but by extending the range to children aged seven to fifteen in the entire population, the number doubled to ten million. Therefore, upwards of eight million young people were growing up with little or no specific temperance teaching.

[72] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 December, 1891.

[73] P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England*, National Christian Education Council, (1986), 182 and 202.

1890, the national rate of growth continued to decline.[74] A point to consider at this stage is whether the decline in Sunday school numbers was reflected in Preston.

The Preston Guild of 1882 assists in providing some answers. An estimated 14,942 Church of England scholars, joined by over 5,000 Nonconformist scholars, marched in the Sunday school procession that marked the celebration of the Preston Guild, although the age range of the children was not given.[75] Roman Catholic participation in the 1882 Guild is difficult to assess but approximately 6000 people, consisting of men, women, boys and girls, joined in the Catholic Church's procession.[76] Allowing for the fact that the population in Britain had increased, as had Preston's, during the twenty year period between 1861 and 1881, and that the percentage increase in Sunday school numbers generally was slowing down, the data does suggest that there was still a significant Sunday school presence in the town during the 1880s.[77]

All in all, the above evidence points to a Sunday school movement that was still attracting children and a number of papers published around the 1880s reveal a continuing desire to connect Sunday schools with Band of Hope work.[78] The *Band of Hope Chronicle* itself highlighted support for the Sunday school. It cited Frome where a Band of Hope had originated from a meeting of representatives of various Sunday schools and religious denominations, resulting in a Band of Hope society that embraced a large number of children from every Sunday school in the town.[79]

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[74] P B Cliff, *The Sunday School Movement in England*, 201 and 234.

[75] H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools*,), 38. Also T R Flintoff, *Preston Churches and Chapels,* Carnegie Press, (1985), 25.

[76] *Preston Guild Merchant, 1882,* produced by H Oakey, 119. Catholic teetotal advocacy was promoted through the *League of the Cross*, but the Guild Record confirms the significant presents of Catholics in Preston.

[77] T C Smith, *Preston Guild, 1902*, Harris Library Community History section, states that the County Borough of Preston Population Returns were: 1861 – 85,699; 1881 – 96,537. J Walvin, *A Child's World*, Penguin Books, (1982), 19. The total population of Great Britain is given as just under 20 million in 1861 and circa 26 million in 1881.

[78] See papers presented by: Isaac Phillips, *Do Bands of Hope promote the spiritual interests of Sunday Schools?* Bradford Sunday School Union Conference, (1876), published by the Bradford Band of Hope Union, Livesey Collection. Rev. C A Davis, *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers to the Band of Hope Movement,* Bradford (undated), Published by the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, Livesey Collection. Rev. C Garrett, *The relationship of the Sunday School to the Band of Hope,* Autumnal conference of the Sunday School Union (1882), British Library. Rev W A Essery, *The Sunday School should incorporate the Band of Hope*, Meeting of Sunday School Superintendents and Teachers, 4 February 1885, British Library.

[79] *Band of Hope Chronicle,* No. 1, (January 1880), 9.

At the same time, by stressing the benefits that could accrue from such an association, was this an indicator of a growing level of anxiety developing that the connection between the Sunday school and the Band of Hope might be undermined by support for scientifically based temperance teaching?

The *Band of Hope Chronicle* confused the situation by expressing the view that whilst Sunday school Bands of Hope were the most efficient means by which to foster teetotal advocacy, not all Sunday school teachers were abstainers. This echoes the discussion in the previous chapter (page 100), where teetotal Sunday school teachers clashed with non-teetotal teachers over whether emphasis of Sunday school work should be placed on religion or teetotalism.[80] The argument on that occasion differed from the one currently taking place. The *Chronicle's view* insinuated that should a small group of abstaining Sunday school teachers, who might also be day school teachers, try to force teetotal principles with a religious basis on other teaching staff, this could provoke antagonism and be counter-productive.[81] Where previously it was decided that confrontation could be avoided by treating religion and teetotalism equally, scientific temperance teaching was to be carried out without reference to religion. It is ironic that such a fundamental move was proposed in order to placate the views of some Sunday school teachers. But, by making the teaching scientifically based without any religious bias, churches of different religious persuasions, could offer their support without compromising their own religious beliefs. Scientific temperance teaching was of course designed to take place in day schools, and Sunday school scholars could still attend both the Sunday school and Band of Hope where religious and teetotal advocacy continued to be taught. One cannot ignore a major factor that impacted upon the Band of Hope's relationship with Sunday schools which was that numerically speaking, day schools replaced Sunday schools as the main source of education for working-class children and this acceptance further induced the Band of Hope to promote the scientific temperance teaching scheme.[82]

[80] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 138.
[81] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 2, (February1880), 25.
[82] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 December, 1891. W Chandos Wilson, a day school lecturer referred to the increased number of day school scholars that could benefit from scientific temperance teaching.

The Band of Hope's use of science to promote teetotal values was not new or unique in temperance circles and this aspect is one that deserves a brief mention at this stage. A number of early teetotallers had also used science as a means of promoting teetotal advocacy. Notably, Joseph Livesey first delivered his *Malt Lecture* in 1833, but these were not based on science alone but had a moral element to them.[83] Several decades later in 1878 the *Band of Hope Chronicle* reported that science lectures with a religious overtone were delivered to schools in Birmingham and school boards in London offered free use of their schools for illustrated lectures on temperance.[84] The moral arguments for avoiding alcohol continued for most of the nineteenth century as, despite the growth of evolutionary ideas, many popular writers still saw a divine presence behind nature.[85] The role of science was played down by some historians as a factor in explaining religious decline, arguing that the population turned away from religion largely out of apathy and the growth of alternative leisure activities.[86]

One's view is that religious influence did not suddenly dissipate but that it maintained some authority albeit to a lesser degree into the twentieth century. That is not to ignore the advances in science and technology that had taken place. In choosing to use these advances to promote a scientific temperance teaching campaign in schools that was free from any religious bias, the Band of Hope management clearly considered that science carried an authoritative voice. The result of their endeavours indicates that they judged the situation with a fair degree of accuracy.

At the end of the first five years of the scheme, (1889-1994) evidence obtained from a Band of Hope source, which must be recognised as one that would accentuate positive aspects of any scheme with which they were associated,

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[83] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 115/116. Harrison refers to Livesey's Malt Lecture, delivered in Preston in 1833 as being flawed, but that it laid out the teetotal cause in its moral and physical dimensions.

[84] *Band of Hope Chronicle,* No. 1, (January 1878), 2. Also see *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 4, (April 1878), 36. This stated that the schools in London could provide the teaching outside school hours to children aged eleven and over.

[85] B Lightman, "The Visual theology of Victorian Popularizers of Science: From reverent eye to chemical retina, *The University of Chicago Press Journals, ISIS,* Volume 91, No.4, (Dec 2002), 658.

[86] A Fyfe, "Science and Religion in Popular Publishing", 122.

claimed that over one million children at a wide range of schools from workhouse schools to higher grade schools and training colleges had been taught by the scheme.[87] What evidence is there to confirm that a layer of truth existed behind these remarks? As children were the focus of Band of Hope endeavour, a re-acquaintance with views that childhood experience was not static but changed over time is considered useful before looking at an assessment of the scheme's achievements.

Within the changing theories of childhood two opposing ideas are relevant to current discussion. On the one hand the development of the idea that there was a natural innocence in children that needed to be nurtured and preserved, as opposed to the view, referred to by some historians as the Puritan view, that there was an innate sinfulness in all humans and childhood presented an opportunity for children to be taught right from wrong.[88] Paradoxically, both these opposing views could lend themselves to providing a motive for the Band of Hope's desire to teach children about the dangers of drink, in fact they could be said to account for the Band of Hope's existence. If children were innocent beings, this innocence needed to be protected against evil influences operating in the wider world to which they would be subject as they matured. If, however, sin was an innate quality in all humans that needed to be discouraged, then childhood, considered an age when children's minds were impressionable, was the time for children to be taught patterns of behaviour that differentiated between right and wrong. The teaching of teetotal advocacy in schools presented an opportunity to either preserve innocence or, more likely, given the social construct of nineteenth century society where children had access to drink and drinking places, it would help to establish patterns of behaviour that favoured teetotal advocacy.[89] Children, who learned the dangers presented by drinking alcohol at an early age, would be less likely to gain a drinking habit in adulthood. The consequences of drunken behaviour would affect working-

[87] F Smith, Ed., *The Jubilee of the Band of Hope,* 123.
[88] H Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, Longman, (1995), 7. Also C Heywood, A History of Childhood, Polity, (2001), 22.
[89] The Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act of 1886 prohibited the sale for on premises consumption of alcohol to persons under the age of thirteen, see H Yeomans, *Alcohol and Moral Regulations, Public Attitudes, Spirited Measures and Victorian Hangovers,* Policy Press, University of Bristol, (2014), 135.

class families in particular. Whilst the line between some working-class and middle-class groups had gradually become less distinct, a family could be financially crippled because of the habitual drunkenness of a father whose earnings went on drink.[90]

Turning to look for evidence that the scientific temperance teaching scheme met with success, the radical nature of the scheme prompted the Band of Hope to set up separate funding arrangements to promote it, designed not to impact on monies scheduled for other purposes. The scheme was aided by the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU) securing sufficient funding by 1887 to instigate a five-year plan (running from 1889 to 1894) to promote scientific temperance teaching in schools.[91] In 1889 an estimated 200-plus school boards throughout the country, as well as London, were open to children under their authority receiving instruction and within a six-month period, it was reported that over a thousand lectures had been delivered to about 125,000 children.[92] Arguably the scheme got off to a good start due to forward planning procedures put in place prior to the scheme being operational in schools. To this end, the Band of Hope appointed lecturers who, following a rigorous selection process, were deemed to be of a high character, calm manner and with the knowledge and skills to introduce the scheme, thus leading by example.[93] Stephanie Olsen adds that lecturers were expected to "uphold high standards of personal conduct; those whose religious and moral qualities were not in doubt."[94] Olsen's comment implies that the lecturers, who had initial responsibility for granting day school teachers temperance knowledge of a scientific nature, had to display moral characteristics that were guided to some extent by

[90] E Roberts' *A Woman's Place,* 119-121, 194/195. Although Roberts does not specifically mention the Band of Hope, she provides evidence which testifies to drunkenness being the main cause of poverty in working-class homes and drunken behaviour the root of unhappiness in family relationships.

[91] F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope*, 115/116. No formal lesson plan for the teaching has been unearthed but it can be established that in addition to children hearing lectures that involved charts, diagrams and apparatus, a text book covering the physiological and economic aspects of alcohol was employed. Children could avail themselves of "The Temperance Manual for the Young", be examined upon what they had learned with prizes being awarded to children within different age categories. See F Smith, *Jubilee of the Band of Hope*, 122/123.

[92] F Smith, Ed., J*ubilee of the Band of Hope*, 121.

[93] F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope,* 124.

[94] S Olsen, *Juvenile Nation, Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914,* Bloomsbury, (2014), 36.

their religious beliefs. If this was the case, it reveals a dichotomy for the Band of Hope. It must have been difficult for many Band of Hope managers and workers to now have to separate teetotalism from a connection, however tenuous with religion and yet this was what they were being asked to do. At the same time successfully appointed lecturers also had to have teaching skills and knowledge of science to meet the selection process criteria. The principal aim of the scheme was to teach day school children about the dangers of drinking alcohol using science. The ability of the teacher to impart such knowledge could assist or hinder children's understanding of the message and take it to heart. With this in mind the time is ripe to observe how scientific temperance teaching was conducted in a local area. This provides an opportunity to show that Preston, with its distinctive religious mix and its chosen education policy, is an appropriate town to test the success of the scientific temperance teaching scheme offered by the Band of Hope.

Preston's role in Scientific Temperance teaching

Scientific temperance teaching in Preston would be guided by the town's religious make-up. Adults with a religious allegiance, who managed Bands of Hope in Preston, were largely Nonconformist or associated with the Church of England and those operating in the workhouse or ragged schools were often managed by adults with church connections. Roman Catholic temperance work was carried out through its organisation *League of the Cross* and as this name suggests Catholic sentiment associated temperance with religion. A point which might be worth repeating here is the view expressed in chapter three regarding the operation of a teetotal sect in Preston that overrode religious adherence. Would such a scenario have allowed Roman Catholic teachers to participate in scientific temperance teaching? Arguably, non-teetotal Catholics would put their religion first, but would their religion have necessarily prevented them from supporting a scheme that was, after all, designed to remove all elements of religion from it. There is no available evidence to provide a definitive answer to this question. Roman Catholic schools in Preston may have allowed the teaching into their classrooms. There is evidence that in 1879 and perhaps earlier, St. Ignatius school was operating a Band of Hope for its children, so it is plausible that scientific teaching could have taken place in

that church's day school. On the other hand one has to accept that, given that the church maintained its separate organisation the *League of the Cross*, it is unlikely that it would allow any teaching in its day schools without any mention of the Roman Catholic religion. With this in mind, one has to assume that unless further evidence is forthcoming, the Band of Hope, which was the author of the scheme, would rely largely on Nonconformist schools and Church of England schools to ensure the success of the endeavour in Preston.[95]

This raises the issue of what factors encouraged these church operated schools to accept a scheme that was Band of Hope led and without any moral or religious element. Particularly, did the scheme promote co-operation between different religious bodies or did it reveal or exacerbate underlying tensions.

In Preston, as in other areas of the country, the success of scientific temperance teaching depended not only on adequate funding but also on enthusiastic workers and available evidence suggests that the LCBHU was supported by the PBHU and the Preston CETS in fund raising efforts, such as the Manchester held 'Great Band of Hope Bazaar' in 1891, to promote the scheme.[96] As those associated with temperance advocacy in Preston supported the bazaar, why would they consider that the purely scientific nature of such an endeavour would allow such teaching to take place in Preston's church-aid voluntary schools? The reason seems clear. Scientific temperance teaching removed any potential argument that might arise between church members who pledged moderation and those who adhered to a teetotal pledge. The crux of this argument rests upon the fact that the principle of total abstinence was not compulsory on adult members of the Church of England.

One could argue that the sustained espousal of moderate drinking by the Church of England confirms what was said earlier in relation to Gospel Temperance. Those in authority within the Church continued to view moderate drinking as suited to middle-class mores and associate teetotalism with working-class customs. In

[95] This factor perhaps explains why there is little evidence of Roman Catholic participation in the scientific temperance teaching scheme in Preston, even though Preston had a substantive Roman Catholic population and the Catholic St. Ignatius Church operated a Band of Hope.

[96] *Preston Chronicle*, 3 October, 1891. The bazaar received royal patronage as it was attended by the Duke and Duchess of Westminster, as well as several local dignitaries.

acknowledging that many of its ordinary worshippers practised teetotalism and in perceiving drink as a social problem, the Church operated the voluntary principle in order to satisfy all members of its congregation. What is important is that these differences of opinion in adult temperance circles should not deflect from the ability of all temperance organisations to find ways of co-operating for the sake of the children and scientific temperance teaching provided the means by which the Band of Hope could fulfil this aim.

At a CETS meeting in Preston in February 1891, to discuss 'The Church and Temperance' the chairman, Mr R W Hanbury, made a pertinent comment. He stated that he practised moderation but did not denigrate those church members who were teetotal.[97] He referred to the CETS as being "a large minded organisation willing to take in not only those who went the whole distance, but those who only went part of the way." He then stated that "in Preston where the voluntary system applied to their schools he was glad that the voluntary principle on the temperance question was also held in high esteem."[98] Not only does this confirm that Preston had no board schools but importantly it reveals that although teetotal advocates and those who drank moderately held different views, they could exist amicably. Arguably, such thinking encouraged the CETS in Preston to support the LCBHU at its 'great bazaar'. Of course, teetotal protagonists may have accepted the voluntary principle in Preston out of respect for the CETS in the knowledge that, as the Church of England accounted for around half the population of Preston, the approval of the Church of England would certainly aid the success of this Band of Hope endeavour. The fact that the LCBHU sent details relating to the bazaar to the CETS is a measure of the value placed on CETS support. In recognising that the co-operation of all of Preston's voluntary schools would be necessary for scientific temperance teaching to succeed only raised the bar on why it was important to ensure that the teaching would be acceptable.

Primarily, the purely scientific nature of temperance teaching removed any religious scruples that might arise in adult consciences, which put those who

[97] *Preston Chronicle*, 14 February, 1891.
[98] *Preston Chronicle,* 14 February, 1891.

tempered their drinking at odds with those who abstained totally. Scientific temperance teaching in day schools was designed to present children with the facts about the dangers of alcohol, rather than advocating either moderation or teetotalism. Based on such knowledge it was then up to the child to decide whether to apply abstinence or moderation to their future drinking habits.

On pages 141/142 of the thesis reference was made to the CETS acceptance of the voluntary principle (moderation or teetotalism) within their own adult temperance societies. CETS Bands of Hope however, adhered to the teetotal pledge and the operation of these societies was negotiated through parish churches attached to the Church of England.[99] Any ambiguity in relation to the question of moderation or teetotalism in adult members of the CETS was removed by observations made at a Preston conference in December 1891 attended by day schools teachers and arranged under the auspices of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union (PDBHU) when scientific temperance teaching was on the agenda.[100]* Remarks made at this conference, concur with the view given by R W Hanbury (see previous page) at the CETS meeting held earlier that year, and they underline why lectures based on pure scientific fact were fundamental to the success of the project.

The conference chairman, the Rev. G Steele, confirmed that he had visited nearly all the elementary schools in the neighbourhood of Preston and had found the mode of teaching to be acceptable because there had been no attempt to proselytise. This view was reaffirmed in a letter from the Rev C O L Riley read out at the conference which indicated that for the CETS to support temperance education, the teaching should be truly scientific with no moral agenda. The nub of his argument was that in agreeing that children should be taught that they are better without

[99] *Preston Chronicle*, 1 November, 1884. Preston had twelve parochial CETS branches in operation in 1884. The voluntary principle perhaps explains why Bands of Hope operating under the auspices of the CETS were organised separately and never affiliated to the teetotal advocating PDBHU, despite its non-denominational stance.

[100] *Preston Chronicle,* 19 December, 1891. The religious persuasion of the teachers was not mentioned but the tenor of the meeting suggests that it included at least, Church and England and Nonconformist teaching staff. *The Preston Band of Hope Union changed its name in the 1890s to include the word "District" to reflect more accurately the affiliation of societies outside the central area of Preston. Appendix 5 provides a map of Bands of Hope that were formed during the 1890s which attests to this fact. The Union will from this point forward be referred to as the Preston and District Band of Hope Union (PDBHU).

alcohol, he wanted to avoid adults who practiced moderation receiving criticism from their children that they were committing a sin.[101] For this reason a large number of school managers would only permit purely scientific temperance teaching to take place in their schools. The day school teachers in attendance also confirmed that as a body they welcomed any constructive non-proselytising code, which allowed them to impart knowledge to their pupils.[102] The importance attached to these remarks appertains to the fact, if one needed reminding, that Preston relied upon voluntary day schools for its educational provision and that board schools supplemented and did not replace voluntary schools in other areas of the country. Teachers held different opinions; some might be religious, others atheist; some may be teetotal or be moderate drinkers; or they might differ in other ways. This aspect was one recognised by the conference delegates at the Preston meeting, where it was claimed:

> The help of the teachers must be invited, for on their attitude must depend the future of temperance teaching in day schools. Teachers as a body heartily welcomed any constructive non-proselytising code-conforming means to the advancement of their pupil's welfare and therefore gave a hearty adherence to the scientific temperance movement.[103]

There is little evidence that informs how individual schools carried out the teaching in Preston, or in the wider area, but it can be revealed that as well as being purely scientific, the teaching had to be presented at a level of understanding suitable to the age of the child (a long established policy of the Band of Hope from its early days). During the period that the scheme was being developed, the regional LCBHU executive had by 1888 secured funding to put towards the provision of books, diagrams and other requisites for promoting scientific temperance teaching in Lancashire and Cheshire over a five year period.[104] The LCBHU had previous experience to call upon as it already gave children in affiliated Bands of Hope the opportunity to take part in competitive examinations based on teetotal teaching. [105] As part of the national scheme, the LCBHU had, from June 1890 to the time of the

[101] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 December 1891.
[102] *Preston Chronicle,* 19 December 1891.
[103] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 December 1891.
[104] LCBHU Minutes of Executive Committee Meeting 27 July 1888.
[105] UKBHU Annual Report, (1.4.83.31.3.84,), 36, 39. The LCBHU reported in 1884 that it had promoted competitive examinations in affiliated societies in towns within its area, including Preston.

conference (December 1891), visited over 600 schools and addressed 70,000 children and 2000 teachers. The LCBHU argued that it would take several more years (beyond the initial five years funded period) for the LCBHU working on its own, to reach all the schools within its region. This suggests that whilst the LCBHU was an influential regional union, if the initial success of the scheme was to be maintained into the future, not only was the organisational skill of the overall UKBHU required, but it needed the support of school teachers through the country, which only intensified the need for scientific temperance teaching to adhere to a non-proselytising code. On a national basis, the interest aroused by the introduction of a purely scientific temperance teaching scheme allowed the *Band of Hope Chronicle* to extend the provision of competitive examinations (practised by the LCBHU), to areas throughout the country.

In trying to quantify whether the scheme continued to be successful, it is estimated that for the year ending 31 March 1891, 2,336 schools had been visited and lectures given to 256,068 scholars. This number exceeds the numbers outlined on page 139 for the year 1889.[106] Perhaps a firmer indicator of the scheme's success is that a second fund-raising appeal quickly met its target sum of £10,000, which allowed the work to continue for a further five years from 1894 to 1899.[107] The scheme continued to have the approval of the CETS and numerous county unions subscribed special sums in order to assist the UKBHU in this continuing endeavour.[108] Surely, if the scheme had not been successful there would have been an unwillingness to spend further money to promote its continuance. In fact, the promotion of scientific temperance teaching continued beyond the nineteenth century. By 1909 temperance teaching became part of the school syllabus and by 1920, teachers were encouraged to use the syllabus 'The Hygiene of Food and Drink' in dealing with the subject of alcohol in their classes.[109]

[106] F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope,* 121.
[107] F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope,* 124.
[108] F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope,* 125.
[109] R Tayler, *The Hope of the Race*, Hope Press (1946), 49/50.

Conclusion

This chapter has concentrated discussion on two elements that surfaced during the second half of the nineteenth century. The approach adopted was to tap into historical views relating to aspects of class fluidity and religious debate that prevailed during the second half of the nineteenth century, to add a new perspective to existing historical opinion. The GTBRM was a short-lived movement that carried instant emotional appeal, but which all but disappeared relatively quickly. The success of the GTBLM reflects the views of those historians who observed a growing fragmentation of the working class, which began to adopt various characteristics, at the same time recognising that even for those workers who were relatively affluent, poverty could beckon. The wearing of the Blue Ribbon broke down class barriers because it signalled a unity of purpose in combating drunkenness, which all could don as a mark of 'respectability'.

The collective donning of the Blue Ribbon effectively separated teetotal advocacy from radical working-class ideology of previous decades and gave it a neutral basis, which all classes could grasp because it signalled 'respectable' behaviour in a person no matter their station in life. For this reason, many church members, including Church of England congregations supported the movement and it was the overriding popularity of the GTBRM that persuaded church authorities, which had previously shown some reluctance, to establish their own church temperance societies to cater for the upsurge of interest in temperance that had been generated by the GTBRM.

The GTBRM was not without its critics. Temperance stalwarts such as Joseph Livesey objected to the ephemeral nature of a movement where pledges were made due to an outpouring of emotional rhetoric rather than on considered understanding of the pledge's commitment. When GTBRM missions took place in Preston, there is no evidence that Livesey, who was by then advanced in years, became involved in its management nor, it should be said, that he was a hindrance to it. Evidence suggests that only a small percentage of Preston's population were actively involved in the GTBRM during the 1880s, but its significance for the thesis does not lie in its numerical popularity.

During the period that GTBRM was sweeping through the country, and with the continuing introduction of mandatory elementary education into day schools, the Band of Hope sought to impart temperance knowledge to as many children as possible through a scientific temperance teaching programme, driven in part by an acceptance that following the 1870 Education Act, the number of day school children gradually outweighed those who attended Sunday school, a Band of Hope or other juvenile teetotal society. A legacy of the popularity of GTBRM was that it stirred an interest in temperance and teetotal advocacy within all classes of society and by gaining respectable status, encouraged the support of those in positions of influence and responsibility to support a scheme to instil these values in children.

The initial success of the scientific temperance teaching scheme relied on the Band of Hope taking account of several factors such as technical and transport improvements but importantly it succeeded because it was based on scientific knowledge without reference to religious or moral behaviour. From an imperial perspective, such a view aligned with British government fears following the Indian Mutuny in 1857, that missionaries should avoid proselytisation when extending aid to the Indian sub-continent population.[110] From a local perspective scientific teaching prevented differences of opinion in relation to moderate or teetotal advocacy from getting in the way of the support, mainly of the CETS, which accepted those who practiced moderation as well as teetotal adherents as members.

The introduction of a scientific temperance teaching programme into day schools would help to ensure that all children had knowledge of the dangers associated with drinking alcohol. The ultimate aim of the Band of Hope was that by such knowledge children would be encouraged to join a Band of Hope where they could enjoy the companionship of other children who had pledged to be teetotal. It was this very aspiration which gave religiously minded teetotal teachers, the impetus to support a scheme designed to be devoid of religious or moral sentiment.

[110] The British Government view in this connection was endorsed by Queen Victoria. See S Sang, "Queen Victoria and the Medical Women of India", 13, 18, Unpublished thesis, Archives of the Royal Free Hospital, London.

With this in mind, the next chapter will consider the methodology used by the Band of Hope to increase its membership during the last decade of the nineteenth century, extending into the twentieth century. By making Preston a feature of the dialogue the town's religious make-up and its prominence in temperance will be discussed, including the question of association between the Band of Hope and Sunday schools.

CHAPTER FIVE –BAND OF HOPE MANAGEMENT: THE IMPACT OF THE 'MILLION-MORE' RECRUITMENT ENDEAVOURS

Introduction

The popularity of Gospel Temperance and the Blue Ribbon movement although brief, coupled with the impact of scientific temperance teaching in day schools, generated increasing awareness of temperance values in both young and old and in all classes of society. Due to this expanding interest, the Band of Hope sought ways to encourage children to join a Band of Hope society to increase its overall membership, in the realisation that only a proportion of the country's child population were actual members.[1] It was this knowledge that had persuaded the Band of Hope, in the first place, to embark upon a plan that would reach those millions of children in day schools who were outside the movement, and through scientific temperance teaching, make them aware of the dangers associated with alcohol. Given the success of scientific temperance teaching leads one to question why the Band of Hope was not then content solely to rely on this method to teach children to shun alcohol. One could argue that the Band of Hope's desire to increase its membership was because the removal of religious and moral elements from the teaching was not in tune with the nature of the Band of Hope movement, particularly its association with Sunday schools. The Band of Hope therefore campaigned to increase its members by means of recruitment endeavours that became known as 'Million-More' schemes.

There are a number of aspects that suggest that a measure of the desire to add to Band of Hope numbers rested on the changing lives of children during the later decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and these, coupled with social and political factors that were taking place, require a brief mention.

The elimination of children from the work force was a gradual process that accelerated from the 1880s. The long term trend indicated that if 30 per cent of

[1] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 11, (November 1888), 165. This claimed that in 1887 Band of Hope membership stood at 1,716,000 children aged seven and above, whilst there were around ten million children aged seven to fifteen in the United Kingdom.

children aged 10-14 were occupied in 1851, only 17 per cent were in work by 1901, much of the work being of a part-time nature, such as half-time employment in the mills, so that it could be combined with attendance at school.[2] Later in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a consensus emerged that portrayed children as 'innocent, ignorant, dependent, vulnerable, generally incompetent and in need of protection and discipline.[3] Such a view engaged with the interest in providing compulsory elementary education among the working classes and despite the anxiety felt by sections of the working class over the loss of earnings resulting from child labour legislation, the balance shifted from work to school.

In 1851 the Great Exhibition was a celebration of the high point of British industrial supremacy, but the 1880s and 1890s witnessed a growing concern regarding Britain's place in the world. There was a realisation that other nations such as Germany and the United States of America were challenging Britain's economic power and levels of unemployment were also being debated in the 1880s. Historians have deliberated over the extent to which Britain suffered a 'great depression' from the 1870s to the 1890s but for the purposes of this thesis a consensus that has relevance is the fact that a decline in the agricultural industries resulted in an increase in urban populations with a resultant spread of people into the outskirts of towns.[4] The effect of this, as will be seen later, led to the Band of Hope Union in Preston extending its remit to included districts that bordered the town centre.

Darwinian idea's about evolution and the survival of the fittest fed the concern of the authorities that the impoverished condition of the British race was the reason for Britain's apparent economic decline.[5] Despite a rise in real wages and changes in the franchise to include an increasing number of working men, the health and size of the urban working class population generally compared badly with those of

[2] C Heywood, *A History of Childhood,* Polity, (2001), 140.
[3] H Hendrick, "Children and Childhood", *Refresh,* 15, (1992), 2.
[4] K O Morgan, Ed., *History of Britain*, Chapter 9, H C G Matthew, *The Liberal Age* (1851-1914), Oxford University Press, (1993), 541. Matthews argues that in regards to industry it was more a 'readjustment' than a 'depression'. Also see L C B Seaman, *Victorian England, Aspects of English and Imperial History 1837-1901,* Routledge, (1973), 262-265 for a discussion of the facts and myths of 'The Great Depression'.
[5] P Murray, *Poverty and Welfare 1830-1914*, Hodder Murray, (1999), 86.

other classes of society in Britain.[6] This aspect was touched upon in the previous chapter where Stephanie Olsen stated that the 1880s saw the beginning of a changing focus in the conception of childhood that acknowledged the moral potential of children as future citizens.[7] Attention that focused on juvenile behaviour recognised potential problems that could occur through increased leisure time if there was a lack of constructive recreational activity available. Boys' Clubs were one means of addressing the problem in the late nineteenth century by offering 'manly' pursuits, but it was not until the twentieth century that the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements started in 1907 and 1909 respectively.[8] The Scouts and Guides movements gained rapid success but any impact they might have on Band of Hope work would not have occurred during the nineteenth century. The Band of Hope fulfilled a distinctive niche in the market of engaging with children's activities at this time by catering for children of both sexes. Nevertheless, the Band of Hope recognised the changing emphasis towards a more child-centred philosophy by adapting its methodology to take account of contemporary views.

When Charles Booth conducted his enquiry into the realities of poverty in 1886, he commented that many poor people found it impossible to organise their lives with any certainty because they did not know what their income would be from one day to the next. Unlike many contemporary social commentators, Booth did not condemn the working classes for drinking but saw drink as a consequence of poverty as much as a cause of it.[9] This view differed from that of some temperance workers. Earlier in the century Joseph Livesey had expressed his opinion that acquiring a drinking habit could lead to poverty which might otherwise have been avoided. It was with the merits of Joseph Livesey's view in mind that Band of Hope workers reasoned that whilst scientific temperance teaching provided children with

[6] J Joll, *Europe since 1870,* Penguin Books, (1990), 156.
[7] S Olsen, "Raising Fathers, Raising Boys: Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914", PhD Thesis, (September 2008), Department of History, McGill University, Montreal, 46 and 203.
[8] B Weinberger, "Policing Juveniles: Delinquency in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Manchester", Criminal Justice History, Volume 14, (1993), 45 for introduction of boys' clubs. J Joll, *Europe since 1870*, 156. Some sources indicate that the Boy Scouts movement began in 1908, but the first Boy Scouts meeting took place in July 1907. See www.History.com/Boy-scouts-movement.
[9] P Murray, *Poverty and Welfare,* 89.

the knowledge of the dangers associated with alcohol, membership of the Band of Hope would reinforce teetotal values which children would then take with them into their adult lives. It was in order to realise this desire that the 'Million-More' schemes were initiated.

The first 'Million-More' scheme took place in 1891, the second in 1897 and the third in 1929. Despite challenges to Britain's economy, the two schemes devised in the nineteenth century were carried out in an atmosphere of confidence among Band of Hope workers at a time when Band of Hope influence was on the rise. In contrast, the third 'Million-More' scheme was introduced when the authority and popularity of the Band of Hope was felt to be in decline. It was focused on stemming the decrease in membership numbers and any increase would be in hope rather than expectation.

The purpose of this chapter is to use evidence relating to the first two 'Million-More' schemes to identify how they portray the work of the Band of Hope against the backdrop described above. By giving regard to the involvement of the Band of Hope in Preston in these endeavours, the chapter will identify how far the town reflected the opportunities presented, as well as any difficulties experienced, by the wider Band of Hope during the 1890s and the beginning of the twentieth century.

The First 'Million-More' scheme

The Band of Hope's membership might be considered unremarkable when compared to the total child population of the country but it was nevertheless a growing enterprise and by 1891 it claimed to have over two million members nationally.[10] In recruitment terms, by naming the endeavour the 'Million-More' scheme, the Band of Hope effectively wanted to increase its membership by approximately fifty per cent. This would be done by implementing a national canvass by means of house-to-house visitation of as large an area as possible on one given day, set as the 17 October 1891.[11] The expectation of recruiting one

[10] United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU)Annual Report 1891, Lambeth Palace Library
[11] F Smith, Ed., *The Jubilee of the Band of Hope Movement*, UKBHU, (1897), 127 and 132. The recruitment campaign was devised by the UKBHU in February 1890.

million new members would only be met by the involvement of a huge number of voluntary workers and the fact that this did not appear to be problematical to the Band of Hope testifies to the positive character of the movement during this period. (In the event, around 32,500 men and women visited over a million homes throughout the country).[12] Such confidence in the feasibility of a plan that would require the availability of so many voluntary workers can be explained by briefly going back to the previous chapter and the popularity of the Gospel Temperance Blue Ribbon Movement.

Aspects of Gospel Temperance endured beyond its overwhelming but short-lived popularity. It had raised the awareness of adults of all classes to temperance issues and importantly the renewal of national interest in temperance coinciding with the emergence of female temperance groups during the 1870s.[13] What this indicates is that groups were being formed under the aegis of women's authority rather than simply operating as an appendage to those guided by men. For example, the British Women's Temperance Association came into existence during the 1870s.[14] Whilst this adds to Melanie Tebbutt's view that women were involved in issues outside the home, it should be remembered that from the beginning of the temperance movement, women had been among the ranks of its most active workers and Mrs Carlile had been one of the leading creators of the Leeds Temperance Band of Hope. The Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) had also formed a Women's Union to supplement its work, and some of its branches employed mission ladies to carry out temperance work with women and children.[15] In the case of the 'Million-More' scheme, the overall effect of renewed interest in temperance, provoked initially by Gospel Temperance, would present the Band of Hope with the opportunity to use the combined efforts of men and women temperance supporters as volunteers in order to carry out its planned national canvass.

[12] F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope,* 132. Each volunteer visitor reputedly called at an average of thirty to forty houses.
[13] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England*, MacMillan Press, (1988), 182.
[14] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 182-188. These pages contain a fuller description of women's work for temperance, including the development of the British Women's Temperance Association.
[15] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 105.

A scheme on this scale would also require adequate funding to ensure its success. Monies that were being raised for scientific temperance teaching were for that scheme alone, and there was no desire to compromise the generosity of donors to that endeavour by asking them to support a scheme to increase Band of Hope membership as well. It is suggested that behind this decision lay the fact that many benefactors of scientific temperance teaching offered support because it had no religious content. The 'Million-More' scheme on the other hand was to promote membership of an organisation that had a religious and moral basis. One could argue a more pragmatic view which is that the underlying reason for separate funding arrangements was that whilst Band of Hope workers recognised the need for children to be made aware of the dangers of alcohol, and the best medium for this was via day schools, they were never entirely happy with a scheme that eschewed religion and separate funding arrangements helped to salve their conscience. The manner in which the 'Million-More' scheme received support indicates that within the various temperance associations there was a continuing desire for co-operation in endeavours to instil teetotal principles in children that included a religious element, as the following evidence demonstrates.

The 'Million-More' scheme funding was promoted nationally through the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU), with regional and district unions such as Preston asked to contribute to a national bazaar, held in July 1890 in London.[16] Importantly, the profit accrued by the bazaar which totalled £3,398 secured enough funding, which together with the assistance of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, allowed the scheme to become a national event. [17] Unlike the lack of proof that the Catholic Church supported scientific temperance teaching in its schools, there is tangible evidence that the church supported the 'Million-More' scheme due largely, one argues, to the fact that Band of Hope teaching did not compromise religious belief and was non-denominational.

[16] F Smith, Ed., *Band of Hope Jubilee,* 127/128. The *Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, 19 September 1891 stated that at the quarterly meeting of the PDBHU a paper was presented urging that active support be given to the project.

[17] F Smith, Ed., *Band of Hope Jubilee*, 128. This bazaar was attended by Princess Louise (daughter of Queen Victoria), which confirms that temperance matters now occupied the minds of all classes of society including Royalty.

During 1891 the Church of England, through its CETS branches supported the 'Million-More' scheme with the Bishop of London, as chairman, undertaking to circulate 30,000 copies of an appeal to the parents in connection with the project.[18] In Catholic circles, Archbishop Temple, formerly the Bishop of London, prepared an appeal to circulate to parents asking them to assist the effort. Cardinal Manning, the head of the Catholics in England wrote a pastoral letter to be read to all children in Catholic congregations on the 20 September 1891, a few weeks prior to the date of the canvass of 17 October 1891.[19] This appeal resulted in a large number of young Catholics enrolling themselves as abstainers in the Children's Guild, the equivalent of the Band of Hope in the Catholic *League of the Cross*.[20] This raises a number of issues for investigation. The number of children who enrolled in the Catholic Children's Guild as a result of promoting the 'Million-More' scheme would not add to the membership of the Band of Hope, and yet the *Jubilee Volume of the Band of Hope*, a UKBHU publication, was happy to acknowledge Roman Catholic achievement in this area, in its pages. Arguably, this serves to illustrate that religious differences could be overcome in efforts that promoted teetotal advocacy in children generally.[21] Continuing with this theme, the support of Bands of Hope to the 'Million-More' endeavour, whether it was associated with Nonconformity, Church of England or secularism, or with the Catholic Children's Guild, would have particular significance for Preston due to the number of Catholics residing in the town. Consideration of whether this factor helped co-operation or caused tensions within the temperance community in the town has a bearing on how Preston's prominence in temperance history was perceived.

As if to emphasise Preston's teetotal prominence, and at the same time display signs of tension, a Band of Hope secretary (no name given) complained through the Preston *Onward*, (a 1892 localised edition of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of

[18] *The Band of Hope Chronicle,* No. 10, (October 1891), 156.
[19] *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 10, (October 1891), 156. Also F Smith, Ed., *Band of Hope Jubilee,* 132.
[20] F Smith, Ed., *Band of Hope Jubilee,* 130/131.
[21] UKBHU Annual Reports presented figures which sometimes differentiated between affiliated societies and those not in affiliation. Prior to 1905 an allowance was generally made in the data for other societies. From 1905 the data separated those in affiliation from those which it referred to as other juvenile temperance organisations. For example in 1905 Band of Hope - 3,151,630; Other - 356,070; Total 3,507,700.

Hope Union's (LCBHU) regional *Onward* magazine), that other Band of Hope secretaries had not generated sufficient attention to the scheme within their societies and that they ought to justify their official rank.[22] Of course, this could convey an opinion that they were not carrying out their secretarial duties efficiently. On the other hand, it could be an expression of fear that to uphold Preston's rank as 'the birthplace of teetotalism' Band of Hope Societies in the town ought to pay greater attention to supporting a scheme that was receiving the attention of the CETS and the Catholic Church. If the answer tended towards the latter explanation, then Preston was not the only town that had to be cajoled into working harder to support the 'Million-More' scheme.

The *Band of Hope Review* illustrated that various tactics had to be employed to urge readers to support the 'Million-More' enterprise prior to the set date of the canvass. These ranged from encouraging participation:

> The Band of Hope Union suggests that our special work for this year, 1891, shall be the gathering into membership of at least one million more![23]

The adoption of a more coercive stance:

> When the numbers are counted up by-and-by, what increase is your Band of Hope going to show?...It would not look well for your Band of Hope to come out last on the list, or even low down – would it? [24]

This was followed by the incentive of a reward:

> a special badge of honour for those who get so many good and staunch recruits – not for getting signatures to the pledge, mind you, but for getting good and true members. Ask your conductors and superintendents all about it. Be determined not to be left out of this business.[25]

Whether through encouragement, coerciveness or by incentive, the efficiency of the Band of Hope and its organisational skills, honed over the decades since its inauguration, was demonstrated when as mentioned on page 153, several thousand men and women visited over a million homes in October 1891, leaving a

[22] Preston *Onward*, No. 50, February 1892, 328. This magazine was one of the localised editions of the regional *Onward* publication covering the year 1892, published through the offices of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union (PDBHU).
[23] *The Band of Hope Review*, Volume 41, No. 363, (1891), 10. (The month of issue is not quoted but No. 361 represented January and so forth. No 363 would have been March 1891.
[24] *The Band of Hope Review,* Volume 41, No. 366, (June, 1891), 22.
[25] *The Band of Hope Review,* Volume 41, No. 368, (August 1891), 32.

letter from the President of the UKBHU, inviting the parents to send their children to the Band of Hope.[26]

Nationally, house visiting alone resulted in upwards of 100,000 new pledges being taken. Locally in Preston there was a reported steady increase in the number of societies from 49 by 1893 to 55 by 1897. [27] It is perhaps ironic that whilst some secretaries of Bands of Hope in Preston received censure for appearing to be under-performing; the efforts of the children merited praise. Children from two PDBHU affiliated societies benefited from being awarded prizes for gaining staunch recruits to the movement as a result of the 'Million-More' scheme.[28]

The aim of the scheme by its name was to recruit one million more members to the Band of Hope. Were the expectations of the Band of Hope met by the scheme? It is not possible to corroborate the increase in membership of individual societies, but data presented in the UKBHU annual reports claimed that there were 17,449 societies with 2,112,079 members in 1891, which rose to 18,468 societies and 2,617,459 in 1892.[29] This points to an overall increase in membership but what is not clear is whether these numbers included other juvenile temperance societies. The overall increase in membership as a result of the 'Million-More' scheme was just over half a million (505,380) but one has to take into account that as membership was showing a growth trend new members would likely have joined in any case. There was however, a definite upward spike in membership numbers between 1891 and 1892.[30]

[26] F Smith, Ed., *Band of Hope Jubilee*, 132.
[27] UKBHU Annual Reports, 1893 and 1895.
[28] Preston *Onward,* No. 54, June 1892, 355. Eight children in the Longridge Independent Band of Hope were awarded Badges of Honour for recruiting six or more new members, and two children from the Bamber Bridge Wesleyan Band of Hope received a Badge and a Card of Honour for recruiting ten and five members respectively.
[29]UKBHU Annual Reports for 1891 and 1892, extracted from the overall National Statistics of the Movement. See also F Smith, Ed., *Band of Hope Jubilee*, 132/133. This volume claimed that early in 1891 national membership was 2,112,079 which increased to 2,613,004, claiming a gain of over half a million young people to the Band of Hope.
[30] UKBHU Annual Report 1887 gives overall membership as 1,652,436 and in 1893 this number stood at stood at 2,664,502. The UKBHU reports do not record overall membership numbers for the years 1888, 1889 and 1890.

In accessing the overall achievement of the scheme, arguably, if the measure of its success was determined in recruitment numbers alone, then it was successful only to a certain degree. Nevertheless, in broad terms, the scheme was useful in raising the morale of Band of Hope workers and children by inviting them to take part in a joint enterprise to which they had made an important contribution. If the scheme had not been considered worthwhile, there would have been no incentive to repeat it in 1897, the year that the Band of Hope celebrated its Golden Jubilee. However, before giving consideration to that event, mention of the Preston *Onward* on page 155 draws one's attention to consider the extent to which the 'Million-More' endeavour affected the Band of Hope operation in Preston.

The Preston *Onward* Magazine

The main function of any local magazine is to promote the district to which it is ascribed.[31] Local advertising placed alongside Band of Hope material could help direct reader attention to teetotal advocating articles. The availability of local publications such as the Preston *Onward* provide the researcher with information that might be overlooked or thought insignificant when directed towards a wider audience. The first issues of the Preston *Onward* indicate that the Temperance hall was a focus of activity for Band of Hope workers and other like-minded temperance organisations. They also portray the Band of Hope as an inclusive movement, which continued to involve the poorer classes of society.[32] The magazine indicated that philanthropy continued to influence the actions of organisations in Preston by notifying its readers that the Ragged School, the Police Mission, and religious bodies, such as the Lancaster Road Congregational Church, some of whose members had set up the Shepherd Street Mission, assisted in providing children with free meals at this time.[33]

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[31] The LCBHU recommended to the PDBHU that in producing the Preston *Onward* a local printer be used and to include advertisements from tradesmen in the district. See *Onward*, LCBHU publication, (1881), 187, Livesey Collection.

[32] Preston *Onward*, No. 50, February, 1892, 325/326. Teetotal Friendly Societies used the Temperance hall, and meetings continued to take place in the Fulwood workhouse and the Shepherd Street Mission, see Preston *Onward*, No. 51, March 1892, 337.

[33] *Preston Chronicle,* 9 January 1892.

The issues of Preston *Onward* that are available relate to the year 1892, but evidence that it was published at least one year before then is provided by notification in its March 1892 edition that children who assisted in distribution the magazine during 1891 received prizes for their efforts.[34] Similar evidence reveals that circulation statistics remained fairly constant throughout the year, ranging from 2,500 per month to 3,000 per month.[35] An important aspect of measuring its distribution is that alongside the numbers, it revealed the names of church and temperance organisations involved in selling issues the previous month.[36] These details reveal that neither the CETS nor the Catholic temperance associations were involved in the circulation of the Preston *Onward*. As the magazine was the product of the PDBHU this is not surprising, but as an indicator of the wide readership of the magazine the CETS did use the publication to advertise its own activities. Before considering relevant aspects of CETS input to the magazine, the implication is that whilst the Preston *Onwar*d was under the editorial control of the Nonconformist leaning PDBHU, its readership extended beyond religious boundaries and there is no evidence to suggest that Catholic children would have been excluded from viewing a copy and absorbing is contents.

The Preston *Onward,* 'outside work' and the Church of England

Church of England input to the Preston *Onward* reveals much about the nuances that relate to evidence of mutual co-operation in temperance circles. Under a column headed 'outside work' the magazine indicated that Band of Hope activity was not restricted to societies affiliated to the PDBHU but included work carried out by the Church of England, including those in outlying areas of Preston.[37]

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[34] Preston *Onward*, No 51, March 1892, 334.

[35] Preston *Onward,* January 1892 through to December 1892. Perusal of the total list of canvassers included in each edition printed in 1892 identifies the number of copies circulated by canvassers each month. As each issue cost one penny, selling as many of them as possible would help to mitigate the overall publication costs borne by the union.

[36] Preston *Onward*, 1892 editions give the number in descending order of churches and temperance associations that circulated the magazine each month. The list indicates that the majority were circulated through Nonconformist church Societies. They do not name the children involved. It can only be assumed that individual societies kept a record of such information so that prize-giving was a fair process.

[37] Preston *Onward,* No 52, April, 341/342. These included the areas of Middleforth, New Longton and Penwortham, as well as those further away such as Rossendale, Bilsborough, Goosnargh,

The use of the Preston *Onward* to advertise Church of England activities would be mutually beneficial, to the Church in making others aware of its undertakings, and to the PDBHU, as such input would add interest and might help to stimulate increased circulation. A question to ask is whether the placing of Church of England activity under the heading of 'outside work' was due to it taking place outside Preston's town centre, or was it a subtle means by which the PDBHU was claiming ownership of the Preston *Onward* magazine? Either reason could apply, which again demonstrates the nuances surrounding the motives of workers who collectively supported children's teetotal advocacy, but wanted acknowledgement of the efforts of their own organisation. That said, there are facets of Church of England activity mentioned in the Preston *Onward* that engage one's attention, particularly the following notification under the heading of the 'Penwortham Church of England Band of Hope and Temperance Society':

> Middleforth branch – the opening meeting was held on the 4th October with a magic lantern exhibition…The room was full, many parents being present. There are 100 members on the books to begin with. On the 18th October the ordinary Band of Hope meeting was held…There was a good gathering of children and adults. The Band of Hope choir rendered a splendid programme. We have in connection with this branch a public-house without the beer, open every Thursday evening at 7.30… the admission is free. This being a new venture it is announced at every meeting. The Band of Hope choir and entertaining party meets every Saturday at 2.30pm for the rehearsal of songs, recitations, etc...[38]

The operation of a 'public house without the beer' may have been novel to the Church of England but outlets without beer already existed, for example in September 1867 the first British Workmen's Public House opened in Leeds. Similar establishments in London and other major towns also followed this example.[39] The significant feature of the remarks is that they indicate a greater acceptance by the CETS to actively promote total abstinence from alcohol as a preferred option to moderate drinking. The CETS might also argue that if those who frequented this 'pub' found it beneficial, they might in turn allow their children to attend the Band of Hope.

Longridge, Blackburn and Chorley. Temperance work carried out by the British Women's Temperance Association was also recorded occasionally in the Preston *Onward*.

[38] Preston *Onward*, November, 1892, No. 59, 404.

[39] G Brandwood, A Davison, M Slaughter, *Licensed to Sell, the History and Heritage of the Public House*, English Heritage, (2004), 43.

The Preston *Onward* offers a further point for consideration. An aspect of locally based sources is that they provide a means to offer praise or give criticism that might be more easily accepted by a local readership than if presented in a wider publication. In the Preston *Onward,* there is evidence that suggests that as well as progress being attained by the Band of Hope, the PDBHU was experiencing a temporary setback in its financial situation. The Secretary of the Ashton-on-Ribble Wesleyan Band of Hope society wrote to the *Onward's* Editor on 23 January 1892, offering to vote the sum of £1 from his society's funds:-

> to assist the Union providing that nine other societies will do likewise…If all societies affiliated to the Union are able and willing to follow suit, the present difficulties may by this simple means be to a great extent cleared away.[40]

There is no explanation given for these 'present difficulties', similar to the lack of explanation of the 'varying fortunes' of the PDBHU referred to in chapter two. Concern surrounding the financial situation of the PDBHU would occur again and will be discussed, but what the above does demonstrate is that the PDBHU, being comprised of several affiliated societies, could call upon them to share the responsibilities as well as reap the benefits of being associated with a union, which mirrored similar action taken more widely by the UKBHU.[41]

In relation to the occasions when the PBHDU went through challenging times, evidence reveals that any fears surrounding testing occasions were intensified by Preston's prominence in temperance circles.[42] At the same time, oral testimony suggests that criticism was not confined to Preston. Diary input for November 1892 indicates that a complaint was voiced at a Band of Hope meeting most probably held in Chorley, that the main point of the meeting was to get signed pledges.[43] Criticism of a similar nature was expressed at a PDBHU conference in 1895. Chiefly,

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[40] Preston *Onward,* No. 50, February, 1892, 323.

[41] *The Band of Hope Review*, Volume 41, No. 365, (May 1891), 18/19. The UKBHU could be called upon to better assist funding ventures. For example, the UKBHU devoted £500 towards adding temperance works to young people's libraries in Sunday schools, as it stated that any money sent in by Sunday schools towards this project would be matched by the UKBHU to purchase books at trade prices.

[42] The varying fortunes of the Preston Band of Hope Union, (see chapter two, page 65), were mentioned in the December 1887 issue of the *Band of Hope Chronicle*.

[43] Diary of John Bamber, Thursday 24 November 1892. Lancashire Archives, DDX 1841/1/7. The meeting was held the Chapel, whereabouts unknown, but indications are that it was situated in Chorley.

that Bands of Hope were becoming lax and were often nothing more than gatherings of children brought to hear the entertainment. A member at the conference stated his belief (prophetically as it transpired), that "a change must take place or else the Union would shortly be defunct" to which a voice responded "Never!"[44] A comment by Thomas Walmsley at the PDBHU annual meeting held in 1894, that he was much pleased to find the union was out of debt, indicates that the difficulties experienced in 1895 were not financial. [45] It also reveals that the financial problems that had occurred in 1892, which had led the PDBHU to dispense with its paid agency, had been overcome.[46]

More important is the implication that failure of the union was unthinkable. This, one argues, was due to Preston's importance in temperance history. The earlier Preston pioneers headed by Joseph Livesey, were no longer alive but the pioneering spirit invoked by their efforts remained. Thomas Walmsley, who devoted his life to Band of Hope work, passed away in May 1896. Blessed with practically uninterrupted good health throughout his life, Walmsley had been president of the Preston Temperance Society following the death of Joseph Livesey and president of the PDBHU, holding both positions until at least 1894.[47]

At the PDBHU conference in 1895 (see above) when fears of the danger that the Union might become defunct were expressed, the tenor of the discussion suggests that it was a lack of enthusiasm, not a lack of finance which required better use being made of monies available to the union. One suggestion in how to use available monies was to allocate it in three ways, a General Fund, Festival Fund and *Upward* Fund.[48] The reference to the word *Upward* merits further discussion which will be of benefit to the thesis.

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[44] The *Preston Guardian*, 16 March 1895. Chapter six of the thesis will enlarge upon the prophetic nature of this member's belief.
[45] *Preston Guardian,* 28 April 1894.
[46] UKBHU Annual Report, 1892/1893, 49.
[47] *Preston Guardian* 6 June 1896 for Obituary of Thomas Walmsley. See *Preston Guardian* 21 April 1894 for confirmation that Thomas Walmsley was President of the Preston Temperance Society. See *Preston Guardian* 28 April 1894 for confirmation that Walmsley was the ex-President of the PDBHU. *Preston Guardian*, 16 March 1895, reported that George Mason was now president of the PDBHU.
[48] *Preston Guardian,* 16 March, 1895.

The *Upward* fund related to a local publication of the PDBHU which was named *Upward.* It is fortunate that the November 1895 issue of this monthly magazine is available for research purposes which, together with the minute book of the Ashton-on-Ribble Baptist Band of Hope Society (ABBHS) presents an opportunity to piece together details of the Band of Hope operation in Preston during this period. The corroborative evidence these sources afford suggests that the value of local sources should not be undermined. They provide information that is useful to local and temperance historians by offering a view of Preston's past which may be subsumed within more general histories of Preston.[49]

Upward Magazine

The *Upward* magazine, discussed more fully on the next page, began publication in a year when arguably the PDBHU was enjoying an upturn in its fortunes. The seeming success of the Band of Hope in Preston mirrored that of the overall movement with the *Upward* claiming that membership had doubled during the last twelve years to 2,737,394 pledged members.[50]

In relation to the ABBHS, the religious connection of this society formed in 1884 confirms that Bands of Hope continued to be connected with Sunday schools. Thomas Walmsley had personally encouraged the Band of Hope to maintain a connection with Sunday schools at the PDBHU conference in 1895, the year before he died.[51] In fact, one could argue that the tenor of the 1895 PDBHU conference was one of veiled reproach that temperance teaching without religious input should not be allowed to loosen the connection of the Band of Hope with churches and Sunday schools. The location of the society in Ashton, a developing area on the

[49] The UKBHU Annual Report (1.4.94-31.3.95) stated that the *Upward* magazine began in January 1895, each issue costing one penny. The Ashton-on-Ribble Minute Book is available courtesy of the Archivist at Lancashire Archives and covers the years 1884-1900, Lancashire Archives, BPR ACC5458.
[50] *Upward,* The organ of the Preston and District Band of Hope Union. No. 11, (November 1895), Lancashire Archives, 171 . The membership for 1895 was confirmed by the UKBHU Annual Report for 1895. Available UKBHU report evidence states that in 1887 UKBHU national membership stood at 1,652,463, some eight years prior to 1895. Although not the twelve years stated in the *Upward*, it confirms that the trend of national membership was increasing.
[51] *Preston Guardian*, 16 March 1895.

then outskirts of Preston, identifies the growing geographical spread of Bands of Hope into the surrounding areas of the town.[52]

In relation to the church and Sunday school associated ABBHS, the indications are that the society initially lacked a proper system of management but from 1890 the situation improved with meetings well attended and that a bright future beckoned.[53] This was confirmed when in 1895, the ABBHS decided to advertise a review of its short history in *Upward* which confirmed that it had undergone a period of difficulty between 1887 and 1890, after which time such difficulties were alleviated and the society was doing good work.[54] The November review of the ABBHS in the *Upward* magazine ended on a note of significance for the thesis as it informed its readership that the first meeting of the season of the ABBHS would take place in November 1895 and would be addressed by "our agent and lecturer, Mr C Hawkins." [55] Evidence suggests that the PDBHU's confidence in its work, which covered the period that the *Upward* was in circulation from 1895 to 1900, was due in no small part to the enthusiasm of Charles Hawkins, an aspect which is explored below. At the same time one recognises that Charles Hawkins' contribution to the progress of the PDBHU occurred during a period of general advancement in the movement nationally.

Charles Hawkins

Charles Hawkins was associated with the PDBHU as agent and then secretary. It was reported that during his tenure he:-

> Addressed 191 public meetings at which 904 pledges were taken. The PDBHU was enjoying a year of increased interest and energy in the district, with 53 societies in affiliation, over 10,000 members and 25,000 copies of the magazine *Upward* issued.[56]

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[52] The CETS Middleforth Temperance Society and Band of Hope, mentioned on page 157, is a further example, although it occurred later, of the spread of Band of Hope work into the outskirts of the town.

[53] *Upward*, 175. ABBHS Minute Book, 1884-1900, These indicate that there was a gap in the minutes between the years 1884 and 1890 when the Band of Hope Sunday school resolved to reform the Band of Hope, suggesting that it had ceased to operate in the intervening years, but with no reason being given.

[54] *Upward,* 175.

[55] *Upward,* 175

[56] UKBHU Annual Report, 1895/1896, 56.

The status granted to Preston in relation to Band of Hope work during Hawkins' tenure as secretary also appeared in the *Band of Hope Chronicle,* in 1897 which referred to the May Festival of 'Proud Preston' being a function of special importance.[57] This implies that the suggestion at the PDBHU conference in 1895, that monies should include a Festival fund (page162), was initiated and that it bore fruit, but more important is the supposition that Preston maintained a special place in temperance history, which the PDBHU could use to bolster its position within the wider movement. This was reinforced, one argues by the *Upward* magazine's adoption of the epithet 'thy will be done in Preston as it is in Heaven'. [58] To some this may appear somewhat arrogant but significantly, it explicitly connected temperance with religion as well as reflecting Preston's prominence in temperance history. The words were taken from a line in the 'Lord's Prayer', which read 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven'. By substituting the words 'on earth' with the words 'in Preston', the PDBHU, was re-affirming, through its *Upward* publication, that temperance and the Band of Hope continued to be associated with religion at a time of progress within the whole Band of Home movement. Moreover, and this also applies to Preston's local edition of *Onward*, the production of these magazines supports both strands of the thread of the thesis. Preston's important association with temperance as indicated by the *Upward* epithet assisted the largely Nonconformist PDBHU to have a voice in a town that lacked any overriding religious hegemony. That said, account also needs to be taken of the variable character of the Band of Hope operation in Preston, which is illuminated below.

The fluid nature of the Band of Hope experience in Preston is demonstrated by the Band of Hope Chronicle reporting in 1900 that whilst the PDBHU remained large and vigorous, it was giving up its excellent monthly magazine *Upward*.[59] This contradictory situation leads one to ask why, given its apparent success, the PDBHU chose to discontinue with its local *Upward* publication. One reason is a report in 1899 that Charles Hawkins was resigning his position as secretary of the PDBHU

[57] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 6, (June 1897), 103.
[58] *Upward* Magazine No. 11 (November 1895). *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 9, (September 1900), 143.
[59] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 9. (September 1900), 143.

after five years' service, in order to take up the same position in Cumberland.[60] Hawkins was a dedicated Band of Hope worker for the PDBHU and it is possible that his leaving the town was one reason for the discontinuance of the *Upward* magazine, shortly after his departure. An additional reason is that, given the evidence of financial constraints that had affected the PDBHU in the past, it is possible that the cost of producing the magazine was proving unsustainable.

The reference above to the PDBHU being large and vigorous would no doubt have been welcomed by Band of Hope workers as it conformed to the view that Preston deserved its place in temperance history. The other side of the coin leads one to go back to the Preston *Onward's* reporting on the first 'Million-More' scheme and the effective use of locally based sources to offer words of admonishment which, if presented in a wider capacity might be construed as rude or intrusive and which might cause resentment in the ranks of Band of Hope workers.

A Preston Band of Hope Society secretary used the Preston *Onward* to comment as follows:-

> Very few Bands of Hope in Preston and District have done anything at all in the matter. For goodness sake, rouse up, and justify your official rank, or we shall think there are but few Band of Hope secretaries in Preston worthy of the name.[61]

Arguably, such straight-forward criticism, offered locally, was designed to stir Band of Hope workers into action, rather than incite resentment, so as to preserve Preston's prominence in temperance history as much as it was to increase support for the 'Million-More' endeavour. At the same time, the implication that Band of Hope societies in Preston were not always as active as they ought to be in promoting teetotal ideals, might be more keenly felt than in other districts because of Preston's historic place in relation to teetotal advocacy.

The first Million-More' scheme did not numerically live up to its name but it encouraged Band of Hope workers and children to collectively take part in an

[60] *Band of Hope Chronicle,* No. 3, (March 1899), 47/48. Hawkins left the PDBHU to become secretary of the Cumberland Union which was established in 1895 and in 1896 consisted of 110 societies. See UKBHU Annual Report for 1896. Following the gap of 10 years for which UKBHU annual reports are not available, the Cumberland Union reported that it had 194 societies in affiliation and that society numbers increased steadily over the ensuing period reaching a peak of 232 societies in 1917.
[61] Preston *Onward*, No. 50, February 1892, 328.

enterprise that raised around 500,000 new recruits to the Band of Hope. The Golden Jubilee of the Band of Hope was celebrated in 1897 which presented a landmark opportunity for the movement to bolster its influence and publicly present the positive aspects of its work and momentarily put to one side impending problems. When a decision was taken to repeat the 'Million-More' scheme as part of the Jubilee celebrations, one suggests that this was aided by other events taking place in the mid-to-late 1890s.

Teetotal advocacy was increasingly brought into the political arena, aided by contact with a growing number of socially conscious working men. Whereas teetotalism had been an important part of the self-help movement, the role was being assumed by the socialists and other parts of the labour movement. Local option (local prohibition) had engaged the minds of many teetotallers, including those in Preston, over the years but the veto issue became a prominent part of the Liberal party's platform.[62] When the Liberal party was defeated in the general election of 1895, local veto largely carried the blame.[63] The repercussion of the defeat led many teetotallers to revert to moral suasion (persuading individuals that it was morally wrong to drink). Joseph Livesey had during his lifetime expressed the view that "people must first be convinced that drinking was wrong before they adhered to legislation against it." [64]

Another factor to take into consideration resulted from the introduction of compulsory education and legislation on working practices relating to children, which led to more leisure time. Young people could increasingly take charge of their own lives and spend their leisure as they wished which, in the absence of constructive (rational) recreation, might leave them simply to hang around on the streets. As mentioned on page 151, agencies such as Boys' clubs were one answer to the question of occupying street children and provide gainful activities.[65] These political and social issues perhaps influenced the Band of Hope's to take the

[62] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 207 and 227. See Chapter 9 for a fuller description of Local Veto. Also See *Preston Guardian* 21 April 1894. A meeting of Preston Temperance discussed the Local Veto Bill with members demanding its enactment in Parliament and then to secure it in the Preston locality.
[63] G R Searle, *The Liberal Party, Triumph and Disintegration, 1886-1929*, MacMillan, (1992), 55.
[64] L Shiman, *Crusade against drink*, 229, quoting from the *Staunch Teetotaler*, 379.
[65] B Weinberger, "Policing Juveniles: Delinquency", 45/46.

decision to repeat the Band of Hope 'Million-More' recruitment scheme during its Jubilee year. The defeat of Local Option by political means stimulated the Band of Hope to assist the moral argument for abstinence by repeating a scheme that would provide children with an outlet where rational recreation would be part of their leisure pursuits and also induce them to abstain from drink. It is with these thoughts in mind that consideration will now be given to the "Jubilee 'Million-More'" endeavour and how it relates to the aims of the thesis.

The Band of Hope Golden Jubilee and the Second 'Million-More' Scheme

On the eve of the Golden Jubilee in 1896, national membership was reported to be around 2,800,000 and regionally, the LCBHU claimed to have 66 town or district unions, embracing 1,175 societies with a membership of nearly 200,000.[66] In Preston, the number of societies had risen from 27 in 1886 to 49 in 1891 and in 1897, there were 55 societies affiliated to the PDBHU.[67] There is no doubt that the PDBHU supported the LCBHU in raising funds for the Golden Jubilee by, at one event, securing £215 towards a proposed Jubilee fund of £300. This, when added to sums raised by other district unions, helped the LCBHU to raise £4,000 for the purpose.[68]

Levels of community co-operation are revealed through the PDBHU organising a rummage sale in which everyone in the locality could play a part.[69] This was a period when the Band of Hope in Preston was at a high point and yet again the situation is nuanced by expressions of uncertainty conveyed within the following:-

> The Jubilee has been a Godsend! The 'Million-More' effort was heartily taken up by 140 visitors who visited over 3,000 homes...We are also utilising the Jubilee enthusiasm for extending our borders in villages where as yet there is no Band of Hope work. We are deferring most of our sermons and addresses until Temperance Sunday, and shall hold most of our public meetings about that time. All our 55 societies are to

[66] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No .7, (July 1896), 111. National membership was reported to be around 2,800,000 in 1896. See UKBHU Annual Report for 1896.
[67] The 1886 and 1891 figures are extracted from UKBHU Annual Reports for those years, available through Lambeth Palace Library. The 1897 figure appears in the December 1897 issue of the *Band of Hope Chronicle*, 206 and in the *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume,* 140.
[68] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 12 (December 1897), 205/206.
[69] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 5, (May 1897), 87. For example, the more affluent members of Preston society could donate items to the sale and the poor could purchase garments and other items at low prices.

> hold special meetings; gatherings in 30 mills and workshops being held during the dinner hour, and a great double demonstration (afternoon and evening) in the Public Hall will crown the effort.[70]

A number of issues in the above statement merit further attention. The report clearly illustrates that numerically, the 'Million-More' scheme had been successful in Preston, with 55 societies now being in affiliation to the PDBHU. [71] At the same time, the comment that the 'Jubilee had been a Godsend', might imply that without the Jubilee 'Million-More' scheme in 1897, the PDBHU may not have progressed at a level of satisfaction expected by its workers. This need not necessarily be the case as the term 'Godsend' could identify the euphoria felt by the PDBHU at the level of success the scheme actually achieved in the town. The union could build on this success to extend its teetotal message to children in more rural areas surrounding Preston.

The reference to gatherings held in mills and workshops reveals that the Band of Hope continued to adapt its message to changing situations. [72] It was not until the 1900 Factory and Workshops Bill, which aimed to amend earlier Factories and Workshops Acts, that the minimum age for employment in factories was raised to 11.[73] There was also the part-time system in operation which allowed children who had reached a certain grade to be released to spend some school hours at work.[74] By arranging meetings in Preston's workplaces, the Band of Hope was extending its activities to give child employees instruction in the benefits of being teetotal. At the same time these meetings could also act as a stabilising influence to remind

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[70] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 12, (December 1897), 206. Preston is also confirmed as having 55 societies in F Smith, Ed., *Jubilee of the Band of Hope*, (1897), 140.

[71] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, 1897, 206.

[72] M Winstanley, Ed., *Working Children in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*, 50. The Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 had established local school boards and gave them discretion in making full-time education compulsory to the age of ten years. See also PP. 1901 [Cd. 532] Board of Education. The 1876 Act received a number of amendments and in 1901 the age of compulsory attendance was raised to 12 years, or 11 if the child was to be employed in agriculture.

[73] PP. 1900 (111) *Factories and Workshops. A Bill to amend the Factory and Workshops Acts*, *Article 1*, 6.

[74] L DeVries, *History of Hot News, 1865-1897*, John Murray (1973), 112. This states that children who had passed the Sixth Standard, usually between the ages of 10 and 13 could be exempted from compulsory attendance and the child over 10 could work half time and attend school half time on passing the third standard if it was considered that the child's earnings were necessary to avoid family poverty.

children, now entering more fully into the workplace occupied by adults, of the dangers associated with alcohol and to encourage them to keep their pledge.

A further feature of the above report is the reference to Temperance Sunday, which was one Sunday set aside by all the churches each year to hold special temperance sermons. This was an occasion for those of different religious persuasion to present a united front in order to encourage both adults and children to join a temperance society or Band of Hope. By deferring Band of Hope sermons so that they could form part of Temperance Sunday (November 1897), the movement could theoretically attract large audiences to their sermons which might encourage this aim. The Band of Hope Jubilee was recognised as an important landmark by eminent church people such as the Archbishop of Canterbury who preached the official Temperance Sunday sermon.[75] This supports the view that temperance advocacy as well as the Band of Hope was enjoying a period of influence and prosperity throughout the country. Whether this model of progress became established or whether it merely formed part of a changing pattern in the fortunes of the Band of Hope can be explored by reference to Preston.

Preston Band of Hope Management in late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries

The ability to publish two local magazines during the 1890s, the localised version of *Onward* and *Upward,* is evidence that overall the PDBHU was a progressive union during the 1890s. Financial problems had beset the union in 1892, which had compelled it to dispense with its paid agency.[76] However, by 1895 these appear to have been solved with the PDBHU appointing a new agent, Charles Hawkins who was also appointed as secretary of the union. All seemed well until two occurrences suggest otherwise. The discontinuance of the *Upward* magazine and the departure of Charles Hawkins to the Cumberland Union.

[75] S Olsen, *Juvenile Nation, Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914,* Bloomsbury, (2014), 32.

[76] UKBHU Annual Report, 1.4.1892-31.3.1893, `49. Agents played a valuable role in recruiting children to sign the teetotal pledge. Therefore the decision to dispense with its agent is not one the PDBHU would have taken lightly.

Whatever circumstance led to the discontinuation of the *Upward* magazine, it can be revealed that in 1903, a few years after the departure of Charles Hawkins, the agency situation in Preston was again proving to be a cause of concern. The minute book of the LCBHU, via the Agency Direction Committee meeting 8 May 1903, recorded the following:-

> K) That the Secretary see what can be done with Preston, full discretion to be given him in the matter.[77]

This was followed by a minute at the District Agency Committee of 12 June 1903, which stated:-

> C) That the general secretary had induced various parties in Preston to promise help and was that evening to meet the Preston executive.[78]

The reason for such concern was unforthcoming. One suggests that, given previous financial setbacks, such circumstances were again responsible. In exploring this further, a lack of other contemporary sources prevent corroboration of the LCBHU minutes, but these were the original hand written minutes and would arguably present a fair representation of the facts.

One can identify that the nature of the problem was connected with agency issues related to the PDBHU at this time. The reference to 'various parties' is more difficult to quantify. It may have referred to Band of Hope societies affiliated to the PDBHU, the Preston Temperance Society or other teetotal advocating organisations in Preston, being induced to remedy the matter.[79] It has been shown earlier in the chapter that agency matters had been of concern in Preston in 1892 and on that occasion the situation was resolved by the appointment of Mr Charles Hawkins. By 1903, the Preston Union was again in difficulties in respect of this side of its work. The lack of any further reference to the matter suggests that once again, the problem was settled satisfactorily and that when the Preston Executive met (referred to in Item (C) LCBHU District Agency Committee of 12 June 1903 above), the agency question in Preston was resolved. If this was the case, it implies that the

[77] LCBHU Minute Book, Agency Direction Committee, 8 May 1903, Manchester Central Library Special Collections, 200. From 1896 to 1905 UKBHU annual reports are not available for perusal. Primary evidence that may shed light on how the PDBHU fared, is gained by reference to the minutes of LCBHU meetings, which took place in Manchester at that time.

[78] LCBHU Minute Book, District Agency Committee, 12 June 1903, 214.

[79] The minutes on both occasions refer to 1) Agency Direction Committee and 2) District Agency Committee of the LCBHU.

difficulties lay within the PDBHU committee management and not with local Band of Hope or temperance societies as they were the ones asked to assist in relieving the situation. The fluid nature of progress and problems that affected the PDBHU will be revealed further in the next chapter. At this stage and bearing in mind the lack of any overriding religious hegemony in the town the 'various parties' mentioned above may have included Preston branches of the CETS. It is possible to throw light on this suggestion by reference to a minute book of the CETS Ashton-on-Ribble branch covering the years 1903 to 1908.[80]

Early Twentieth Century support of Church of England Band of Hope work in Preston

The information provided in the CETS Ashton-on-Ribble minute book is scant, but it does serve to plug a gap left by the non-availability of UKBHU annual reports covering much of that period.[81] The minutes indicate that a number of CETS branches operated in Preston at the turn of the century and that these were involved in Band of Hope work. The fact that the location of minute books that cover a Baptist Sunday school in Ashton and the Church of England CETS Ashton-on-Ribble branch is, one suggests, fortunate but co-incidental. The minutes of both identify an area of Preston where Band of Hope work was developing but the forming of a union of CETS branches in Preston (see below) was proposed by the secretary of St. Paul's Temperance Society in a letter, a copy of which was posted on the inside cover of the CETS Ashton minute book. Evidence that other CETS branches in Preston were active in Band of Hope work is suggested by the positive response of at least six churches to the strategy of forming a union in order to assist the Preston CETS in promoting its work. [82]

[80] Church of England Temperance Society (CETS), Ashton-on-Ribble, Minute Book 1903-1908, Lancashire Archives, (PR3279/14/3),

[81] Regular copies of the *Band of Hope Chronicle* are only available in the Livesey Collection for the period from 1878 until the end of 1901, from which point they disappear until September 1950, apart from a much smaller version for March 1939. Copies of the LCBHU *Onward* publication are available to the end of 1902.

[82] CETS Minute Book. Committee meeting held, 30 January 1905 makes reference to Band of Hope work, 37/38. The churches that responded to the invitation to form a CETS branch union in Preston included the churches of St. Paul, St Mary, St Matthew, Christ Church, and St. Peter and St Michael, the latter being the Ashton-on-Ribble branch of the Preston CETS union and author of the minutes.

One may question why the forming of a union of CETS branches in Preston occurred at this time. Did the constraints that resurfaced in connection with the PDBHU around 1903 provide an incentive to the CETS to promote its own Band of Hope work in the town, which could be best served through a union of branches? Alternatively, did the CETS choose to form a union because this was considered the best means by which it could assist the PDBHU in promoting Band of Hope work in Preston during this period?

Arguably, both reasons contributed to the actions of the CETS in Preston as the efforts of the CETS and the PDBHU to promote Band of Hope work to all children in Preston were best served by both organisations co-operating in this endeavour. To promote this view one should add that Preston's prominence in relation to teetotal advocacy was jointly recognised by those who belonged to different faiths or none, as an important feature of the town's history. (This again touches upon discussion in chapter three that debated whether a teetotal sect held sway over religious sentiment in the town.) For this reason, in relation to CETS branches forming a union to promote temperance and Band of Hope work in Preston at this time, one argues that the goal was to assist efforts to introduce more children to the benefits of teetotalism, rather than reducing the effectiveness of the PDBHU. Even though the CETS did not make teetotalism compulsory in adults, it insisted on teetotal advocacy in its Bands of Hope and continued to co-operate and assist Bands of Hope outside the Church of England.[83]

The Preston CETS Union itself appears to have suffered fiscal problems during the period it operated. At a meeting held in St. Andrew's School on 2 March 1908, it was debated whether a sum of 10 shillings should be offered by the Ashton-on-Ribble branch to the union owing to there being a deficiency of £8 with regard to the last Band of Hope Festival.[84] What this demonstrates that, similar to the support offered by individual societies to the PDBHU at difficult times, CETS branches were prepared to do likewise to assist their union. At the same time, the

[83] Such co-operation continued for several years, see *Preston Guardian,* 28 January 1933. This reported that St Michaels' Church of England held a children's party specifically to assist the Bray Street Methodist Church Band of Hope.
[84] CETS Ashton-on-Ribble Minute Book, Committee Meeting, 2 March 1908, 57.

minutes imply that the offer of support was in response to a complaint that the CETS union in Preston was not getting proper support (financial or otherwise) from its branches in the town.[85] This resulted in a decision that temperance work had more effect among children than among adults as "the parochial branches of the CETS can best assist the cause by supporting the Bands of Hope as much as is possible…the matter to be brought before the Annual Meeting."[86] One argues therefore that any financial restraint placed upon the CETS operation in Preston actually led to them placing emphasis on the promotion Band of Hope work in the town.

Despite the lack of direct evidence regarding the weight of Band of Hope work conducted by the CETS in Preston at the turn of the century, the information minuted by the CETS Ashton-on-Ribble branch identifies facets of its operation that mirror those of the PDBHU. Branches paid an annual affiliation fee of 5s.6d. to the CETS Preston union, the Ashton-on-Ribble branch recorded that these were paid from 1903 to 1908 and that the proposal to pay ten shillings to the union to assist festival expenses was indeed paid.[87]

Before closing the chapter attention is drawn to statistical data to identify how the wider Band of Hope fared during this period.

Statistical Evidence of Band of Hope activity

With regard to the national scene, membership statistics are available for the years 1887 and 1891 to 1895 and despite a gap of data after March 1896 until 1906, it was claimed that membership had increased from more than one and a half million in 1887 to a peak of almost three and a half million by 1906.[88] Significantly, overall membership of the Band of Hope remained over the three million threshold until 1926, at which point the statistics no longer provide national membership numbers, (see Appendix 6). This statistical evidence reveals that numerically at least the trauma of the First World War did not impact too greatly on Band of Hope

[85] CETS Ashton Committee Meeting, 7 December 1908, 59/60.
[86] CETS Ashton Committee Meeting, 7 December 1908, 59/60.
[87] CETS Ashton Minute Book, 199-208.
[88] UKBHU Annual Reports, 1887-1906.

membership. The peak years of the Band of Hope occurred between 1906 and 1915; they declined to 1919 and then rose steadily to 1926 but during the whole period they never fell below three million. It was around the year 1930 that a noticeable decline in Band of Hope influence can be detected, which is highlighted in the next chapter.

Data evidence of membership of the Band of Hope at regional level is intermittent for the years leading up to 1896. The number of societies affiliated to the LCBHU (which included Preston), grew from 750 societies in 1884 to 1,226 by 1889. In 1896, society numbers listed as 1,175 were lower than the 1889 figure, although higher than that recorded for 1884 and the LCBHU reported in the *Band of Hope Chronicle* that the region was making progress.[89] The number of societies affiliated to the PDBHU in 1884 was 27; they are not recorded for 1889 but by 1893, this number had risen to 49, and by 1896 to 53.[90] These figures indicate that the PDBHU had made progress after 1893 which was greater than that of other districts during a similar period, as the following random selection for the LCBHU and including one from the Yorkshire Union reveals:

Lancashire and Cheshire affiliated District Unions			
	1889	1893	1896
Salford	20	27	24
Wigan	18	23	14
Yorkshire affiliated District Union			
Halifax	98	112	110

Figure 4 Selected District Unions in Lancashire and Yorkshire, 1889, 1893 and 1896.
Source: UKBHU Annual Reports 1889-1896 (where numbers are available).

The slightly higher numbers recorded for 1893 by all the above societies no doubt resulted from the impact of the 'Million-More' effort that took place in October 1891. The fact that Preston increased its numbers from 1893 to 1896 confirms that the union had undergone the period of progress that was alluded to earlier in the chapter. At the same time, in providing this data one needs to be aware that Band

[89] *Band of Hope Chronicle,* No 7, (July 1896), 111.
[90] UKBHU Annual Reports, 1884-1896.

of Hope statistics are variable and can prove unreliable in absolute terms. They do however provide fairly accurate trend patterns that can be used to support other evidential sources.

Conclusion

This chapter has considered the impact of a national scheme carried out by the Band of Hope in 1891 and repeated in 1897, with the aim of recruiting one million more children to the Band of Hope. Having successfully instigated a programme of scientific temperance teaching in day schools, the Band of Hope sought to take advantage of children's acquired knowledge of the dangers associated with drink and encourage them to join a Band of Hope where they could pledge to become teetotal adherents. A second motive for holding a recruitment scheme was that it allowed the Band of Hope to uphold a religious connection with teetotal teaching that may have been undermined by the adoption of scientific methods.

The 'Million-More' schemes occurred during the same decade that the Band of Hope celebrated its Golden Jubilee, an opportunity for the movement to reflect on its achievements. It was a time when the Band of Hope in Preston was enjoying a period of progress but which was constrained by occasions when fiscal difficulties arose. The publication of two local magazines by the PDBHU, and local press sources, provided an account of the PDBHU's success as well as it lapses but the highs and lows experienced by the Union did not prevent it from extending its influence into the wider locality of Preston, aided by CETS Bands of Hope operating in the town. The impact of financial difficulties on Band of Hope work carried out in Preston by either the PDBHU or by the CETS, afforded the opportunity to reveal that a level of co-operation existed between these organisations, again to ensure that the religious and moral argument for promoting teetotal advocacy in children was not extinguished.

The PDBHU suffered the loss of one of its leading advocates when Thomas Walmsley died in 1896. As a lifelong supporter of teetotal advocacy in Preston, Walmsley would have witnessed the fluid nature of the PDBHU throughout his tenure as its President. At the same time, Charles Hawkins, who was associated with Preston for five years as agent and secretary, did, by his efforts during his

short stay, play a pivotal role in advancing the Band of Hope in the town following his appointment in 1895. Walmsley and Hawkins define Joseph Livesey's view that all that was required to form a Band of Hope was the thorough-going effort of teetotal individuals.[91] This may be the case in the forming of a Band of Hope but this chapter has shown that to maintain a movement and see it grow, required more than individual endeavour. The collective co-operation of the PDBHU and the CETS, which did occasionally rely on the support of individual Band of Hope societies or CETS branches, was intrinsic to the progress of Band of Hope effort carried out in Preston so that it could reflect the success of the overall movement at the turn of the century and at a level which would carry it through the impact of the First World War and its aftermath.

Chapter six of the thesis will take account of the changing nature of society that resulted from the impact of a war far beyond that envisaged at its commencement. It will focus on the extent to which Preston's prominence in temperance history as well as the loosening of religious ties affected the operation of the Band of Hope movement in Preston during the interwar years, to a level that arguably could never have been foreseen by earlier teetotal advocates. It will consider how the national Band of Hope fared as it had to compete with other children's organisations, leisure activities and the challenges to religious authority that were occurring within society.

[91] *The Temperance Lighthouse*, Yorkshire Band of Hope Union, No. 1, (April, 1871), 10.

CHAPTER 6 –THE BAND OF HOPE - YEARS OF DECLINING INFLUENCE

Introduction

The views expressed by some temperance historians indicate that from the turn of the century there was a shift in opinion away from the view that temperance alone was the panacea for all the country's ills. Brian Harrison considers that some socialist supporters argued that drunkenness was used by some temperance workers to advertise working-class vices, rather than seeing the broader picture that related poverty to wider social issues. At the same time the Labour movement never completely repudiated temperance even as an organised movement and anti-temperance arguments were by no means universally supported. [1] Lilian Shiman argues that 1914 saw the beginning of the end for most temperance societies and that temperance in the twentieth century was never the driving force it was in the nineteenth. Shiman concedes that it is difficult to estimate how many teetotallers there were in Britain at a given time with any degree of accuracy. In relation to the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS), officials admitted that they had difficulty in getting an accurate count of their members and that not all were teetotal. [2] The nineteenth century argument over whether drink led to poverty, or poverty to drink, were no longer seen as a valid issue. Those workers who had been the backbone of the teetotal movement were now joining the cause of labour and giving their support to collective social action.[3] What one senses is that nineteenth century radical teetotalism gave way in the twentieth century to a widening sphere of working-class interest that lay in debating the wider social issues of day.

With the above views in mind, the aim of this chapter is to consider the changing nature of society following the impact of the First World War in the light of knowledge that the Band of Hope was able to maintain its membership throughout the war and for much of the inter-war period. It will focus on the extent to which the difficult

[1] B Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, Keele University Press, (1994), 381/382.
[2] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England,* St, Martin's Press (1988), 243.
[3] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 248.

social conditions, but also the opportunities provided by leisure outlets impacted upon the Band of Hope operation, particularly in Preston. It will assess how far Preston's prominence in temperance history as well as the loosening of religious ties affected the operation of the Band of Hope movement in Preston, with its distinctive religious make-up, to a level that arguably would never have been foreseen by earlier teetotal advocates. Attention will be paid to how the national Band of Hope fared as it had to compete with other children's organisations, leisure activities and the challenge to religious authority alluded to above, that were occurring within society.

Legislation to control alcohol intake was introduced during the First World War, but efforts to curb drinking occurred during the first two decades of the twentieth century and was part of a longer-term trend.[4] The Licensing Bill of 1908 included in its provision a restriction of licenses to one per 1,000 inhabitants in the cities.[5] More broadly, the number of on-licenses granted had fallen during the 28-year period up to 1914 by 16,347 whilst the population had increased by some 44 per cent between 1881 and 1911.[6] At the same time, the percentage of working-class family budget spending on drink had gradually declined prior to the onset of war.[7] A question to consider is how the drinking of alcohol was viewed by government and society during the war period and the impact this had on temperance support.

The First World War Period

The First World War resulted in huge upheaval in the lives of the population; it led to large-scale sacrifice within society in terms of both human life and monetary cost. Among the measures introduced by the government to aid the war effort was the control of the drinks trade which raised political and social acceptance of temperance. As the war proceeded, legislation to restrict the sale of alcohol was extended through a number of acts cited under 'Defence of the Realm' legislation, particularly the powers vested in the Liquor Traffic Central Control Board (LTCCB), to control the sale

[4] R Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots, The Drinking Crisis in Britain during World War One*, Liverpool University Press, (2013), 34. Duncan states that a reduction in the number of licenses granted had been official Government policy prior to the outbreak of war.
[5] J Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, *a History of the Drink question in England*, Manchester University Press, (2009), 150.
[6] R Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots*, 35.
[7] R Duncan, *Pubs and Patriots,* 35.

and supply of intoxicating liquor.[8] Sobriety became associated with patriotism and the need to secure productivity both on the battlefield and in the industries that served the war effort. Nevertheless, whilst sobriety and hard work were required to maximise the war effort, any draconian measures to restrict alcohol could have an adverse effect on morale. The view that it may not be right to deny drink outright to military personnel was militated by prudence to ensure that drink did not hamper the performance of those called upon to serve the country in battle or in the production of armaments.[9] As war continued, there were increased calls for abstinence, endorsed by prominent figures, headed by the King, the Church, as well as those in charge of the war effort. The civilian population were also invited to play their part in applying self-control at this time of national crisis.[10] One can understand from the above that political and societal approval of temperance made it easier for the Band of Hope to remain influential during the difficult war years.

On the other hand, one needs to consider whether aspects emanating from the above impacted adversely on the Band of Hope after the cessation of hostilities. Throughout the war period and continuing to 1924, despite a gradual rise in population there was an overall fall in the consumption of spirits and beer. [11] At the same time in the year when the population fell slightly between 1914 and 1915 there was a drop in beer consumption but spirit consumption actually rose. After 1915, spirit consumption fell away and despite a rise in beer consumption through to 1920, the amount of beer drunk then dropped considerably. Beer and particularly spirit consumption was significantly lower in 1923 than it had been in 1908, illustrated by the following chart:-

[8] J Nicholls, *Politics of Alcohol*, 155. Nicholls states that legislation granted government the power to curtail the drinks industry by reducing opening hours, buying on credit, stating that spirits should be sold diluted and that clubs were to be placed under the same control as all other licensed premises.
[9] United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU) Annual Report, 1914/1915, Lambeth Palace Library, 5.
[10] H Yeomans, "Providentialism, the Pledge and Victorian Hangovers, Investigating Moderate Alcohol Policy in Britain, 1914-1918", *Law, Crime and History,* Volume1, Issue 1, (2011) 101/102.
[11] United Kingdom Alliance Year Books, 1916, 1917, 1924, 1925, Livesey Collection. These indicate that population in the United Kingdom rose gradually to 46,407,000 in 1914, but fell slightly during 1915 to 46,089,000 followed by a steady rise to 47,547,000 in 1922. Following the exclusion of the southern counties of Ireland from the population figures, due to the changing relationship with Ireland, there was a fall in population of (now called) Great Britain to 43,318,000 in 1923.

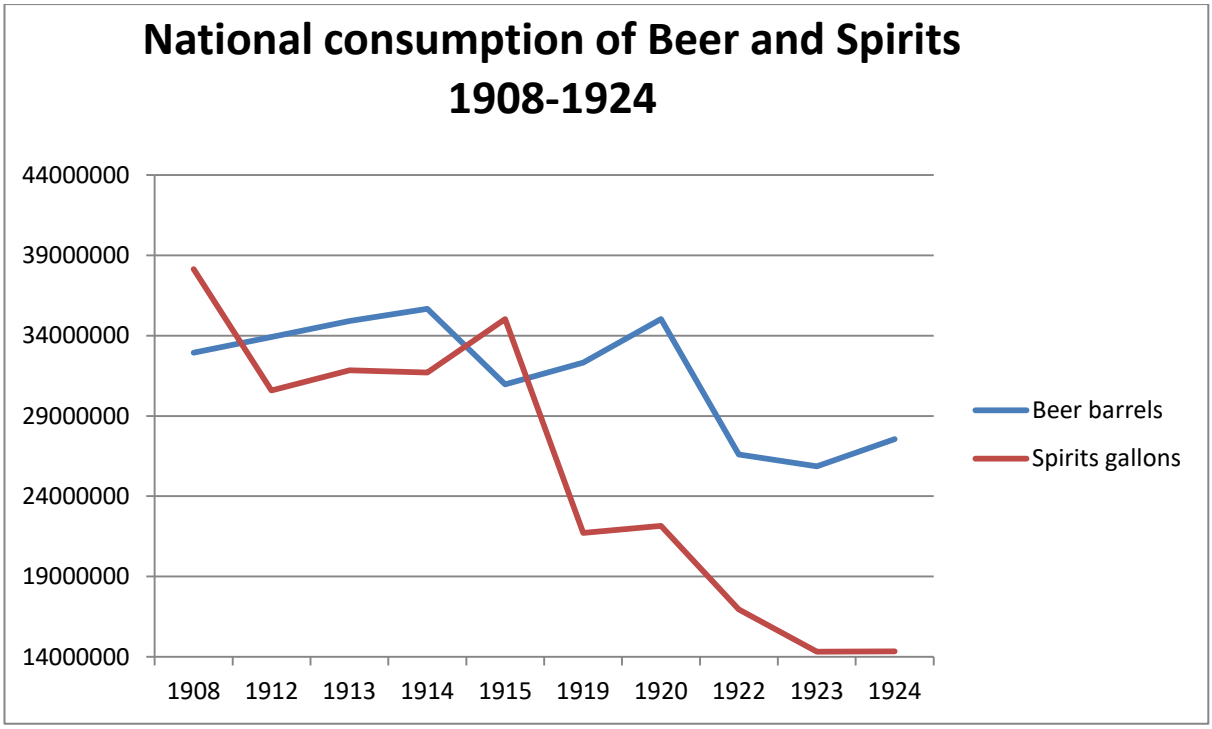

Figure 5 National Consumption of Beer and Spirits, 1908-1924.
Source: Alliance Year Book and Temperance Reformers' Handbook, 1910-1950, Livesey Collection.

This data demonstrates that legislation introduced by government to restrict drinking during wartime affected the drinks industry; beer was more expensive, yet weaker, and pubs faced levels of competition from new forms of entertainment such as the cinema and organised sport.[12] The Band of Hope itself would have to face competition from these leisure outlets and, despite the controls brought in by the LTCCB, which whilst prompting greater social and cultural acceptance of temperance, may also have led to a lessening in the need for teetotal only establishments. Whether this was actually the case, it is clear that statistical data alone does not convey the effect of war on those involved in Band of Hope work.

Band of Hope and the War Period

Despite the pressure of war that resulted in the removal of many male workers to undertake national service, the various agents and speakers of the national Band of Hope union, reported that the meetings of the societies that they visited were well

[12] J Nicholls, *Politics of Alcohol*, 180.

sustained, in both numbers and interest.[13] Scientific temperance teaching, which was continuing in schools, was only slightly affected once hostilities began, which also accounted for a slight decrease in membership of the Band of Hope as the war progressed. [14] As the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU) was keen to point out, this was not a diminution in interest on the part of juvenile abstainers but more likely due to circumstances such as travel restrictions and food control that prevented meetings from taken place.[15] New workers, many of them women who were already experienced in Band of Hope work were able to fill the places of those on military service. Despite the upheaval of war, when hostilities ceased the view was expressed that there had been a recent revival in Band of Hope work which would be aided by the return of workers to civilian life.[16] The UKBHU would no doubt lean towards emphasising the positive aspects of its work and it would be naïve to suggest that the war period did not have a serious effect upon the lives and the morale of the British people.

The view that the Band of Hope continued its work throughout hostilities is sustained by statistical data. The payment of affiliation fees to the UKBHU, by no means an exact science due to the broad scale of applicable affiliation fees payable, provide an estimate of Band of Hope societies affiliated to a county union and also allow approximate membership numbers to be established, illustrated by the following chart:-

[13] UKBHU Annual Report, 1914/1915, 5.
[14] UKBHU Annual Report 1913/1914, 9. Annual Report 1914/1915, 10. These reports stated that in 1913/1914, 4,398 lectures attended by 16,338 teachers and 384,857 scholars took place. The figures for 1914/1915 were 4,120 lessons attended by 11,689 teachers and 339,354 children. The lower number of teachers, percentage wise, indicated by these numbers was due to the increased absence of workers on military service, which also accounted for a slight decrease in membership and activity of the Band of Hope. Other factors to take into account related to the occupation of meeting places by the military, lighting restrictions and a lesser willingness on the part of parents, in view of aircraft dangers, to allow their children's attendance.
[15] UKBHU Annual Report, 1915/1916, 5.
[16] UKBHU Annual Report, 1918/1919, 5-7.

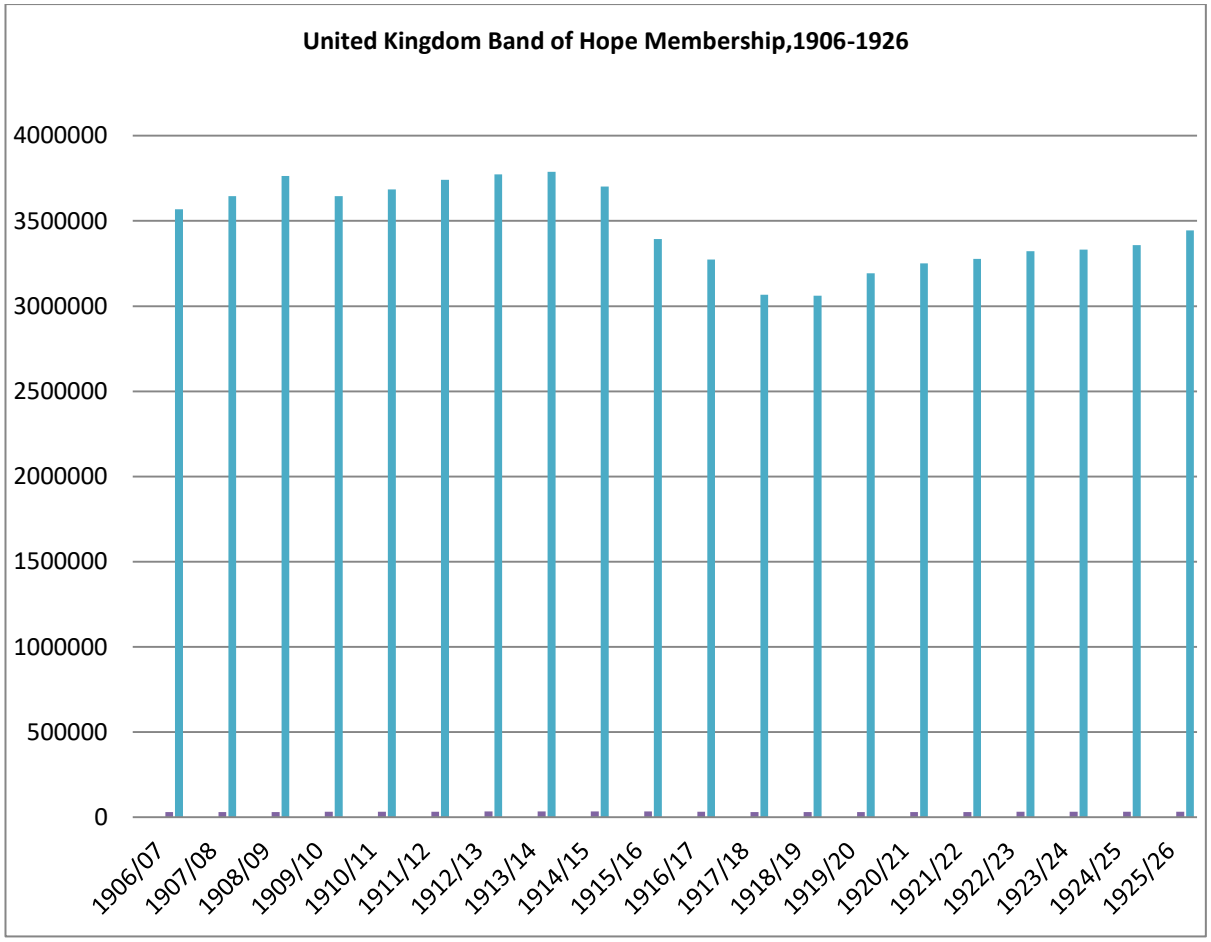

Figure 6 United Kingdom Band of Hope Membership, 1906-1926.
Source: UKBHU Union Annual Reports, 1906-1926.

Figure 6 above reveals that the years 1908/1910 and 1913-1914 (which ran from 1 April 1913 to 31 March) were the high point in the national membership of the Band of Hope.[17] There was a slight decline in 1914/1915 but even by the end of the First World War overall membership had not dipped below three million, and by the year 1926 it had steadily increased to just over 3,400,000. Despite a ten-year gap in the availability of UKBHU data, just prior to this gap in 1896, membership stood at just over 2,500,000; just after the gap one sees from the chart that in 1906, membership had risen to over 3,500,000. Significantly, Band of Hope membership never fell below 3,000,000 during the remaining years of the twentieth century covered by the chart.

[17] It should be noted that when using data taken from the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU) annual reports from 1905, the annual period covered ran from the 1 April in one year to the 31 March in the following year. Data that relates to national membership is not shown as these details do not appear in UKBHU annual reports after 1925/26.

Regional Band of Hope Union reports offer a glimpse of the impact that war had on the civilian population. The Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU) was the largest regional union and it continued to hold annual meetings each year throughout the war. The following chart reveals the number of societies affiliated to the LCBHU from 1907 to 1940.

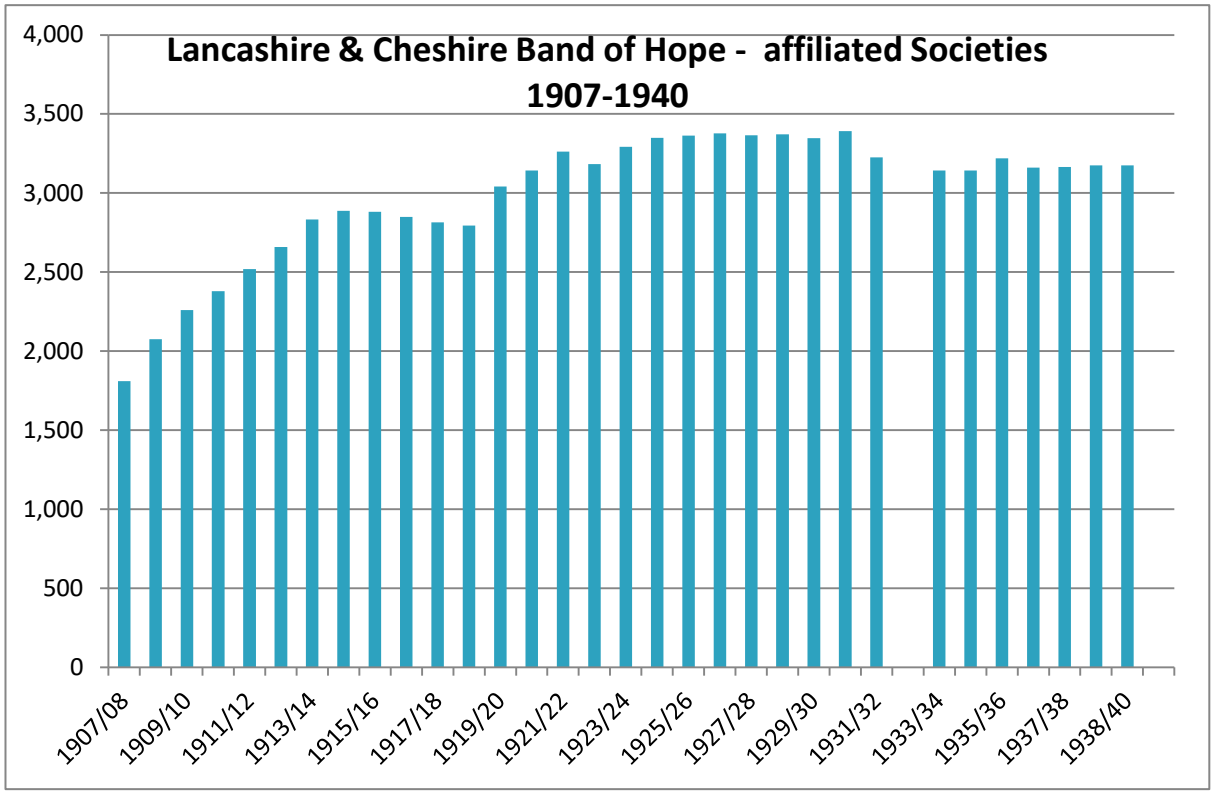

Figure 7 Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope affiliated societies, 1907-1940.
Source: Extracted from UKBHU Annual Reports.

Taking the LCBHU as an example of societies affiliated at regional level, there was an upward trend in affiliated societies throughout the period from 1907 to 1915, a further rise from 1919/20 and despite a drop after 1929/30, affiliated society numbers sustained a level above 3,000 through to 1930/40. The LCBHU was reported to have incorporated North Staffordshire in the 1913/14 annual reports, which may account for the reported increase after 1912.[18] One must apply caution to the accuracy of the data but again, it reveals an underlying trend pattern of sustainability of the LCBHU. Notwithstanding the impact of war on the Band of Hope operation, this pattern of continuity remained, as the LCBHU continued to hold its quarterly meetings during the

[18] UKBHU Annual Report 1913/14,

war period, one held in April 1916 being addressed by the vicar of All Saints church in Preston, who urged ministers of every denomination to attach themselves to the Band of Hope movement.[19] One argues that this desire alludes to Preston's distinctive religious make-up as the town would benefit if members of all denominations in the town co-operated in support of the movement. In this connection, when the war ended the leaders of Preston's Anglican, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist communities gathered at the Corn Exchange to mark the occasion in what David Hunt describes as a brief moment when they found a single voice.[20] Hunt's work alludes to moments of sectarian rivalry and occasional trouble that occurred in Preston. Without disputing this, one's assertion that these were largely overcome in order to support teetotal advocacy, especially in children, still holds good. Teetotal adherence was not limited to one sect, religious or secular and, given Preston's prominence in temperance history, aided by the distinctive religious make-up of the town, it underlines the argument that sectarian differences were put to one side, so that Preston's importance in temperance circles would not be undermined.

Support for Band of Hope work in Preston was continued by the Preston Temperance Society, which reported in 1916 that several meeting had taken place in the town during the year.[21] Before giving further attention to Preston, it is apparent that the First World War, numerically at least, did not lessen the effectiveness of the Band of Hope and the question of how the Band of Hope coped once the war ended needs to be addressed.

As the First World War was coming to its close, the Band of Hope was anxious to ensure that views that discouraged alcohol did not regress during the ensuing peacetime. At the autumnal conference of the LCBHU in October 1918, discussion on the subject of 'Alcohol and Tomorrow's Nation' led to efforts to urge government to take steps to lift the age at which young people could be served intoxicants, to

[19] *The Preston Guardian Newspaper*, 15 April, 1916.
[20] D Hunt, *A History of Preston,* Carnegie Publishing, revised edition (2009), 263.
[21] *Preston Guardian,* 22 April 1916. Report issued by the Preston Temperance Society at its annual tea meeting in April 1916, recorded that several meetings had taken place in Preston during the year, but dates and venues were not provided.

eighteen.[22] This is a clear indication that the Band of Hope recognised that the cessation of hostilities would bring changes to social and cultural attitudes that had prevailed prior to 1914, and a relaxation of laws imposed during the Defence of the Realm Act. In the wake of this, in 1919, a move to stimulate continuing interest in temperance was boosted by Mrs Lloyd George, wife of the then Prime Minister, addressing a meeting in Manchester's Free Trade Hall, which inaugurated a 'Win the Child' temperance campaign (see below).

The aftermath of the First World War

The acknowledgement of Band of Hope workers that children had more leisure time and choice of activities available to them led the LCBHU in 1922 to invite clergy, ministers, educationalists, brigade, scout, club an other social workers to attend a group of meetings to discuss the overall subject of 'Alcohol in relation to the child and national health'.[23] Here one sees evidence of the changing position of the Band of Hope from the one it enjoyed in the nineteenth century. There was an expanding range of opportunities for children, as well as the Sunday school, that could claim children's attention.[24] The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides movements had also gained popularity at a time when attention was being drawn further towards guiding young people in the age range 14 to 18, an age that was considered to be particularly vulnerable to delinquent influences, to follow the right path. A thread that connected these children's groups with the Band of Hope was that in taking advantage of the variety of activities these organisations offered, children would digest the moral foundation that they received to ensure that they would become useful citizens which would also help those who attended a Band of Hope to maintain their pledge to abstain from alcoholic drink.

Throughout the rest of the 1920s, the Band of Hope placed emphasis on the health benefits associated with drinking only non-alcoholic beverages. The 'Win the Child'

[22] *The Manchester Guardian,* 7 October 1918.
[23] *Manchester Guardian,* 5 October 1922.
[24] See for example S Ash,"'Panoramas' and 'Living Pictures': Dr Barnardo's Annual Meetings", *Early Popular Visual Culture,* Volume 8 No 4, (2010), 435, 442. Dr Barnardo's philanthropic enterprise was a national institution catering for thousands of children and in 1892 Dr Barnardo formed the 'Young Helpers' League'.

campaign continued to promote the teaching of scientific knowledge of the dangers of alcohol in schools. As temperance teaching was optional in the Hygiene of Food and Drink syllabus issued by the Board of Education, it was not always possible to provide such teaching on a regular basis due to an overcrowded curriculum. Therefore, funding appeals were well supported by temperance supporters to ensure that this teaching continued to take place.[25] Echoing the concerns expressed when scientific temperance education was first introduced into day schools in the late nineteenth century, one argues that whilst the Band of Hope's continuing view was that teetotal advocacy in their societies should have a moral basis, it increasingly had to face the reality that the most effective way to encourage children to adopt teetotalism was by means of scientific temperance teaching. For this reason, participation in funding the scheme was encouraged as it would at least give temperance workers a degree of control in ensuring that the teaching was thorough.

Scientific temperance teaching now had a wider remit. Dr Courteney C Weeks, who was the Medical Director of the National Temperance League, gave lectures for the Science and Education committee of the LCBHU to those in secondary education, which included schools in Preston.[26] At the same time, one is drawn to question whether the reliance on science was a pointer to the Band of Hope leaning towards a view that the long association it had enjoyed with Sunday schools was affected by a changing perspective towards religion. This leads one to consider on how Sunday schools themselves had fared following the turn of the century and during the war period.

Sunday Schools in twentieth century

A gradual slowing down in the rate of growth of Anglican and Nonconformist Sunday schools in England occurred from 1890 onwards; partly due to the steady secularisation of society and an increase in leisure opportunities that became

[25] *Manchester Guardian,* 7 April, 1925, 20.

[26] Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU) Annual Report, year ending 31 December 1927, Lancashire Archives, 29. This records that Dr. Weeks visited the Preston Grammar school during 1927. These visits continued for several years during the 1930s.

available, particularly to the working-class.[27] Appendix 7 shows that the rate of growth of the Sunday school slowed down from 1890 onwards with Sunday school numbers reaching their highest between 1904 and 1910. Despite efforts to revive and reform the Sunday school during the period prior to 1939, the year the Second World War commenced, the First World War of 1914-1918 took a heavy toll on the rate of growth. The decline in growth from 1901 to 1939 averaged 0.99 per cent per year per denomination but there was also a decline in the birth rate and national increase in England and Wales, as revealed in Appendix 8. For example, Sunday school numbers dropped more significantly between 1914 and 1919 commensurate with the largest percentage fall in the birth rate, which occurred between 1911 and 1920. It will be argued later, that the Band of Hope maintained an association with the Sunday school throughout the 1920s and it was only during the 1930s that increased competition from other children's organisations affected the relationship the two movements had enjoyed and the role of other kindred organisations came into play.

Statistical data reveals that the Band of Hope did not suffer numerically during the 1920s, 1930 or in 1931 during which year the LCBHU recorded one of its highest affiliated society numbers. At the same time one is made aware from evidence contained in Band of Hope union reports that a number of kindred organisations promoted Band of Hope work, including teetotal friendly societies. For a small regular payment, friendly societies, whether associated with temperance or not, offered support to working-class participants, an important function especially during times of a fluctuating labour market and periods of depression. Preston was not exempt from interruptions in employment that were a feature of life in the inter-war years. The Preston branches of two teetotal friendly societies were affiliated to the LCBHU at some stage during the inter-war years; the Preston Independent Order of Rechabites (IOR) and the Preston Grand Division Sons of Temperance (GD "Sons"). Children were eligible to enrol in the IOR and the GD "Sons" juvenile sections which aimed to instruct them in the principles of sobriety and thrift.[28] That said, the impact of a fluctuating

[27] P Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England, 1870-1980*, National Christian Education Council, (1896), 198-200.

[28] R Highet, *Rechabite History,* Published by the Board of Directors of the Order, Manchester, (1936), 89 Livesey Collection. An advertisement placed by the IOR in a UKBHU publication stated that the Order

economy was felt not only in Preston but throughout Lancashire and other areas of the country and this merits some consideration.

The challenges of the Inter-War Years

Historical consensus of the inter-war years indicates that the period was dominated by the trade cycle. The end of the war prompted a rise in the demand for Lancashire's textiles to replenish stocks but although the general post-war boom continued into the mid-1920s the boom in textiles was over by 1921. The underlying trend was that production outweighed demand. By 1930 any hopes of recovery were dashed by the world depression of 1929-1931. Preston was better placed than some other cotton towns in Lancashire as it was the administrative centre of many organisations and provided an important route system with railways, dockyards and roads.[29]

The other side of the coin was that there was an expansion in recreational activities and entertainments. Outdoor activities such as football, hiking, cycling increased and picture houses, including the 'talking-movie' introduced into Preston in 1929, offered those who lived in Preston and its suburbs affordable entertainment. The number of picture houses in Preston increased from 12 in 1913 to over 20 in the 1930s.[30]

There is no doubt that the influence of the Band of Hope which had continued until 1932 in most areas, began to decline from that point. Nevertheless, despite, or perhaps because, Band of Hope workers recognised that its status as a leading children's organisation was threatened by other children's groups that were now in operation, it endeavoured to maintain a positive attitude. The LCBHU stated that it was proud of being the largest county union and was proactive in encouraging its work with other organisations:

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admitted children from birth to train them from birth to temperance and thrift. Youngsters were known as GD "Sons" cadets or crusaders and belonged to a division or in the case of the IOR a tent, each distinguished by a title, for example, 'Jubilee Tent'.

[29] D Hunt, *A History of Preston,* 267/268. Hunt indicates that unemployment in Blackburn approached 50 percent. Also J Walton, Lancashire, A Social History, 1558-1939, Manchester University Press, (1987), 329. Walton lays the blame for the decline in the demand for British cotton goods at the door of the world depression.

[30] D Hunt, *A History of Preston*, 275. D J Hindle, *Life in Victorian Preston*, Amberley Publishing, (2014), 102.

> The Union is not self-centred. It gladly links up with all efforts to develop the best in the oncoming citizen and makes and seeks occasion to co-operate with Sunday Schools, Guilds, Endeavours, Brigades, Scouts, Guides, and other young people's enterprises. With them most friendly relations are maintained, and for many of them special service is rendered from time to time in the mutual hope of developing a better citizenship. [31]

Arguably, this identifies that the Band of Hope accepted that to remain viable a different approach was required. The co-operation it had forged with Sunday schools now extended to other enterprises, many of which also had a church connection. What one sees is that through its early association with Sunday schools, the Band of Hope could claim a link with these new and developing groups. At the same time the LCBHU went on to caution the churches not to allow their Bands of Hope to lapse in the face of the plethora of children's activities that the churches had to offer, by emphasising that they were unique in requiring a pledge of teetotalism from its members.[32] This hint of anxiety on the part of the Band of Hope becomes apparent in the operation of the third 'Million-More' scheme that took place in 1929. This scheme was different to the two carried out in 1891 and 1897 as its intention was to maintain, as much as improve, membership of the Band of Hope. In referring to the third 'Million-More' scheme it was stated that:-

> The object of the visitation: (1) To interest the people of the homes you visit in Temperance; (2) to get as many of them as possible to sign the Pledge, young and old, who have not already signed, even though they are abstainers; and (3) when opportunity offers to invite them, and especially younger folk, to join a Band of Hope or other Temperance Society of their own denomination or choice."[33]

The scheme's effort resulted in nearly 400,000 new pledges reportedly being taken but the fact that this was considered to be a magnificent achievement is arguably indicative of the level of expectation now placed on Band of Hope effort to recruit more members. In addition, by not restricting the push for pledge taking to children, the scheme was an attempt to engage the co-operation of all temperance minded organisations in the country, of whatever religion or whether secular in nature, in order to ensure that the endeavour met with success. That said, the impact from the scheme helped the LCBHU to record the higher number of societies in affiliation in

[31] LCBHU, 65th Annual Report, year ending 31 December 1928, 6.
[32] LCBHU, 65th Annual Report, 11.
[33] Extract from the "Million More" Pledge Signing Campaign of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (1929), Lambeth palace Library.

1930/31, a claim substantiated by the UKBHU report that the "LCBHU led the way with a total of 114,100 pledges reported."[34]

The temperance minded organisations referred to above included teetotal friendly societies. UKBHU annual reports indicate that that a small number of teetotal friendly society branches affiliated their juvenile sections to the regional Band of Hope union covering the area in which they operated. These numbers increased during the inter-war years, which is an indication that social pressures were taking their toll on the population. Two teetotal friendly societies operating in Preston were mentioned on page 188; in fact, the GD "Sons" had affiliated to the LCBHU in 1909/10, and a number of other teetotal friendly societies had also affiliated to the LCBHU before the First World War commenced. [35]

The following chart amply illustrates changes that took place in recording the number of PDBHU societies and Preston GD "Sons" juvenile branches that were affiliated to the LCBHU, in the first four decades of the twentieth century, particularly during the 1930s. What it shows is that the Preston GD "Sons" became affiliated to the LCBHU during 1909/10 and remained so until 1932. The dearth of information after 1932 is discussed later but it worth stating that the non-reference to other children's teetotal organisations does not imply that they were not involved in Band of Hope work, only that they were not affiliated to, in this instance, the LCBHU. Given the religious make-up of Preston this may prove to be significant when assessing overall Band of Hope work after 1932.

[34] UKBHU Annual Report, 1929/1930.

[35] UKBHU Annual Report for 1908/09 for example, indicated that 24 Band of Hope societies attached to the Warrington District Union and 18 IOR societies in Warrington were affiliated to the LCBHU. From 1910/11 Salford, Sheffield (Yorkshire), and Stockport reported that branch societies of either the IOR or the Sons of Temperance were in affiliation to the LCBHU.

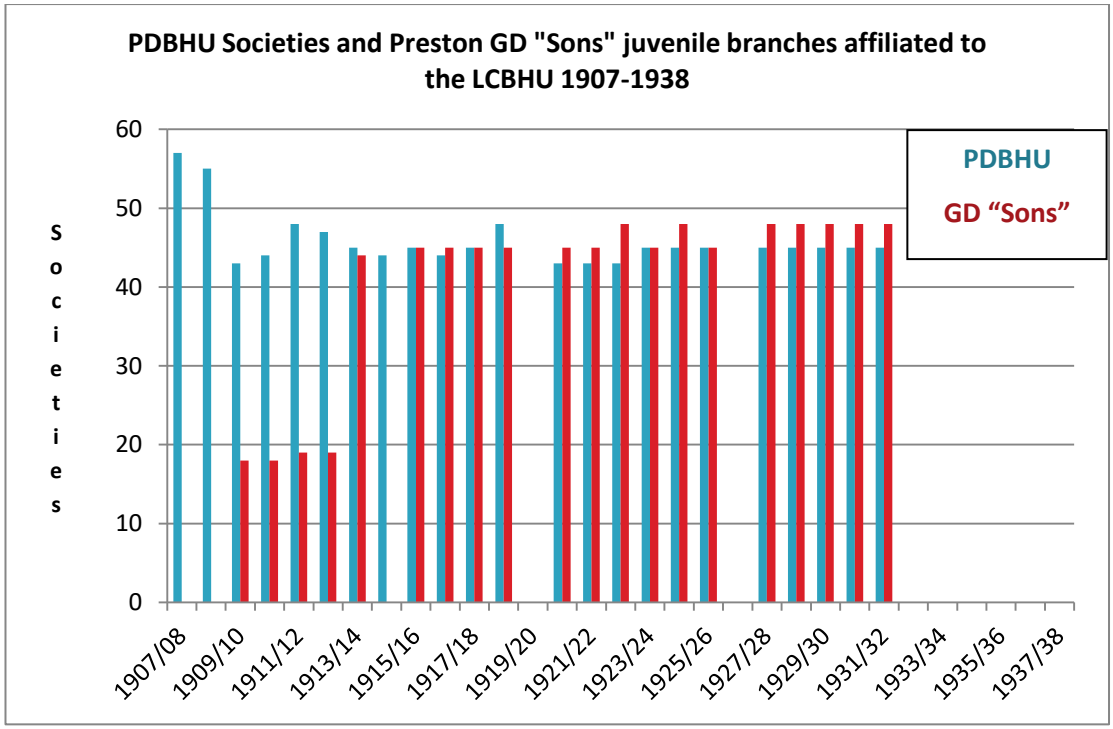

Figure 8 Preston Band of Hope Union and Preston GD "Sons" juvenile societies affiliated to the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, 1907-1938.
Source: UKBHU Annual Reports.

From the above chart, which shows that during the years after 1932 when no PDBHU district societies or GD "Sons" branches are recorded, available LCBHU reports indicate that in 1933,1934, 1935 and 1938, 30 Preston district IOR juvenile societies were included in the LCBHU data, due to this branch having become affiliated to the LCBHU during 1933.[36] The IOR numbers are not included in the above chart, the main purpose of which is to emphasise the lack of input from the PDBHU and GD "Sons" from the end of 1932. The question now raised is what do these statistics offer the researcher in relation to the regional LCBHU and the PDBHU during this period?

[36] LCBHU Annual Reports, Lancashire Archives, years ending 1933, 47, year ending 1835, 49. Also LCBHU Annual Reports, Livesey Collection, years ending 1934 and 1938, 43 in both reports. LCBHU Minute Book, year ending 1933, Manchester Central Library Special Collections, 108, confirmed at a LCBHU Executive meeting held on 8 December 1933 that the Preston IOR branch had affiliated to the LCBHU. No figures were given for the PDBHU in the annual reports for the years 1919/20 and 1926/27 but as the numbers appeared to be stable at this time this may have been because statistics were submitted late, or not submitted at all, by the secretary of the Preston Union.

Analysis of the data 1

The numerical data upon which the above chart is based indicates that the societies affiliated to the PDBHU numbered 57 in 1907/08, 55 in 1908/09, but dropped to 43 in 1909/10. In the latter year 18 GD "Sons" societies were added to those societies in Preston that were affiliated to the LCBHU. (A few other districts, as mentioned on page 191 also recorded their numbers for kindred organisations and their Band of Hope Union separately.) The inclusion of the GD "Sons" in the data for Preston coincides with a fall in the PDBHU societies numbers which suggests that these had to that point been recorded jointly, with a decision being made (for reasons unknown) to record them separately from 1910. Interestingly the number of GD "Sons" societies affiliated to the LCBHU doubled in 1913/14 prompted no doubt by the commencement of the war. Arguably, the distress of war and economic difficulties turned working class families towards friendly societies to offer them some security and teetotal families who chose a temperance friendly society would likely enrol their children in the juvenile sections of such societies. This view is substantiated by the IOR's claim in 1917 that it had gained 75,000 new members, including juvenile members, in the two years since its last meeting (1915).[37]

The evidence provided above poses some questions and a clearer analysis is possible by including the following chart which presents statistics for the LCHBU over a shorter period that than offered in Figure 7 (page 184). The chart highlights a changing situation in the affiliations to the LCBHU in which Preston played a part.

[37] *Manchester Guardian,* 7 August 1917.

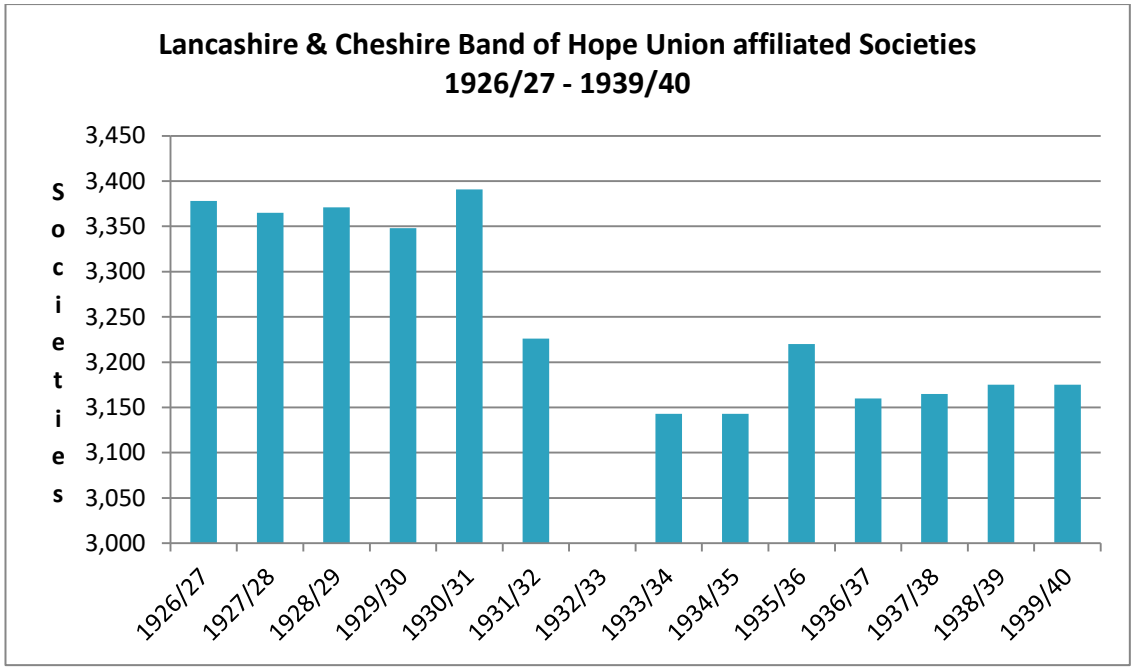

Figure 9 Lancashire and Cheshire affiliated societies, 1926-1940.
Source: UKBHU Annual Reports.

Band of Hope Work: Continuity and change

Statistical data for the year 1932-33 is missing from the records, but arguably, Preston's part in the reduced number of affiliates societies being reported to the LCBHU, and thus to the main UKBHU, from 1933, is due to the lack of input from the PDBHU and the Preston GD "Sons". This alone would have reduced the number of affiliated societies reporting to the LCBHU by 93 (45 PDBHU and 48 Preston GD "Sons") from the year 1933/1934 and forwards records. The fact that LCBHU society numbers were lower in 1931/1932 compared to 1930/1931 suggests that a number of other district unions affiliated to the LCBHU did not submit details for that year. Where Preston differed from other localities lies in the fact that the PDBHU did not input any further data until 1939 (the GD "Sons" not at all) during the remaining period covered by the thesis. Evidence which throws light on the reasons for the lack of data from the PDBHU and the GD "Sons" will be presented later although local press evidence indicates that the GD "Sons" juvenile sections remained active in the Preston district during the remainder of the decade. In the meantime the thesis will focus attention on whether the situation in Preston related in any way to the town's religious make-up or its importance in temperance history.

Preston in context within the LCBHU

The changing situation in Preston reflected, but to a lesser degree, what had begun to take place in other societies associated with the LCBHU, from 1930, as the following report reveals:-

> Some of the local associations are passing through very difficult times and a good deal of revival, strengthening and organising work has been and is still having to be done. In the past twelve months, amalgamations took place of the Bolton Wesleyan BH Union with the Bolton Temperance Union and of the Morecambe BH Union with the Lancaster and District Union... [38]

In some respects one could argue that the Band of Hope became a victim of its previous success. It reported that its contribution to social advancement during its history had resulted in diminishing drunkenness, reduced crime and improvements in working-class homes and portrayed the view that increased sobriety lay at the root of these improvements.[39] This may have led many who supported the movement to consider that the Band of Hope had done its work. As Robert Tayler stated, "There was not so much obvious drunkenness in the street, and this gave to people a false sense of security. They began to imagine that the victory had been won."[40]

What is clear is that during the years leading up to 1932 the Band of Hope maintained its impetus throughout the country because it had welcomed the growing number of agencies whose aim was to promote the development of greater citizenship, many of which had links to Sunday schools. Historical opinion does differ to a degree. The introduction included Shiman's view that 1914 saw the beginning of the end for most temperance societies.[41] However, and the thesis does emphasise this point, Band of Hope work was supported by those not necessarily driven to promote teetotal values in adults. Yes, numerically Band of Hope numbers reached a plateau during the 1920s and never again reached the peak achieved in the first decade of the twentieth century, but membership remained above 3,000,000 throughout that period.[42]

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[38] LCBHU, 67th Annual Report, year ending 31 December 1930, 8.
[39] UKBHU Annual Report, 1930/1931, 5.
[40] R Tayler, *The Hope of the Race*, Hope Press (1946), 59.
[41] L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink,* 243.
[42] UKBHU reports to 1926 indicate that national membership never fell below 3,000,000 and was actually increasing the year the reports cease to be available. LCBHU reports indicate that society affiliations continued steady until at least 1932.

The Band of Hope, and other children's organisations, also had to cope with the lure of other attractions that engaged the minds of children and young people. Gone were the days when, and one disputed this earlier (page 91), Robert Roberts could assert that the Band of Hope was the only entertainment offered to children.[43] The effort of having to manage the impact of counter attractions led to an emerging realisation that Band of Hope membership within the Sunday school was diminishing as Sunday schools themselves sought to maintain children's (and adult) interest in what they had to offer. Evidence that the Sunday school did not want to lose its association with the Band of Hope is revealed by a 1932 report that the Lancashire Association of Sunday School Unions was discussing how it could revive its own Band of Hope work:-

> …In many districts they (Band of Hope) seem to have been pushed aside by the multiplicity of week-night auxiliaries associated with most churches and Sunday schools in these days. Scouts, Guides, Cubs, PSA, Brotherhood, Men's Institutes, Mothers' quiet Hours, Christian Endeavour, GFS, League of Pity, Young Folks' Alliance, cricket, football and tennis clubs, and other organisations are all doing excellent and necessary work. In some districts the Band of Hope is still supreme (one hears of gatherings averaging 900 children in one county area), but in too many others the Band of Hope is disbanded or lapsed... [44]

Interestingly, the above reveals that it was the Sunday school that was expressing its concern that Band of Hope work should not suffer as a result of other church associated activities. This is a reminder that many church members, and no doubt this number included those who were organisers of the activities arranged through the church, advocated teetotal values. The desire of these members would be for the Band of Hope to remain viable to help instil teetotal acceptance within these other groups. Another facet to take into account is that the remarks identify the continuing fluid nature of the Band of Hope operation where in some areas the movement continued to thrive, whilst in others interest had fallen away. As a sign of concern, the Band of Hope itself again made a direct appeal to all churches asking them to reassert their connection with the Band of Hope and actively promote temperance teaching.[45]

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[43] R Roberts, *The Classic Slum,* Manchester University Press (1971), 152.
[44] *Preston Guardian*, 12 November 1932.
[45] UKBHU Annual Report, 1931/1932, 5-8.

The Lancashire Association of Sunday School Unions was discussing its Bands of Hope in the same years (1932) that the Centenary of the Temperance Movement took place. The Band of Hope sprang out of the push for a teetotal advocacy in adults and Joseph Livesey was instrumental in proposing the adoption of a teetotal pledge by the Preston Temperance Society in 1832, an event which helped to give Preston its prominence in temperance history. When the centenary of the temperance movement took place in 1932, Preston was at the heart of the national celebrations. The festivities included celebrating 'the Seven Men of Preston', and the centenary culminated in a service held in Westminster Abbey on the 22nd October 1932.[46] Whilst this is a further pointer to the view that temperance advocacy still maintained some authority, more important to consider is how the PDBHU would use such a golden opportunity not only to assist the planned festivities but importantly, to promote Band of Hope work in the town. For seven weeks in 1932 Preston became 'the mecca of the temperance world' with the town being visited by hundreds of temperance advocates from all over the country.[47] During this period, all the main church sects held commemorative temperance services to celebrate the 'Seven Men of Preston'.[48] A feature of one of the services was:-

> the calling of the roll of the seven men who signed the first corporate pledge and the seven missionaries who carried the gospel of teetotalism around Lancashire. Responses to each name will be made by a young member of the Good Templars, Rechabites Band of Hope, Temperance Cadets, BWTAU and the Preston Temperance Society, and to the second seven by young people from the Sunday schools, Boys Brigade, Scouts, Girl Guides, Christian Endeavours, elementary schools and Salvation Army.[49]

The selection of young people from a multiplicity of organisations highlights the importance attached to temperance in the town as it involved all those associations that supported Band of Hope work as well those attached to Sunday schools and other societies aimed at young people. One recognises that not all children's organisations required a pledge of teetotalism from its members although the Girls Life Brigade had a promise to abstain from intoxicating drink as the first clause in its pledge. The Boy

[46] *Preston Guardian*, 3 September 1932.
[47] *Preston Guardian,* 3 September 1931.
[48] The 'Seven Men of Preston' referred to those who had joined Joseph Livesey in signing a teetotal pledge which he had proposed at a meeting of the Preston Temperance Society in September 1832.
[49] *Preston Guardian*, 3 September 1932.

Scouts and Girls Guides movement advised, but did not require young people to abstain.[50] Arguably, the temperance festivities again reminded Band of Hope workers that young people had a choice of organisations that vied for their attention. An invitation to those children, who had joined groups that were not yet committed to teetotalism to join in the temperance celebrations, raised the prospect of encouraging them to become pledged abstainers and thus swell the ranks of Preston's Band of Hope operation. On the contrary however, numerical evidence suggests that this did not happen and the PDBHU suffered a decline in fortune following the celebrations. As this merits further investigation, one questions firstly, whether population changes played a part. To address this issue, a comparative analysis was carried out for the year 1927 which was then compared to the year 1933 to establish whether the situation regarding the PDBHU mirrored that of Blackburn and Bolton, towns which also had district unions affiliated to the LCBHU.

The population of children between the ages of 5 to 14 for the three towns was taken from the census years, 1911, 1921 and 1931, (no census being available for 1941) indicated in Table 2 below:

[50] J S Garwood, *The Story of the Great Crusade,* National Juvenile Templar Council, (19-- exact year not known), 33, Livesey Collection. This states that the advice given by Baden Powell was for scouts to "Keep off liquor from the very first and make up your mind to have nothing to do with it."

Lancashire Census	Blackburn	Bolton	Preston
1911 ages of children			
5 & under 10	11,936	17,670	11,830
10 & under 15	11,918	17,647	11,333
1921 ages of children			
5 to 9	10,213	15,240	10,310
10 to 14	11,497	16,771	11,169
1931 ages of children			
5 to 9	8,648	13,501	9,822
10 to 14	8,006	12,960	9,180

Table 2 Lancashire Census showing child population ages 5-14, 1911, 1921 and 1931 in Blackburn, Bolton and Preston.
Source: Lancashire Archives, Bow Lane, Preston.

The census figures reveal that over the three periods Blackburn and Preston had similar population figures and that Bolton had almost a fifty per cent higher number of children. There was a drop in 1931 for all three towns, more significantly in Bolton between 1921 and 1931, but the overall trend was that Bolton still had more children than Blackburn or Preston. The fall in child population that had occurred in Preston by 1931 does not, in one's view, account for the lack of data relating to Band of Hope work in Preston from 1932.

Secondly, the exercise involved using data obtained from LCBHU Annual Reports to record the number of all juvenile teetotal societies that were affiliated to the LCBHU in the three towns for the selected years of 1927 and 1933.

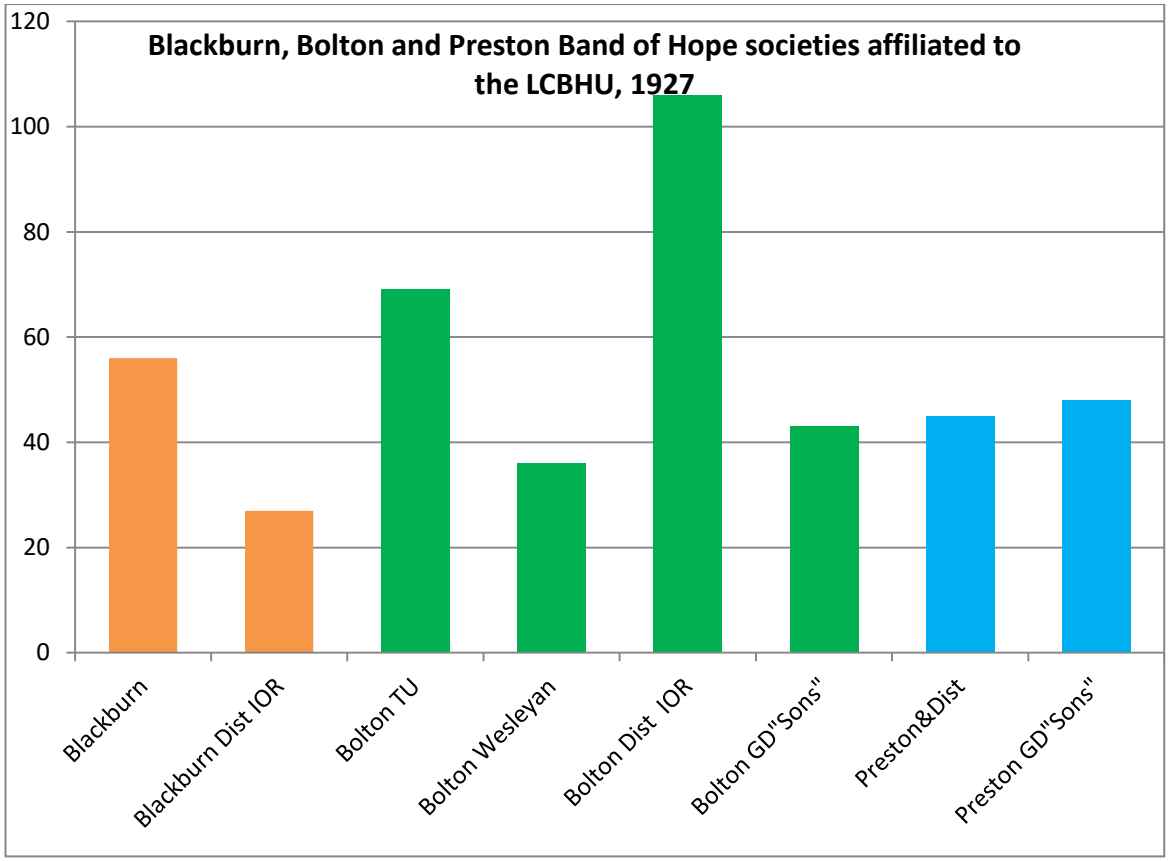

Figure 10 Blackburn, Bolton and Preston Band of Hope affiliated societies, 1927.
Source: LCBHU Annual Reports 1927-1938.

This data identifies that the total number of affiliated societies in the Bolton area was greater, reflecting a town with a higher number of children living in the area and in line with numbers recorded in previous years in the United Kingdom Annual Reports. For the selected year 1933, the data below shows a marked difference from 1927.
This data below reveals that by the year 1933 there are no numbers recorded for Bolton Wesleyan, the Preston and District Union and the Preston GD "Sons", otherwise there are no other significant changes. In the case of Bolton Wesleyan societies, these societies had amalgamated into the Bolton Temperance Union, which explains why they did not appear in the figures for 1933.[51] This might have resulted from the lower number of children living in Bolton by 1931 than had been the case in 1921.

[51] LCBHU, 67th Annual Report, year ending 31 December 1930, 8. This report indicated that in the past twelve months amalgamations took place of the Bolton Wesleyan Band of Hope Union with the Bolton Temperance Union.

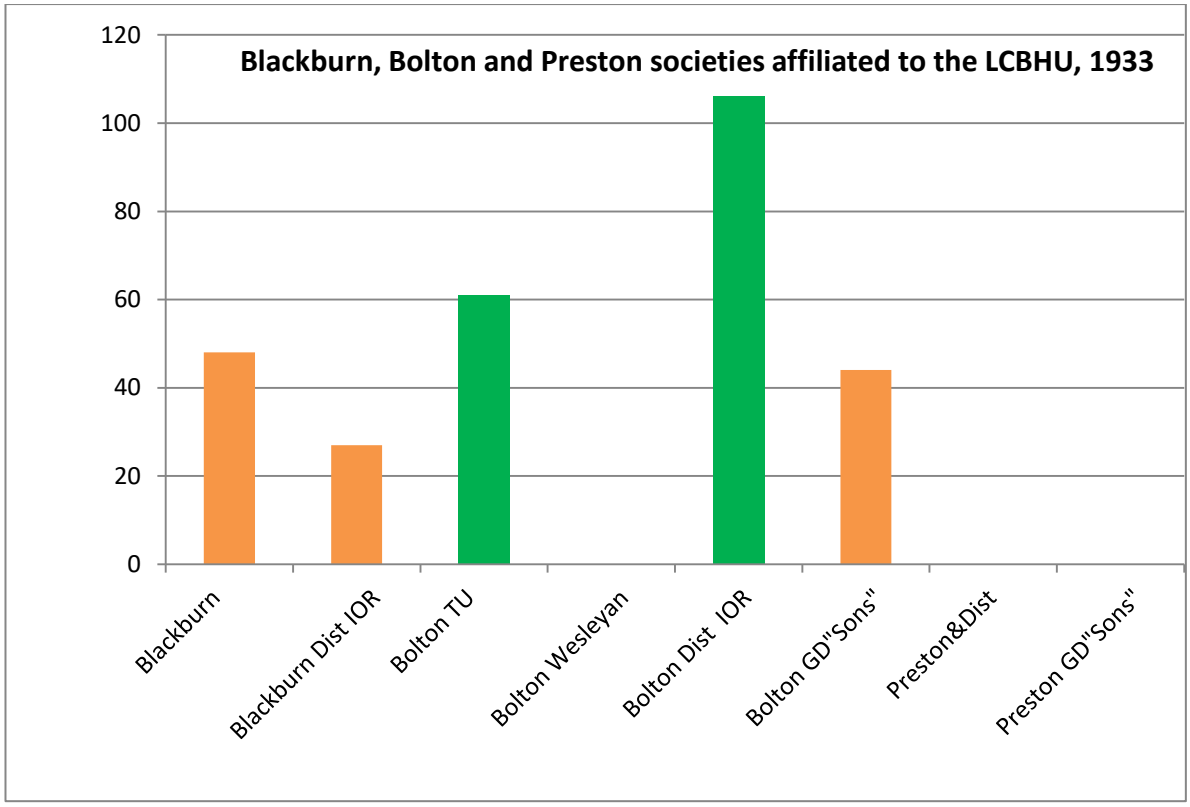

Figure 11 Blackburn, Bolton and Preston Band of Hope affiliated societies, 1933.
Source: LCBHU Annual Reports 1927-1938.

The charts serve to emphasize the changed circumstances of Band of Hope work in Preston from 1933 and a revisit to the data included in Table 2 confirms that this was not the result of any sudden collapse in the child population of Preston. Further investigation is therefore required.

Preston's role within the Band of Hope, 1933 to 1939

Statistical data suggests that from 1933 to the end of 1939 the PDBHU ceased operating. In acknowledging the earlier mention that data alone does not always present an accurate view of events, that something significant occurred in Preston appeared in a newspaper report in May 1939 which stated that, "a few years ago the PDBHU passed out of existence..."[52] The non-submission of reports from Preston suggests that this occurred as early as 1933. One argues that it is extraordinary that the PDBHU should cease to exist one year after the town had been the focus of the temperance centenary celebrations, a situation which actually lasted until the end of

[52] *Preston Guardian*, 20 May 1939.

1938. If this was the case then one needs to 1) investigate the circumstances that led to this state of affairs occurring and 2) consider the extent to which this reflected the wider Band of Hope movement during the remaining years of the 1930s.

Preston – non-operation of the PDBHU

Following the 1932 temperance celebrations in Preston, there was no reference to the PDBHU until November 1933 when the local press reported, "Preston Band of Hope Union revived - At a meeting on Thursday night it was decided to re-establish the Preston and District Band of Hope Union..." The meeting was chaired by Dr F W Collinson, who had been appointed a Vice-President of the LCBHU in 1932.[53] Arguably, the representation of Dr Collinson at the meeting reflected the LCBHU's keenness to re-establish a connection with the Preston Band of Hope operation, because of the town's long association with temperance and the teetotal cause. The LCBHU in fact corroborated the newspaper report in minutes which indicated that:

> Appreciation was expressed at the conference held in Preston on 9 November (1933) when some 35 churches, schools and societies were represented and at which a decision to form a Preston and District Band of Hope Union was heartily adopted.[54]

One's view is that as the Preston Band of Hope Union was formed in the nineteenth century, the use of the word 'form' is likely due to an error in the minutes, where the word 'reform' ought to have been used. Any suggestion that the word 'form' was used intentionally to portray a union that disassociated itself from the past would, arguably, be incorrect. The intention was to revive in Preston a Band of Hope union that would "link up the churches and other organisations to create a band of advocates which would exert an influence for the good on young people."[55] At the same time, no evidence was forthcoming from the LCBHU to explain what had happened to the PDBHU towards the end of 1932 prior to it receiving mention in November 1933. This may have been due to the LCBHU giving concentration at that time to the celebration of the county union's seventieth anniversary celebrations, which took place in April 1933.[56] What is clear is that the reformed union's purpose was to utilise the services of all religious and secular bodies in promoting Band of Hope work in Preston and shows

[53] *Preston Guardian*, 11 November 1933.
[54] LCBHU Executive Meeting held 8 December 1933, LCBHU Minute Book, 108
[55] *Preston Guardian*, 11 November 1933.
[56] LCBHU Meeting Minutes, 1933.

a determination on the part of the LCBHU to maintain a connection with Preston's churches.

In relation to the above point, the lack of evidence relating to the PDBHU does not imply that individual Band of Hope Societies operating in Preston were inactive. Before the decision to reform the Preston Union took place in late 1933, support for the Band of Hope continued. This included the Church of England revealed by a concert being given by the Ashton-on-Ribble St. Michael and All Angels Sunday school in aid of the Bray Street Band of Hope. [57] This confirms one's view that the non-denominational stance of the Band of Hope, coupled with Preston's lack of overriding religious hegemony, encouraged co-operation between religious communities in the town to take place in order to support teetotal advocacy in children. Furthermore, the regard for Preston's association with teetotal values is also detected by the inaugural meeting of the reformed (but as will be shown, short-lived) PDBHU, which took place in March 1934, being attended by both the Mayor of Preston and the chairman of the LCBHU.[58] Despite these efforts however, the only other instance when the PDBHU was mentioned directly again, prior to 1938/1939, is in October 1934 when a citizen's welfare exhibition to promote temperance teaching was arranged by the British Temperance League which was said to be done in conjunction with the PDBHU.[59]

In a town considered so relevant to temperance history, the dearth of information regarding the PDBHU during the period from 1934 to 1939 is truly remarkable. What is clear is that Band of Hope work continued as mentioned above and the LCBHU also reported that scientific temperance teaching continued in Preston throughout that period.[60]

Before theorising on the reasons for the apparent collapse of the PDBHU after 1934, a situation that remained until the LCBHU took steps to resuscitate it in December 1938, the thesis will consider whether it was possible for the popularity of other children's groups to be responsible for the rupture in the PDBHU operation. The abundance of

[57] *Preston Guardian,* 28 January 1933.
[58] *Preston Guardian*, 17 March 1934.
[59] *Preston Guardian*, 13 October 1934.
[60] LCBHU Annual Reports, 1927, 30; 1928, 23; 1929, 23; 1930, 23; 1931, 23; 1932, 19; 1933, 21; 1934, 17; l935, 27; 1937, 18; 1938, 21.

other children's and juvenile groups, such a Scouts, Brigades and Guides, were recognised as potential competition to the Band of Hope but arguably, given their association with churches, not to the extent that they would cause the downfall of a Band of Hope district union. The provision of Boys' Clubs in Preston received wide local press attention from 1933 and it is worth briefly assessing whether these could have had an impact on the PDBHU operation from 1934 onwards.

Boys' Clubs

The Boys' Club movement, initiated during the late nineteenth century, surpassed the Scouts and Boys Brigade in "providing a focus for the 'rougher', most difficult to handle, working-class lads."[61] The movement gained prominence in Preston during the 1930s with the establishment of a boys' club (aimed at boys between 14 and 18) in Avenham Street, Preston, in 1933 under the auspices of the Lancashire Association of Boys' Clubs, founded in 1925.[62] The club, supported by voluntary subscription and through appeals to the public, received the attention of several Preston dignitaries including the Mayor and the Chief Constable of Preston, and of Lord Clanfield, appointed president of the Lancashire Association of Boys' Clubs in 1934.[63] The aim of Boys' Clubs was similar to the Band of Hope, in wanting to train young people to become productive citizens. One area where they differed was that Boys' Clubs lacked any mention of temperance or teetotalism. This does not mean that the clubs advocated alcohol, nor does it infer that teetotalism did not exist among the members, but that the focus was not on temperance. They are included in the thesis to establish the likelihood of them influencing older members of Bands of Hope (membership of which extended to sixteen), to move away from the Band of Hope whose intention was that members would keep their association with teetotalism and join an adult temperance society.

Local press coverage of the work of boys' clubs (and to a lesser extent that of girls' clubs) continued during the remaining years of the 1930s. Arguably, for a number of

[61] M Tebbutt, *Being Boys, Youth Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War years,* Manchester University Press, (2012), 48. Chapters one and two of this publication provide a more extensive discussion of the role of Boys Clubs.
[62] *Preston Guardian*, 27 October 1934. Also *Preston Guardian*, 10 February 1934.
[63] *Preston Guardian*, 2 February 1935.

reasons, boys' clubs alone did not account for the lack of a functioning PDBHU from 1934 to 1939. Lord Clanfield, in speaking of Preston remarked that for a town the size of Preston, there were far more youths outside the boys' clubs than in them. His view was that if all the boys living in Preston between the ages of 14-18 could be persuaded to attend a boys' club, there would be a need for far more clubs to accommodate them.[64] His remarks suggest that attendance at Boys' Clubs was disappointing in relation to the total population of youths in Preston which suggests that they did not affect the operation of the PDBHU.

If one takes into consideration Boys' Clubs operating in Lancashire, union reports for Boys' Clubs, when compared to Band of Hope membership in the LCBHU, indicate that during 1930 membership of the LCBHU was far larger than that of the boy's clubs. It is worth mentioning that national boys' club membership was reputed to have almost doubled in ten years.[65] On the other hand, Band of Hope membership was gradually reducing. Nevertheless, boys clubs did not pose a direct threat to the Band of Hope and they did not attract sufficient numbers to be detrimental to Band of Hope work.

In ruling out Boys' Clubs, consideration is now given to whether statistical evidence can reveal how far the temperance community in Preston contributed to Band of Hope work during the demise of the PDBHU, and whether the data will serve to place Preston in context with other areas covered by the LCBHU.

Presentation of data – LCBHU affiliated societies

The PDBHU was affiliated to the larger regional union which in turn was part of the national Band of Hope enterprise. For clarity of purpose, the charts presented below relate to the period from 1927 to 1940. These are separated into two sections, from 1927-1932 and 1933-1940, as it was in the years 1932/1933 that the PDBHU reached a turning point in its history.

[64] *Preston Guardian*, 29 February 1936.
[65] M Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, 82/83. Membership of Boys' Clubs in 1938 stood at around 143,000 boys aged between 14 and 18. Also UKBHU Annual Reports, 1930/1931 which state that at regional level, for that year the LCBHU recorded a membership of 496,300. For the year 1937/1938, societies totalled 3,165 but no membership numbers are available. A fair estimate is that during the period from 1931 to 1939 LCBHU society levels hovered around the 1937/1938 total.

Appendix 9 documents the number of societies recorded as affiliated to district unions within the LCBHU for the period from 1927 to 1940, excepting the years 1936 and 1937, which are missing.[66] When analysed these numbers show that despite the apprehension expressed at the parlous state of the PDBHU, 30 societies that belonged to the Preston branch of the IOR became affiliated to the LCBHU from 1933 to 1939, with an increase to 32 recorded for 1940. Taking these societies into account actually places the Preston area among the top ten of localities with the highest number of societies affiliated to the LCBHU during this period. One emphasises that the data is based on all societies that were affiliated to the LCBHU in the particular area, which would include those reporting to a district union and those attached to a kindred organisation such as teetotal friendly societies.

Analysis of data relating to the LCBHU for the period from 1927 to 1932 indicates the following:

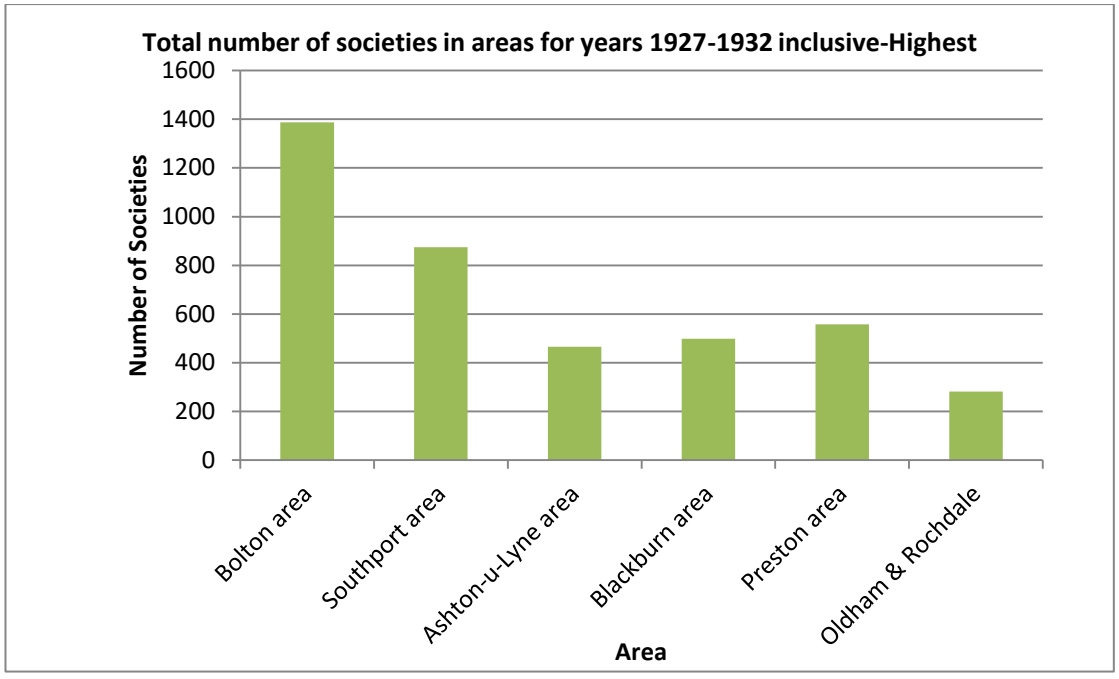

Figure 12 Total number of affiliated societies in areas of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1827-1932.

Analysis of data relating to the LCBHU for the period from 1933 to 1940 indicates the following:

[66] The statistics are compiled from information contained in UKBHU Annual Reports and from LCBHU Annual Reports.

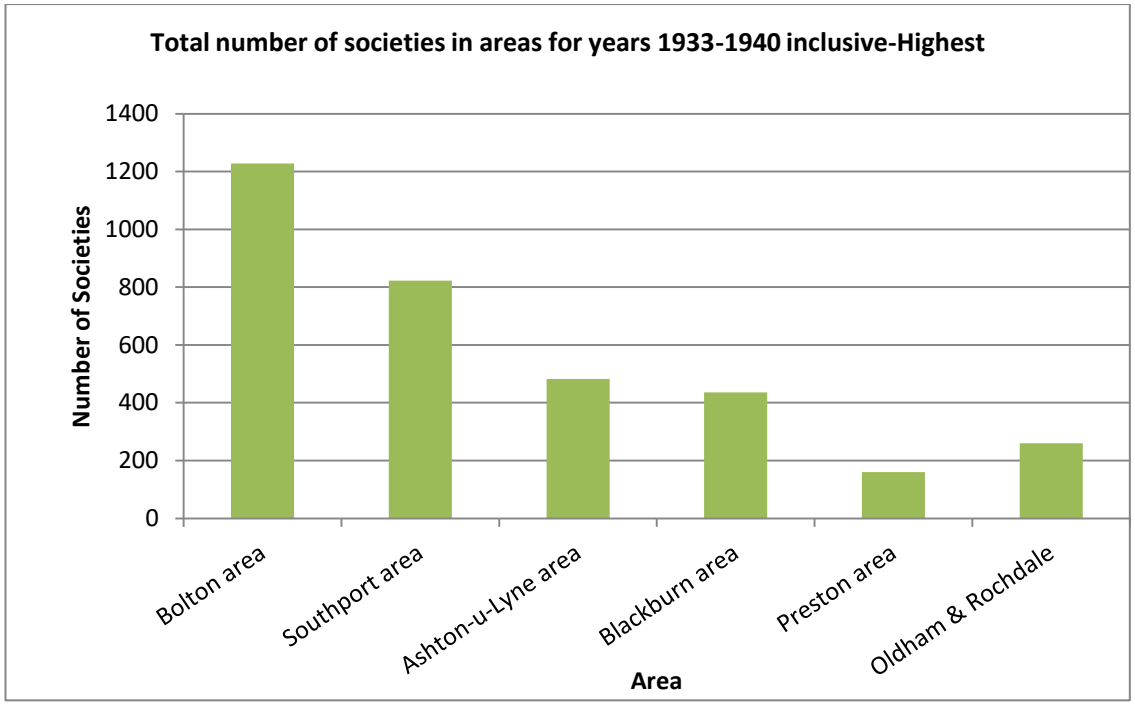

Figure 13 Total number of affiliated societies in Lancashire and Cheshire areas, 1933-1940.

Analysis of data relating to the LCBHU for the whole period from 1927 to 1940 indicates the following:

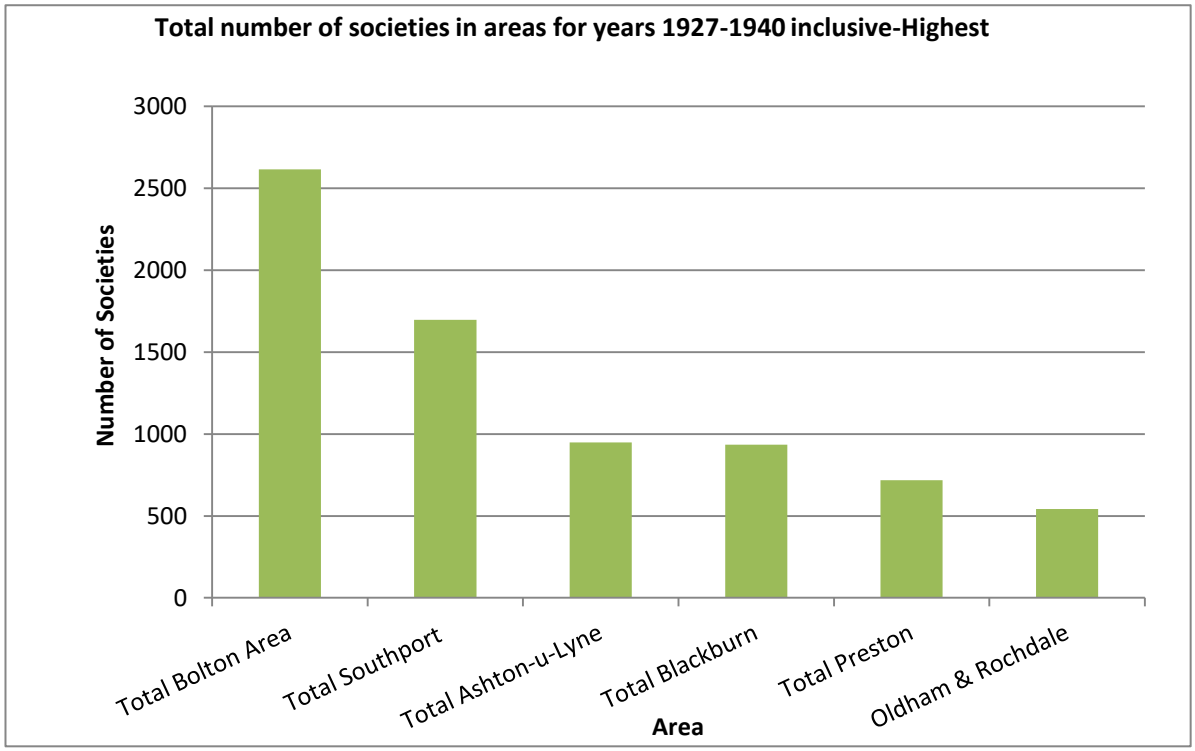

Figure 14 Total number of affiliated societies in Lancashire and Cheshire areas, 1927-1940.

Source for figures 12, 13 and 14 are compiled from information contained in UKBHU Annual Reports and from LCBHU Annual Reports.

Analysis of the data 2

The above charts reveal that within the areas covered by the data, there was a gradual increase in the number of kindred organisations becoming affiliated to the LCBHU during the interwar years. In conjunction with Appendix 9, the indications are that in those areas where a consistently higher number of affiliated societies were recorded, Ashton under Lyne, Bolton, Oldham and Rochdale, and Southport, this was due to there being a significant number of temperance friendly societies affiliated to the LCBHU. One area that went against this trend was Blackburn where the number of IOR societies was lower than those of the Blackburn Band of Hope Union. It will be recalled that Blackburn was one area where Gospel Temperance was made popular through the efforts of Mrs Lewis, (Mrs Lewis' teetotal mission is mentioned in chapter five), and the legacy of her work, especially her connection with the Band of Hope, could arguably account for the continuing stability of the Blackburn union at this time.

As far as the Preston area is concerned, the data reveals that for the period from 1927 to 1940, Preston had the fifth largest number of societies reporting to the LCBHU, but importantly, one recognises that from 1933 to 1940 Preston's connection to the LCBHU was through the Preston branch societies of the IOR. At the same time, Band of Hope workers remained active in Preston and maintained a connection with the LCBHU. F W True represented Preston at the LCBHU Autumnal meeting in 1935 and 1936, and the latter meeting was also attended by E B Whittall of the Preston District IOR.[67] Interestingly F W True was also the District Superintended of the IOR. This reveals the nuances of the Band of Hope support network in that individual teetotal advocates might often be associated with more than one temperance organisation. Personalities such as E B Whittall, an IOR member also had Nonconformist church connections. It was this fluidity that allowed co-operation between the various groups that supported teetotal advocacy to be maintained at this time of apparent crisis in the PDBHU operation. Recognition of the reliance on the support of kindred organisations such as teetotal friendly societies in order to maintain Band of Hope influence raises a further issue. Minute books of the LCBHU and local newspapers, which recorded Band

[67] LCBHU Minute Book, Autumnal General Committee, 5 October 1935, 238. Also LCBHU Minute Books, Annual General Meeting 29 January 1936, 269.

of Hope activities, point to a movement that, from around 1933, could no longer rely on the Sunday school to exert the same impact on children's lives as it had done in the past.

In order to understand why this might be the case, one has to take into account that the inter-war years did not ultimately bring the prosperity that many had hoped for, rather the reverse. This became more apparent as the 1930s approached and, together with innovative entertainments now on offer, contributed to a falling away of religious influence, which affected Sunday schools, and by association, the Band of Hope. However, writing in 1946, Robert Tayler claimed that the decline in religious and moral influences that impacted upon the Band of Hope occurred from the turn of the century. [68] To what extent does Tayler's view carry legitimacy?

The First World War of 1914-1918 affected church attendance and Sunday school numbers, which had been growing, but to a lesser degree prior to 1914, were now reducing. During the inter-war years the overall number of Sunday school scholars and teachers fell.[69] Whilst there had also been a fall in the birth rate, the Church and Sunday schools recognised there was a need to make their own establishments more attractive.[70] Evidence presented earlier in the chapter referred to the multiplicity of activities being offered through church organisations by 1932.[71] However, in testing the veracity of Tayler's assertion above, one argues that any weakening in the influence of Band of Hope work, including Preston, only became significant after 1932, rather than in the preceding decades of the twentieth century. One accepts that there was growing concern being expressed from around 1930, and before the Temperance Centenary celebrations in 1932, that the movement was beginning to lose the influence it had previously enjoyed. Nevertheless, one argues that the Band of Hope managed to maintain its influence for much of the inter-war period through the continuance of temperance teaching in schools and with the support of kindred

[68] R Tayler, *The Hope of the Race,* 57. Tayler's work is taken to imply that Band of Hope work was affected by the reducing moral and spiritual character of the nation and that this began at the turn of the twentieth century.
[69] P Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement*, 215.
[70] P Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement,* 215.
[71] *Preston Guardian*, 12 November 1932.

organisations.[72] In answering Tayler's claim therefore, any impact on the Band of Hope as a result of the moral or spiritual decline in the nation, did not occur at the turn of the century but only during the inter-war years, and more so during the 1930s.

It was during the 1930s that one finds evidence that the Band of Hope was a movement that increasingly had to bolster its appeal in an effort to contain its membership which, in some areas was drifting away. The LCBHU paid tribute to the good work done by other children's groups but underlined that they were not teetotal specific. The Band of Hope on the other hand, highlighted its non-denominational stance that included all children of all classes, whether they followed a religious creed or not, thus emphasising its inclusive nature.[73] The Band of Hope realised that greater effort was required in order to attract youngsters who had greater freedom of choice in how they spent their leisure time.[74] The fluidity surrounding the Band of Hope operation as a whole during the 1930s is evidenced in a report in 1934 which indicated that whilst many local Band of Hope associations were very vigorous in their own areas, a great deal of revival work was required in others.[75]

It is somewhat ironic that the ability of young people to choose how to spend their leisure time also led the brewing industry to adapt its methods in order to entice people to drink. During 1933, there were reports from several districts in Lancashire, supported by views expressed in UKBHU annual reports, that drunkenness was reducing. At local level, and to explain the brewers' desire for action, a February 1933 issue of the *Preston Guardian* referred to 'sober Preston', and reported that in Kirkham, Garstang, Blackpool, Chorley and Blackburn, there were fewer arrests for drunkenness than there had been in recent years.[76] Arguably this prompted the brewing industry in 1933 to begin a campaign to induce more young people to drink

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[72] *The Band of Hope Manual*, Methodist Church Department of Christian Citizenship, Lambeth Palace Library, (194? - year is not given), 3.This stated that the Band of Hope was far more than a juvenile temperance society, it was involved in "the education of the young in the principle of total abstinence..."

[73] LCBHU Annual Report December 1930, 10-13. The report stated that as good as groups such as Scouts, Brigades, Guides, Guilds and leagues were, they could not replace the Band of Hope and Junior Temperance work which pledged teetotalism.

[74] LCBHU Annual Report, December 1930, 10. These included the better education of children and the use of short, sharp programmes, proper enrolment of members and the regular conduct of societies.

[75] LCBHU Annual Report, December 1934, 6.

[76] *Preston Guardian*, 11 February 1933.

alcohol. Such action supported the attempt to revive the PDBHU in November 1933, referred to on page 202, when W Chandos Wilson, secretary of the LCBHU stated that to counteract brewers' attempts to lead young people to drinking alcohol, "there should be revived in Preston the Band of Hope Union…"[77] In the event one reiterates that the reformed union only survived until the Autumn of 1934. This leads the discussion to consider the Band of Hope operation in Preston from 1934 to the end of the decade in an effort to shed light on the circumstances that surrounded the PDBHU during this period.

Preston: 1934 to the re-establishment of the PDBHU

Attempts had been made to resuscitate the PDBHU in 1933, but no recorded evidence of any union activity is extant after October 1934. Confirmation that the PDBHU did not function after 1934 only became known through a statement made in 1939, which revealed, "…so much did interest flag that a few years ago the Preston and District Band of Hope Union passed out of existence." [78] The research has established that Band of Hope work did not disappear from Preston, evidenced by the efforts of individual societies, scientific temperance teaching in schools and the work of kindred organisations. The first evidence that relates to the restoration of the union (which thus confirms its demise) is a meeting held on 6 December 1938 arranged by the LCBHU, with the intention of reforming the Band of Hope organisation in Preston and District. Representatives from the Protestant churches were invited to attend with the expectation expressed that all church organisations would affiliate to the reformed organisation.[79]

Immediately it is clear that despite the view in some quarters that religious influence had diminished, the desire to reform the PDBHU was aimed at religious bodies in the town. Interestingly, although the PDBHU had until its demise been largely associated with Nonconformist churches, and the meeting was held in a Nonconformist school[80] the word Protestant applied to any Christian religion other than Roman Catholic, which

[77] *Preston Guardian*, 11 November 1933.
[78] *Preston Guardian,* 20 May 1939.
[79] *The Lancashire Daily Post*, 7 December 1938.
[80] *Lancashire Daily Post*, 7 December 1938, stated that the meeting took place in the Nonconformist Lune Street Methodist School.

managed its temperance work through the *League of the Cross.* One argues that this is where Preston's religious make-up comes into play. Whilst the Nonconformist churches were expected to support the newly reformed PDBHU the co-operation of the Church of England would have been welcomed, as, in a town with no overriding religious hegemony, the support of all Protestant bodies would assist the revitalisation of the PDBHU.[81]

Evidence taken from UKBHU and LCBHU annual reports suggest that at times when district unions experienced difficulties, the regional union would provide assistance by holding their seasonal meetings in that area to help stimulate flagging interest. It was for this reason that the LCBHU decided to hold its Spring group of meetings in Preston commencing 20 May 1939, "with a view to stimulating interest in the recently reformed PDBHU".[82] This confirms that the PDBHU did reform the previous December. W Chandos Wilson, LCBHU secretary, and the new secretary of the PDBHU Mr Clifford Hall, featured in a news article which described Mr Hall as "the youthful secretary of the newly formed Preston Union, (he was 28 years of age).[83] Such evidence suggests that the PDBHU was determined to succeed by appointing Mr Hall who, despite his youth, had gained experience by being secretary of the Chadderton and District Band of Hope prior to his appointment in Preston.[84] One now needs to determine whether the reformed PDBHU was successful.

The reformed PDBHU did achieve some success. Local press reports indicate that from December 1938 to 20 May 1939, 12 societies had become affiliated to the new Preston union with the hope expressed that following the LCBHU Spring meetings the outcome would result in a substantial increase.[85] There is some disparity in the number of affiliated societies. The LCBHU annual report for December 1939 recorded eight societies affiliated to the reformed PDBHU. The UKBHU annual report for 1939 gave no numbers, but as the report covered the period up to 31 March 1939, it is feasible that the submission of new affiliations to the PDBHU occurred after the deadline for

[81] CETS Band of Hope work received little mention in the local press and Lilian Shiman mentioned that CETS membership numbers had been difficult to identify. See L Shiman, *Crusade against Drink*, 248.
[82] *Preston Guardian*, 27 May 1939.
[83] *Preston Guardian*, 20 May 1939.
[84] *Preston Guardian,* 20 May 1939.
[85] *Preston Guardian*, 20 May 1939.

inclusion. In reporting 12 newly affiliated societies, the *Preston Guardian* may have been tending towards optimism by including societies likely to become affiliated, in order to boost the PDBHU at this time.[86] Nevertheless, for the first time since 1934 there is firm evidence that was PDBHU was once again a focus for Band of Hope work in Preston.

This chapter has used statistical evidence to show how the Band of Hope coped with the changes in society during the early decades of the twentieth century, which included a world war, followed by periods of economic uncertainty, as well as increasing leisure time and the availability of alternative activities offered to children. In focusing on Band of Hope work in Preston, an explanation of the circumstances surrounding the demise of the PDBHU during the 1930s has proved illusive and the chapter would not be complete without drawing some conclusions to why this was the case. Particularly why there is no evidence (that the research has been able to establish so far) to explain what happened to cause the PDBHU to disappear from the record for four years and to cause the GD "Sons" to cease reporting to the LCBHU after 1932.

Conclusion

Appendix 9 allows one to establish that the PDBHU's apparent collapse was unusual in relation to other district unions in Lancashire, which only makes it harder to comprehend why such a parlous situation occurred in Preston. Importantly, the union's difficulties became apparent in the year following the celebrations that had centred on Preston when the centenary of the temperance movement was celebrated. Why might this be significant?

The planning of civic events of the magnitude of the centenary celebrations demands time and attention and these can often cause tensions within the organising bodies. Was it simply that having expended energy (and money) in organising the event, the euphoria of celebrating the centenary in 1932, left Preston temperance workers with a feeling of anti-climax after the event which resulted in the secretary of the union

[86] A Hobbs, "Reading the local paper: Social and cultural functions of the local press in Preston, Lancashire, 1855-1900", PhD Thesis (2010), 153.

omitting to send a report to the LCBHU for the 1932/1933 year? This view is feasible as there was a change of secretary of the PDBHU at the end of 1933, when J Bradshaw was appointed in place of the Rev F S Button who had been in that post since at least 1930.[87] However, the LCBHU reports do not contain details of any of its affiliated unions for that period either, which explains the omission of Preston for that year (see Figure 7 page 184). The difference is that the LCBHU details continued to be presented from 1933/1934 onwards, whereas Preston provided no further details. Therefore, in recognising that personalities can have an impact on the operation of any organisation, one argues that the change of secretary was not responsible for the continuing omission of statistics from Preston over a period of several years.

A further possibility, and again this may be a consequence of stress issues arising from arranging the centenary celebrations, is that a breakdown occurred in relationships within the PDBHU that caused a rift within its management or membership. There is no evidence to suggest that such a rift had taken place, but one argues that any lack of evidence in this respect could have resulted from the PDBHU not wishing to make such a situation public knowledge. By the same token, had there been a collapse in relations between Preston and the LCBHU, which resulted in both PDBHU and the GD "Sons" not providing input to the regional union? If so, the likelihood again, is that the parties would not wish to publicise this fact. Had a breakdown in relations occurred, the evidence suggests that the GD "Sons" sided with the PDBHU on this occasion as, despite the lack of input from them, their juvenile societies remained active in Preston throughout the 1930s.

The situation is further complicated by the Preston IOR branch's decision to become affiliated to the LCBHU in 1933. Does this imply that there had been some rivalry between these two friendly societies which prevented both from being associated with the LCBHU at the same time? Or, was it the case that the Preston IOR joined the LCBHU to receive the benefits of association during a period when their services were increasingly being sought as a result of economic instability.

[87] LCBHU Annual Reports, years ending 1932, 46, and 1933, 47.

It is clear that the PDBHU did not function as a union after March 1934, and that this remained the case until the LCBHU took steps to resuscitate it in December 1938. The crux of the matter is that the lack of evidence means that one can only theorise rather than identify the causes. The answer one argues, relates to Preston's prominence in temperance history.

The words "Teetotal and Proud" used in the title of the thesis reflect Preston's prominent teetotal status, demonstrated in the statement that:

> "…one thing 'Proud Preston' ought to be really proud of was that it was the birthplace of total abstinence".[88]

The thesis has demonstrated that at times of difficulty the PDBHU showed reluctance to place on record the reasons for any lapses in its operation until a solution had been found. The varying fortunes that the PDBHU reportedly suffered during its first twenty-one years were never explained.[89] A similar difficulty occurred in the early 1890s when the secretary of a Band of Hope Society offered the sum of one pound from his society's funds if other affiliated societies would do likewise, to allow the Preston union to clear away the 'present difficulties'.[90] Unlike the times when there was ready acknowledgment of the occasions when the PDBHU was making progress, none of these difficulties were fully explained.

In the case of the collapse of the PDBHU from 1934, the only indication, apart from the lack of submissions to the LCBHBU, that something untoward had occurred, was when a meeting was arranged by the LCBHU to discuss the reforming of the union in December 1938.[91] At the Spring meeting of the LCBHU in Preston the following year it was reported that:-

> In the town which saw the birth of teetotalism, the task has been no easier than elsewhere, and indeed, so much did interest flag, that a few years ago the Preston and District Band of Hope Union passed out of existence. Last December it was set upon its feet once more, and this week-end a great effort is to be made to send it striding from strength to strength."[92]

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[88] *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertise,* 12 November 1887.
[89] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 12, (December 1887), 195.
[90] Preston *Onward,* No. 50, February, 1892, 323.
[91] *Lancashire Daily Post*, issue 16,176, 7 December 1938, 5.
[92] *Preston Guardian*, Saturday 20 May 1939.

One concludes that the lack of corroborative evidence of the cause of the breakdown of the PDBHU was occasioned by the continuing psyche of many Preston Band of Hope workers. The esteem granted to Preston in relation to its temperance history made it difficult for them to acknowledge the reasons that caused any perceived failings in the Preston Band of Hope operation until a solution was provided.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to consider how the Band of Hope movement operated in the town of Preston during the nineteenth and the first four decades of the twentieth centuries. The evidence presented in the thesis has identified that the Band of Hope in Preston was influenced by two aspects of Preston's history that distinguish the town from other similar sized urban conurbations. These features were Preston's distinctive religious make-up and Preston's prominence in temperance history.

Preston is prominent in temperance history as being the 'birthplace of teetotalism' but the Band of Hope movement did not commence in Preston, rather it began in Leeds. It is understandable therefore that Preston would be remembered far more for its prominence in the (adult) Temperance Movement, than for its involvement in the Band of Hope. Nevertheless a study of a children's teetotal organisation that operated in a town known especially for its temperance history would seem to be fairly straight-forward, but an indication that this might not be the case occurred early in the research.

A proposal to carry out an oral exercise was curtailed due to a poor response from Preston's population to an appeal for information on aspects of the Band of Hope remembered or experienced in the town. Several individuals who responded to the appeal indicated that they were aware that Preston was linked with teetotalism and all recognised the name and reputation of Joseph Livesey. None had heard of Thomas Walmsley who, one argues, was a leading light in the Band of Hope movement in the town during his lifetime. Likewise the reaction of some Preston churches extant today, to requests for information on Band of Hope involvement, was lukewarm. It was only as the research developed that an explanation for this apparent lack of enthusiasm began to emerge, which is linked to the aspect of Preston's importance in temperance history. It was by focussing the study especially on the work of the Band of Hope in Preston through the prism of these two particular aspects of Preston's history that the study has offered an original contribution to the acknowledged history of Preston that already exists.

As the Band of Hope sprang out of the temperance movement, the study set out to explore its origins. Temperance advocacy was located within the sphere of voluntary middle-class moral reform action, designed to ease working-class lives affected by the acceleration in industrial activity and a burgeoning factory system, in the recognition that industrialisation caused dislocation and change that impacted upon the social structure of the country. Drunkenness affected all levels of society. Its disruptive elements could impact upon domestic harmony in the homes of all classes, and prove disastrous if allowed to impact upon the economic viability of working-class families. It was when middle-class temperance, in terms of a moderate 'anti-spirit' ideology, was overtaken by working-class radical teetotal advocacy in the 1830s, largely through the efforts of Joseph Livesey, that Preston gained it prominence as the town from which total abstinence from all alcohol rather than the moderate 'anti-spirit' principle had spread.

As the Band of Hope was a non-denominational children's movement that enjoyed an association with Sunday schools one questioned whether the issue of Preston's distinctive religious make-up, coupled with the impact of the town's teetotal prominence, would provide a platform from which to encourage Band of Hope work, either through an individual Sunday school or via a temperance society and Band of Hope attached to a church. What one discovered was that two Preston men, Thomas Walmsley and George Toulmin, pioneered the forming of a teetotal society for children in a Primitive Methodist Sunday school prior to the amalgamation of such societies into the Band of Hope. This event alone suggested that children's teetotal advocacy in Preston warranted greater recognition than that apparently granted to it by historians or acknowledged within the Preston community.

Although non-denominational, the Band of Hope was initially associated more with Nonconformity and following the movement's inauguration in 1847, Preston followed the trend of the overall movement by establishing one of the first Band of Hope societies in the town in connection with the Orchard Free Methodist Church, circa 1850. The association of the Band of Hope with religion and Sunday schools was a key theme which the thesis considered, hearing in mind the lack of overriding religious hegemony in the town.

The thesis took on board the fact that Preston was not dominated by a particular church sect and a higher proportion of Roman Catholics lived in Preston than in towns of similar size and construction. Approximately half of Preston's population were Anglican with the other half split more or less evenly between Nonconformism and Roman Catholicism. For this reason, when the Preston Temperance Society formed a Band of Hope in 1851, it used the non-religiously aligned Preston Corn Exchange for its meetings, prior to the Preston temperance hall being built. This large building provided space for the society to attract children from any denomination in the town, as well as those with no church allegiance. Importantly, as a building that was not allied to a particular religion the venue would, in the case of Roman Catholic children for example, allow them to attend this Band of Hope without compromising the religious beliefs of their church.

At the same time, in accepting that religious differences could cause divisions in society, the study revealed that religious bodies and congregations in Preston were prepared to put these aside when it came to promoting teetotal advocacy in children. The actions of Joseph Livesey, a Nonconformist, provided an example of someone willing to promote co-operation within the different churches by giving the inaugural address of the Catholic St Ignatius Temperance Society in 1865. Livesey referred to the work of the prominent Catholic teetotal reformer Father Mathew, a lifelong teetotaller who considered the pledge to be a sacred vow.[1] Livesey welcomed such advocacy, but through his actions, he portrayed an awareness of the number of Catholics in Preston's population who might come to accept teetotalism through the aegis of the newly formed Catholic St. Ignatius Temperance Society.

Livesey's conduct highlighted a view expressed in the thesis that teetotalism became a sect in itself which dissolved differences of class or religion that had previously existed. In upholding such a view, whilst not claiming to resolve religious divisions that existed in any community, it would be significant in Preston, as it would override religious allegiance and encourage church congregations to jointly support Band of Hope work. Recognition of sectarian teetotalism would provide Livesey with a further motivation to support the Catholic St. Ignatius Temperance Society at its inauguration in 1865.

[1] E Malcolm, *Ireland Sober – Ireland Free*, Syracuse University Press, (1986), 137.

Acceptance of an authoritative teetotal sect, aligned with Livesey's overriding support for teetotal values, would in his mind, dissipate religious or cultural differences that existed in Preston. The implication is that it would negate any impact that Preston's distinctive religious mix might have on the Band of Hope operation. At the same time, one recognised that despite Preston's temperance prominence, the notion of a commanding teetotal sect would not be supported by non-teetotallers where religious adherence would carry authority. The operation of any sect whether it was based on teetotalism or religion is subject to differences of opinion that dwell alongside harmonious relations.

The thesis provided further evidence in support of a Catholic presence in Preston. When Father Nugent, (founder of the Liverpool branch of the Catholic Church's *League of the Cross* in 1872), visited Preston in 1878, he remarked that: "…Preston was so well manned with priests…[2] Only a notable Catholic presence would merit Preston having a substantial number of priests in residence. It is worth repeating the point made in the body of the thesis, that there is a surprising lack of evidence in relation to specific Roman Catholic Band of Hope work in Preston given the significant number of Catholics in the population. Nevertheless, one concludes that the lack of religious sect hegemony in the town did not hamper the Band of Hope operation in Preston; rather it had presented distinct opportunities to Band of Hope workers who sought to promote teetotal values in the town.

In support of this conclusion, and also to support the view that teetotal advocacy rather than an individual's faith could act as a spur in the promotion of Band of Hope work, evidence presented in chapter two revealed that a temperance society and Band of Hope in association with the Preston St Mary's Church of England began in 1854, at the instigation of the incumbent, the Rev H R Smith. The Rev. Smith's desire was to prevent children from becoming habitual drinkers at a time when, as a firm teetotaller, he was a minority voice in the Church of England in promoting teetotal principles. At the same time, and this serves to emphasise the nuances that surrounded Preston's religious mixture, one argued that an added incentive for the Rev Smith to take action was due to his realising that his church did not have overriding dominance in Preston.

[2] *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser,* 23 February 1878.

The Nonconformist St. Mary's Wesleyan Chapel occupied the same street as St. Mary's Church of England. It was because the Band of Hope was non-denominational, that the Rev Smith could ensure that his church's Temperance society offered a Band of Hope for Church of England families living in his parish to attend.

When considering the wider Band of Hope movement, one can summarise one's conclusion by stating that from the evidence that is available, for much of the time span covered by this study, the Band of Hope operation in Preston was largely typical of the movement in other regions following its inauguration in Leeds in 1847. By 1866, Band of Hope societies in Preston had affiliated to the Preston Band of Hope Union (PBHU, later known as the PDBHU), which was part of the national organisation through affiliation to the regional Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (LCBHU) established in 1863. The regional union was affiliated to the overarching United Kingdom Band of Hope Union (UKBHU), which, by 1864, had evolved out of the London Band of Hope Union. The PBHU adhered to the constitution and rules of the national movement, fundamental to which was that to become a member, children had to sign the teetotal pledge.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the Preston Band of Hope supported the strategies employed by the movement at large. The popularity of the Gospel Temperance and Blue Ribbon movement, through its appeal to all classes, increased teetotal advocacy and provided the Band of Hope with a network of supporters who were then able to assist the scientific temperance teaching endeavour in day schools, following the gradual introduction of mandatory education, during the 1870s. Preston also supported the national 'Million-More' schemes of the 1890s, which aimed to recruit more members to Bands of Hope throughout the country.

The initial success of the Band of Hope was due to its ability to attract children by keeping its message simple and adapting it to the age of the child. Once established, the continuing success of the movement can be largely attributed to its ability to apply methodologies that embraced advances made in transport, such as an expanding railway network, developments in printing, and increasing educational opportunities,

as well as the organisational ability to secure funding arrangements to pay for schemes that were applied nationally.

The concept that a religiously associated children's organisation would use science in order to spread teetotal advocacy is under-explored and the opportunity was taken in the thesis to examine this in further detail. The Band of Hope succeeded because it was prepared to be radical by implementing a teaching scheme that was devoid of any mention of religion but based purely on scientific fact. To avoid confrontation between those whose religious belief equalled their teetotal ideals and those teetotal devotees of a secular persuasion, the Band of Hope applied the strategy of arranging separate funding in order to finance the scheme.

The scientific temperance teaching scheme was also made possible by utilising advances in science that had been developing during the course of the nineteenth century, particularly in the field of anatomy and physiology. Specifically, it was now possible, by applying the use of scientifically endorsed knowledge to show children, and their teachers, how alcohol adversely affected a person's health, thus extending the dangers beyond those recognised as affecting a person's economic well-being. The success of the endeavour resulted in temperance teaching becoming a continuing part of the school syllabus throughout the thesis period.

As scientific temperance teaching was designed to take place in day schools, the thesis took account of the fact that Preston did not appoint a schools board to manage its day schools, partly associated with fears that Catholic children might be involved in future school-board projects. Those in positions of authority in the town considered that the existing school facilities organised by Established, Roman Catholic and Nonconformist voluntary church schools were satisfactory and should continue.[3] Any suggestion that this decision implied that a strained relationship existed within the different church communities in Preston should be nuanced against the level of co-operation that prevailed to assist the Band of Hope operation. The argument put forward in the thesis that the churches were prepared to co-operate with one another

[3] P T Phillips, *The Sectarian Spirit, sectarianism, society, and politics in Victorian cotton towns*, University of Toronto Press, (1983), 57.

when it came to instilling teetotal values in children stands, even though one accepts that differences of opinion occurred in other areas of doctrine.

Any conclusion reached in relation to scientific temperance teaching in Preston is open to two interpretations. One line of argument is premised on the fact that Preston's retention of its voluntary church schools would make the support for scientifically based temperance teaching more challenging, than in other localities. A counter argument is that religious opinion in the town would not be offended by the scheme as it was designed to teach teetotal advocacy in schools without regard to morals or religion. When considering whether the scheme achieved any success, the oral exercise referred to on page 217 did produce one response from a Preston lady, who said she knew about the dangers of alcohol because "people came to talk to children at the school."[4] When asked about the Band of Hope, this respondent stated that she never went to a Band of Hope meeting but she did take the teetotal pledge, which she maintained she kept all her life. One's conclusion in this instance is that the aim of the Band of Hope in notifying children of the dangers of drinking alcohol produced the desired effect, even though it did not add to its membership.

A final point to be made in connection with scientific temperance teaching in day schools was that it was carried out in the hope of preventing children from consuming alcohol. Cognisant of the fact that compulsory education meant that day schools came to account for more children than the Sunday school, the provision of scientific knowledge of the dangers associated with alcohol would enable the Band of Hope to fulfil this desire.[5] The 'Million-More' recruitment schemes were introduced as a strategy to encourage children to join a Band of Hope where they would pledge to remain teetotal. Whilst the first two carried out in the 1890s did not manage to recruit the magic million, they increased Band of Hope membership during a period when the movement in Preston, and generally in the country, was at the zenith of its growth.

[4] The respondent was a lady aged 95 at the time of contact in 2012. She attended a Methodist church school in Bamber Bridge, Preston, a district covered by the PDBHU.
[5] *Preston Chronicle*, 19 December, 1891. This point was stressed by W Chandos Wilson, a day school lecturer and prominent member of the LCBHU.

A key aspect that warranted investigation within the thesis related to Preston's prominence in temperance history. Whilst Preston may claim to being proud for different reasons, the words "Teetotal and Proud" used in the title of the thesis reflected Preston's particular teetotal status, demonstrated in the statement that:

> "…one thing 'Proud Preston' ought to be really proud of was that it was the birthplace of total abstinence".[6]

This aspect produced a pattern of behaviour in relation to the PDBHU that emerged during the thesis period. The view one gathered from the evidence was that the esteem granted to Preston in relation to temperance, produced feelings of apprehension in Band of Hope workers when their work did not meet such acclaim. Many of the difficulties that occurred affected the PDBHU management rather than individual societies operating at grass roots level. One is led to conclude that at times of difficulty in the PDBHU operation there was a reluctance to record the nature of such lapses in the local press or Band of Hope literature. In most cases one is only able to identify that problems had occurred when a solution was offered to overcome them.

It is clear from evidence contained in the *Band of Hope Chronicle* that the Band of Hope operation in Preston did not always run smoothly, as it referred to the Preston Band of Hope Union having endured varying fortunes during its first twenty-one years.[7] Although these varying fortunes were not explained, at some stage after 1871, the PBHU disassociated from the LCBHU. In July 1875, the local press reported that efforts had been required to resuscitate the union and in 1878, the Preston union's affiliation to the LCBHU was again confirmed.[8] One concludes therefore that by 1878 the problems associated with the Preston Union, which were never named, had been solved and that the union recognised that it would benefit from being part of a larger organisation.

When, some years later, the PDBHU had extended its remit to cover areas away from the town centre, it experienced another setback around the beginning of 1892. On

[6] *Preston Chronicle,* 12 November 1887. The words were spoken at a Band of Hope meeting.
[7] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, (December 1887), 195.
[8] UKBHU Annual Report, (1.1.1876-31.3.1877), 47. See *Preston Chronicle*, 10 July 1875. See UKBHU Annual Report, (1.4.1877-31.3.1878), 31.

this occasion, financial difficulties had beset the union. This became evident when the secretary of a district society in Ashton-on-Ribble offered the use his society's funds if other affiliated societies did likewise, to allow the Preston union to "clear away the present difficulties."[9] This evidence substantiates one's argument that problems lay with the Union and not with individual societies. The difficulties in Preston at this time were confirmed as financial when the UKBHU described the situation in 1892 as one where adverse pecuniary circumstances had compelled the PDBHU to dispense with its paid agent.[10]

The lack of information provided by the PDBHU, during the difficulties that occurred in 1892, contrast sharply with the emphasis that was placed on how well the PDBHU was doing in 1895. The UKBHU reported that the PDBHU had appointed a new agent, Charles Hawkins. The union was circulating its own magazine, *Upward,* and the *Band of Hope Chronicle* praised the union for an "an excellent year's work by the Bands of Hope associated with the union..." [11] From available evidence one concludes that the success of the union from 1895 to the turn of the century was due largely to the zeal of Charles Hawkins during his tenure at Preston as agent and secretary.

Personalities such Joseph Livesey have received due recognition for spreading the teetotal message; others such as Thomas Walmsley and, in this instance, Charles Hawkins, are less well known for their efforts in relation to the Band of Hope, but the thesis recognises the impact of their work in Preston, whether, in the case of Walmsley it was over a lifetime, or during the five year period that Hawkins spent in Preston. Walmsley passed away in 1896 and Hawkins left Preston in 1899 after five years service. The evidence compels one to take the view that Hawkins' departure left a gap in the ability of others to manage the PDBHU to the same degree as the *Upward* magazine only lasted for a few years and by 1903, the PDBHU was again in difficulty.

The pattern of behaviour mentioned on the previous page reoccurred again and, unlike the times when there was ready acknowledgement of progress, no record was made of the exact nature of the problem, only that agency matters were once more

[9] Preston *Onward,* No. 50, February, 1892, 323.
[10] UKBHU Annual Report, 1.4.1892-31.3.1893, 49.
[11] *Band of Hope Chronicle*, No. 10, (October 1895), 159.

causing concern and needed to be resolved.[12] This resulted again in a request to Band of Hope workers in Preston to provide collective assistance to help relieve the situation. Once again, the recurrent problems in Preston stemmed largely from within the PDBHU and not with individual societies in the town, who were themselves encouraged to assist in relieving the situation.

The most testing period experienced by the PDBHU, within the time parameters of the thesis, occurred following the Temperance Centenary celebrations in 1932. This occasion cemented Preston's prestigious position as the 'birth-place of total abstinence'. It was a time when arguably, the PDBHU would want to bask in the reflected glory of Preston's prestige. Statistical evidence, on the other hand, suggested that from having over 40 affiliated societies in March 1932, the PDBHU ceased to function during 1933.

The pattern of lack of reporting was repeated once more as no evidence has been unearthed to explain this turn of events and the first indication of anything amiss occurred in November 1933 with a report mentioning attempts to revive the Preston Union.[13] There was no mention of the PDBHU after October 1934, which suggests that resuscitation attempts floundered, although individual Bands of Hope societies continued to operate in Preston. One was only made aware of the PDBHU's demise through the report of a meeting in December 1938, held to discuss reforming the PDBHU.[14] This was corroborated by a decision made by the LCBHU to hold its Spring meetings in 1939 in Preston as:

> In the town which saw the birth of teetotalism, the task has been no easier than elsewhere, and indeed, so much did interest flag, that a few years ago the Preston and District Band of Hope Union passed out of existence. Last December it was set upon its feet once more, and this week-end a great effort is to be made to send it striding from strength to strength."[15]

It was only with the re-establishment of the PDBHU in December 1938 that the town placed at the forefront of teetotalism, finally admitted that its Band of Hope union had lain dormant for several years.

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[12] LCBHU Minute Book, Agency Direction Committee, 8 May, 1903, 200.
[13] *The Preston Guardian,* 11 November 1933.
[14] *Lancashire Daily Post*, 7 December 1938.
[15] *Preston Guardian*, 20 May 1939.

One's overall conclusion is that the reason behind the lack of provision of evidence that explains what was behind the difficulties experienced by the PDBHU, on this occasion and those that occurred in the past, was so that Preston's eminent position in temperance history would not be compromised either in Preston or within the county. The meeting held in December 1938 was arranged by the LCBHU which pushes one towards the view that any failure in the PDBHU operation would not reflect well on the movement in Lancashire as a whole at a time when the Band of Hope faced challenges from other organisations competing for children's attention.

At the same time, one identified that it was far less likely that Preston's religious make-up had any bearing on the lack of information being provided to explain the PDBHU's demise in the 1930s. The Churches were concerned in focussing upon maintaining their own position as their congregations and Sunday schools had to face increasing competition from a range of leisure activities available outside the church. Nevertheless, evidence that is admittedly outside the thesis period suggests that in the 1950s, there remained a continuing need for Bands of Hope to be associated with Sunday schools:

> "The nucleus of the (Band of Hope) organisation might well be the scholars in the Sunday school while new children attracted into the Band of Hope who are not attached to a Sunday school will be encouraged to come along." [16]

Such evidence confirmed that a level of continuity remained. The Band of Hope ethos of accepting children, whether they attended Sunday school or not, which was advocated in Preston in 1851, continued as an aim of the national movement one hundred years later.

One ends this study by returning to the two aspects of Preston's history that have been emphasised in this investigation of the Band of Hope operation in Preston, namely the town's distinctive religious make-up and its prominence in temperance history. These distinguishing features of the town conform to recognised historical consensus of Preston, but they have resulted in children's teetotal advocacy expressed through the Band of Hope operation in Preston, being overshadowed by the

[16] *The Band of Hope Manual, Methodist Church Department of Christian Citizenship*, (undated but after 1951 as this date is referred to in the publication, Lambeth Palace Library.

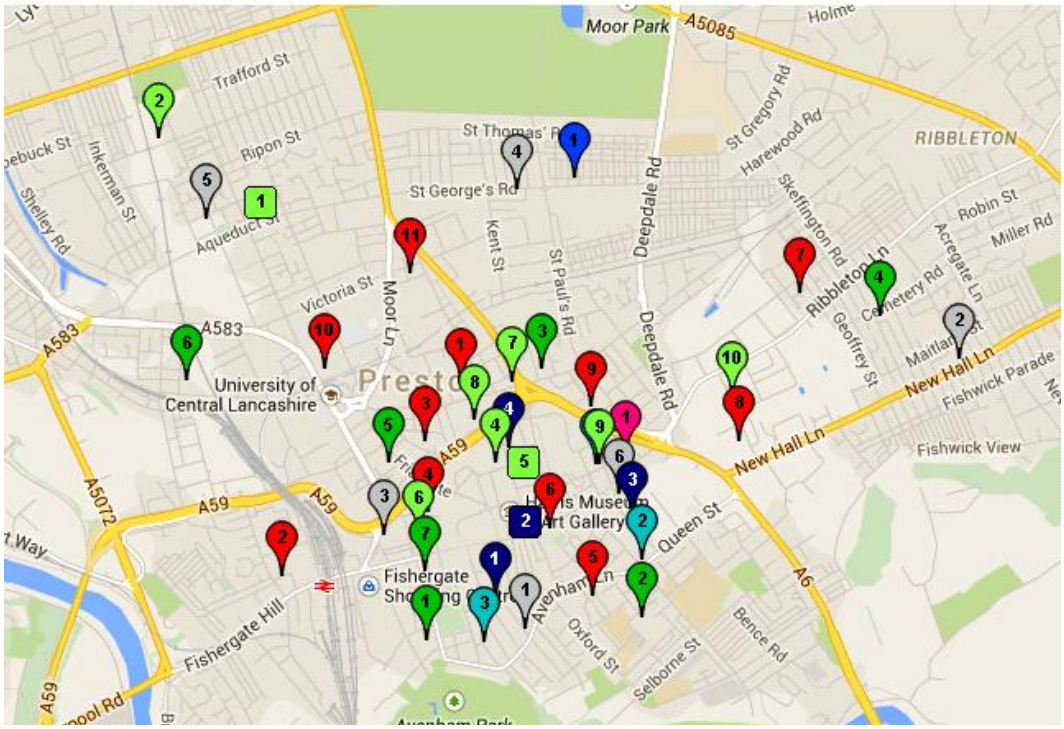
prominence given to adult teetotalism in Preston. In addressing this deficiency, the study has contributed to the historical record of Preston's history that other researchers can draw upon.

The Band of Hope ethos remains but the movement no longer enjoys it influential position. The Band of Hope was re-launched as a charity called *Hope UK* in 1995. It continues to promote its work, providing education on drug as well as alcohol abuse with funding from government, the European Union and charity grants.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Churches extant in Preston by 1860.

The map below shows churches extant in Preston by 1860, covering a one mile radius of the town centre. The map is not definitive as it does not provide information about church attendees. It is useful in revealing that there was no overriding religious hegemony in Preston. Roman Catholic churches were lower in number but tended to have larger congregations than some smaller Nonconformist churches. Using Preston Guild Records, (Appendix 3) indicates that a larger number of children attended Roman Catholic Church schools than those connected to schools of other faiths.



Source: Genuki UK & Ireland website, Church Database, Preston Churches.

Key: Red: Church of England (11)

Dark Green: Roman Catholic (7)

Total Nonconformist: (18) incorporating - Light Green: Methodist (10) includes Primitive, Wesleyan, United Methodist Free Church and Methodist New Connexion. (No. 3 is hidden behind No 4). Dark Blue: Independent or Congregational (4). Mid Blue: Society of Friends (Quakers (1). Turquoise: Baptist (3 – one partly hidden by No. 9.) Total Nonconformist

Grey: small groups such as Christadelphian, City Mission, Evangelical, Swedenborgian and Spiritualist (6), are included as part of the database but as their founding date is unclear they should be disregarded in this particular instance.[17]

[17] Genuki UK & Ireland website, Preston Churches Map 1860 (accessed 24/01/2015).

Appendix 2 Upward mobility of Working-Class individuals

The following are examples of working-class individuals who were born prior to 1850, excepting the last who was born in 1862, who rose to positions of influence in their community. Their rising station in life may be due to a number of reasons, but the selected sample reveals that they became associated with either teetotalism, the Band of Hope or the Sunday school.

1. Peter Featherstone, born 1821, one of nine children. Served as a preacher until retired in 1889. Bound for six yeas to grocer at age 15. Comments state that he was President of the Band of Hope but do not state whether this was the United Kingdom Union, regional or district union.

2. John D Fox, born 1849. Raised by grandfather, chiefly self-taught, started work in mill as a doffer but raised himself to business man. Member of Band of Hope and local Sunday school teacher and superintendent.

3. W T Francis, born 1848. Third of nine children. Father was a printer and teetotaller. Formal education ended when aged 12 or 13 he left school to help in print business managed by his father. Became Sunday school superintendent, member of Good Templar Lodge, and Superintendent of Band of Hope.

4. Walter Freer, born 1846, Glasgow. One of 18 children. Father was a handloom weaver. He only received three months formal education at a penny school. Left school unable to write and read only simple words and was largely self-taught. Started work at age nine feeding paper into ruling machines and as a milk boy before going into factory. By 1883 he was a power-loom tenter and rose to managerial position. General Manager of Glasgow Corporation Public Halls (1891). Member of Glasgow Abstainers' Union and the Band of Hope.

5. Henry Herbert, birth unknown, but early 1800s. Son of farm labourer, Education at Dame School (c 1816). Farm boy, apprentice shoemaker, journeyman. Became Sunday school teacher, teetotaller and secretary of Gloucester Band of Hope.

6. Ralph Rooney, born 1862 in Tottington, Son of foreman at print works. Educated to age 10 as a half-timer, worked by assisting block printers. Sent to weaving mill age 10, operating two looms by age 12 and four by age 16. Worked as a weaver in same mill for 44 years. He was a veteran rambler conducting walks, teacher and secretary of Sunday school and secretary of the Band of Hope, as well as serving on Tottington Council.

Source: J Burnett, D Vincent, The Autobiography of the Working Class, Volume 1, 1790-1900, New York University Press, (1984).

Appendix 3 The Preston Guild 1862

Children and adults listed as being associated with Preston Sunday schools who marched in the Guild Procession in Preston, 1862.							
Established Church		***Non-conformist***		***Roman Catholic***		***Other***	
Parish Church	1018	Wesleyan	3399	St Wilfred	930	Fulwood and Ashton Schools	170
St James	301	Independent	1750	St Augustine	1830	Mill Hill and Shepherd St Ragged School	482
St Mary	2859	Free Church	800	St Walburghe	1159	Penwortham and Walton Workhouse Schools	200
Trinity	850	Baptists	*304	St Joseph	660	Bible Women	180
St Paul	1094	Primitive Methodists	642	St Ignatius	1722		
Christ Church	709	Free Gospel	96				
St Mark	661						
St Peter	849						
St Thomas	991						
All Saints	1090						
St Luke	535						
Total	**10957**		**6991**		**6301**		**1032**

Children and Adults associated with Preston Sunday Schools in Guild Procession1862

Source: W Dobson, *An Account of the Celebration of the Preston Guild in 1862*, compiled by W & T Dobson, Printers, Preston, (1862), Harris Community History Library, 71.

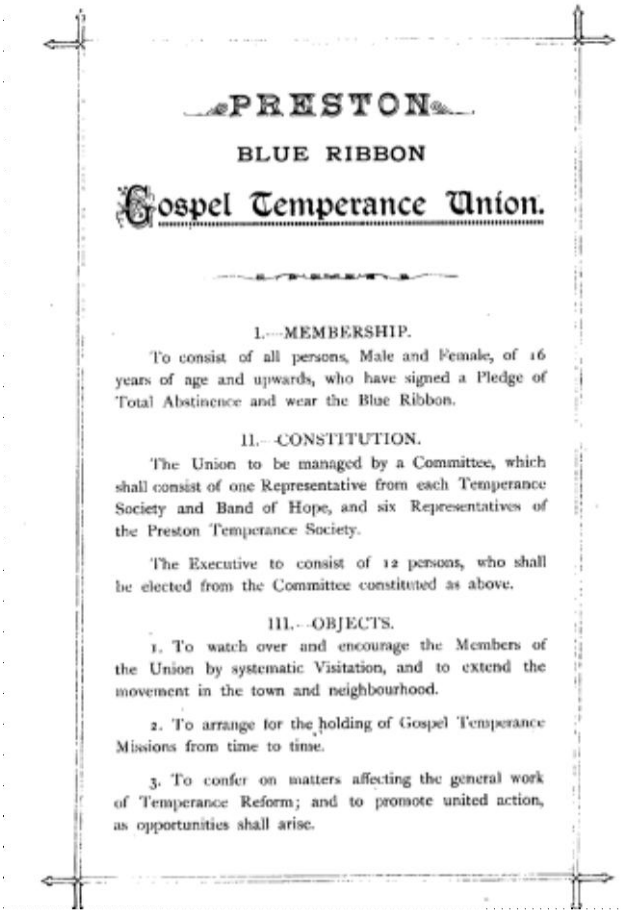
*From the source quoted, the middle digit is very faint; the number zero has been inserted (304) as it appears to be the most probable.

In the table above, the Nonconformist churches are grouped together. What the table shows is that although only five Roman Catholic schools are recorded as taking part in the demonstration, the numbers associated with these schools is just under 700 less than that of the 18 schools listed under the umbrella of Nonconformism. Discounting the numbers included under the heading of 'Other' whose religion is not defined, the numbers roughly equate to the

proportions indicated by Longworth in *Celebration of the Preston Guild Merchant of 1862,* 60. In relation to the allocation of places at the Preston Guild procession, H Cartmell refers to half the scholars being from Church (of England) schools, and the other half from the Nonconformist schools and the Roman Catholics, See H Cartmell, *The Preston Churches and Sunday Schools*, 23.

It is fair to say that these figures may slightly underestimate the numbers of those attached to church schools in Preston in 1862. Illness, for example, may have prevented some scholars and teachers from attending. On this special occasion all the schools in Preston of whatever religion, came together. Whilst the numbers may not be exact, their usefulness relates to the way they confirm the distinctive religious make-up of Preston.

Appendix 4: Preston Blue Ribbon Gospel Temperance Union



PRESTON

BLUE RIBBON

Gospel Temperance Union.

I.—MEMBERSHIP.

To consist of all persons, Male and Female, of 16 years of age and upwards, who have signed a Pledge of Total Abstinence and wear the Blue Ribbon.

II.—CONSTITUTION.

The Union to be managed by a Committee, which shall consist of one Representative from each Temperance Society and Band of Hope, and six Representatives of the Preston Temperance Society.

The Executive to consist of 12 persons, who shall be elected from the Committee constituted as above.

III.—OBJECTS.

1. To watch over and encourage the Members of the Union by systematic Visitation, and to extend the movement in the town and neighbourhood.

2. To arrange for the holding of Gospel Temperance Missions from time to time.

3. To confer on matters affecting the general work of Temperance Reform; and to promote united action, as opportunities shall arise.

The above is a copy of the actual document which, for clarity, reads as follows:

I MEMBERSHIP

To consist of all persons, male and female, of 16 years of age and upwards, who have signed a Pledge of Total Abstinence and wear the Blue Ribbon.

II CONSTITUTION

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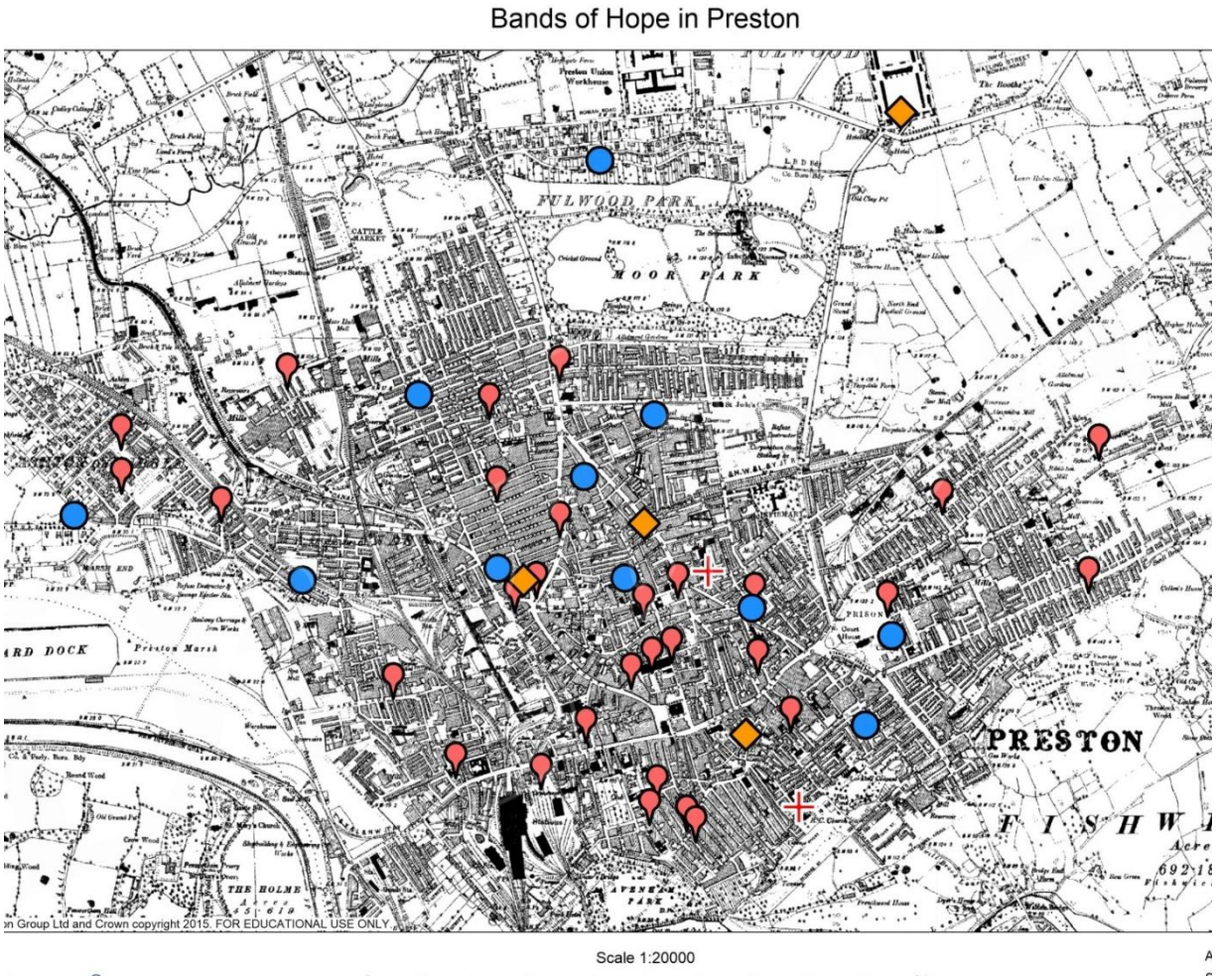
3. To confer on matters affecting the general work of temperance reform; and to promote united action, as opportunities shall arise.

Source: Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire

Appendix 5 Bands of Hope in Preston and surrounding district, circa 1890s



Source for map: Digimap, (accessed May 2015).

Information extracted from the *Band of Hope Chronicle*, the *Preston Chronicle*, and the *Preston Guardian* has been used to pinpoint the location of known Bands of Hope operating at this time. It does not claim to include every society but shows that Bands of Hope were established in areas considered then to be on the outskirts of the town. It also shows the religious make-up of these societies.

Key: Red: Nonconformist

Blue; Church of England

Orange: Roman Catholic – indicates churches with associated children's teetotal societies.

Appendix 6 United Kingdom Band of Hope Membership 1887 – 1926.

Appendix 7 Sunday School Rate of Growth 1860 - 1910

Sunday school growth rates by denomination – percentages

Church	1860-70	1870-80	1888-90	1890-1900	1900-1910
Anglican				6.8+	5.9+
Presbyterian		33.6+	29.7+	2.3+	6.6+
Bible Christian			9.1+	8.2+	10.0+*
Wesleyan Methodist	15.9+	26.4+	18.5+	3.7+	1.5+
United Methodist	44.6+	20.4+	5.9+	2.9-	1.8+*
Methodist New Connexion	20.0+	13.6+	14.7+	6.4-	6.4+*
Primitive Methodist	52.3+	37.0+	15.9+	6.7+	2.0+
Congregationalist					1.5+
Baptist					9.0+
Average growth	33.2	26.2	15.8	3.5	5.0

*Indicates 1906/07 figures. A union of these three churches took place in 1907. The combined figure for the new United Methodist Church was 315,723, which by 1910 was down to 306,649.

The highest number of scholars on membership rolls occurred in the following years:

Church of England	1910	2,437,000
Presbyterian Church of England	1905	89,558
Bible Christian	1905	47,242
Wesleyan Methodist	1906	1,013,391
Methodist New Connexion	1906	88,522
Primitive Methodist	1906	477,114
United Methodist Free	1906	194,862
Congregationalist	1904	734,486
Baptist	1906	586,601

Numbers never went higher than those recorded above after the year stated.

Source: P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980,* National Christian Education Council (1986), p.201.

Appendix 8 Sunday School Percentage Growth/Decline for the years 1909-1924.

	1909-13	1914-19	1920-24
Anglican	0.38+	14.42-	3.08-
Baptist	2.49-	10.76-	3.45+
Congregational	4.75-	n.d.	n.d.
Primitive Methodist	2.45-	8.04-	2.30-
Wesleyan Methodist	3.69-	7.48-	0.52+
United Methodist	5.90-	10.23-	1.75-
Presbyterian	5.55-	14.57-	1.00-

Decline in the growth of the Birth rate and national Increase England and Wales 1901-1940

Period	Live Births per 1000	% decline	Natural Increase per 1000	%
1901-10	27.2	9-	11.8	0.85+
1911-20	21.8	19-	7.4	37.2-
1921-30	18.3	16-	6.2	16.21-
1931-40	14.8	16-	2.5	59.67-

Source: P B Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School in England, 1780-1980,* National Christian Education Council, (1986), 234.

Appendix 9 Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union affiliated district unions, 1927-1940.

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