

Thomas Bywater Smithies and the *British Workman*: Temperance Education and Mass-Circulation Graphic Imagery for the Working Classes, 1855-1883.

Volume One.

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Volume One

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Abbreviations.

The following abbreviations have been used to denote the principal temperance and philanthropic organisations, and periodical publications, referred to in this thesis.

Anon.	Anonymous author
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BFTS	British and Foreign Temperance Society
BHR	<i>Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend</i>
BHRSSF	<i>Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend</i>
BTL	British Temperance League
BWFST	<i>British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil</i>
BW	<i>British Workman</i>
BWW	<i>British Workwoman Out and at Home</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
LCM	London City Mission
MCM	Manchester City Mission
n.d.	Undated publication
n.s.	New Series
NTL	National Temperance League
PLS	Pure Literature Society
RTS	Religious Tract Society
SPCK	Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
UKA	United Kingdom Alliance
Waterloo	Waterloo Directory of English Periodicals and Newspapers 1800-1900
WMFFI	<i>Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor</i>

NOTE

In this thesis the terms 'teetotal' and 'teetotaler' have been used in preference to those prescribed in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, for the same reasons as those expressed by Brian Harrison in the second edition of his study of Victorian temperance issues, namely consistency and conforming to contemporary usage, See, 'Abbreviations' in *Drink and the Victorians. The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*.

Abstract

This thesis focuses on the *British Workman* and its proprietor Thomas Bywater Smithies. The *British Workman* was the most popular and widely distributed of all the illustrated temperance journals issued during the second half of the nineteenth century and yet it has received very little attention from scholars. Smithies' journal was widely recognised for the excellent quality of the wood-engravings with which it was illustrated, and the elevating moral tone of the letterpress. This study, therefore, is particularly concerned with an exploration of the ways in which Smithies elected to use illustration as a didactic tool for extending temperance education among the working classes.

Chapter One outlines the background to the development of illustrated temperance periodicals in the period up to 1855, while Chapter Two examines the life and character of T. B. Smithies, and looks at the ways in which his interests and beliefs shaped his journal. In Chapters Three and Four, there follows a detailed account of the characteristics that distinguished the *British Workman* as a pioneering temperance publication, an overview of the processes of production, circulation and distribution, and an examination of the complex mechanisms that contributed to the creation of the first mass-circulation temperance paper. Chapter Five looks at Smithies' use of illustration, in relation to established practices, through a comparative study of the 'road to ruin' temperance narrative as expressed in the *British Workman*, the extensively circulated *Ipswich Temperance Series* of tracts, and Joseph Livesey's *The Progressionist*. Chapter Six explores representations of the working man as part of Smithies' wider reforming temperance agenda, extending many of the issues raised in Chapter Five. In conclusion I consider the impact that Smithies and his journal had on the development of illustrated periodicals post 1860, and propose possible avenues for further research.

Introduction.

Introduction.

At the centre of this study is a detailed examination of the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, (1855-1921), a little known but important illustrated temperance periodical. It is intended to establish the specific characteristics and attributes of the journal, and to attempt to determine the factors that contributed towards making this cheap, educational paper for the working classes into the first mass-circulated temperance periodical. It is also intended to afford due recognition to its proprietor and editor, Thomas Bywater Smithies, (1817-1883), a Wesleyan Sunday school teacher, Christian philanthropist and temperance reformer. Because the personality, character and moral principles of Smithies contributed to the shaping of the style and content of the *British Workman* it is necessary to combine a detailed investigation into the aims and objectives of the editor with a close examination of his publications in order to establish how Smithies managed to succeed in the field of mass-circulation temperance publishing where others, including the large and well established Temperance Societies failed. However, in order to understand the ways in which Smithies and his periodical worked some contextualisation of religious and temperance publishing in the early Victorian period is necessary.

Chapter One, therefore, examines the provision of religious and temperance reading matter for the working classes during the first half of the nineteenth century, at a time when rapid industrialisation and urbanisation gave rise to serious middle class concerns about the physical and moral condition of the working classes. It also gives an overview of the close, though often uncomfortable, relationship that existed between the temperance and religious communities. The aims and objectives of religious and temperance organisations were broadly the same, being the eradication of drunkenness, and the raising of the spiritual, moral and physical condition of the working classes. So too, was the importance they placed on the distribution of texts in furtherance of their objectives. However, I shall show that conflicts of opinion, and clashes of personalities and ideologies, hindered the effectiveness of their reform programmes at a time when social problems exacerbated by urban expansion

seemed to be accelerating out of control. Additionally, in this chapter issues arising from debates concerning the prioritising of resources, and the targeting of philanthropic efforts, will be highlighted in order to help explain some of the concerns felt within the evangelical movement about immorality, drunkenness, and, in particular, the perceived threats to social order posed by the proliferation of cheap literature. As the working classes were evidently purchasing and reading Sunday newspapers, and titles such as the *London Journal* and *The Family Herald*, in increasing numbers, questions were raised about the efficiency of the religious press, the quality and suitability of religious publications, and the efficacy of their methods of distribution. I shall argue that rapid population growth, and middle class fears triggered by the emergence of a 'criminal' and 'dangerous' class, impacted negatively on established practices and encouraged a greater reliance on alternative methods for disseminating religious texts to the urban poor.

Concerns over the state of religious periodicals publishing, and the difficulties that had to be overcome in order to reach the poorest sections of the community, were compounded by a shortage of popular temperance literature for the masses. Brian Harrison, Olwen C. Niessen, and Joseph Altholz have contributed to raising scholarly awareness of the significance of the temperance periodical as a key element in the development of the Temperance Movement as one of the major social and moral forces of the period. Harrison recognised the importance of the temperance press as a resource for social historians seeking to cast further light on the social, moral, religious and political dimensions of a complex, dynamic and fluid society during a period of accelerating change. He argued that, "It would be wrong to treat this literature merely as an entertaining by-way... For here is one of the many 'publics' which made up mid- and late-Victorian public opinion. By the 1860s the temperance world had become one of the social forces with which politicians had to reckon when shaping their legislation."¹ Still, in the years since Harrison produced his overview of nineteenth-century temperance publishing, little has been done to extend our knowledge and understanding of the range of

¹ Harrison, B. 'A World of Which we had no Conception' *Victorian Studies*, December 1969: 125. See, also, Altholz, J. *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*, and Niessen, O. 'Temperance' in J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArdsel, (eds), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, for temperance bibliographies.

periodicals produced by and for the main temperance organisations, and the intimate relationship between temperance and religion has yet to be fully investigated. There has been even less research undertaken into the lives and motives of prominent figures within the temperance movement, and virtually nothing is known about the leading temperance publishers of the nineteenth century. Apart from Nowell-Smith's now dated study of the publishing house of Cassell,² and Peter Mountjoy's short paper on T. B. Smithies,³ studies of the main activists engaged in the field of temperance periodicals have yet to be made.

Similarly, there has been too little in the way of scholarly work done in this field to claim that there is a general consensus among periodicals historians as to which titles qualify as temperance literature. As Neissen states, Brian Harrison's partial survey serves as a standard work, and even with the inclusion of recent bibliographies the number of sources currently available is very limited and there is still much research to do in this field.⁴ As a consequence the efforts of Thomas Bywater Smithies to promote the Temperance Movement, and to advance the effectiveness of temperance literature among the working classes through the medium of the periodical press, have been largely overlooked and his 'flagship' periodical the *British Workman* either unacknowledged or discounted as a significant and important temperance paper. As the contribution of the *British Workman* to the development of temperance education is at the heart of this study the temperance credentials of the paper, rather than its religious or humanitarian

² Nowell-Smith, S. *The House of Cassell 1848-1958*, London, Cassell & Co. 1958.

³ Mountjoy, P. R. 'Thomas Bywater Smithies, Editor of the *British Workman*', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. XVII. 1985. Dawson Burns' *Temperance History*, 2 vols. London, National Temperance Publication Depot, 1889. allocated five lines of text to Smithies' contributions, and Frederick Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, London, United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1897. offers a brief account of Smithies' involvement with the Band of Hope movement and the publication of the *Band of Hope Review*.

⁴ See Neissen O.C. 'Temperance', in J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArdsele (eds), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, (1995): 254-5. Altholz, J. *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1989. contains a very brief overview of temperance periodicals published 1830-1898. Of the 32 titles listed several were relaunches of the same paper under a different head e.g. *British Temperance Advocate*. *Band of Hope Review* is included as a temperance paper in its own right but not *British Workman*. Alvar Ellegard, 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain' *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*. No. 13. September 1971, for example, includes religious periodicals in his study 'The Readership of the Periodical press in Mid-Victorian Britain' while omitting any reference to temperance papers, a number of which had significantly greater circulations than many of the religious papers included.

significance, will be examined in some detail. The history of religious and temperance periodicals publishing in the 1830s and 1840s is littered with spectacular failures. Despite the hundreds of titles issued, illustrated or unillustrated, very few managed to establish, and secure, circulations sufficiently large enough to guarantee their continued publication. The few that did survive were usually intended for a minority audience of middle-class readers and often sustained through the support of a temperance society, religious body, or philanthropic agency. It was rare indeed for independent titles to survive for any length of time regardless of the charisma or public standing of their proprietors. However, through his innovative and radical approach to periodicals publishing, his pioneering use of illustration as an entertaining and educational medium, and his ability to bring together a number of philanthropic groups and individuals in support of his objectives, Smithies managed to succeed where others had failed. Chapter One continues with an outline of the state of temperance periodicals publishing, and discussion of the numerous attempts to develop a popular temperance press between 1830 and 1855, a period in which the temperance movement was anything but united.

Chapter Two details the life and character of Thomas Bywater Smithies and considers those influences determining his personal philosophy, and the factors that led to the creation of the first mass-circulation periodicals devoted to religious and temperance education. Through an examination of the influences that moulded and shaped his personality and personal philosophy, and the circumstances leading up to his decision to embark on a career in writing and editing, I shall show how Smithies managed to secure the success of what was, arguably, the most important and influential of a new generation of temperance periodicals. It is evident that there were individuals within the publishing world who realised that publications designed primarily for a middle-class audience had little popular appeal and so they came together during the late 1840s to produce temperance literature more specifically for consumption by the working classes. William Tweedie, the temperance publisher, established a 'depot' in London in 1848 expressly so that, "friends of the cause and the trade might obtain copies of all the tracts, books and periodicals issued in connection with the movement". His establishment at 337, Strand was a "central rallying point for temperance men in

all parts of the kingdom”, and it was from there that Tweedie sold the *The Band of Hope Review* and, later, published the *British Workman*⁵. John Cassell, publisher of such titles as the *Teetotal Times*, *Working Man's Friend*, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, and Smithies' first tractate, *Voices from the Penitentiaries*, was, like Tweedie and Smithies, a member of the London based National Temperance Society. An examination of lists of publications, old and new, and the names of those most closely involved with writing, publishing, editing, or distributing temperance literature in the period 1845 to 1855, reveals that men such as Smithies, Cassell, Tweedie, Cash, Bennett, Oakey and Partridge formed a nucleus of like minded individuals endeavouring to develop a new approach to publishing cheap, morally elevating and entertaining reading matter for the working classes. Working in co-operation with each other, and yet maintaining their individual spheres of influence, an informal network of editors, writers, illustrators, printers and publishers was established to meet a perceived need in the marketplace for popular reading matter covering temperance and religious issues, a need that was not adequately catered for by the main established societies, The British and Foreign Bible Society, (BFBS), Religious Tract Society, (RTS), and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, (SPCK), or the leading Temperance Societies.

In Chapter Three I will present an analysis of the style and content of both *The Band of Hope Review* and *British Workman*, and of the personnel involved in contributing the illustrations, the letterpress, the printing and publishing facilities, and the support networks, in order to better explain the complexities of periodicals production. A detailed analysis of the journal reveals the significance of the contributions made by the informal networking between Victorian philanthropic individuals and organizations, and provides evidence of how Smithies was able to draw upon the goodwill and co-operation of the wider philanthropic community. It will be seen that his personal commitment to a range of religious, temperance, and humanitarian ideals played a significant role in the establishment of the *British Workman*, and that his periodicals contributed to the extension and development of existing philanthropic networks.

⁵ Tweedie, W. *Temperance Year Book*, London, Wm. Tweedie, (1875): 8.

Chapter Four examines the modes of production, distribution and circulation of *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman* in order to more fully understand the fundamental importance of the support of pre-existing organisations to the continued publication of the two periodicals. The fact that both journals continued to be published in spite of considerable financial losses during the early years, and the personal moral anguish of Smithies himself, is an acknowledgement of the perceived importance of the contribution of the papers to the fight against drunkenness, immorality, and the effects of pernicious literature. The faith that Smithies maintained in the eventual success of the two papers, and the unwavering support he received from friends, demonstrates the strength and solidarity of purpose uniting philanthropists from different, and often conflicting, backgrounds, in pursuit of a common cause.

Undoubtedly the support and encouragement of subscribers and well-wishers determined that the *British Workman* continued publication beyond the first 'experimental'⁶ issues but, as I shall argue in Chapter Five, the superior quality of the wood-engravings immediately attracted the attention, and captured the imagination, of a number of influential establishment figures. The most prominent features of Smithies' journal were the physical size of the pages and the striking large scale wood-engraved illustrations, both of which marked the *British Workman* out as unique in temperance periodicals publishing. However, illustrating the paper was problematic and complex. Before the *British Workman* could be illustrated, appropriate pictorial matter had to be secured. Smithies' determination to give the people good pictures was one of the factors that differentiated the paper from existing forms of temperance literature and contributed the creation of a radically new approach to temperance propaganda for the working classes. Building on the reputation established with his juvenile paper *The Band of Hope Review*, Smithies set out to provide a pioneering paper for adults premised on a technically and morally elevated style of illustration, and complementary letterpress. I shall demonstrate through an investigation of his pioneering use of illustration, and comparison with other illustrated temperance and entertaining papers, that Thomas Smithies was the first person to offer the

⁶ *The National Temperance Chronicle*, February, (1855): 24.

working classes an enabling temperance education through the medium of illustration. In doing so he overturned existing modes of visual narrative as found in traditional forms of temperance literature. He challenged the working classes to extend their visual experiences by engaging with a visual language that extended the usual discourses on morality and respectability. An examination of representations of drinking and drunkenness, with specific reference to the 'Road to Ruin' narrative and the 'Gin Shop' motif and, in particular, an assessment of the contributions made by George Cruikshank in this respect, will serve as exemplars of Smithies' underlying educational philosophy. I shall argue that it was Smithies' intention that, in the case of the working classes, reading cheap periodical literature, and in particular the *British Workman*, should become increasingly associated with respectable, rather than morally degrading, leisure time pursuits.

Chapter Six focuses on two of the dominant themes of the periodical which in turn address two of the major concerns of Victorian society: middle-class perceptions of the working classes as they operated within the public arena, and contemporary discourses concerning the influence of the domestic environment on the promotion of respectable behaviour in working men and women. In these contexts specific images and texts drawn primarily from the *British Workman* will be evaluated in order to demonstrate the ways in which Smithies sought to reposition the working man in respect of middle-class concerns, and to validate the importance of the home and family, and of domestic responsibility, in the everyday lives of the working classes. I shall show how, through a series of repeated visual narratives and a consistent and encouraging editorial position, the working classes were guided towards a teetotal, and potentially fulfilling, lifestyle. Depictions of upright and respectable working men, and the promotion of a cult of domesticity through the repeated publication of detailed illustrations of the home and family, emphasised the benefits of temperance rather than the disadvantages of drunkenness, and reinforced sobriety and familial duty as indicators of respectability and social security.

The ultimate objective embodied in the *British Workman* was to promote the “health, wealth, and happiness”⁷ of the working classes through an acceptance of, and an adherence to, basic temperance and religious principles, and through participation in the rituals and practices of the Sabbath. To this end Smithies adopted a style of visual education that went completely against established temperance practices. Finally, in this chapter, I shall outline Smithies' contributions to the cult of domesticity in relation to his temperance agenda, and to middle class concerns about public order.

In conclusion I shall draw together the main strands of the arguments relating to the establishment of illustrated mass-circulation temperance periodicals and the introduction of a programme of popular temperance education. I shall consider the impact that Smithies and his periodicals had on the subsequent development of the religious and temperance literature, taking into consideration the introduction of popular titles such as *The British Workwoman* and *The Cottager and Artisan*, and several new series of monthly illustrated tracts from the main temperance societies. Finally I shall consider the potential for further scholarly research afforded by the extraordinary legacy represented by the huge collection of periodical literature and literary ephemera created by Smithies.

⁷ *British Workman*, No. 1. February, (1855): 1.

Chapter One.

Urban Working Class Morality, the Popular Periodical Press, and the Development of Religious and Temperance Periodicals Publishing in mid-Victorian Britain.

Chapter One. Urban Working Class Morality, the Popular Periodical Press, and the Development of Religious and Temperance Periodicals Publishing in mid-Victorian Britain.

This chapter explores some of the main sources of anxiety expressed by middle-class evangelicals and philanthropists in connection with the moral and spiritual condition of certain sections of the urban working classes. There is a great array of contemporary source material indicating that concern about the moral condition of the urban working classes was not just a 'Victorian' phenomenon.¹ It is evident that several factors, including overcrowding, immigration, immoral and debased pastimes and drink, were identified by some observers as the main contributors to the degraded condition of the working population.

London at that time [1835] had sunk to the lowest condition in its long history. Upwards of one million people and three quarters of souls were massed within a circle of six miles round the Tower; and a large emigration of political refugees from the continent, and of the most ignorant and superstitious from Ireland, were with its own neglected children adding tens of thousands yearly to its poor population. Large districts like St. Giles's... were covered with old dilapidated houses, the dank cellars and dark tenements of which were crowded with the squalid and dangerous classes. Many of these however were proud of their dwellings as the known haunts of highwaymen and murderers of the last generation. The prize ring was then a favourite pastime of multitudes in every rank of life, while debasing amusements of the rat pit and dog fighting were common in low neighbourhoods, the drink shops and dens being open both day and night... The then "new police" system had been introduced to act upon the increasing criminal classes and to keep the festering mass of ignorant, infidel, and violent men from breaking loose upon society. The Christians of the city looked on with sorrow and forebodings of judgement, but felt utterly unable to stem the mighty torrent of iniquity.²

While overcrowding, ignorance, and poor accommodation were recognised as major issues impacting on working class morality, so to were the "polluting" influences of "corrupt and infidel literature", and the lack of the "means by which

¹ Concerns about the corrupting influences of Sunday Newspapers were raised some years before the publication of popular titles like the *Sunday Times* (1822). See for example, Poyder, J. *Observations Upon Sunday Newspapers; Tending to Show the Impiety of Such a Violation of the Sabbath, the Religious and Political Evils Consequent upon the Practice, and the Necessity which Exists for its Suppression*, London, Hatchard & Son, 1820. Metropolitan Police founded by Robert Peel on the 29th September 1829 introducing repressive policing strategies in an attempt to contain the seething mass of the dangerous classes. *The Report of the Poor Law Commissioners*, (1833), complained of the influx of Irish labourers attracted by the "certainty of being supported by alms or parochial assistance." (See, Weylland, J. M., *These Fifty Years: Being the Jubilee Volume of the London City Mission*. London, S. W. Partridge, & Co., (1884): 7-8. While *The Times* and the *Morning Advertiser* carried reports from the police courts about the prevalence of drink fuelled crime in the 'eddies of civilized society' and the 'depraved' pastimes of the working classes. Weylland, J. M. *These Fifty Years*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co. (1884): 10-11.

² Weylland, J. M. *Round the Tower: The Story of the London City Mission*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co. (1891): 6-7.

to convey” the “rich and purifying influences of gospel truth among all classes of the people”.³ However, as Reverend John Garwood, Secretary of the London City Mission, later commented, “We have no satisfactory works upon this vast metropolis in any department... The object of [the present volume] has been to sketch... the mere outlines of the condition, physical, moral, and religious, of a few of the numerous classes into which the immense population of London may be divided.”⁴

The discussion here deals briefly with the perceived relationships between the effects of urbanization and industrialisation and the moral and spiritual condition of the working classes. I am particularly interested in working class attitudes towards religious observance and questions concerning the impact of intemperance on their moral, social, and economic circumstances. Also of interest here is the middle-class perception of a threat to the social fabric posed by increased literacy among the working classes and the ready availability, and popularity, of cheap periodicals and newspapers. I shall examine some of the issues that led to urgent calls from within religious publishing circles for a concerted effort on the part of the religious press to counteract the corruption ‘carried into every workshop and club’ by “freethinking literature”.⁵ Further, I shall argue that it was the apparent inability of publishers of religious and temperance literature to fully comprehend the nature of the problem, or to satisfactorily establish strategies to combat the demoralising and pernicious effects of both drunkenness and the popular press on the working-classes, that caused Thomas Bywater Smithies to set out to produce his own spiritually uplifting temperance periodicals.

³ Weylland, (1891): 16-17.

⁴ Garwood, Rev. J. *The Million Peopled City*, London, Wertheim & Macintosh, 1853.

⁵ Weylland (1891): 34. *The Freethinker and the Age of Reason* are specifically named in Pike. G. H. (ed), *Valiant for the Truth: The Autobiography of J. M. Weylland*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co. (1899): 47.

Working Class Morality and the Urban Condition.

As the comments made by Garwood and Weylland demonstrate, rapid population expansion in London during the first half of the century (Table 1) and in other urban centres like Manchester, Bradford and Birmingham, gave rise to serious concerns among evangelical groups about the spiritual and moral condition of those members of the lower classes living in degraded and overcrowded accommodation, constantly open to various immoral influences.⁶ Additionally, the possibility of major social unrest and public disorder arising from the blending of the “disaffected and dangerous of the native population” with “a large emigration of political refugees from the continent”, particularly from Paris, was “... a source of great anxiety to the ruling powers”.⁷

1801 - 864,845
1811 - 1,009,546
1821 - 1,225,694
1831 - 1,474,069
1841 - 1,870,727
1851 - 2,362,236

Table 1. To show increases in the population of London 1801 –1851. (Source Routledge's *Popular Guide to London*, c.1873).

Questions concerning the health and sanitary condition of the urban working classes were raised by members of the Anglican Church, and Bishop Bloomfield went so far as to suggest in 1839 that the State should take responsibility for the construction of model sanitary housing.⁸ Edwin Chadwick, an associate of Bloomfield's, published his *Report into the Sanitary Condition of the Working Classes* in 1842, the same year that the Society for Improving the Condition of the Working Classes was formed. Throughout the 1840s Lord Ashley gave speeches on the “Dwelling-places of the Working Classes”, and introduced Bills to

⁶ Not only had the population of London trebled between 1801 and 1861, by 1851 seven other urban centres i.e. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, Sheffield, and Bradford, had populations in excess of 100,000,

⁷ Weylland, (1884): 6.

⁸ Gibson, W. *Church, State, and Society 1760-1850*, London, Palgrave, (1994): 100.

Parliament on matters of public health and common lodging houses.⁹ In 1848, Sidney Godolphin Osborne, rector of Durweston, argued that low incomes and poverty not only debased the standard of living of the working classes, but also hindered their spiritual well-being. He argued that "... only 'fair wages... and decent dwellings' would release the poor from the bonds that prevented them from worshipping God."¹⁰ In his capacity as President of the Society for Improving the Condition of the Working Classes, Prince Albert commissioned the construction of model cottages "to promote the much needed improvement of the dwellings of the working classes" at The Great Exhibition, 1851.¹¹ However, opinion was divided as to the best way of tackling the fundamental causes of working class spiritual and moral degradation, and not all were convinced that improving working class housing was as high a priority as critics like Osborne were suggesting. As one observer pointed out, improving the quality of houses would not, on its own, solve the problem of raising the moral condition of the poor. Writing in the *Quarterly Review*, he argued the case for more, rather than better quality, accommodation stating, "No doubt the sordid dwelling has often undermined the virtue of the tenant, but invariably the sordid and vicious habits of the tenant reduce his dwelling to the level of his own degradation... The philanthropist must never forget that it is more urgent to multiply the dwellings of the poor even to improve them."¹²

While the reality of overcrowding directly impacted on the lifestyles of the working classes, their lack of religious instruction was the main concern for the Christian and evangelical communities. Ignorance of even the basics of religious knowledge, and a shortage of appropriate religious texts in the homes of the poor, were seen as the major stumbling blocks to their moral improvement. It was believed that their debased habits and customs, the popularity of the public house and the gin-shop, and their tastes in popular literature, all stemmed from religious ignorance, and the apparent inability of the church to influence the lives of the

⁹ 'The Public Health Bill', (1848); 'Lodging-houses for the Working Classes' (1851). *Speeches of the Earl of Shaftesbury: Upon subjects having relation chiefly to the claims and interests of the labouring class*, (1868), London, Elibron Classics, (reprint), nd.

¹⁰ Gibson (1994): 179.

¹¹ Royston Pike, E. *Human Documents of the Victorian Golden Age*, London, George Allen & Unwin, (1967): 242.

¹² *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 108, No. 215 July-October 1860: 3.

poorest sections of the community. The next section introduces some of the issues arising from urban overcrowding and its impact on responses from within the religious community to facilitate the provision of religious texts for the masses. As the practice of “circulating Divine Truth, either by diffusing the Word of God itself, or principles and reasonings drawn from that word”, in the form of bibles gospels tracts and periodicals was the “most effectual way”¹³ of reaching the population as a whole. Also under consideration are questions concerning the rise in popularity of the popular press, and the influences of pernicious literature on working class morality.

The Popular Press, Religious Publishing, and the Lower Classes, 1830-1850

In 1835 Rev. Baptist Noel,¹⁴ one of the original supporters of the London City Mission, published an outraged tract showing that despite the efforts of the church-building programme there were over half a million Londoners “living... without God, and without hope” in “close juxtaposition” with the middle classes. He made the following observations in a letter to the Bishop of London.

There is something, my Lord, unspeakably painful in the contemplation of this mass of immoral beings, in close juxtaposition with ourselves, living, as we have reason to fear, without God, and without hope; 500,000 sabbath-breakers, at the very least, in total neglect of the restraints of religion, communicate the plague of ungodliness to all around them; 20,000 are addicted to beggary, 30,000 are living by theft and fraud, 23,000 are annually picked up drunk in the streets, above 100,000 are habitual gin drinkers, and probably 100,000 have yielded themselves to systematic abandon and profligacy.¹⁵

It is unclear whether Baptist Noel’s concerns about the proximity of the 500,000 sabbath-breakers stemmed from their potential to contaminate the middle classes with their “ungodliness”, or the fact that within a “Christian metropolis” so many

¹³*The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, Vol. 30, London, Francis Westley, (1822): 156-15.

¹⁴ Noel, Baptist Wriothesley (1789-1873) divine, evangelical Baptist minister, publisher of controversial pamphlets and devotional works, *DNB*.

¹⁵ Weyland, (1891): 8.

were outside the influence of the “large but slumbering church”.¹⁶ Appalled by the spiritual condition of the working classes, Noel particularly attacked Sabbath breaking, spirit drinking, the growth of mendicancy, gambling, and prostitution, (the predominant vices among the lower classes of urban populations). He was also concerned about influences picked up in prisons which, in his view, were providing children and adults with “training for theft and vice”.¹⁷ Evidence of the degraded physical, social, and religious condition of large sections of the densely populated districts that emerged from a number of investigations undertaken during the first half of the century, and the absence of a moral compass in the lives of people variously labelled ‘dangerous’, ‘perilous’ and, ‘criminal’, increased the sense of urgency experienced by middle class evangelicals. John Garwood, Secretary to the London City Mission, was acutely aware that little progress had been made during the fifteen years since Baptist Noel first voiced his concerns and, at mid-century, one class of society was living ‘separate’ from, and ‘unmindful’ of the other, and only recently “awakened, as if from a dream, to the real condition of... the majority...”.¹⁸

It was not until city missionaries, drawn largely from the working-classes, began to make visits in areas such as Kent Street District, St.Giles, and Lisson Grove, compiling detailed reports and statistics, that irrefutable evidence of the condition of the poor became available. Most alarming was the revelation that despite the earlier survey by the British and Foreign Bible Society, Bibles and Gospels were still absent from the homes of so many.¹⁹ Tracts and other texts had been

¹⁶ Weyland, (1891): 7.

¹⁷ Lewis, D. M. *Lighten Their Darkness*, Cumbria, Paternoster Publishing, (2001): 50.

¹⁸ In 1813 the British and Foreign Bible Society reported that less than half of the families canvassed in Southwark, (400 out of 900), possessed a Bible or Testament and just over 50% could read, (2,700 out of 4,500). Further investigations in Bloomsbury revealed that 1,900 out of 2,500 families visited were “entirely destitute of the Scriptures”. In the six poorest districts it was calculated that there was just 1 Bible per 120 individuals. Ranyard E. *The Book and its Missions*, Vol. II London, William Kent & Co (1857): 128-129. Reports from missionaries in other large urban centres painted a similar picture. Missionaries in Leeds bemoaned the fact that out of “450 families, nearly one-third... make no pretension to religion; and a great number of those who make a profession, live in total neglect of public worship”; only “one family out of seven... attend any place of worship” Leeds City Mission, *Annual Report*, (1840): 21 & 25. Rev. Garwood’s observations, recorded in 1853, reinforced the problems that evangelical bodies had in ensuring adequate supplies of religious texts in London during this period of unprecedented population growth. See, Garwood, J. (1853): x; 2-6.

¹⁹ The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the Religious Tract Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society were established in order to facilitate the distribution of religious literature to the needy both at home and overseas.

distributed in large quantities.²⁰ Nevertheless, a survey undertaken by the fledgling London City Mission, 1838, provided the "...first proof of the heathenish condition of its [London] masses", and established that thousands of poor families in London had little or no religious literature in their homes. Of 14,240 families visited by the missionaries 10,869 or, 76%, "had not a single page of God's word in their possession; and the ignorance they displayed, even concerning what it was, passed belief".²¹ A lack of suitable religious periodicals for mass circulation among the working classes determined that Bibles and tracts were the only religious texts available to them. The Bible and Tract Societies were not short of standard texts to distribute at this time but they were not always popular among the class for whom they were intended and, for the poorest members of the population, the cost of Bibles and Gospels was a barrier to acquiring them. Additionally, attitudes towards tract distributors and some methods of tract distribution, within some sections of the working classes, compounded the problems. Consequently, deficiencies in the nature of available reading matter, and existing practices for the dissemination of religious texts, combined with complex problems associated with rapid urban expansion, meant that the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract Society, the Society for the Provision of Christian Knowledge, and others, were ill equipped to achieve the object of reaching the poorest communities with appropriate reading matter. It often fell to enterprising individuals to suggest or introduce alternative strategies for confronting the problems posed by an increasingly popular secular press.

Individual Responses to the Circulation of Infidel Literature.

Louis James has argued that the publication of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*, (1791), was the 'first shot' in a media war between the Radical reformers and the Church and State. A battle for the control of a nascent popular press, and

²⁰ By the early 1820s the Religious Tract Society alone had issued some 45 million tracts since its establishment in 1799, with 4,833,770 of that number having been distributed in 1820, and 5,222,470 in 1821. *The Evangelical Magazine*, June (1822): 240.

²¹ Weylland, J. M. (1884): 37.

the hearts and minds of increasingly literate working men.²² The authority of the Bible, the book most commonly found in poorer cottages and households and often the only serious literature owned by the poor, was openly challenged by Paine and “precipitated a flood” of “anti infidel” literature. It was largely in response to the popularity of Paine’s infidel publications that Hannah More commenced issuing her *Cheap Repository Tracts* in 1795, over two million copies of which were sold or distributed during the first two years publication thereby establishing religious tracts as a major feature of cheap publishing.²³ By the 1830s the possible politicising influences of the cheap, unstamped newspapers on the newly literate working classes compounded previously held fears. The decision of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge to sponsor Charles Knight’s production of *The Penny Magazine* (1832-46), has to be seen in the wider context of a growing middle-class concern that a rapidly increasing and urbanizing working class posed a potential source of oppositional unrest and dissent, fuelled in part by a radical, and largely illegal, secular press.²⁴

The evil (if it be an evil) is already in being. The demand of the public has already called into existence penny periodical publications, of which eight or ten have established a regular sale. It will be cheering intelligence to those who would have dissuaded from this undertaking, that the most noxious of them have been hitherto the least successful. The channel, then, is open. Through its course must flow much of the information conveyed to the minds of a large and increasing class of readers. We are called upon to pour into it, as far as we are able, clear waters from the pure and healthy springs of knowledge. That duty we will not neglect; in the attempt to fulfil it we think that we ought not to fail.²⁵

Recognising that, “The demand of the public has already called into existence the penny periodical publication, of which eight or ten have established a regular

²² Louis James, *Print and the People*, London, Allen Lane, (1976): 29. Richard Altick discusses the circulation of this work in some detail while accurate circulation figures are not available he concludes that ‘figures of The Rights of Man are impressive’. See *The English Common Reader*, Chicago, University of Chicago, Press, (1957): 70-71.

²³ Louis James, (1976): 29.

²⁴ See, for example, Weiner, J. H. *The War of the Unstamped. The Movement to Repeal the British Newspaper Tax, 1830-1836*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. (1969). For a concise overview of the main issues see, Wasson, E. A. ‘The Whigs and the Press 1800-1850’, in *Parliamentary History*, Vol. 25. 1. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, (2006): 68-87.

²⁵ ‘A Postscript to Our First Readers’, *The Penny Magazine*, No 1 March 1832. Patricia Anderson’s argument that the *Penny Magazine* brought to working people the type of art images that were previously only available to the social elite, while at the same time providing a valuable contribution to the field of education, thereby altering the general public’s day to day visual experience, sidesteps the important political debate that was occurring at the time in favour of concentrating on a chronological timeline of illustrated periodical progress. See, Anderson, P. *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790 - 1860*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, (1991): 49-83.

sale”, Knight hoped that his paper would offer an alternative to those ‘evil’ titles offering articles on politics and crime. By becoming an integral part of the working man’s reading habits, *The Penny Magazine*, would provide, “clear waters from the pure and healthy springs of knowledge”. While it is true that Knight felt that fostering a greater awareness of the arts across a wider spectrum of society via the medium of a mass-circulation penny weekly would have a beneficial effect on British industrial design and, hopefully elevate the moral and intellectual profile of the general public, it was also calculated that *The Penny Magazine* might divert popular attention away from those dissident publications of the unstamped press. In the same article Knight also argued that the popular press was the most appropriate vehicle for educating the masses. He drew attention to the “curious custom” among the Mahomedans of never destroying “any fragment of paper” on which the word of the Prophet might be written and distributed, declaring that, “In the desire, and certainly in the power of enlightening their fellow-creatures, the Christian need fear no comparison with the Mahomedan world; but, in the mode of accomplishing, this object, the custom alluded to affords a lesson for study, and an example for imitation”.

The Expansion of the Religious Press and the Publication and Distribution of Periodicals and Tracts

According to Josef Altholz the ready availability of cheap publications, and the expansion of working class reading during the 1840s prompted the publication of a number of religious periodicals in the hope of attracting the working class consumer to a more elevating type of literature.²⁶ Several cheap religious periodicals were published during the 1820s as, “...efforts to provide virtuous reading matter for the poor”, including William Carus Wilson’s the *Friendly Visitor*, (1819), the *Christian Reporter*, (1820), and the *Cottager’s Monthly Visitor*, (1821), but they failed to make much impact among the lower classes.

²⁶ Although the Religious Tract Society began issuing periodicals in the 1820s it was not until the 1850s and 1860s that they became more ‘popular’ and widely circulated with the introduction of the *Leisure Hour*, (1852), the *Sunday at Home*, (1854), and *The Cottager and Artisan*, (1861). However, as Altholz suggests, they did not achieve ‘best-seller status’ until the publication of the *Boy’s Own Paper* in 1879. See Altholz, J. *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, (1989): 2, 48.

There followed the weekly *Christian's Penny Magazine* (1832), (an imitator of the *Penny Magazine*), the *Christian Lady's Magazine*, (1834), and the monthly *Christian's Penny Magazine and Friend of the People*, (1846). Altholz suggests that these publications were out of step with the realities of urban existence, looking backwards to an outdated pre-industrial value system with little relevance to modern industrial society. Joseph Altholz and Louis Billington argued that religious periodicals largely failed and, "...must have alienated most lower-class readers". At best, these periodicals sold only a few thousand copies per issue, limited as they were by their narrowly pious and denominational character.²⁷ Problems were not just confined to periodical literature; appropriate tracts were also in short supply. During the 1840s, *Annual Reports* of the London City Mission acknowledged that there was a shortage of appropriate material, suggesting that tracts written by working men might, "meet with a more peculiar acceptance with working men...and... be more precisely adapted to the habits and modes of thought of the classes among whom they would be circulated."²⁸ While it was recognised that the press was, "...the best mode of imparting religious instruction... to that numerous and important portion..." of the population, it was felt that the Religious Tract Society, the principal organisation for publishing such literature, was unable to supply the want.²⁹

But the flood of tracts had other effects which were far less conducive to the spread of interest in reading. The most serious mistake made by Hannah More and her generations of disciples was to underestimate the independence and intelligence of the humbly born Englishman. Their assumption was that he was a dull beast who, if treated with some kindness, could be relied upon to follow the bidding of his superiors. They did not reckon on the possibility that he had a mind of his own... Because of this, tracts and the bearers of tracts often rubbed him up the wrong way.³⁰

It is also evident that things had not improved greatly by the mid 1850s when Smithies established the *British Workman*, when religious periodicals, generally, still only achieved modest circulations, (although the *Methodist Recorder* appears to have been an exception). (Table 2)

²⁷ Altholz, (1989): 136. See also Billington, L. 'The Religious Periodical and Newspaper Press, 1770-1870', in Harris, M. and Lee, A. (eds) *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*, London, Associated University Presses, (1986): 120, 126-127.

²⁸ *Annual Report* London City Mission, (1840): 17.

²⁹ *Annual Report* London City Mission, (1849): 22.

³⁰ Altick (1957): 104. In 1847 William Oakey had argued that religious tract writing had failed to keep pace with the growing intelligence of the reading public, and failed to capture public interest. See Oakey, W. *The Power of the Press*, London, Partridge & Oakey, (1847): 4.

<i>British Standard</i> (Evangelical)	1,000	1860 (E)
<i>Methodist Recorder</i>	20,000	1865 (E)
<i>Record</i> (Evangelical)	4,000	1855 (E)
<i>Universe</i> (Roman Catholic)	5,000	1860 (E)
<i>Watchman</i> (Methodist)	3,200	1855 (E)
<i>English Churchman</i> (High Clergy)	1,200	1855 (E)
<i>Guardian</i> (High Church)	4,000	1855 (E)
<i>Nonconformist</i> (M/Class Dissenters)	3,000	1855 (E)
<i>Patriot</i> (Congregationalist)	2,200	1855 (E)

Table 2. Religious Periodicals, and their Circulations at Mid Century. (Source Ellegård)³¹

The *Monthly Messenger*, a tract issued by the RTS, had a circulation in the region of 60,000 copies per month by 1848, although the publication was a freely distributed tract and not a periodical in the usual sense. Also, it was distributed regardless of social distinction and probably appealed as much, if not more, to middle class readers. With no cheap, popular religious periodical to sell or distribute among the working classes, Bibles, testaments, and tracts were the main form of approved morally uplifting reading matter circulating among the urban poor. An examination of the available literature indicates that only a limited range of the reading material that was produced might actually have stimulated the interest of those deemed most in need of reform.

By mid-nineteenth century the practice of gratuitous circulation and distribution of tracts and periodicals was widespread. Subscribers to the Religious Tract Society, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the supporters of the London Missionary Society, Ragged Schools Movement, Sunday Schools, Bands of Hope, the County and Town Missionary Societies, and a plethora of other philanthropic agencies, large and small, provided funding for the printing, publishing and distribution of Bibles, Testaments, tracts and other 'approved' religious and improving literature. As was often the case, not all of the literature funded or donated was destined for the homes of those in need, and evidence suggests that a considerable number of texts were intended to benefit the missionary societies and their missionaries and to help them to meet the challenges of their philanthropic work. An analysis of the notice of texts received by the committee of the London City Mission over the course of the year, (Table

³¹ Ellegård, A. 'The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain' *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*. No.13. September, (1971): 7-9.

3.) provides a snapshot of the types of literature presented to the Society in the early 1850s. The quantities donated by various individuals, members of the clergy, and publishing houses suggest that very few of the titles received were for gratuitous circulation to the poor. Some of the texts were added to the Mission library for reference purposes, while copies of the *People's Almanack* were specifically donated for distribution to the missionaries themselves. Only *The Throne of Grace*, and *Address to the Sabbath* were provided in sufficient numbers for them to be distributed as a loan tract. However, in addition the committee also acknowledged receipt of an undisclosed number of unnamed tracts, magazines, reports, books and Bibles that may also have been for distribution to the poor in one way or another.

<i>The Catholic Layman</i>	6 Monthly
<i>The Bulwark</i>	5 Monthly
<i>Short Prayers</i>	100 Copies
<i>Address to the Sabbath</i>	1,000 Copies
<i>Sermons on the 1st. 2nd. & 3rd Chapters of the 1st. Epistle of Peter.</i>	318 Copies
<i>Sermons on the 7th. Chapter of Romans.</i>	318 Copies
<i>The Throne of Grace</i>	20,000 Copies
<i>Secularism</i>	300 Copies
<i>Churchmen's Penny Magazine</i>	120 Copies
<i>People's Almanack</i>	350 Copies
<i>Sermons of Rev. Richard Davies</i>	30 Copies

Table 3. Titles and Quantities of Texts Acknowledged in the Annual Report of the Committee of the London City Mission, 1854.

As the figures in Table 4 suggest, the London City Mission, supported by grants from the RTS and other sources, played an increasingly important role in distributing tracts and other religious matter to the most deprived districts. Employing working class missionaries more familiar with the sensibilities and characteristics of the poor working classes and, therefore, potentially less antagonistic to the populations within they were operating.

By the mid 1850s working class women were beginning to augment the work of the male missionaries of the London City Mission, as Ellen Ranyard's 'Bible women' were selected, partially funded and supervised by middle class females, a

number of whom may previously have been district visitors themselves.³²

According to Ranyard,

The new agency arose amid this class. The first Bible-woman could say to those she visited, "I am quite as poor as you are," and "I know your ways." When God has a work of salvation to do, He always provides the right people to do it. Educated ladies would not have been the missionaries for these Magdalens, whose doors were closed against all respectable approach. "Out," "out," "out," is said of them day after day to the Clergyman, the City Missionary, and the Lady Visitor— all too holy, and good and clean for them- of no use to them, except as persons from whom they might beg.³³

YEAR	Visits	Tracts
1848	894,339	1,115,803
1849	952,082	1,151,817
1850	1,018,346	1,197,953
1851	1,180,911	1,326,372
1852	1,176,055	1,729,478
1853	1,240,318	1,766,131
1854	-	1,931,705
1855	1,484,563	2,092,854
1856	1,499,891	2,278,584
1857	1,528,162	2,109,375
1858	1,618,277	2,352,544
Total	12,592,944	19,052,416

Table 4. Home Visits Made and Tracts Distributed by the LCM 1848-1858

Tract distribution continued unabated. In 1861 the Religious Tract Society issued 41,883,921 publications of various kinds, about twenty million of which were English tracts and handbills. The grants of free copies of periodicals and other literature to institutions such as prisons, libraries, and workhouses amounted to 5,762,241 items. The RTS was not the only agency undertaking such work. In the same year the British and Foreign Bible Society issued over half a million copies of the Old Testament and a similar number of New Testaments while the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge circulated 157,358 bibles and 78,234 New Testaments. Between them the 389 missionaries of the London City Mission distributed 11,458 copies of the scriptures and 2,721,730 tracts, although the LCM figures would undoubtedly have included tracts granted by the RTS and

³² Ranyard claimed that religious texts, and the Bible in particular, would seldom be received by the 'refuse of the population' from the 'hand of a lady or gentleman'. *The Book and its Missions* Vol II (1857): 254.

³³ See L N R, *The Missing Link; or, Bible-Women in the Homes of the London Poor*, London, James Nisbet, (1858): 225-226.

it is also likely that other bodies involved in distributing 'pure literature', including the Weekly Tract Society, the English Monthly Tract Society, the Bible Society, and Bible Women, would also have circulated items already accounted for in the RTS figures. However, despite the efforts of district visitors, scripture readers, city missionaries, and other tract distributors, concerns about the lack of suitable reading matter and the continuing popularity of cheap secular periodicals regularly resurfaced.

As the LCM extended the scale of its operations, employing more missionaries and making more visits to the homes of previously neglected families, the number of known instances of need grew ever greater. The British and Foreign Bible Society was no longer able to maintain a guaranteed supply of cheap Bibles in order to meet the objectives of the missionaries or the needs of the poor. Additionally, contemporary sources suggest that the tracts available from the Religious Tract Society were largely ignored by the working class recipients.³⁴ Furthermore, amid changing perceptions within middle-class philanthropic agencies as to the threats posed by the working classes, and in particular the working class poor, questions were raised concerning the effectiveness of established methods of tract distribution and, in particular, the appropriateness of having ladies perform home visits. Hitherto seen as an important part of the process of disseminating approved literature to the poor in that it facilitated a bond, or a kind of 'social contract',³⁵ that transcended the class barrier, tract distribution and home visiting provided a means of ascertaining whether the potential recipients of aid were deserving charitable cases or not. Nevertheless, there were several reasons why the practice went into decline, some of which are discussed below.

³⁴ For a number of reasons, by the early 1850s the BFBS was caught up in wrangle surrounding a perceived need to keep providing cheap, luxury editions of the Bible for their middle-class subscribers even when this meant diverting resources and funding away from adequate provision of Bibles that the poor could afford to purchase on small subscriptions. For a full account of the functions and effects of the BFBS at this time see Howsam, L. *Cheap Bibles*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2002): 150-180.

³⁵ See, Ranyard, E. (1858), for a full account of the 'social contract' from the perspective of home visits to the poor.

Tract Distribution in Practice at mid-Century

The deterioration in the habits and living conditions of the overcrowded, slum-dwelling, and increasingly immoral and 'dangerous', or 'criminal',³⁶ classes of the capital, and the perception that they were completely untouched by religion, meant that the home visits which had long been the domain of middle-class ladies, and a significant part of their philanthropic activities, were, by the 1850s, either considered wholly unsuitable for the sensitive and delicate female disposition, or deemed more appropriately undertaken, or supervised by, professional male clergy.³⁷ The systematic visiting of the lowest strata of London's population was, by this time, increasingly undertaken by working class male missionaries and less by the female members of a middle class that was increasingly distancing itself physically, geographically, and ideologically, from the working classes. As Ellen Ranyard argued in support of her working class Bible-women, "It can hardly be expected that the collectors of the Ladies Bible Associations should visit the lowest and most degraded portions of our towns and cities..."³⁸ The optimism and enthusiasm projected through official reports was not always a complete and accurate assessment of what was being experienced at grass root level where, "every door of access [was] shut against them by brutality and prejudice."³⁹ Some visitors experienced a "fear of penetrating into dark and filthy interiors", and a sense of demoralisation from a perceived lack of progress owing to the magnitude of the task.⁴⁰ Problems were exacerbated by the limited time that some

³⁶ See Thomas, D. who states that *Frazer's Magazine* 'first warned its readers of the existence of a new and well organized criminal class', in 1832. *The Victorian Underworld*, London, John Murray, 1998: 1. Mary Carpenter referred to 'the children of the perishing and dangerous classes', (my emphasis) in the title of her book advocating the setting up of reformatory schools for juvenile offenders. See, Carpenter, M. *Reformatory Schools: For the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders*, (1851).

³⁷ Ranyard (1857): 181. Suggestions that home visits were too upsetting to middle-class ladies of a delicate disposition occur frequently in the publications produced by Ellen Ranyard. It has to be borne in mind, however, that in presenting such arguments she was also validating continued, and increased support, for her Bible women from middle-class ladies willing to act as supervisors. To a certain extent, supervising Bible women opened up opportunities for females of a delicate disposition to make a contribution to philanthropic work by proxy while creating alternative roles for ladies displaced by male professionals. For a discussion of the impact of the new 'professional male clergyman' on previously female dominated domestic visiting practices see Elliott, D. W. *The Angel Out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth Century England*, London, University Press of Virginia, (2002): 145-149.

³⁸ Ranyard, (1856): 161.

³⁹ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 108, No. 215 July-October (1860): 6.

⁴⁰ Hewitt, M. 'The Travails of Domestic Visiting: Manchester, 1830-70'. in *Historical Research* Vol. 71/175, (1998): 223-224.

ladies were willing, or able, to allocate to home visiting which in some cases amounted to a mere two or three hours per week.⁴¹ The situation was not much improved in other urban centres.

As Martin Hewitt argues, the amount of work expected of the city missionaries in Manchester often meant that regular visits were difficult to maintain. The availability of resources and the scale of the problem often meant that, despite good intentions, it was not always possible to adhere to even a six week cycle. Additionally, it was becoming increasingly difficult for incumbents in some parishes “denuded of their middle-class inhabitants” to organise ways to overcome the geographical “division of the classes”.⁴² Consequently it was deemed necessary to adopt new strategies for re-establishing some contact with those whom Ellen Ranyard called “our sunken sixth”.⁴³ Along with arguments as to who should be responsible for visiting the lower strata of the working classes, handing out tracts and supplying Bibles and other religious texts as part of their routine tasks, there were issues concerning some of the methods adopted by tract distributors that also needed to be addressed.

Some of the strategies adopted for the distribution of tracts abandoned the personal transaction between the donor and the recipient, a much prized aspect of the lady visitor system. This often resulted in a more casual and less effective process, resulting in the ‘Missing Link’ identified by Ranyard. There is a clear reference to the sometimes indiscriminate nature of tract distribution in Ford Madox Brown’s contemporary painting, *Work*, (1852-1863), in which a female tract distributor is portrayed ‘flinging’ a copy of, ‘The Hodman’s Haven, or drink for thirsty souls’ into the cavernous hole excavated by the navvies. The motif of the tract distributor was included at the request of Thomas Plint,⁴⁴ an ardent

⁴¹ Ranyard (1859): 45. See also Prochaska, F. *Women and Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, (1980): 126, and the *Quarterly Review* Vol 108 No. 215 (1860): 6, and Vol 97, No 194 (1855): 444.

⁴² Hewitt (1998): 212 & 218. As difficult as the situation might have been in other industrial centres, Ellen Ranyard claimed that in London at mid-century the number of clergy charged with duties at a parochial level needed to be doubled in order to reach a ratio of 1 to 2000 of the population. See *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 108, No. 215 July-October (1860): 6.

⁴³ Ranyard, (1860): 245.

⁴⁴ Thomas Plint (1823-61) Leeds industrialist, stockbroker, art collector and temperance supporter, *DNB*.

temperance supporter, who wrote to Brown in November 1856 asking, “could you... change one of the four *fashionable* young ladies into a *quiet, earnest, holy-looking* one, with a book or two and *tracts*. I want *this* put in for I am much interested in *this* work myself...”⁴⁵ The result was a depiction which, perhaps, suggested Madox Brown’s attitude towards tract distribution, (and temperance issues), rather than that of Plint himself.

The following article from an early number of *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar’s Friend* offers a snapshot of the ways in which tract distributors were encouraged to carry out their tasks and take advantage of any special opportunities that might present themselves.

To Travellers in 1851. This year will present unprecedented opportunities for doing extensive good. We trust that no professing Christian will travel without procuring a supply of good seed in the form of tracts, (Religious, Temperance, Peace, &c.) and scattering them broadcast, in the train, at the station, on the steam boat, in the boarding house, omnibuses, &c., Worldly men will be active and in earnest; let Christians be equally so.⁴⁶

A coda to the piece suggested that, ‘scattering them broadcast’ paid handsome dividends, recalling that, “A notorious character in M-, was on his way to a prize fight. A gentlemen dropped a Tract from a carriage. The Boxer took it up and read attentively...”⁴⁷ No opportunity was considered fruitless and rather fanciful notions of the usefulness of tracts continued to be reported. ‘The Tract in the Sole of a Shoe’ tells of the occasion when someone re-soling his shoe, ‘on the Sabbath morn’, found a tract that had previously been used by a shoemaker who, “instead of reading it, used it in filling up the space between the inner and outer sole of the shoe”. We are informed that the tract, described as an, “arrow from the quiver of the Almighty”, caused the man to lay aside his work and hasten “to the house of God”.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Hueffer, Ford M. *Ford Madox Brown: a Record of His Life and Works*, London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1896. For Madox Brown’s explanation of the painting see, Golby, J. M.(ed) *Work and Society in Britain, 1850-1890*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, (1986): 115.

⁴⁶ *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar’s Friend*, No. 5. May, 1851: 20.

⁴⁷ *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar’s Friend*, No. 5. May, 1851: 20.

⁴⁸ *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar’s Friend*, No. 31. July, 1855: 26. Similar anecdotal stories were often reported to encourage tract distribution even in the face of great difficulty or abuse. See, also, ‘The Despised Tract’, *BHR* No. 53. May, 1855: 116. The inclusion of such pieces in the *BHR* was also intended to stimulate the circulation and distribution of that particular publication.

However, the idea of having old ladies dropping monotonous fly-leaves into pockets, or throwing them into cabs, was a source of amusement for some outside evangelical circles, as was the spectacle of a "...cat-footed, crane-necked, whispering... race of pew-openers", hanging around theatre doorways, handing out tracts to those bound for the bottomless pit.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the practice of random and indiscriminate tract distribution persisted. One tract distributor declared, "I have often traversed at night different parts of several large cities... and thrown tracts in at the doors and down the areas of houses, and thus quietly introduced these faithful monitors into habitations into which by any more open method they never would have found access..."⁵⁰ Various accounts describing methods of tract distribution lend weight to the notion that middle class involvement in practices of home visiting and tract distribution was becoming more ideologically problematic and, as a consequence, less effective. This was more particularly the case in the less affluent and more densely populated districts. Throwing in tracts at doors, flinging them down holes, and scattering them from carriage windows, gave no guarantee that tracts were either received by the intended recipients, or read by them.⁵¹ As Altick has argued, it was not just methods of tract distribution that mitigated against the usefulness of this type of literature, the contents of many of the tracts issued 'was scarcely better calculated to win the assent of humble readers' than the methods of distribution and, when interviewed, some lodging house residents declared that they were used to light pipes.⁵² The religious and temperance literature that was handed out by district visitors and missionaries, and occasionally in an indiscriminate manner, was no real competition for the popular magazine or newspaper that was commonly found in the working class home.

⁴⁹ Dallas, E. S. 'The Periodical Press' Popular Literature- Tracts', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 85, No. 523, May (1859): 515.

⁵⁰ *The Christian Monitor* (1864/5): 276.

⁵¹ Dallas, (1859): 516-517.

⁵² Altick, (1957): 105-108.

'The Power of the Press'⁵³, Popular Literature and the Effectiveness of the Religious Press.

It was the responsibility of the two main suppliers of religious literature, the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and the Religious Tract Society (RTS) to supply affordable and interesting texts in order to counteract the perceived threat to the moral and spiritual health of the working-classes arising from their consumption of pernicious publications. However, a detailed analysis of the figures for literature produced by the main issuing bodies as compiled by William Oakey, one of the leading publishers of religious matter, suggested that religious publishing was not keeping pace with the output of the 'Popular Press' and its capacity to feed the "craving taste of the masses". According to Oakey, Satan was winning the battle by corrupting and perverting the, "multitudinous minds of our densely populated cities", through the medium of a press that was either directly, or indirectly, opposed to vital religion.⁵⁴

During the 1840s, some Auxiliaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society struggled to meet the demands for cheap Bibles and Testaments and, for reasons as outlined above, a considerable proportion of the literature issued was not always put into the hands of the most needy. While Ellen Ranyard rejoiced in the rapidly increased distribution in Blackpool, Manchester, Liverpool, and Derby, (as well as other urban centres such as Leicester and Bristol), where, following vigorous canvassing and experimental sales tactics, numbers increased more than tenfold, supplies at Depots ran out and were not replenished for months.⁵⁵ By the early 1850s a decline in membership and effectiveness of the Ladies' Associations of the BFBS, and the subsequent shortage of willing canvassers and distributors, prompted calls for the financing of a national system of colportage to promote increased sales. This system had been employed with varying degrees of success in a number of towns across the country although the BFBS was reluctant

⁵³ Oakey, W. *The Power of the Press*, London, Partridge & Oakey, 1847.

⁵⁴ Oakey (1847): 4-5.

⁵⁵ According to figures quoted by Ranyard the Manchester depositary issued 96,711 copies of the scriptures during a twelve month period 1845-46, a number equal to the total for the previous twelve years. However, Howsam states that as a result of James Dilworth's innovative method of selling Bibles at a discounted rate to the poor and asking wealthier patrons to make up the difference, the shelves at Manchester remained empty for two months. Not only were tens of thousands of extra sales lost as a consequence, rival depositaries were established, in direct competition to the BFBS. See Howsam (2002): 163-165.

to fund such ventures on a national basis before 1853.⁵⁶ Furthermore, as Howsam argues, the limited capacity of the BFBS to embrace innovative ideas, for fear that the principle of distribution, “without note or comment”, might be compromised, severely hampered the potential for improvements in the short term.⁵⁷ The BFBS was reluctant to adapt its constitution and practices in order to accommodate rapidly changing circumstances. Sales of books at home could not keep pace with national increases in population or in wealth, and comments were made concerning the “...languishing interests of the society.”⁵⁸ Oakey was of the opinion that the RTS and the BFBS had both fallen into the same trap – dividing their interest between circulation and production. He argued that, had this not been the case, the annual circulation of pamphlets and tracts in the period up to mid-century could have been in excess of seventy millions. The RTS was not having much better success in addressing issues related to the public’s preference for inappropriate cheap literature, but for different reasons. There was concern from several quarters not only about the number of items circulated, but also the quality of the literature that was being produced by the RTS. It was particularly worrying for some commentators from within the middle classes, who were of the opinion that the tracts of the Religious Tract Society were considered to be so poor, “no utterly stale and unprofitable”, that they were largely ineffectual and discarded, rather than read, by those to whom they were distributed in the greatest quantities. Furthermore, it was claimed that even those working within the church were apparently so disillusioned with the quality of RTS tracts that it spurred the likes of Bonar, Alexander, Bickersteth, and Ryle, to create their own more worthwhile series.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ The Bible Association at Lutterworth profited greatly from the efforts of a particularly diligent colporteur who regularly visited every house in his allocated circuit. Despite the impressive statistics available from Lutterworth it was not until a special Jubilee Fund was raised in 1853 that the committee resolved to adopt, as far as possible, an extensive and efficient system of colportage throughout Great Britain”. See *The Book and its Mission*, (1856): 161-162.

⁵⁷ Howsam (2002): 180.

⁵⁸ Howsam (2002): 180-187. As late as 1857, the London City Mission was “grieved to add” that supplies of Bibles and Testaments were “inadequate to the wants of the people” and that almost 4,000 more families were without the Scriptures than had been the case in the previous year. See *Annual Report, London City Mission*, (1857): 28.

⁵⁹ See *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, No. 522, Vol. 85. May (1859): 516.

Identifying the 'Devil's Press'

While Oakey produced detailed figures in support of his claims he refrained from identifying specific titles referring instead to the "London weekly newspaper press". His main targets however, were the Sunday newspapers.

On the threshold of this part of the subject, an awful fact presents itself, viz., that according to the returns before quoted, the weekly papers which have the largest circulation, are obnoxiously irreligious and demoralizing. Three may be specially named:- No. 1. is a paper which in 1843 consumed no less a number of stamps than 3,275,000... Next comes a paper which in its very title, pours contempt upon the Sabbath, and blazons fourth its daring irreligion... Then follows a paper devoted to the maintenance of the baser passions of humanity... Issues of Three Sabbath Papers... 5,369,000.⁶⁰

Sunday papers were considered to be particularly problematic as they were variously seen as vehicles of political subversion, atheism and ribaldry, and Parliament was pressed on more than one occasion to have them suppressed on both political and Sabbatarian grounds. Despite the approbation of moralists concerned by the types of reading matter being consumed by the broad mass of the lower classes, the Sunday papers were bought in increasing numbers by an eager public attracted by the mixture of crime, scandal, and serialised fiction. While titles such as the *Sunday Times*, (1822), and the *Observer*, (1791), had weekly circulations hovering around the 8,000 mark by the early 1850s, several publications, including *Lloyd's Weekly*, (1842), the *News of the World*, (1843), and *Reynolds's Weekly News*, (1850), rapidly established extensive circulations. *Lloyd's Weekly*, (initially selling for 1d. unstamped), was recording sales in excess of 100,000 copies per week by 1854 despite a price increase to 3d. in order to overcome problems with the Stamp Office. The *News of the World* was also recording similar sales by this date, (Table 5).

<i>News of the World</i>	109,000	1854 (W)
<i>Lloyd's Weekly</i>	107,000	1854 (W)
<i>Family Herald</i>	240,000	1855 (E)
<i>London Journal</i>	510,000	1855 (K)
<i>Reynolds's Miscellany</i>	200,000	1855 (A)

Table 5. Estimated Circulations of Popular Newspapers at mid-Nineteenth Century.
Sources, (W). Wadsworth; (E). Ellegard; (K). King; (A.) Altick.

⁶⁰ Oakey (1847): 7.

The sales of Sunday papers 'took off' in the 1840s and rose significantly during the course of the following decade, stimulated by the abolition of Advertisement Duty, (1853), and the abolition of Stamp Duty, (1855). The rapidity with which circulations grew was a clear indication of the broadening of the consumer base enlarged by greater numbers of working class readers, advances in the levels of adult literacy in the lower strata of society, and the continued expansion of the market in mass-circulation periodicals. The level of concern among those sections of society who felt that the working-classes continued to represent a potentially serious threat to the status quo, as a consequence of their social debasement and want of sound moral and religious instruction, showed little sign of diminishing. Even popular family reading journals like the *Family Herald* and the *London Journal* were deemed to be quite inappropriate by commentators keen to draw attention to the sensational nature of the serialised fiction. The regular inclusion of such popular titles in lists of publications deemed to be immoral suggests that certain publications, "once damned", remained damned, at least in evangelical and religious publishing circles. Disapproval of popular newspapers persisted regardless of any changes in public tastes, or any modifications that might have taken place regarding the content, editorial policy, or quality of illustrative matter of a newspaper or magazine. For example, as King has demonstrated, perceptions about the moral appropriateness of the *London Journal* remained fairly fixed regardless of how it was modified according to public expectations or changes in ownership.⁶¹

As the circulation figures and the number of readers for popular papers increased, so too did the levels of anxiety. The fact that the issue was raised in *Punch* on a number of occasions was an indication of the strength of feeling about working class preferences in reading material. The humour employed in a number of illustrations, (Figs. 1. & 2.), reinforces, rather than disguises, the seriousness of the messages transmitted through the images and accompanying captions, and the situations portrayed. The fact that children and adolescents, let alone adults, could easily purchase 'a nillustrated newspaper with a norrid murder and a 'likeness in it', (Fig. 1), and that such morally corrupting literature was eagerly

⁶¹ See Harrison, J. P. 'Cheap Literature- Past and Present', in *British Almanac and Companion*, London Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1873: 26-81.

anticipated by juveniles, as represented by the group of urchins waiting in the open doorway, troubled evangelical reformers like Shaftesbury. Similarly, the belief that newspapers, that, “useful Sunday literature for the masses”, was an all consuming passion among the working classes, distracting wives and mothers from their domestic duties and causing families to neglect religious observances, (Fig. 2.), were issues of great social import for middle class evangelicals. The references to babies in the images and the letterpress served to emphasise the corrupting potential of the popular press to extend to future generations as well as the present. Again, the appeal of crude illustration was highlighted by the accompanying captions and the depiction of a wall decorated with illustrations from cheap newspapers.



Fig 1.

CAPTION. News vendor, - “Now, My Man, What is it?” Boy; “I Vonts a Nillustrated Newspaper With a Norrid Murder and a Likeness in it” *Punch*, Jan.-Jun. 1845.



Fig. 2.

CAPTION Useful Sunday Literature for the Masses; or Murder Made Familiar.

Father of a Family (reads). "The wretched Murderer is supposed to have cut the throats of his three eldest Children, and then to have killed the Baby by beating it repeatedly with a Poker. * * * * In person he is of a rather bloated appearance, with a bull neck, small eyes, broad large nose, and coarse vulgar mouth. His dress was a light blue coat, with brass buttons, elegant yellow summer vest, and pepper-and-salt trowsers. When at the Station House he expressed himself as being rather 'peckish,' and said he should like a Black Pudding, which, with a Cup of Coffee, was immediately procured for him." *Punch*, 14 Jul.-Dec. (1849): 89.

Available circulation figures were often inaccurate, exaggerated or suppressed depending on the source. Oakey claimed that there was a total of 28,862,000 'polluting publications' issued in the capital in 1846. However, this number included several mainstream titles. *The Times*, *The Morning Herald*, and *The Morning Chronicle* were, according to Oakey, secular publications whose 'Protestantism...is not the Protestantism of true Catholic Christianity'.⁶² In comparison, Oakey calculated that nationally the religious press only issued 24,418,620 publications and that the number of religious texts published fell some 4,443,380 short of the number of items of corrupting literature issuing from London alone.⁶³ Of course newspapers were not the only cause for concern. So too was the increased demand for cheap popular literature issued in weekly parts. Oakey identified two distinct types, one 'infidel' and the other 'corrupting', and offered some general titles. Two years later Charles Knight was more specific.

At the beginning of this month there were issued from the London press, to be continued in Weekly Numbers, at a Penny and Three Half pence each, ONE HUNDRED SEPARATE PUBLICATIONS. Of these, sixty were wholly works of fiction; and eighteen miscellaneous journals, for the most part made up of fiction and ribaldry. Of the professed works of fiction, a great number were of the 'Jack Sheppard' school- such as, *The Freebooters*; *Dick Turpin*; *The Bold Smuggler*; *Jack Sheppard*; *Paul Jones the Pirate*; *Claude Duval*, or the *Dashing Highwayman*; *Gentleman Jack*, or *Life on the Road*; *Jonathan Bradford*; *The Brigand*. The hash is varied by every variety of *Tales of Murder*. The influences of such publications are countered by only twenty-two weekly journals for the most part innoxious. Of these ten are Economical and twelve Miscellaneous.⁶⁴

In 1850, John Cassell added his voice in support of Oakey's argument stating that, even as their numbers were "truly LEGION", "many of an injurious nature" were omitted from the enumeration. However, a year later, giving evidence to the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps, he was inclined to admit that, while there was still a great deal of impure and demoralising trash issuing from the weekly press, there was a "very perceptible improvement" in periodical literature generally, and publications of a better moral tone were gaining ground.⁶⁵

⁶² Oakey (1847): 33.

⁶³ Oakey (1847): 18. By 1853, Ellen Ranyard had added to the number of items of corrupting literature, raising it to 42,206,200 by the addition of a further 13,344,200 'infidel', 'atheistic', and 'popish' publications emanating largely from the free-thinking societies recently established in large provincial centres. Ranyard, E. (LNR), *The Book and its Story*, (1853): 370-372.

⁶⁴ *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, April (1849): 194

⁶⁵ See Cassell's comments in *Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*, Vol. 2. NO. 24. June 15 (1850): 322, and Harrison, J. P. (1873): 66.

Margaret Oliphant raised another critical voice regarding the type of reading matter preferred by the working-classes. She did not hold a particularly high opinion of the *London Journal* or the *Family Herald* either, (lumping them together with the generally tasteless, “undignified, unlearned broadsheets”), although she did concede that, compared to some titles, they were at least tolerable papers for the masses.⁶⁶ However, to people like Oakey and Ranyard, any publication that was not overtly spiritually or morally uplifting was pernicious to a greater or lesser extent. As a strict Sabbatarian Oakey was particularly uncompromising in his attack on the increasing number of Sunday papers circulating, even to the extent of arguing that almost all of the 28 millions of pernicious literature was published either “on or for the Sabbath”. By definition these publications defiled and desecrated the Lord’s Day and kept the working-classes from appropriate religious practices. According to his figures the combined weekly sales of the *News of the World*, and *Lloyd’s Weekly*, far outstripped the annual Sabbath-day grant of the RTS. He decried the *London Journal* and the *Family Herald* believing that their propensity towards an excess of sensationalist serialised fiction, combined with poor quality illustrations, catered to the baser tastes of the masses. As a result they did little, if anything, to improve the spiritual and moral well-being of the working classes.⁶⁷

Evidence given to the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps by Manchester bookseller Abel Heywood not only provided an official assessment of the circulations of different categories of periodicals, but also gave some insight to the types of literature that fell into the ‘pernicious’ category, and those deemed more appropriate for working-class consumption. While Heywood considered very few cheap publications pernicious, he was of the opinion that those with the largest circulations among the working-classes, *The Family Herald*, *London Journal*, and *Reynolds’s Miscellany*, were “tolerably good”, although *Lloyd’s Miscellany*, by comparison, was far beneath them in tone and character. Family

⁶⁶ Oliphant’s main criticism concerned the overall quality of publications posing as ‘literature’. In her opinion, (and she was not alone), papers for the working-classes were not of a standard consistent with the advances that had been made in technology and writing skills. See ‘The Byeways of Literature: Reading for the Million’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 84. August (1858): 200-216.

⁶⁷ See Oakey, (1847): 19-25. For Sunday markets and drinking, see also, Weyland, (1884): 64. “The public houses were crowded, while for those who could read, Sunday papers of an infidel and corrupting character were provided”.

magazines, (*Family Friend, Family Tutor*), and the ‘excellent’ *Working Man’s Friend* circulated well, and cheap religious periodicals, such as *Churchman’s Penny Magazine, Christian Penny Magazine, The Catholic Vindicator*, and *The Lamp*, (the last two named being Catholic papers), had, in his opinion, respectable circulations. Heywood’s overall impression was, that the majority of the periodicals that he handled were of a good tendency, and that the demands of the working-class consumer in and around Manchester tended towards the good papers. The increased availability of newspapers with larger circulations, such as those mentioned, had significantly displaced the more vicious publications popular during the course of the 1840s.⁶⁸ Still, the matter was not left to chance and steps were taken to ensure that philanthropic organisations and their agents only issued appropriate reading matter to the working classes.

The Pure Literature Society (1854).

The Committee of the London City Mission vetted and approved all publications distributed by their missionaries that were not issued through, or on the recommendation of the RTS. Concern about the moral appropriateness of the literature distributed by philanthropic organisations was sufficient to merit the establishment of The Pure Literature Society, (1854), to further advise on publications appropriate for circulation among the masses. The aim of the PLS was to identify suitable publications and make them available at half price for the benefit of those agencies wishing to distribute texts to the working classes.

The first list of suitable texts issued by the Pure Literature Society contained only seven recommendations two of which were *The Band of Hope Review* and the

⁶⁸ Abel Heywood’s assessment of the extent to which popular literature was pernicious has to be considered in light of his reputation as a liberal defender of the freedom of the press and, as Brian Maidment has argued, there were a number of reasons why Heywood’s evidence to the Select Committee did not fully reflect the “... debased and sometimes morally and politically extreme nature of working class taste”. See, ‘The Manchester Common Reader- Abel Heywood’s ‘Evidence’ and the Early Victorian Reading Public,’ Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, reprint, *Transactions*, Vol. 97. (2001): 108.

British Workman.⁶⁹ However, under the direction of a well organised and well connected committee, and with the increased availability of ‘improving’ literature from the early 1850s onwards, the number of approved periodical titles increased steadily. Religious publishing certainly appeared to be in a healthier condition by the end of the 1860s, than it was at the end of the 1840s.

The following list c1870, (Table 6), identifies some of some of the periodical titles, “which the Committee desire to circulate.” While guaranteeing the general character of the periodicals cited, the ecumenical credentials of the Society had to be safeguarded, and the committee was keen to point out that it not responsible for the contents of the publications, and did not wish to be directly associated with any of the specific sentiments or allegiances expressed within the texts it recommended.

Of the titles approved by the Pure Literature Society, six, including *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman*, were edited by T. B. Smithies and were, at the time, the most widely circulated temperance papers. As discussed earlier, religious tracts and periodicals did not make any great impact on either the religious practices, or the drinking habits, of the expanding urban populations. Fears about possible consequences arising out of the, ‘total neglect of the restraints of religion’, evidenced by the presence on the streets of thousands of thieves, and tens of thousands of drunks and habitual gin drinkers who had “yielded themselves to systematic abandon and profligacy”, remained. Such anxieties combined with growing concerns about the threats to social stability posed by pernicious literature, were to influence the development of temperance periodicals during the late 1840s and 1850s. However, as I shall argue in the next section that the evidence suggests that temperance publishing was in no better position to fill the void created by the failure of religious literature to attract a wide working class audience.

⁶⁹ *British Workman*, No 687 March (1912): 33

For adults:- *Appeal*

British Workman
Bible Class Magazine
Christian Treasury
Churchman's Penny Magazine
Evening Hour
Family Paper
Family Treasury
Friendly Visitor
Golden Hours
Good Words
Leisure Hour
Missionary News
Mother's Friend
Old Jonathan
Science Gossip
Servant's Magazine
Sunday at Home
Sunshine
The Cottager
The Quiver
Tract Magazine.
Youth's Magazine

For children:-*Band of Hope Review*

Chatterbox
Child's paper
Child's Own Magazine
Child's Companion
Children's Friend
Children's Paper
Children's Prize
Infant's magazine
Kind Words
Our Children's Magazine
Sabbath School Messenger
Sunday Scholar's Companion
Young England

Most of the above are illustrated. A Specimen parcel, containing 1d; and ½d. Monthly Publications, will be sent free for 1s. A shilling monthly parcel will be sent free (if desired) to subscribers of £1. 1.

THE SOCIETY HAS PUBLISHED A CATALOGUE OF UPWARDS OF 2600 VOLUMES OF ENTERTAINING AND INSTRUCTIVE BOOKS, FROM WHICH LIBRARIES FOR WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, &c., may be selected by Subscribers at HALF-PRICE.

Contributions are received at the Office, 11, Buckingham Street, Adelphi. Post-office Orders should be made payable to Mr. Richard Turner, Charing Cross, London.

Table 6. Periodicals recommended by the Pure Literature Society for distribution to adults and/or children c1870.

Temperance Publications 1831-1850.

For many commentators drink was the root cause of much that was wrong with society throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. History proved that alcohol consumption and its associated evils had been detrimental to man's happiness and prosperity for generations, and that steps had to be taken as a matter of some urgency in order to eradicate the problem. For a significant number of Victorians the use of alcohol and its consequences constituted a disease in the social body that rendered attempts to combat other social deficiencies almost pointless. Prominent philanthropists like Samuel Morley questioned the

effectiveness of philanthropic endeavour in the presence of the relentless drink problem. "What is to be done with the drink evil? [he asked] It is the monster grievance of the present day. It seems to me something like infatuation to be building and supporting, at great cost, reformatories and other institutions, while this huge cancer remains unremoved".⁷⁰ Mrs. Ellis, a prominent figure in the field of temperance and religious literature, claimed that intemperance was, "the only vice in the dark catalogue of man's offences against the will, and the word, of his Maker, which directly assails the citadel of human reason, and by destroying the power to choose betwixt good and evil, renders the being... a mere idiot in purpose, and an animal in action".⁷¹ Later, social reporters like James Greenwood argued, "Whatever differences of opinion may arise as to the extent and evil operation of the other curses that, in common with all other cities, afflict the city of London, no sane man will contest the fact that drunkenness has wrought more mischief than all other social evils put together."⁷²

The working class operatives in the industrial north seemed to be more responsive to the temperance movement's call for abstention and the adoption of teetotal principles,⁷³ whereas the more moderate aspirations of the southern London based associations appeared to have had less effect among the working-classes of the metropolis. There was also some concern within temperance circles that the skilled artisans of the working classes in the capital appeared more obstinate and self-satisfied and relatively unaffected by the moral crusade waged against their vices. Of greater concern, however, was the apparent lack of progress made with the more populous and most deprived sections of society.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ S. Morley to Mr. Joshua Wilson, September 14th. 1857, in *The Life of Samuel Morley*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 2nd. Edn. (1887):130.

⁷¹ Ellis, S. S. *Voice from the Vintage*, London, Fisher and Sons, (1843): 4. 8-10. Sarah Stickney Ellis (1812-72). Authoress much interested in temperance work and the education of women. *DNB*.

⁷² Greenwood, J, *The Seven Curses of London*, Boston, Fields & Osgood, (1869): 243.

⁷³ The first national teetotal organisation, the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, was established in Lancashire in 1835 and teetotal missionaries were dispatched from Lancashire to give lectures among the working men of the south. As Harrison argues teetotalism was slow to gain a foothold among more moderate Londoners but Lancashire advocates exerted a significant influence on the development of the movement in London prior to 1840. See Harrison, (1994): 132-34.

⁷⁴ Speaking particularly from the perspective of a city missionary, Weylland felt that larger victories were to be won when battle was waged against the vice, disease and misery prevalent among the most filthy and destitute. See Weylland, J. M *The Man With the Book; or, The Bible Among the People*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co., (1906): vii.

Regardless of their differing ideological stances, the major temperance organisations drew common criticism for their broadly aggressive and intolerant attitudes towards alcohol consumption, and their tendency to tar all with the brush of drunkenness and debauchery, degradation, immorality and criminality. Critics argued that as far as the temperance organisations were concerned, all who partook of alcoholic beverages were sinners and thereby condemned to eternal damnation.⁷⁵ The express connection between religion [sin] and drunkenness was an undisputed fact for many members of the clergy, as is clearly evident in Reverend R. C. Graham's opinion of the fate awaiting drunkards.

Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, NOR DRUNKARDS, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the Kingdom of God." (1 Cor. Vi. 9, 10.) Drunkenness is one of death's most effective caterers, and one of the widest gates by which men go down to the lake of fire. Many who have stood on the very threshold of Heaven have by this sin fallen down to the lowest hell.⁷⁶
Rev. C. Graham

The Rev. C Graham's feelings were not unique, his use of the Bible as his source of authority, and the violence of his rhetoric, would have been familiar to readers of temperance publications.⁷⁷

While some philanthropists like Morley argued the primacy of the eradication of drunkenness as a preliminary to the successful solution to other social issues such as crime and poverty, others, particularly in the Anglican Church, contested that tackling the problem of religious observance among the lower classes was more important. It was believed that by getting the working classes to church, instructing them in the teachings of the Bible, and instilling in them religious principles, the temptation of the public house would be diminished and eventually

⁷⁵ See 'Temperance and Teetotal Societies', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 73, No. 450, April (1853): 390.

⁷⁶ Rev. Graham's full exploitation of verses from Corinthians, as printed in *Tweedie's Temperance Yearbook*, London, Wm. Tweedie, (1863): 50, with the emphasis on 'drunkards' and drinking, (the word drunkards is not capitalised in the King James Bible) suggesting that intemperance was a sin of greater magnitude than adultery or homosexuality, is a particularly forthright denunciation of intemperance although consistent with mainstream temperance propaganda.

⁷⁷ See, "The Drunkard can only hope to 'flee from the wrath to come', and to escape the tremendous doom that awaits him if he perseveres in his present sinful practices, by at once and entirely renouncing all use of these liquors by which he has been deluded and injured." *British and Foreign Temp Intelligencer*, Vol. IV. No. 165. January, (1840): 3.

Similar sentiments were voiced by Mrs Ellis who gave the same stark warning in her temperance writings. See Ellis, (n.d.): 5.

eradicated. They insisted that the word of God was sufficient to reform sinners, and that any attempts to promote temperance principles were potentially blasphemous. In spite of widespread opposition from the Established Church and some of the larger Dissenting sects like the Methodists, temperance reformers continued to argue that the eradication of drunkenness could only be successfully achieved through the aggressive promotion of temperance and total abstinence.

The Temperance Movement was one of the major social and moral forces of the period and, like the various religious organisations, issued much of its propaganda material in the form of tracts and periodicals. However, there has been too little in the way of scholarly work done in the field to claim that there is a general consensus among periodicals historians as to which titles qualify as temperance literature. As Neissen states, Brian Harrison's partial survey serves as a standard work and, even with the inclusion of recent bibliographies, the number of sources currently available is very limited. Accordingly, there is still much research to do in this field.⁷⁸ As a consequence the efforts of Thomas Bywater Smithies to promote the Temperance movement and to advance the effectiveness of temperance literature among the working classes, have been largely overlooked and his 'flagship' periodical the *British Workman* either unacknowledged or discounted as a significant and important temperance paper.

It is not intended in this study to attempt to define, or redefine, the Victorian temperance periodical but to assess the state of temperance periodicals publishing in the mid-Victorian period, and examine the impact that temperance literature had on the working classes. In doing, so I want to consider the position of the *British Workman* relative to other temperance publications established during the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁸ See Neissen O.C. 'Temperance', in J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArdsel, (eds), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, (1995): 254-5. Altholz, J. *Religious Press in Britain* contains a brief overview of temperance periodicals published 1830-1898. Of the 32 titles listed several were relaunchees of the same paper under a different head e.g. *British Temperance Advocate*. *The Band of Hope Review* is included as a temperance paper in its own right but not *British Workman*. Alvar Ellegard, for example, includes religious periodicals in his study 'The Readership of the Periodical press in Mid-Victorian Britain' while omitting any reference to temperance papers, a number of which had significantly greater circulations than many of the religious papers included.

Problems associated with research into Victorian temperance publications are compounded by the numbers of publications produced.⁷⁹ Additionally, the close association between temperance and religious evangelicals, for example, requires that some of the periodicals hitherto classed as religious need to be re-examined to determine the extent to which their content also promoted temperance issues. Consequently some titles are classified under both headings, Religion *and* Temperance, depending on which source is being used. Also, on examination, it is evident that even the most orthodox temperance papers had an overtly religious bias. In devoting a section of his *Religious Press in Britain* to the temperance press Joseph Altholz recognised that the temperance movement was a 'social crusade' that was religiously motivated, and 'conducted largely as a religious activity'. He suggests that the temperance publishing eventually accounted for the largest and 'most ramified' sector of the religious press.⁸⁰

All the main temperance organisations had their own official journals. These were primarily intended for the benefit of their respective memberships and supporters, while many of the leading auxiliary associations located throughout the United Kingdom produced their own local papers and tracts, again with narrow circulations. Specialised temperance periodicals, such as *The British Temperance Advocate*, *The National Temperance Chronicle*, and *The Alliance Weekly News*, accounted for a large proportion of the periodical literature emanating from the temperance press and, as a consequence of ideological opposition, rivalry, and competition for subscribers, these periodicals were often in direct competition with each other, a factor that severely restricted their potential circulations.⁸¹ Many of the smaller local and regional societies not only had their own 'in house' publications, and published notices, tracts and handbills for distribution prior to, or during, public meetings, but also duplicated the efforts of the larger

⁷⁹ One source listed 150 temperance papers launched between 1830 and 1879 with as many as eleven titles in one year. Harrison, B. 'A World of Which we had no Conception' in *Victorian Studies*, December, (1969): 147.

⁸⁰ Altholz, (1989): 125.

⁸¹ Harrison cites the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, the New British and Foreign Temperance Society, and the National Temperance Society as the three main organisations operating during the 1830s and 1840s. variously issuing *The British Temperance Advocate*, *The Temperance Journal*, and *The National Temperance Chronicle* (c.9.500/1843), respectively. See Harrison, B. *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872*, Staffordshire, Keele University Press, (2nd. Edn.) (1994): 308. See also, *Waterloo Directory* for headnotes for temperance publications.

associations further undermining the overall effectiveness of the temperance movement for want of a national co-ordination of resources. Countless thousands of 'pledge cards' and certificates were printed for presentation to those who were encouraged, persuaded or cajoled into giving up alcohol. Nevertheless, overall, the thirteen largest temperance societies operating in the period up to 1860 issued a relatively small number of publications between them.⁸² In the years immediately preceding the publication of the *British Workman*, (1855), cracks were appearing within the organisational structures of those bodies charged with the responsibility of tackling problems of drunkenness within the working classes. Additionally, in the period up to 1855, there was no mass-circulation temperance paper directed specifically at working class adults.⁸³

The fragmented nature of a temperance movement comprising hundreds of small associations, each with their own local agendas, local officers, and narrow outlook, not only fostered schism and disunity, rather than national cohesion, but encouraged a steady production of temperance literature at a local and regional level, mitigating against the establishment of a national temperance paper with a substantial circulation. The fact that many temperance groups produced their own literature, often funded by a prominent local citizen, businessman, or entrepreneur, contributed to the overstocking of a limited market for temperance literature. This also determined that some of the literature that was produced often had very limited circulations and was, therefore, short lived. The gradual emergence of publications with more national than provincial aspirations contributed to the creation of a temperance press that was, by 1861-62, in a more healthy state, with less rivalry and competition between different organisations. However, in real terms, there was no significant improvement in the circulation figures achieved during the 1830s and 1840s. This suggests the persistence of considerable difficulties in attracting a wider audience for temperance propaganda. In 1860, William Tweedie reported that there were three weekly

⁸² According to Tweedie there were 3 weekly newspapers with a combined circulation of 25,000+ copies; 6 monthly magazines together circulated 20,000+; and 2 quarterlies jointly accounted for 10,000 copies. See Harrison (1994): 308.

⁸³ Many of the tracts distributed through local associations such as the Brighthouse and Rastrick Temperance Society were reprints of tracts issued by the Scottish Temperance League, (a major source), under their own banner. Others circulated tracts from the Ipswich Series, similarly repackaged.

temperance papers with a combined circulation of 25,000, and six monthly magazines collectively circulating 20,000 copies. Papers for the young fared considerably better with two monthly papers, the Scottish Temperance League's *The Adviser*, with figures of around 50,000 copies per month, and *The Band of Hope Review*, with an estimated monthly circulation of 250,000.⁸⁴

Improved resources for the study of Victorian periodicals, modern research tools, and several scholarly investigations, have added considerably to our knowledge. Recent sources indicate that the number of temperance oriented publications produced during the Victorian period, particularly the output in 'peak' years, may have been considerably greater than previously thought. However, one has to proceed with caution when endeavouring to determine the scale of temperance publishing in the nineteenth century, and the actual number of titles established. Neissen cites the absence of any comprehensive bibliography and the failure of finding lists to 'isolate and identify' temperance papers as particular obstacles to research in this area.⁸⁵ He also raises the issue of the ambiguous nature of some of the titles particularly in the case of publications where 'temperance' is not included. Furthermore, some 'temperance' periodicals were only incidentally linked to the temperance movement through commitment to other causes such as anti-smoking, the provision of drinking fountains, Sunday trading, and vegetarianism, although some of the more enterprising temperance papers carried other matter in the hope of attracting a wider audience.⁸⁶ Joseph Livesey, one of the more outward-looking temperance editors,⁸⁷ recognised the necessity for radical action in order to rescue his failing paper *The Progressionist and Magazine for the People*, (previously *Livesey's Progressionist*), a temperance paper with departments that included 'Vegetarianism', 'Natural History' and 'Philosophy'. At the close of the first year of the new series he published the following statement in his, 'Address to Our Readers' -

⁸⁴ Harrison, B. (1969): 140. Figures provided by Tweedie were cited by Edward Baines in his official report to a government Select Committee.

⁸⁵ Niesson, O. C. 'Temperance' in J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArdseil, (eds), *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, (1995): 254-55.

⁸⁶ See Harrison, B. (1969): 151-3.

⁸⁷ Harrison, B. (1969): 150.

Good readers, we say farewell, as the *Progressionist*, only to appear again as the *Journal of Health and Progressionist*... Our object has been, during the three years of our labours, through good report and evil report, to enlighten you as to the love of your existence; to put before you such information as would strengthen your adherence to the laws of temperance... The Journal is, we believe, the only periodical advocating the water-cure... Our doctrine of cure includes attention to air and exercise, diet and water applications, and we are against the drugging system, and the taking of daily doses of poisons; we, therefore, have been determined opponents of both Alcohol and Tobacco. If we can add to our own common-sense and popular view of this question, the advocacy of a man of science, we believe we shall be more powerful for good.⁸⁸

Livesey was not alone in the practice of trying to unite other liberal causes behind his paper. F. R. Lees, Thomas Cook, and Jabez Burns all embarked on similar strategies.⁸⁹ This determined that the overall percentage of overtly temperance matter in periodicals like *The Truth Tester*, *Temperance Advocate and Healthian Journal*, (1846-48), or *The Temperance News and Journal of Literature and Humanity*, (1846), was bound to decrease, although wider temperance concerns may have been and often were, embedded in other related content. This poses the question at what point, if at all, does a temperance periodical cease to be a temperance periodical? Conversely, what percentage of matter is required in order to claim that a paper may be described as a temperance publication?

The prolific and diffuse nature of nineteenth century periodicals publishing determines that an interrogation of any database, and particularly one as extensive as *The Waterloo Directory*, requires that a number of factors have to be taken into consideration when attempting to establish, with any degree of confidence, the genre into which Victorian periodicals should be placed. Variables including search parameters – title, subject, dates of publication - and the way in which items are described in the entry systems, produce potentially confusing and conflicting results.

According to *The Waterloo Directory* there were 63 ‘temperance’ periodicals published in London in the twenty year period, 1831-50, with new papers established on a regular basis, (Fig. 3.). Of particular interest here are those papers established during the 1840s and 1850s, and a closer analysis of the

⁸⁸ Joseph Livesey, ‘Address to our Readers’ *The Progressionist and Magazine for the People*, Vol 1. (1852)

⁸⁹ Harrison, B. (1969): 151-2.

statistics suggests that many of the papers listed had little connection with the temperance movement. Items retrieved include mainstream temperance papers and journals, annual reports of temperance societies, temperance tracts and almanacs, and also religious periodicals and other publications with little or no temperance credentials. A generalised subject search for 'temperance' publications retrieves all records in which the word temperance occurs regardless of context. It is important, therefore, to scrutinise the accompanying notes to help eliminate some of the irrelevant titles. It is a relatively simple task to identify certain periodicals as falling outside the temperance classification altogether. What is more difficult is the identification of periodicals that engage with temperance issues without claiming to be temperance papers. As Neissen points out "only the initiated would immediately associate the *Naval Brigade News* with the Naval Temperance Society".⁹⁰ *Punch*, (1841 on), is listed only because one of the departments (the Facetiae) occasionally contained contributions from "the temperance association and waterproofing company"; *Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany*, (1844-45), finds its way into the list on the strength of a "temperance romance" being published in its fictional content. *The Atlas*, (1826-61), a general newspaper, was, for a few months in 1854, the vehicle through which the newly formed United Kingdom Alliance published its news until the introduction of its own paper *The Alliance*, (July 1854), 'temperance' on this occasion referring to the UKA publication and not *The Atlas*.

Other periodicals intermittently included a section given over to temperance matters although they too should not be considered as temperance publications. *The Mother's Friend* (1848-95), a monthly magazine directed at a predominantly female audience, contained a "temperance corner" and one of the fourteen departments of *The Family Monitor and Servant's Guardian* promoted the 'advantages of temperance and sobriety'. Other papers such as *The Truth Seeker and Present Age*, (1849-50), the Quaker journals *The British Friend*, (1843-1913), and *The Yorkshireman*, (1832-37), *The Wesley Banner and Revival Record*, (1849-54), and *The Wesleyan Times*, 'favoured temperance ideals'. Howitt's *People's Journal*, (1840-49), Ernest Jones' *Notes to the People*, (1851-52), *The*

⁹⁰ Vann & Van Arsdel, (1995): 255.

People's Paper (1852-58) and, more particularly, Edward Miall's *Nonconformist* promoted a more overtly political dimension to temperance issues as an indicator of working class progress and qualification for enfranchisement.⁹¹ There are also those periodicals that directly addressed temperance questions but from the position of supporting the drinks traffic and the Licenced Victuallers Association.

Brian Harrison's investigation into temperance publishing 1830-72 provides a valuable source of information about mainstream temperance periodicals and includes publications established by the drinks trade – *Morning Advertiser* (1794), *Licensed Victuallers Gazette* (1872-), *Wine Trade Review* (1864-) and *Brewers Guardian* (1871-). Harrison draws on Dawson Burns's list of 150 titles included in the index to *Temperance History* (1889).⁹² Niessen's bibliographical guide and overview of the number of temperance titles published nationally, 1830-1889, acknowledges Harrison as the main source of information. In his paper he lists 86 titles including American temperance literature, *The Band of Hope Review*, and other publications for juveniles. Noticeable exclusions are the *British Workman*, *The Adviser*, and *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts.⁹³ All of the sources consulted include a number of periodicals that underwent several name changes while remaining essentially the same publication. Among them, *The British Temperance Advocate*, *Livesey's Progressionist*, *The Alliance*, and *The National Temperance Chronicle*. All of the sources also excluded some titles that have a strong case for inclusion.

The *Ipswich Temperance Series* of tracts is omitted by Harrison despite being "the movement's most successful series of tracts"⁹⁴ possibly on the grounds that a number of the earlier temperance papers, including *The British and Foreign Temperance Herald* and the *Preston Temperance Advocate*, were published as a substitute for tracts in an attempt to overcome the difficulties of taking the temperance message to those districts "whose inaccessibility or hostility deterred

⁹¹ A seemingly obvious oversight in the type of paper dealing with temperance matters as a measure of working class readiness for enfranchisement would be Cassell's *Working Man's Friend* (1850-53)

⁹² Harrison, B. (1969): 132 & 148.

⁹³ See, Harrison, B. (1969) and (1994) and Niessen, O.C. (1995).

⁹⁴ Harrison, B. (1969): 128-9.

the itinerant lecturer or tract distributor”.⁹⁵ None of the available literature recognises the *British Workman* as a temperance paper although *The Band of Hope Review* is acknowledged by Altholz as being, “the largest temperance journal of all”.⁹⁶

The Failure of Mass-Circulation Temperance Publishing, 1831-50.

For the purposes of this investigation two of the main lists of nineteenth century ‘temperance’ literature - Brian Harrison’s ‘A World of Which we have no Conception’, and *The Waterloo Directory* - have been examined, and figures have been compiled taking into consideration the titles, content, and the descriptions of individual publications, taking account of any transitional name changes to what were essentially the same publications. To make the exercise more manageable analyses have concentrated on literature published in London which was, at this time, the place where most periodicals were published. In doing so some of the dynamics of temperance publishing during this period become clearer. What is evident is the temporary nature of some of the literature originating from the temperance press during these early decades. Some periodicals ceased publication within a matter of weeks. Just one number of *The People’s Temperance Library or Miscellany of Philanthropic Literature*, (1846,) was issued, *The Christian Temperance Sabbath School Magazine* was only issued between May and June 1846, and only four numbers of *Mingaye Syder’s Temperance Lancet and Penny Trumpet* were published, (18 Sept 1841- 7 Oct 1841). The struggle to attract readers necessitated a frequent reworking of titles and the subsequent re-launching of some publications. More often than not many papers failed as a consequence of the narrow-minded attitudes of proprietors, from badly presented content, a poor appreciation of reader’s requirements, or a combination of several such factors.

⁹⁵ Harrison, B. (1994): 156.

⁹⁶ Altholz, J. (1989): 128-9.

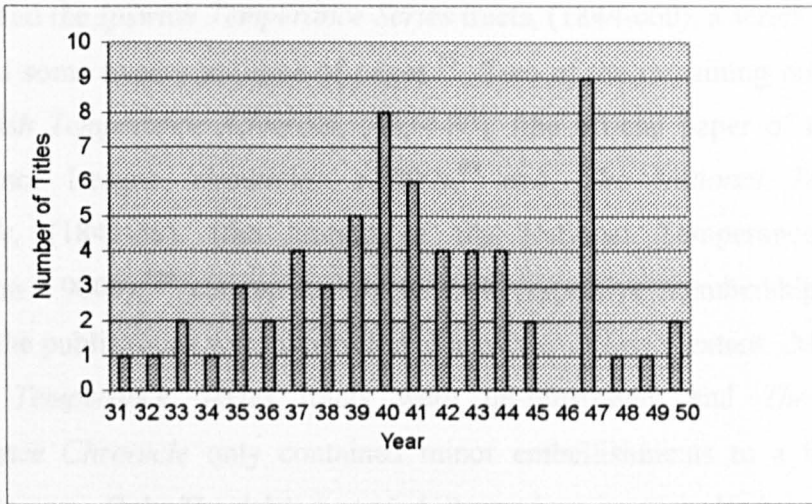


Fig. 3 Bar Graph to Show the Number of Temperance Periodicals Established Annually, London, 1831-50

(extracted from Harrison and Waterloo)

Temperance Publications Established 1831-50	63
Issued for 1 Year or less	25
Issued for 5 Years or less	20
Extant in 1851	7

Table 7. To Show the Longevity of Temperance Publications Established 1831-50
(extracted from Harrison and Waterloo)

Despite the continued efforts of various individuals and groups and the large number of publications originating from the temperance press during the first twenty years of the Temperance movement in the United Kingdom, (Fig. 3), by far the greatest proportion was short lived and failed to hold the interest of the reading population. As the figures in Table 7 indicate 45 of the 63 titles published, (70.3%), failed within the first five years, and 25 titles, (38.4%), lasted no more than twelve months. Of the 63 publications originated during this period only seven were still being printed when Smithies introduced *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholars Friend* in January 1851. These included the periodicals *The British Friend* (1843-1913) circulation c.1500, a Quaker periodical which boasted a “temperance department”⁹⁷ and *The Adviser* (1847-1930) circulation c.50000, a juvenile paper produced by the Scottish Temperance

⁹⁷ See *Waterloo Directory*

League, and the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts, (1844-c60), a series which had circulated some twenty millions of pages.⁹⁸ Two of the remaining publications, *The British Temperance Advocate*, (1834-80), (the official paper of the British Temperance League, circulation c.5000),⁹⁹ and, *The National Temperance Chronicle*, (1842-56), (the journal of the National Temperance Society, circulation c.9000),¹⁰⁰ catered mainly to their respective memberships. Only three of the publications were illustrated to a greater or lesser extent. Many of the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts were un-illustrated, and *The National Temperance Chronicle* only contained minor embellishments to a few of the advertisements. Only *The Adviser* carried illustrations on a regular basis.¹⁰¹

More significantly, there was a dearth of entertaining and improving reading matter designed to stimulate the interest of the masses in two of the great social issues of the day, temperance and religion. As was the case with religious publishing, the temperance movement alienated, or failed to attract in the first place, large sections of the very populations it hoped to reach out to with its campaigns, through the tone of its publications. The ready availability of an appropriate cheap publication able to compete with the popular press for the attention of the working-classes was found wanting. As Charles Knight observed,

The mass of useful books are not accessible to the poor; newspapers with their admixture of good and evil, seldom find their way into the domestic circle of the labourer or artisan; the tracts which pious persons distribute are exclusively religious, and the tone of these is often either fanatical or puerile. [Through] The 'two-penny trash' as it is often called [Cobbett's *Twopenny Register*, Wooller's *Black Dwarf* [and] *The Republican*]... sedition and infidelity have been so widely disseminated.
¹⁰²

Like many others Smithies was of the opinion that existing temperance and religious literature failed, in part, through unattractiveness. He felt that with the spreading ability to read there was an increased urgency to provide interesting and morally uplifting reading matter on the subject. It was not only the perceived

⁹⁸ *National Temperance Chronicle* Vol 1 July (1851): 114.

⁹⁹ Harrison, B. (1969): 136.

¹⁰⁰ *National Temperance Chronicle*, August (1851): 154.

¹⁰¹ The early numbers of *The Adviser* were sparsely illustrated. Each number of Volume 2 January – December 1851, for example, only contained one small cut, and it was not until 1855 that levels of illustration increased significantly.

¹⁰² Knight, C. *Passages from a Working Life*, 3 Vols, (1864), Shannon, Irish University Press, (reprint), Vol 1 (1971): 236.

numerical deficit in the output of morally acceptable publications that caused concern, it was the quality, and acceptability, of the tracts and pamphlets produced. For example, the following item appeared in the *Annual Report*, (1840), of the London City Mission.

After examining all the tracts published by different institutions of intemperance which they could collect, they selected two... *The Fool's Pence* and the other *On Drunkenness* by Dr. Dwight, but at length, at the suggestion of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, a tract was prepared and approved by your Committee, and further approved and adopted by the Committee of the Religious Tract Society¹⁰³

In an effort to remedy the situation, Smithies determined to produce his own illustrated temperance literature for the working classes. His first paper, *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend*, (1851), was, as the title suggests, a temperance paper for Sunday-school children. It was widely distributed through organisations like the Band of Hope Movement, the Ragged School Movement, and the Sunday-school. Once *The Band of Hope Review* was established and became profitable, Smithies was then in a position to produce a similar publication for adults. *The British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, a lavishly illustrated monthly broadsheet, was "commenced" in February 1855.

An examination of existing research into nineteenth century temperance publishing provides ample evidence that the *British Workman* has been largely ignored by periodicals historians. Only a small number of studies have attempted a classification of the paper and there is no clear consensus as to how to categorise it. The periodical is not easily pigeonholed. However, an analysis of the content and epitextual matter, along with contemporary comment relating to perceptions of the *British Workman* as held by the editor, publishers, subscribers, supporters, readers, and, where available, critics and detractors, offers insights into understanding how the paper was perceived by contemporaries. I believe that the *British Workman*, although not unique in its conception, deserves to be

¹⁰³ *Annual Report of the London City Mission*, (1840):17. At length 250,000 copies of *The Way to be Healthy and Happy*, a specially created tract, approved by both the LCM and the RTS, were granted, and, made available to missionaries for distribution to poor families in London.

recognised as the leading mass-circulation temperance paper of the period, and as a pioneering publication for the broad mass of the working class, urban population. I shall also argue that it became an exemplar for a number of similar papers that emanated from both the temperance and religious presses after 1860.

As one of the principal objectives of this study is to consider the *British Workman* within the context of temperance publications, illustrated or otherwise, and to establish the ways in which this particular periodical was conducted, it is necessary to understand the character and motivation of the founder and editor Thomas Bywater Smithies. The following chapter, therefore, gives an account of Smithies' early life and a discussion of the main influences that directed him into a career in publishing.

Chapter Two

Thomas Bywater Smithies, (1817-1883)

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Thomas Bywater Smithies, (1817-1883)



Fig 4.

As far as can be determined there is no existing archive relating to the life and work of Thomas Bywater Smithies. There are no personal diaries, no collections of letters, no accounts or any other papers relating to the business Smithies conducted over a period of more than thirty years. It is to his publications that we have to look in order to gain an insight into the character of the man, and get an impression of the aims and objectives he hoped to achieve through his periodicals. However, even these insights are vitiated by Smithies' determination to keep his periodicals untainted by sectarian comment and politics.

The biographical details presented here have been compiled from a very limited number of sources: information gathered from reports of temperance events; membership lists of temperance and philanthropic societies; snippets garnered from the biographies of prominent philanthropists; a small number of surviving items of correspondence; a short biographical account of his life written by a close friend the year after his death; obituary notices; and one secondary source.¹ The purpose of this chapter is to construct a picture of Smithies as the editor of some of the most successful and influential mass circulation, religious and temperance periodicals of the nineteenth century. Details concerning his childhood and his early life in York are crucial to a better appreciation of how his childhood influences moulded his character, and motivated his adult career. Additionally, in order to more fully understand how Smithies succeeded in producing a popular temperance journal where others had, effectively, failed, it is also important to take into account the significance of informal networking in close knit philanthropic circles during the period 1840 to 1860.

¹ See Appendix A, Smithies Sources.

Childhood, Adolescence, Religious Convictions and the Foundations of Pioneering Temperance Education: York. 1817 – 1849

“My boy,” said a pious mother to her little son when he had received his first sum of money that he could call his own, “give a tenth of this back to the Lord. I desire you to act upon this rule throughout life, and by thus ‘honouring the Lord with your substance, and with the first-fruits of all your increase,’ depend upon it, you will never be the poorer for it.”... “How thankful I am that our good mother taught us that wise lesson amongst the many she gave us!”²

Thomas Bywater Smithies was born into a modest family,³ in York, August 1817. Little is known about his parents other than his father James Smithies, and his mother, Catherine, (nee Bywater), were respectable but not wealthy. He was raised by a devoutly religious mother, who instilled into him a firm belief in, and a clear understanding of, Christian duty as practiced by members of the Wesleyan Methodist faith, a respect for parental authority, a love of animals, and a passion for learning.⁴ Smithies was one of ten children, (he had two brothers and seven sisters) although there is no record of them in his writings apart from a few references to his relationship with one of his sisters, Eliza, who helped to proof read and edit his journals later in life.⁵

So, amidst the comforts of a bright and happy home, this child grew up with the feeling in his heart, as clear and direct as an instinct, that all that was most joyous was one with all that was good... In all matters of Christian duty and privilege, Mrs. Smithies judged wisely that, while it was quite possible to begin the instruction of her children too late, she could not begin too early.⁶

The high moral standards set by Catherine Smithies, and the vigilant faithfulness with which she raised her children, determined that Thomas developed a clear notion of right and wrong and he grew up with a firm belief in the necessity of a sound and sustained religious and moral education for putting children on the correct path in life. From personal experience he was keenly aware of the importance of a mother’s influence in determining the character of children and in establishing the pattern of their future development. From an early age he was actively encouraged to participate in the rituals and practical work of the

² *British Workman*, No. 346. October, (1883): 183.

³ “His ancestry was to be found, if one knew where to trace it, in the great multitude of whose genealogies the world keeps no record...” Rowe, G. S. T. B. *Smithies: A Memoir*, London, S. W. Partridge, (1884): 1.

⁴ See *Animal World*, September (1883): 137.

⁵ ‘Smithies’, *New Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.

⁶ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 2- 5.

Wesleyan Methodist Church, helping Joseph Agar, the York Methodist minister, prepare tracts for distribution.⁷ At the age of fifteen he became a church-member among the Wesleyan Methodists, and took up duties in the Wesley Place Sunday-school that involved teaching young children to read. We are informed by Stringer Rowe that it was around this time, (1832), that he became aware of some of the deficiencies in the education given to children, and that he was less than satisfied with the 'state of things' owing to the fact that the 'methods and appliances of teaching were then of the simplest and least attractive kind'.⁸ Being dissatisfied with existing practices, he set about making whatever improvements he could in the way he undertook his own teaching responsibilities by making the best of what was then available, improvising, and improving learning aids by making them more visually attractive. This period also coincided with the early years of the temperance movement in York. He started to use his initiative and creative flair to prepare advertising posters for local temperance meetings from letters cut from old display bills and notices collected by his father. He also applied himself to raising extra income for the church by producing illustrated cards, and a newly designed collecting box, for use by Missionary Society collectors. His work was rewarded by seeing that his contribution of visually stimulating resources added considerable impetus to fund-raising efforts. These early experiences confirmed, for him, the importance of pictures for attracting people's attention.⁹ Given his enthusiasm, dedication and knowledge of the Scriptures, it was thought that he might train to become a teacher, enter the ministry, or realise a childhood ambition to become a Missionary. However, having tried preaching and discovering that "his call to serve is not there",¹⁰ at the age of sixteen Smithies began work as a clerk in the offices of the York Fire and Life Insurance Company. During the eighteen years that worked there he built up a solid reputation for reliability and conscientiousness, his "...order, punctuality, diligence, and kind courtesy," earned him the "confidence and respect of all".¹¹ His hard work, his skills and experience as a clerk were eventually to gain him a post as managing secretary of the Gutta Percha company in London

⁷ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 7.

⁸ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 8-9.

⁹ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 13-16.

¹⁰ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 31.

¹¹ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 8.

Smithies and Religion

Religion, religious observances and rituals were the most important aspects of Smithies' life. His Bible was central to his everyday existence with prayers being offered at the beginning and the end of each day. His prime motivations were the fulfilment of his duty to God, and his Christian duty to take care of all manifestations of His creation. His deep concern for the consequences of intemperance among Sunday-school pupils and teachers; the ignorance, apathy, poverty, and physical and moral degradation of the poor, and the impact of drunkenness on homes and families, all stemmed from his religious convictions. For Smithies, practical involvement in the day-to-day workings of the church either by assisting with tract distribution as a child, or through Sunday-school teaching as a young adult, was part of the process of fulfilling ones Christian obligations. Notwithstanding his lifelong affiliation to the Wesleyan Methodists, it was often remarked upon that it was almost impossible to "determine to what sect of Christians he belonged", and that "no one ever detected, either in his writings or his speeches, the slightest trace of sectarian feeling".¹² The nature of his personal religious convictions with regards to Sunday observance is, however, well documented in the recollections of his friends and peers. His strong advocacy of the sanctity of the Lord's Day, his perspective on Sunday work, Sabbath-breaking, recreational and leisure activities, the place of religion and the Church, (of whatever sect or denomination), in the lives of the people, and the opening of the public house on Sunday are also discernable from the content of his periodicals, and in the range of cheap illustrated publications that he produced from the 1870s onwards. These included the *Lord's Day Observance Illustrated Fly-leaves*, (four page reprints priced at 2s. 6d. per 100, or 4d. per dozen); and *The Earlham Rest-Day Series*, twenty-six illustrated halfpenny tracts covering various aspects of the subject with titles including, 'Should Museums be Opened on Sundays?', 'The Working Man's Sabbath', 'The Sunday Ride' and 'The

¹² See, for example, 'The Late Mr. T. B. Smithies' in *Animal World*, September, (1883): 137; *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, September (1883): 135; *The Welcome*, August (1883): 599.

Sunday Excursion Train'.¹³ It is also clear that Smithies also practiced what he preached.

As a passionate supporter of The Lord's Day Observance Society and a strict Sabbatarian, he was a keen advocate of any reform legislation that was designed to impose restrictions on the length of the working week, particularly with respect to Sunday trading. He was also concerned about the length of the working day, and he argued for an early finish on Saturday so that preparations could be made for the Sabbath.¹⁴ An indication of his personal commitment can be found in his insistence that no letters or parcels be dispatched from his publishers on Saturday, in case they were delivered on Sunday. He refused to transact any business after noon on Saturday, leaving any letters arriving after 6:00 pm unopened until Monday morning, and he spent his Saturday evenings with his sister, reading his Bible, singing hymns, and praying.¹⁵ He also drew attention to the ways in which certain aspects of middle class lifestyles created difficulties for some working people wishing to fulfil their religious observances. Sunday postal services, the expectation that a cab would be available to take the family to church, and that shops would remain open on Sunday to service their requirements, left the middle classes open to charges of hypocrisy.

Our merciful Creator intended that man should have seven days' FOOD for six days' WORK. Well-meaning men are trying to alter God's merciful arrangement. They desire to have continental Sundays in England... How sad it is, in the beautiful city of Paris, to see masons, carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, as busy at work on the Sunday, as on the six lawful days of the week.¹⁶

One of the many full-page wood engravings published in the *British Workman*, in which explicit references to the practice of Sabbath-breaking were made, was 'Sunday Work in Vienna', supposedly illustrating a first hand account of an

¹³ See, "The Earham Rest-Day Series, of 16-Page Illustrated Tracts, for enclosing in letters, &c. One Halfpenny each, and in Sixpenny Packets, each containing twelve assorted numbers." S. W. Partridge & Co. Catalogue of Illustrated Publications in *The Infants Magazine* (1881).

¹⁴ Employees of George Watson, printer of many of Smithies' important periodicals, finished work at 5 p.m on Saturday. Watson was himself deeply religious, and Smithies was, for many years, 'practically the only important customer'. Hazell, R. C. *Walter Hazell, 1843-1919*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, (1919): 34-35.

¹⁵ *The Animal World*, 1 September (1883): 137.

¹⁶ Smithies, T. B. (ed). 'Preface', *Illustrated Sabbath Facts; or, God's Weekly Gift for the Weary*, First Series, London, S. W. Partridge & Co. 2nd. Edn. (c.1870): i-ii

incident witnessed in the Austrian capital. The picture depicted an elderly woman engaged in heavy manual work, climbing a ladder with a hod of bricks balanced on her shoulder. The illustration formed a critique of the exploitative nature of Sunday work which, in the first instance, denied the worker the opportunity to participate in acts of religious observance. Secondly, working for seven days a week also resulted in the loss of the only opportunity for a day of rest, with all the added risk resulting from over-fatigue contributing to a greater likelihood of accidents in the workplace. Furthermore, the illustration, and the accompanying letterpress represent a strong condemnation of the fact that working on Sunday displaces the woman from the domestic environment resulting in the neglect of home and family. Commenting further, on observations made in, "Cologne, Mayence, Dresden, and other smaller cities", as well as in, "Paris, the queen of cities", the letterpress informed the reader of the undesirable practice of visiting 'National Institutions', Art and picture-galleries, public gardens, and museums. Reporting on 'Sabbath scenes' in European capitals introduced a xenophobic element to discourses, on Sunday trading or working, and suggested that such practices were not only, un-British but, ought not to be permitted to become an aspect of the British working week. These sentiments were further reinforced by the publication of testimonies to the value of the Sabbath from past and present Prime Ministers, and the inclusion of a poem by William Howitt, celebrating the work of the English Church, and its missionaries, in spreading the word.

"A stately ship speeds o'er the mighty main-
 Oh! Many a league from our own happy land:
 Yet from its heart ascends a choral strain;
 For there its little isolate band,
 Amid the ocean desert's awful roar,
 Praise Him whose love links shore to distant shore.

O'er palmy woods where summer's radiance falls,
 In the glad islands of the Indian main,
 What thronging crowds the missionary calls,
 To raise to heaven the Christian's glorious strain!
 Lo! Where engirt by children of the sun,
 Stands the white man, and counts his victories won.¹⁷

Other distractions preyed upon the weak minded. The Sunday excursion train was another source of some irritation in that it redirected the thoughts and actions

¹⁷ Howitt, W. 'The Sabbath', See *BW* No 314, February (1881): 53-55.

of many away from religion and moral improvement in favour of frivolous and trivial amusements. According to Stringer Rowe, Smithies was of the opinion that “all who were employed upon railways and other public means of conveyance on Sunday...” were being denied their Divine rights.¹⁸

Leading by example, Smithies refused to travel by train on Sundays and he was known to severely censure others who used a public conveyance on a Sunday, whatever the reason.¹⁹ One of his earliest, most vigorous and sustained campaigns was for the introduction of some form of regulation of London’s cabmen. From the early 1850s onwards he was keen to promote legislation introducing a six-day licence for cabs, so that cabbies might legitimately claim a day of rest thereby leaving Sunday free for reflection, and giving them an opportunity for their own attendance at a place of worship. His deep concern for the welfare of cabmen is apparent from the amount space devoted to his reporting on their condition, and the fact that he took on the responsibilities of supervising day missionaries to day cabmen from 1878-1883.²⁰ The projected opening of galleries and museums on Sundays was seen as a further erosion of the sanctity of the Lord’s Day, and he successfully coordinated and financed opposition to the opening of Alexandra Palace on Sundays.²¹ However, as discussed in Chapter One, the high incidence of intemperance among the working classes, and the effects of drinking on working class religious observances and religious instruction, were matters of the greatest concern to Smithies and many of his associates. As the following extracts indicate, these were issues that persisted throughout the nineteenth century. In 1836 Charles Dickens observed that for some sections of the working classes Sunday was neither a day of rest or spiritual uplift.

¹⁸ Stringer Rowe (1884): 64.

¹⁹ Hazell, (1919): 34. Smithies requested the dismissal of Charles Marshall, foreman at George Watson’s, his printer, for going by train to listen to a popular preacher.

²⁰ It was through his work on behalf of cabbies that Smithies extended his circle of acquaintances to include Captain G. C. Armstrong of St John’s Wood founder of the Cabman’s Shelter Fund. The idea was taken up by a group of influential public figures and in January 1875, a committee was established to manage the fund. The president was the Earl of Shaftesbury, the vice president was the Honourable Arthur Kinnaird, MP and the committee comprised several high ranking officers and politicians. For example, shelters were financed and presented to the fund by the Duke of Westminster, Colonel Sir E. W. Fitzwygram, and Mr George Moore, and from the royal family. HRH The Prince of Wales donated the sum of £21.00 and by December 1875 the fund totalled £1,715 3s 6d

²¹ Stringer Rowe (1884): 76-77.

In some parts of London, and in many of the manufacturing towns of England, drunkenness and profligacy in their most disgusting forms, exhibit in the open streets on Sunday, a sad and a degrading spectacle. We need go no farther than St. Giles's, or Drury Lane, for sights and scenes of a most repulsive nature. Women with scarcely the articles of apparel which common decency requires, with forms bloated by disease, and faces rendered hideous by habitual drunkenness--men reeling and staggering along--children in rags and filth--whole streets of squalid and miserable appearance, whose inhabitants are lounging in the public road, fighting, screaming, and swearing--these are the common objects which present themselves in, these are the well-known characteristics of, that portion of London to which I have just referred.²²

Some thirty years later James Greenwood was to describe similar scenes that he witnessed during his investigations in some of the more deprived areas of London.

You may even go so far as to say that you know Golden-lane; but unless you are a robust and practised observer, your knowledge of that desperate byway is of a very superficial character. For Golden-lane is in vice and squalid poverty scarcely to be equalled in London. There are few places where, in so short a walk, so many evil-looking taverns find customers all day long; few localities where on Sunday mornings the opening of the public-house doors is looked forward to with such dogged expectation by the 'roughs' who lounge about the causeway, or sit on the kerb-stone or the door-steps, that they may be ready to take advantage of the first withdrawal of the bolts of those doors that are 'on the swing' for eighteen hours out of twenty-four on every day but Sunday.²³

Some of the scenes witnessed by Dickens and his contemporaries, in London and other large urban centres on Sunday, were stark reminders to the middle classes, of the unsavoury and threatening nature of the urban proletariat. They were confronted by, "drunkenness and profligacy in their most disgusting forms", with drunken men "reeling and staggering along", with hoardes of filthy ragged children, and numerous incidents involving acts of public immorality. Smithies' own experiences as a Sunday-school teacher, and the problems he faced in getting children from poor families to attend Sunday-school, children "whose presence in the schools would, by reason of their extreme poverty, be little less than an embarrassment",²⁴ were to have a great impact on his future involvement with temperance education and periodicals publishing. He was particularly troubled by the impact that intemperance had on the families that he visited in York.

²² Dickens, C. *Sunday Under Three Heads*, (1836), Manchester, Johnson, W. T. 1884.

²³ Greenwood, J. *The Wilds of London*, London, Chatto and Windus, (1874): 248.

E-text <http://www.victorianlondon.org/publications3/wilds.htm>

²⁴ Stringer Rowe (1884): 33.

The more he worked amongst the poor, and in the haunts and the homes of artisans and labourers, the more the evidence crowded upon him of the moral and social havoc which was being wrought by intemperance. He saw, too, that the evil was by no means limited to these classes. The whole question of the social drinking customs of all grades of the people deeply and painfully excited his interest; and time after time, in families he knew well, he watched the fatal history of indulgence unfolding itself in sorrow and ruin and death.²⁵

Smithies became convinced that teaching young people about the 'tyrannous power' of the drinking habit, and training them in the principles of total abstinence, might be the most effective way of separating them from the cause of the mischief. His involvement in the pioneering work of the Band of Hope Movement, and the development of ideas for some form of temperance education through the Sunday-school curriculum, shaped Smithies' attitudes towards teetotalism and sowed the seeds of a pioneering form of temperance literature.

Total Abstinence, Sunday-school Teaching, and the Consequences of Intemperance Among the Urban Poor.

Having been raised within the Wesleyan Methodist community, Smithies was driven by an evangelical zeal and he firmly believed in the concept of salvation through faith as evidenced in the Gospels. He allied himself to those who, according to Lecky, "infused into... [the English Church] a new fire and passion of devotion, kindled a spirit of fervent philanthropy, raised the standard of clerical duty, and completely altered the whole tone and tendency of the ministers."²⁶ While evangelism was pan-denominational, the urban poor and the 'economic migrants' flocking into expanding industrial centres seeking employment, the 'displaced' newcomers, and the greater mass of the working classes, were sought out by the Baptists and Methodists who located their chapels in the more deprived urban districts.²⁷

Those who know life deeply and intimately, who are profoundly acquainted with all the suffering, sorrow, misery, and sin of cities and villages, those whose studies are not limited to books read in a library, or to discussions accidentally started in a drawing

²⁵ Stringer Rowe (1884): 35.

²⁶ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, (1899) Vol. II 527; quoted in Heasman, K. *Evangelicals in Action*, (1962): 16.

²⁷ Heasman, K. (1962): 17.

room, know as a first axiom of their knowledge that religion alone among all the forces at work for the improvement of humanity, has power to alter the character and regenerate the soul of evil people. Legislation may better house the poor, may educate their children, limit the opportunities for drink and crime, and punish evil-doers with a saner and more determined effort at their moral reformation, but without religion they will never give spiritual joy and invigorating strength to the posterity on which evolution depends.²⁸

Given his religious outlook it was not unusual that Smithies should seek out the slum courts in his neighbourhood in order to witness for himself some of the appalling conditions endured by his students while not in his care. Some of the effects of the drunkenness he witnessed in the homes he visited, the lack of parental guidance and basic religious instruction, the levels of ignorance, and evidence of physical and emotional neglect, made him more fully appreciate the importance of the Sunday-school as the only source of instruction for the majority of poor children. It was partly as a consequence of these experiences that he decided to adopt a position “of entire abstinence in order to promote temperance” at a time when, as outlined in Chapter One, the cause of total abstinence was “more than unpopular”.²⁹ The Wesleyans were themselves divided on the issue. The Primitive Methodists had given official approval of the temperance movement as early as 1832. In 1841 the General Committee issued a circular to all sections stating, “It is well known that our Connexion approves of Teetotalism, and recommends the prudent advocacy of it.”³⁰ In the same year however, (1841), the Wesleyan Conference was less supportive, debating “... the annoyance arising from teetotalism [and] (1) The use of *bone fide* wine in the Lord’s Supper; (2) the not allowing teetotal meetings in our chapels...”³¹

²⁸ Begbie, H. *Broken Earthenware*, (1909): 285. in Heasman, K. (1962): 19.

²⁹ The concept of Teetotalism suggested that religious belief was not a ‘prerequisite for moral progress’ and undermined long held beliefs that the bible was ‘infallible. The teetotal doctrine proposed the potential of self-help and the capacity for man to improve himself by his own efforts thereby attaining some measure of comfort and happiness in the material world of the present rather than in the hereafter. This notion provoked strong reactions from within the Anglican community when it was proposed in the Anglican teetotal manifesto of 1859 that ‘moral reform’ was often a precursor to ‘religious conversion’. Stringer Rowe, (1884) 9-10. It was not just a significant majority of the hierarchy of the Anglican Church that remained aloof from the temperance movement, the Wesleyans officially condemned teetotalism in 1841, and, as Harrison argues, many ministers in most denominations were in some degree hostile or indifferent to teetotalism ‘at least until the 1870s’. Harrison, (1994):167-175.

³⁰ Thompson, D. M. (ed), *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century*, Routledge & Keegan Paul, London, (1972): 80.

³¹ Thompson, D. M. (1972): 105.

Smithies was undeterred. His commitment to the temperance cause was further strengthened through his contact with the American evangelist James Caughey, who toured the north of England during the 1840s, visiting York in the late summer of 1845.³² Caughey was a staunch advocate of total abstinence and reports claim that his evangelical revival meetings stirred thousands into taking the pledge and spurred temperance activists into redoubling their own efforts in furtherance of the cause. If added encouragement was needed, the first meeting of the York Band of Hope, (1847),³³ was held in Smithies' home. This precipitated a lifelong commitment to the promotion of the Band of Hope movement and efforts to encourage temperance principles in children, animated by the belief that for the moral and spiritual condition of the poor to improve, their drinking habits had to be reformed. An important first step being to secure a "... generation who should grow up in separation from the cause of the mischief." Positive action had to be taken to remove children from the sources of sin, and to educate them sufficiently to enable them to make informed moral choices.

Smithies was always eager to assist in any efforts designed to spread Christian truth. He was particularly enthusiastic to aid plans, "devised for the purpose of breaking up neglected ground, carrying the benefits of the Gospel to those who had been practically forgotten by the ordinary Church agencies", and those classes of people who had become socially outcast, largely as a consequence of their own evil.³⁴ His efforts on behalf of the recently established Ragged School movement, conducted over a three year period during which he repeatedly and successfully petitioned the Teachers' Meetings and the General Committee, were rewarded with the establishment of York's first Ragged School in 1847.³⁵

³²Smithies acted as an agent handling monies for Caughey who preached 'restitution as necessary to repentance'. Taken from the teachings of William Penn, Smithies was to reinforce this message on other occasions. See, for example, *Band of Hope Review* No. 53. (1865): 212. and Mountjoy P. R. (1985) 46.

³³ The Band of Hope, a temperance organisation primarily for working-class children, was founded in Leeds in 1847. All members took a pledge of total abstinence and were taught the "evils of drink". Members were enrolled from the age of six and met once a week to listen to lectures and participate in activities.

³⁴ See Stringer Rowe (1884): 56.

³⁵ Stringer Rowe (1884): 33-34. The Bedern school was a great success from the outset and later became the York Industrial School. Ragged Schools were also of particular interest to Angela Burdett-Coutts, who donated a great deal of time and money to the Ragged Schools Union, an organization headed by Lord Shaftesbury in 1844. Both Burdett-Coutts and Shaftesbury became

Temperance, Education, and the Sunday-school.

Years of commitment to the Sunday-school movement, his work on behalf of Ragged Schools, his experiences as a home visitor, and his involvement with the early phases of the Bands of Hope, were to have a major impact on Smithies' future decision to undertake the challenge of producing a radically new form of temperance literature.³⁶ In particular, the "fall through drink of former Sunday School scholars and many teachers", was to instil in him a "growing desire to promote ... Temperance teaching and training of the young".³⁷ As a Sunday-school teacher he was particularly concerned about the number of Sunday-school scholars who resorted to intemperate habits. He was moved to propose the following resolution at the Conference of the British Association for the Promotion of Temperance, held in Leeds, 26-28 July, 1848.

That in order to bring more prominently to the notice of serious persons the very debasing effects of Intoxicating Liquors upon those who have been educated in Sunday-schools, this Conference recommends each of its members to institute a rigid enquiry into the history of such Scholars after leaving the Schools, and the members now present pledge themselves to send tabular forms of such Statistics as can be procured, as early as possible, to the Secretary of the Association, for publication in the *Sunday School and Youths' Temperance Journal*.³⁸

Further experiences as a prison visitor reaffirmed ideas that he had been formulating for some time and also had a direct bearing on his decision to establish an educational temperance publication.

While questioning young offenders in York Castle, he was shocked to discover that the majority of those with whom he spoke had committed offences while under the influence of drink, or as a consequence of drink. Not only that but a large number of the young prisoners had, at one time been 'Sunday-scholars', and a few had even been teachers. It also became apparent that whilst at Sunday-school most had received little or no guidance or advice on the evils of drink. Believing that intemperance was a cause, rather than a consequence, of poverty,

close friends of Smithies and their highly respected positions in philanthropic circles both assisted and directed him in his career.

³⁶ Stringer Rowe (1884): 35.

³⁷ Smith, F. *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume* (1897): 56.

³⁸ *The Sunday School and Youths' Temperance Journal*, August, Vol. 1. 1848: 77.

Smithies was convinced that it was futile to promote religion without temperance.³⁹ It was from these and other experiences that Smithies was to shift his position from one of temperance, to total abstinence.

I was constrained from what I there saw and heard, to make a solemn mental promise that no child should, from that time, pass under my oversight as a teacher without my advising the adoption of entire abstinence from the use of strong drink ...; so that in the event of any of my scholars ever becoming drunkards, or criminals through drinking, they might not be able to say, 'My teacher never warned me against that evil which has led to my ruin'.⁴⁰

In order to establish the extent of the problem he had uncovered at York, Smithies extended his enquiries to the governors of one hundred other prisons requesting that chaplains furnish him with statistics for their particular establishment. He compiled a considerable body of evidence from which he extrapolated that nationally upwards of fifty percent of the prison population had attended Sunday-school for periods of up to three years. This led him to publish a pamphlet, *Voices from the Penitentiaries*, (1850), detailing the results of his statistical investigation into the connections between drinking and criminality, and the temperance education received through the Sunday-school by inmates in prisons throughout the country. Smithies concluded that Sunday-school teachers had been derelict in an important aspect of their duty to their pupils. He declared, "While cautioning their pupils against evil in general, they have not cautioned them specifically against ONE great and terrible evil... the use of intoxicating drinks... Is it not an appalling fact, that while hundreds are benefited by attending Sabbath-schools, hundreds find their way, through various paths of vice, to prisons and penitentiaries..., and even to the gallows."⁴¹ By calling for the teaching of temperance principles in Sunday-schools, *Voices* was the cause of 'great indignation' among other Sunday-school workers, religious leaders, and in some sections of the religious press. "One critic, in an important religious periodical, charged his statistics with falsehood, and accused him of being guilty of little less than blasphemy, in having declared that the Gospel was not enough in itself for the salvation of the children."⁴² Smithies added a further dimension to

³⁹ Stringer Rowe(1884): 36-37.

⁴⁰ Smithies (1850): 3.

⁴¹ Smithies (1850): 15.

⁴² Stringer Rowe (1884): 39-40. The outline of Smithies' survey and responses to the backlash from critics, were reported at length in *The Teetotal Times and Essayist* over a period of more than

the debate when he suggested that there were fundamental weaknesses in the curriculum offered by Sunday-schools. Addressing a meeting of Sunday-school teachers he advocated the 'prevention' of crime rather than 'punishment' and called upon all concerned to do their duty and warn scholars of the "dreadful consequences of intemperance".⁴³ There were hostile reactions from the Church to suggestions from within the temperance movement that religious instruction as promoted through the Sunday school movement was insufficient on its own to teach youngsters about the dangers associated with alcohol consumption. Opinions polarised, and the general response from the clergy was to 'shut out' the whole question so as to avoid the strife, division and spiritual loss which ensued. In response, some temperance activists became more entrenched in their animosity towards the Church in view of a perceived widespread indifference to temperance issues, and a war of words was waged in some of the more partisan religious and temperance papers. As Stringer Rowe noted, "Hence came the conflict of heated and angry words, and, sometimes, of most uncharitable denunciations...".⁴⁴ However, as one contemporary observer commented, many temperance reformers, like Smithies, held deeply religious convictions and were driven by a strong sense of Christian duty. Equally, members of the evangelical clergy were committed to the temperance cause, they were active within their local parishes and communities and many became officers of the various temperance organisations.

Although teetotalism and religion have no necessary connection, yet many temperance societies are eminent for their highly developed Christianity; and the acknowledged literature of temperance, and the lectures delivered by its advocates are highly favourable to it. By this means, the temperance enterprise is doing even a much greater work for the religious elevation of the British workman than many eminent persons in the Church are disposed to admit. How-important, then, must it be, that the Christian should lend his influence in aid of the furtherance of temperance, the chief handmaid of

twelve months. Arguments that raged in the periodical press between supporters of Smithies, members of the Sunday-school Union, and detractors speaking in defence of the religious community, (principally through the correspondence columns of the *British Banner*), the open displays of animosity witnessed at temperance meetings held in Exeter Hall, and the dismissive response published in the *Edinburgh Review*, bear testimony to the strength of feeling aroused by *Voices from the Penitentiaries*. See, *The Teetotal Times and Essayist* April 1850 – May 1851. However, the extent to which John Cassell, publisher of *Voices*, and proprietor of *The Teetotal Times*, might have engineered or prolonged the debates in furtherance of both commercial and temperance objectives, has also to be taken into consideration when weighing the impact of Smithies' conclusions. *Voices from the Penitentiaries* ran to at least nine editions, and was widely circulated, (gratuitously), to members of religious and temperance organisations.

⁴³ *Bristol Temperance Herald*, No. 5. Vol. 14. May 1850: 77.

⁴⁴ Stringer Rowe (1884): 10.

the gospel, and the pioneer of spiritual illumination! By so doing, he aids a powerful, though indirect agency for the diffusion of Christianity, and also prevents such noble societies being grasped and governed by men whose practices are decidedly anti-Christian.⁴⁵

Smithies' Sunday-school duties, his prison visiting, his activities with the Band of Hope, and the writing of pamphlets and tracts in support of the temperance movement, were all undertaken in his spare time. He was also fully employed in his position with the Yorkshire Fire and Insurance Company. However, in the period between the gathering of statistical information from various prisons, and the publication of *Voices*, Smithies left York and moved to London to take up a new post as managing secretary of the Gutta-Percha Company. The move to the capital was to give a fresh impetus to his philanthropic work, and significantly extend his network of contacts. As a consequence of his move to the capital, new opportunities presented themselves enabling to give more thought to him to his ideas for providing some form of temperance education for the masses.

London. 1849 – 1860, the Importance of Temperance Networking.

But Mr. Smithies had no kindred with those- if such there be- who would scold and drill erring men and women into better ways...⁴⁶

The actual date of Smithies' move to London is unclear but we know that it was some time in late 1848 or early 1849. It is evident from the fact that his name appears as one of the Vice Presidents of the National Temperance Society in lists published in the official journal of the organisation for June 1849,⁴⁷ that one of his earliest priorities was to establish connections with a temperance organisation. His temperance credentials were to prove particularly advantageous in assisting

⁴⁵ Robinson, J. *The Social, Mental, and Moral Condition of the British Workman, his wife, and family; with suggestions for Improvement*, London, Wm. Tweedie, (1859): 73. For further information regarding the involvement of the clergy in the temperance movement see Harrison, (1994): 144, 167- 181.

⁴⁶ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 57.

⁴⁷ See Appendix B Membership Lists

him to make contact with other members of the philanthropic community. Through his close association with the Band of Hope Movement, and his membership of the National Temperance Society, he came into contact with others who were to make significant contributions to the realisation of his future ambitions. The lists of Vice Presidents and Executive members of the National Temperance Society, as published in the pages of *The Temperance Chronicle*, include the names of several key figures influential inside and outside temperance circles. Among them we find the names of Messrs. R. D. Alexander, William Cash, Hugh Owen, James Silk Buckingham, Rev. G.W. M'Cree, Rev. Jabez Burns, William Tweedie, Samuel Bowly, John Cassell, George Cruikshank, and Samuel Carter Hall.⁴⁸ It was as a consequence of his move to London, and his introduction to people involved in the 'new wave' of temperance publishing, particularly John Cassell and William Tweedie, that Smithies was able to contemplate venturing into periodicals publishing. As Brian Harrison stated, "The temperance movement probably helped more to success than appears from studying its members at any one time, for membership of a temperance society was often only the first step on the upward ladder".⁴⁹

Membership lists from 1849/50, of organisations with which he was personally involved, give a snapshot of the persons with whom Smithies was to establish lasting and personal associations many of whom would be instrumental to his success as a periodical editor. An examination of these lists not only provides the names of those with whom Smithies came into close contact but also reveals the extent to which many of the leading evangelicals and philanthropists were involved with a range of causes. For example, the Committee of the Ragged School Union, (1849), an organisation with which Smithies was intimately involved in York, included several such individuals.

⁴⁸ *National Temperance Chronicle*, Nov. (1849): 560. Smithies would have benefited from close contact with members of other organisations through his personal friendships and close associations with persons such as R. D. Alexander, (publisher of the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts), Samuel Bowly, Jabez Burns, and James Silk Buckingham, who were also officers in the United Kingdom Alliance, an indication of the close links maintained between the main temperance societies despite their ideological differences.

⁴⁹ Harrison, (1984): 142.

The membership list for 1849 was studded with the names of prominent philanthropists.⁵⁰ Lord Ashley, (later the Earl of Shaftesbury), was one of the most influential philanthropists of the nineteenth century, and he was to become a lifelong friend to Smithies, and his mother Catherine.⁵¹ Shaftesbury was one of the first to endorse *The Band of Hope Review*, and the *British Workman*, and Smithies worked closely with him in a wide range of philanthropic activities. An examination of the membership lists of a number of the leading religious, charitable, and temperance organisations provides further evidence of the close knit nature of the upper echelons of the philanthropic community. The names of some of the most prominent individuals appear repeatedly, many of whom, such as Lord Kinnaird, the Earl of Harrowby, the Reverend Baptist Noel, Reverend W. W. Champneys, John Garwood, (Secretary of the London City Mission), and John McGregor, ('Rob Roy'), were to make important contributions to the success of Smithies' journals.

Smithies was not simply a passive member of the Executive Committee of the National Temperance League, he was one of twelve specially elected members of the Joint Committee established to oversee the merger of the London Temperance League and the National Temperance Society. He was also an active and valuable contributor to the work of various sub-committees, a major contributor to the League's funds helping to raise monies to cover the costs of constitutional changes.⁵² He also organised a testimonial fund for William Tweedie in recognition of Tweedie's generosity in transferring the rights of ownership of the *Weekly Record* into the hands of the National Temperance League. He addressed numerous public meetings,⁵³ represented the League at numerous conferences, and arranged functions to promote the work of the temperance movement.⁵⁴ Smithies was a prominent member of the "Management Committee for

⁵⁰ Source *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, 1849. See Appendix B..

⁵¹ See Hodder, E. *The Life and Works of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury* Cassell & Co., (1892): 395.

⁵² National Temperance League, *Annual Report* (1857): 8.

⁵³ See 'Social Science Breakfast', National Temperance League, *Annual Report* (1863): 11-12, and, 'The Authoress of Haste to the Rescue', National Temperance League, *Annual Report*, (1861): 17.

⁵⁴ National Temperance League, *Annual Report* (1857): 8.

Temperance Demonstrations at Exeter Hall”, responsible for presenting the claims of the Temperance Movement more fully to a wider public.⁵⁵

Some of the individuals with whom Smithies associated were, like Shaftesbury, involved in a wide range of philanthropic ventures and held positions of influence in agencies that might prove beneficial to the promotion and circulation of publications such as *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman*. Lord Kinnaird was associated with the London City Mission, Ranyard’s Bible Women, the London Cabman’s Shelter Fund, and the British Workman Lifeboat Fund. George Moore, a keen supporter, was on the committee of the Pure Literature Society, and one of its principal working supporters.⁵⁶ Mr. Moore purchased large quantities of both *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman* and distributed them widely to his employees, cabmen, and to railway station waiting rooms. Smithies became a close friend, he shared the same interests in several enterprises, particularly the spread of good literature and the welfare of cabmen, and he was to work with George Moore, Reverend C Ryle, Dr. Moffat, and others in establishing a Cumberland Village missionary.⁵⁷

As the membership lists of the various organisations with which Smithies was involved indicate, he was able to call on the support of a number of extremely influential and well-connected individuals to sponsor and validate his philanthropic work. However, he did not confine himself to working through established societies with clearly defined objectives. He took the trouble to involve those members of the working classes on behalf of whom a great deal of philanthropic energy and resources were being expended. Robert Rae, a close friend, and temperance colleague, recalled how,

Mr. Smithies took a great interest in soldiers, sailors, postmen, telegraph messengers, police officers, railway men and other classes of public servants; and it was one of his greatest delights to bring together for social intercourse groups of persons engaged in similar occupations, to encourage them in well-doing, and to elicit suggestions as to

⁵⁵ Source *Teetotal Times* No XXI ns Sept (1849): 1.

⁵⁶ Smiles, S. *George Moore Merchant and Philanthropist*, George Routledge and Sons, London, (1880): 213. George Moore was a prominent businessman and philanthropist a keen supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Ragged School Movement, and personal associated with many of the leading religious figures of the day including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, Peterborough and Carlisle. Smiles. S. (1880): 241.

⁵⁷ Smiles (1880): 371.

how he and others like-minded might help them in maintaining with honour the struggle of life... [he] was in the habit of receiving every day representative philanthropists of various classes and both sexes, who conferred with him around the tea-table concerning questions in which they were mutually interested.⁵⁸

Many of the organisations with which Smithies became involved were ecumenical in nature, and, like the London City Mission, were constituted so as to enable Anglicans, Dissenters, Nonconformists, and Quakers to work more effectively together for the common good.⁵⁹ Personally, Smithies was inclined towards moderation in most things and generally unwilling to pursue the more forthright course adopted by some of his more zealous temperance associates like Joseph Livesey. While he worked closely with colleagues from all religious persuasions in aid of the temperance cause, he particularly benefited from the assistance given by like minded individuals from among the Society of Friends drawn to the pan-evangelical nature of the temperance campaign for social and moral reform, and financially in a position to offer practical support. The Quakers were a close community known to appreciate humility, loyalty, and honesty, personal qualities for which Smithies was known. Prominent among this group was the elder Samuel Gurney who was to contribute significant sums of money to support the continued publication of *The Band of Hope Review*.⁶⁰ The Quaker tradition of rewarding loyalty and assisting those whose integrity they respected was to prove beneficial to Smithies over the coming years. Smithies' openness and tolerance of others, regardless of religious affiliation, were also instrumental in allowing him to form relationships outside his own religious persuasion. He was able, therefore, to form lasting relationships, and work closely, with those who were similarly motivated by their commitment to philanthropic enterprises, bound by a common goal of alleviating, wherever possible, the sin and misery of others.

⁵⁸*British Workman*, No 57 ns September (1896): 66. Smithies and William Spriggs were instrumental in establishing temperance groups in the army.

⁵⁹ The Constitution of the London City Mission stated that part of the duties of the missionaries was that they should see that "...all persons possess the Scriptures, shall distribute approved religious tracts, and aid in obtaining Scriptural education for the children of the poor. The Constitution of the society also clearly stated in the first article that the work should be carried out, "...without any reference to denominational distinctions or the peculiarities of Church Government.", missionaries were instructed to "Studiously avoid all subjects of a political nature, as altogether foreign to the purpose of your visit"... and to consider themselves as 'withdrawn from all secular employment'. See Weyland (1891): 294.

⁶⁰ See *BHRSSF* No. 2 February (1851): 7. See also Smith, F. *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, London, United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, (1897): 56.

Although Smithies remained an officer of the National Temperance Society throughout his life it did not prevent him, however, from supporting other societies involved in temperance work.⁶¹ In 1862 Smithies paid the expenses for a conference attended by 'over fifty Anglican abstaining clergymen at the London Coffee House, which resulted in the formation of the Church teetotal society.'⁶² For the first six years he provided free office facilities for the newly established Church of England Temperance Society at a time "when it had but few friends and a very slender subscription list",⁶³ and he personally bore all the publishing risks associated with the early numbers of *The Church of England Temperance Magazine*, thereby ensuring that the society could establish a voice in the temperance world. However, his periodicals represent his greatest contribution to the temperance cause⁶⁴ and provide a wealth of evidence concerning the interests and motivations of their editor.

Like many of the Victorian Christian philanthropists with whom he associated, Smithies took a great interest in, and gave practical assistance to, the remedy of a wide range of social issues. During the cotton famine, (1861-1864), precipitated by the American Civil War, he helped raise substantial funds to support Lancashire cotton operatives during their time of great need. Subscribers to, and readers of, the *British Workman* raised over £3,000 in donations. At the end of hostilities he helped to raise awareness in England of the plight of the Negro in America, by supporting efforts to assist newly emancipated slaves in the post civil war era, and by helping to raise funds and organise relief.⁶⁵ He was an active supporter of the Peace Movement, arguing against the futility and financial cost of war. He assisted Elihu Burritt in the publication of *The Bond of Brotherhood*, continuing to supply the paper from his office in Paternoster Row, and funding and supplying all of the engravings published during the last year of issue, 1867. He was nominated for, and duly elected to, the newly established London School

⁶¹ Despite tactical and ideological differences Smithies was "in hearty sympathy with the United Kingdom Alliance and a regular contributor to its funds". *The Alliance News*, No 517, July 28 (1883).

⁶² Olsen, (1973): 42.

⁶³ *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, September, (1883): 135.

⁶⁴ National Temperance League, *Annual Report* (1860): 10.

⁶⁵ 'The Freedmen in America', a speech at the Wesleyan Meeting House 9 June 1865 Smithies shared the platform with Rev Wm. Arthur, Fred Tomkins Esq, Rev W B Boyce, and Hon. C C Leigh of New York.

Board, 1870, as member for Hackney. Although he remained in post for only one year, finding that he could not give the work his fullest attention owing to the demands of his periodicals work, he used his time on the Board to remind the State of pending obligations regarding the careful management of charitable funding for educational trusts.⁶⁶

It is evident that his interests and influence extended beyond the role of editor of educational periodicals. He had given time to lecturing on both the temperance circuits and in Mechanics Institutes during the late 1840s and early 1850s,⁶⁷ and later he became increasingly involved with the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. He was committed to promoting agencies like the Post Office Savings Bank, Building and Friendly Societies, and Life Assurance, which were intended to encourage improvement of the living conditions of the urban working classes. His experiences in York, and his work in London convinced him, and others like Professor Huxley, that, "... if intemperance was the origin of vice, idleness, and crime, so also were hovels devoid of sanitary and other comforts the origin of intemperance. As a man's dwelling, so his character."⁶⁸

As outlined in Chapter One, being concerned for the moral improvement of working men and women, attempting to persuade them to join the temperance cause, and encouraging them to participate in religious observances, also necessitated dealing with issues directly associated with their living conditions and domestic arrangements. This included campaigning for the provision of adequate housing, offering guidance for women on the management of the home environment and the household budget, both of which were fundamental to the success of any efforts to promote temperance among the working classes. The home and family were key factors in Smithies' temperance agenda, and domestic subjects featured prominently in the texts and letterpress of the *British Workman* from the very beginning.

⁶⁶ 'Professor Huxley on the Charities of London, *The Spectator*, 20 May 1871.

⁶⁷ Lecture on Gutta Serena at the Mechanics' Institute, York, 12 March 1850, (York Reference Library TC49/1-15)

⁶⁸ Mr. Burham Safford, NAPSS, *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, Longman, London, (1872): 531.

As a regular delegate at conferences organised by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, Smithies presented papers on a number of occasions and debated several issues including those concerning the repeal of Paper Duty,⁶⁹ He assisted in evolving strategies for the improvement of working class housing, and for the establishment of agencies designed to assist working men to own their own home. He argued that the compulsory purchase of, and demolition of, thousands of homes, in order to extend the rail network, meant that, "... the mass of people were literally driven from their homes, and, like a wave of the sea, passed over the already over-crowded districts of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green". He complained that, "All efforts to promote temperance and other good habits [were] absolutely neutralised".⁷⁰ The importance of the home and the domestic environment in temperance propaganda are discussed in greater detail in below.

As well as promoting the spiritual and moral advancement of the working classes, and arguing for housing reform, Smithies devoted a considerable amount of his time and resources to campaigning for the better treatment for animals. In his work with cabbies and costermongers, (and other workers whose livelihood depended on the use of animals), he was able to have a direct input into matters concerning their treatment of horses, donkeys, and dogs, drawing attention to their responsibilities, and duty of care, to their livestock. In this aspect of his work he was greatly influenced and encouraged by his mother who was herself a pioneer in the animal welfare movement.⁷¹ The focus on animal welfare also represented

⁶⁹ Social Economy Section Meeting , Liverpool, 17 October, 1858.

⁷⁰ Smithies was a regular participant at conferences arranged by the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. He actively campaigned for the removal of paper duty on the basis that it would be of special benefit to working men by extending education and contributing to the improved morality of the population. He took advantage of the same platform in order to plead for the introduction of the Post Office Savings Bank, the establishment of 'old age pensions, my means of Government Annuities, and improved housing for the working classes. Smithies, T. B. 'Dwellings for the Lower Classes,' *Transactions* (1872): 529-531. He was, for a number of years, a director of the United Kingdom Temperance Provident Institution. See *Band of Hope Chronicle* September (1883): 135.

⁷¹ Catherine Smithies was involved with the humane treatment of animals and birds from the late 1830s onwards. Greatly influenced by the arguments of F. Morris, she began distributing propaganda. She wrote, edited, and compiled her own tracts and books, directing her efforts towards persuading the young. She was founder of the Band of Mercy Movement (1869), an anti-vivisectionist and lifelong supporter of the S.P.C.A. (later the R.S.P.C.A.). She was one of the original members of the Ladies Committee of that Society with her friend the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. A large engraving, after a portrait by T. H. Wilson featured on the cover of the *British*

an extension of the temperance agenda in order to include wider discourses on working class morality, and concepts of respectability. In common with other evangelical reformers, Smithies was opposed to all forms of cruelty, making little distinction between the mistreatment of human beings and the mistreatment of animals. For him, there was a blurred boundary between concern for the morals and manners of the lower classes, and concern for the sufferings of animals. As Harriet Ritvo argued, "Thus in adults as well as children, the treatment of animals could be seen as an index of the extent to which an individual had managed to control his or her lower urges. If animal suffering was caused by people in need of moral uplift, then to work for the protection of the brute creation was simultaneously to promote the salvation of human souls and the salvation of social order."⁷²

Smithies was among the first to encourage and materially assist the Metropolitan Drinking Fountains and Cattle Trough Association.⁷³ He was also co-founder, with Catherine Smithies, of the Band of Mercy Movement,⁷⁴ and established its

Workman, May 1878, depicting her with her two dogs Rosie and Tiny. She is seated next to her writing desk on which is her Bible and a framed picture of 'The Temperance Society', after J. F. Herring. She was, like her son, a teetotaler, temperance campaigner and supporter of the Lord's Day Observance Society. In recognition of her work for animal welfare, shortly after her death in 1876, Thomas Smithies erected a granite drinking fountain and cattle trough outside their home at Wood Green.

⁷² Questions regarding man's moral duty to animals had been a matter of concern to the Church for a number of years and had occasioned the publication of important philosophical arguments including Rev. Primatt H. *A Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy and Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals* 1776, and Lawrence, J. *A Philosophical and Practical Treatise on Horses, and on the Moral Duties of Man towards Brute Creation*. 1796-8. In the first half of the nineteenth century various legislative measures were put in place, and organisations set up to deter the inhumane treatment of animals. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was established 1824 and granted royal patronage in 1840, intended initially as an enforcing agency prosecuting the lower classes for acts of brutality. Several Bills were passed by parliament in 1822, and 1835, and 1849 to safeguard the humane treatment of working animals and domestic pets. Ritvo, H. *The Animal Estate*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA (1987): 125- 136.

⁷³ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 70-71 The Metropolitan Drinking Fountains Association was established by Samuel Gurney 12 April 1859 at an inaugural meeting in the Willis Rooms. In attendance were, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Radstock, Lord Albemarle, Lord John Russell, Hon. Mr. Cowper, Rev. Mr. Rogers, Rev. Mr. Thorold, C. P. Melly, Esq. and E T Wakefield. Mr. J. M. Weylland of the London City Mission was secretary. A subscription of £1500 was raised on the occasion. Mrs Wilson, daughter of Archbishop of Canterbury opened first fountain in London at Snow Hill. Addresses were given by Rev. Jas. Jackson, Lord Radstock, E.T. Wakefield Esq., Mr. Howlett., and Lord John Russell. The occasion coincided with a rush of activity in other towns across the country. See *British Workman* No. 55 July (1859): 220.

⁷⁴ The first Band of Mercy was established at Wood Green in England in 1875 by Mrs Catherine Smithies and, according to the writer of a notice in one Band of Hope and Temperance family magazine "...spread like a network over the land." *Onward*, September (1883): 139. After her decease, it was continued by Thomas Smithies and his sister Eliza Smithies for the Prevention of

journal, *The Band of Mercy Advocate*, (1879), the rights of which he handed over to the RSPCA, along with property worth several hundreds of pounds, shortly before he died. He influenced the style and content of *The Animal World*, the official organ of the RSPCA, meeting with the editor to discuss “the size of the journal, the paper, types, style, etc., etc.”⁷⁵ Included in his circle of friends were “the most distinguished members” of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and he was, for many years, a member of the Council of that society.⁷⁶ Additionally, he took a leading role in calling for, and publicising, efforts to provide clean safe drinking water for the working classes and their animals, in London, and in the provinces,. “It is a melancholy fact, over which we have long mourned, that in London, the chief city in the world, - a city with its three millions of inhabitants, there is not a solitary water fountain for the people!”⁷⁷ In a series of articles commencing in July, 1857, Smithies ran a campaign in support of the work started by C. P. Melly, in Liverpool, in 1854, (with the erection of the first public drinking fountain in that town). In addition, Smithies also advocated an extension of the provision of free water to animals. His work on behalf of the R.S.P.C.A. in this respect anticipated the formation of the Metropolitan Drinking Fountains and Cattle Trough Association a decade later. He took advantage of the publicity generated through the installation of drinking fountains, to raise public awareness of the plight of working animals and pets in the city.⁷⁸ “Whilst we rejoice at the progress of the DRINKING FOUNTAINS movement, let every reader of the *British Workman*, do what he can for the erection of WATER TROUGHS for the poor cattle. We hope that the practical benevolence of the ‘Clapham, Streatham, and Brixton Society for the

Cruelty to Animals. Today it is under the direction of the Ladies Committee of that body. At the conference of the Bands of Mercy held in London, at the Royal Society of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, on January 31, 1883, it was resolved that the R.S.P.C.A. would be regarded as the governing body of the union, but responsible only in matters of a general character. The individual Bands would retain freedom of direction and responsibility in all matters relating to local proceedings, including finances.

⁷⁵ *The Animal World* 1 September (1883): 137.

⁷⁶ *The Animal World* 1 September (1883): 137.

⁷⁷ *British Workman* No 43 July (1858): 172. Smithies was promoting the continuation of the worked started by C. Melly, with the installation of the first public drinking fountain erected in Liverpool, 1854, celebrating other similar acts, (Melly, again in Liverpool, 1856 and P. Eaton, Esq. Chester, 1857.)

⁷⁸ *British Workman*, No. 54 June (1859): 214.

Prevention of Cruelty to Animals' will soon be imitated in many parts of the country.”⁷⁹

To commemorate the official opening of London's first public drinking fountain he commissioned and published a lavish full page engraving after a drawing that Cruikshank, reportedly sketched on location. The accompanying letterpress gave notice of efforts undertaken elsewhere for the same object, citing examples from Coventry, Whitehaven, Manchester, and as far away as Sydney N.S.W.⁸⁰ He took the opportunity to further add that, “We should rejoice to hear, not only drinking fountains, but also of several good water-troughs for the numerous poor over-taxed donkeys and horses on Hampstead Heath”. It is a measure of his commitment to the Metropolitan Drinking Fountains Association that all of the articles, (but one), appearing in the *British Workman* between July 1857 and August 1859 were fully illustrated.⁸¹ Smithies' involvement in campaigns for clean, fresh, drinking water for man and beast, not only testified to his broad humanitarian concern for the well-being of the working classes and for lesser animals, it also formed part of a grander strategy to extend the temperance cause. It was a move officially proposed by Smithies, George Cruikshank, and others, and endorsed by the National Temperance League.

The excellent movement for supplying the metropolis with Free Drinking fountains could not fail to receive the warm concurrence and approval of your Committee, and in furtherance thereof a public meeting was held on the 26th of July, 1859, when William Janson, Esq., presided. E T. Wakefield, Esq. the honorary secretary of the "Metropolitan Drinking Fountain Association," Messrs. Thomas B. Smithies, George Cruikshank, Dr. Ellis, John Taylor, J. Tale, Joseph Taylor, J. Giles, and George Howlett took part in the business of the meeting. Mr. John Taylor read a paper, introducing and enforcing the business of the evening. The following resolution was unanimously passed:— “That this meeting, heartily sympathising with the Free Drinking Fountain movement, deems it desirable that the 'National Temperance League' should be permanently identified with it, and resolves to erect one in the metropolis, under the direction of the 'Free Drinking Fountain Association.'” Special subscriptions have been given for this object to the amount of £63 3s. 7d.

⁷⁹ *British Workman*, No 45 Sept (1858): 180.

⁸⁰ It was not just individual endeavour that was celebrated the importance of the movement was officially recognised by a Board of Health, a Bench of Magistrates, and The Rechabite Society, among others.

⁸¹ See, *British Workman* No 31 July, (1857):124; No 44 Aug (1858): 173; No 47 Nov (1858): 188; No 51 March (1859): 204; No 52 April (1859): 208; No 54 June (1859): 216; No 56 Aug (1859): 224.

Your Committee were desirous to place the fountain in the Strand, but the site was pre-engaged, and the " Drinking Fountain Association*" suggested Trafalgar Square. But here so many parties and interests have to be consulted and satisfied, with regard to the design and other considerations, that the fountain is not yet erected.⁸²

For Smithies, like so many of his evangelical and philanthropic friends and acquaintances, reforming working class morals, and promoting their health, wealth, and happiness, involved tackling a number of major social problems. It required a more unified, concerted, and sustained effort, similar to the well structured, well funded, and well resourced, overseas missionary work being conducted by organisations like the Religious Tract Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Missionary Society, and others. Furthermore, it was evident that evangelical efforts at home would need to be carried out on several fronts with many different agencies working in co-operation.

Smithies determined that the periodical press was the most important and most effective medium for bringing together some of those philanthropic agencies which had, for ideological, political, cultural, or economic reasons, been working hard, but relatively ineffectually, to resolve, or to ameliorate, some major social problems. The cheap periodical was seen as the most appropriate vehicle for reaching out to the masses and informing them about matters concerning religion, temperance, animal welfare, economic well-being and self-help. It was through his work as editor and writer of pioneering educational, temperance, and religious periodicals, that he made his most enduring and effective contributions. What is clear, however, is that without the associations and friendships that Smithies formed through his involvement with the temperance movement and other organisations,⁸³ his success as a pioneer of illustrated temperance periodicals, a cultural form that had failed to capture the public imagination or the support of the temperance community as a whole, may well have proved more difficult to achieve. Having considered some of the influences that were brought to bear on the development of Smithies' character, and the range of interests with which he was associated, in the next chapter, I shall discuss in greater detail the circumstances leading up to the publication of *The Band of Hope Review* and the

⁸² National Temperance League, *Annual Report*, (1860): 11.

⁸³ See Appendix B.

British Workman in order to better explain the strategies that Smithies employed to extend temperance education to the masses.

Chapter Three

Smithies and the Establishment of Illustrated, Educational Temperance Periodicals for the Masses.

Chapter Three: Smithies and the Establishment of Illustrated, Educational Temperance Periodicals for the Masses.

Temperance Literature for the Young: *The Band of Hope Review*, and *Morning Dew-Drops*.

Within the philanthropic community opinion was often divided as to what constituted the greatest contributory factor to the moral degradation of the working classes, and opinions appeared to change over time. Samuel Morley, for example, placed the greatest emphasis on drunkenness and called for the removal of the drinking curse. "As to causes, many people begin at the wrong end. They say people drink because they live in bad dwellings; I say they live in bad dwellings because they drink. It makes all the difference which way you put it. The first essential is not to deal with the habitation, but the habit."¹ Similarly, George Moore said, "Like Lord Brougham, I think that Drink is the mother of Want and the nurse of Crime."² Mrs Bayly blamed the degraded living conditions of some of the working classes she visited on problems stemming from the drinking habits of the working man and a deficiency in the domestic skills in women.³ Mrs. Ellis laid the blame at the feet of the male, arguing that alcohol destroyed man's reason and produced 'latent elements of [self] destruction' that ultimately led to a loss of self-control, self-will, and the capacity to recognise good and evil or the benefits of a good home and family.⁴ Shaftesbury cited several factors including working class housing, pernicious literature, and intemperance, as well as lack of religious instruction. Clara Balfour believed that intemperance was the "chief cause of ignorance", and the main obstacle to "the spread of knowledge among grown-up people".⁵ Mrs. Balfour's opinion was seconded by Harriet Beecher Stowe who stated, "There seems now but one obstacle to the complete emancipation of classes of society, hitherto sunk in wretchedness- and that obstacle is INTEMPERANCE".⁶ Smithies cited the consequences of inadequate Sunday-school education in temperance matters, and

¹ Hodder, E. *The Life of Samuel Morley*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, (1887): 45.2

² Smiles, S. *George Moore*, (1880): 220.

³ Bayly, Mrs *Ragged Homes and How to Mend Them*.

⁴ Ellis, 1843): 8-10.

⁵ Balfour, C. L. *Morning Dew Drops*, London, S. W. Partridge, new edn. (1881): 216.

⁶ Balfour, C. L. *Morning Dew-Drops*, London, S. W. Partridge, (c1858): ii.

the impact of overcrowded housing conditions, on the drinking habits of the poor, while Harriet Martineau concurred with all of the above sentiments but also drew attention to the pernicious influences of, “literature... of animal passion and defiant lawlessness”.

There are other influences still besides the express training and personal vices of the parents. The ideas are almost all vile where children are brought up, or scramble their way up, in crowded dwellings where no notions of decency exist. The very literature is that of animal passion and defiant lawlessness. Not only ‘The Newgate Calendar,’ of which we have all heard so much... Lives of bad people, everything about banditti everywhere, love stories from any language, scenes of theatrical life, trials of celebrated malefactors, love, crime, madness, suicide, wherever to be got in print, are powerful in preparing the young for convict life.⁷

Catherine Booth was another who laid all of society’s ills and problems at the door of intemperance and ‘strong drink’.

We have no hesitation in affirming that strong drink is Satan’s chief instrument for keeping the masses of this country under his power the gambler uses it to aid his cunning, the seducer employs its deceptive power in his cruel licentiousness, the burglar uses it for courage to harden his conscience, the prostitute uses it to drown out the shame and to trample out the deepest, tenderest instincts of womanhood, the murderer imbibes in order to stimulate the rage required to commit the deed... strong drink the ‘mitrailleuse of hell’.⁸

Despite the varied viewpoints there seemed to be a general agreement that, to a large extent, the working classes were in need of advice, guidance, and support. The middle classes needed to exercise some duty of care and take some responsibility for providing appropriate support mechanisms. It was understood that philanthropic agencies needed to work together, regardless of ideological distinctions, in order to be able to tackle the enormous social problems that faced them. One of the greatest strengths of the leading figures in the philanthropic community was their ability to put their personal prejudices to one side and work together. Edwin Hodder, the biographer of two of the most influential philanthropists, wrote,

What Lord Shaftesbury was among the Evangelicals of the Church of England, Mr. Morley was among all the Evangelical Churches of the Nonconformists. Neither of them, however, was sectarian, and there were innumerable occasions when they worked together for the common good, without any reference to Church or Dissent.

⁷ Martineau, Harriet, ‘Life in the Criminal Class’, *Edinburgh Review* No 122, October (1865): 347.

⁸ Catherine Booth, *Papers on Practical Religion*, London, S. W. Partridge, (1879): 27.

Each had profound respect for the other, and each was zealous to help the other in every good work.⁹

For many social reformers tackling the problems associated with working class drunkenness, and promoting temperance principles, were seen as the most urgent necessities. As argued in Chapter Two, religious and temperance propaganda was not popular with the working classes and the Sunday-school education system was not offering the guidance needed as part of its curriculum. Smithies understood the potential and the usefulness of a cheap, mass-circulation, illustrated periodical designed to address temperance, religious and moral issues. He had written a number of temperance tracts dealing with the formation of Bands of Hope, and on issues concerning the effects of drunkenness and the support offered by local temperance societies to reformed drunkards. It is from these early tracts, published as part of R. D. Alexander's *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts, that we learn that, initially, Smithies was concerned about the public involvement of women in the temperance movement beyond their traditional roles of distributing tracts and pledge papers, and undertaking domestic visiting. He confessed to, "...not being then very favourable to 'female speakers' [and experiencing] a feeling of mortification that the good cause of temperance should be thus injured." However, having witnessed the effectiveness of their involvement at a local level, at a temperance meeting in Manchester, he appears to have conceded that they might have a useful role to play on the platform as well. The tract informs us that, at the close of the appeal made by the last speaker, Mrs. Thompson,

...the heartfelt response which escaped from many lips would have softened the animosity of even the most bitter opponent of the temperance cause... After uniting in praise to God, the meeting broke up, since which time I have not ventured to retard the advocacy of the temperance cause even by females, no matter by what name they may be called.¹⁰

Nevertheless, there is little evidence in the content of either *The Band of Hope Review*, or the *British Workman*, to suggest that he actively promoted the participation of women beyond their domestic roles as homemakers, dutiful wives

⁹ Hodder, (1887): 234.

¹⁰ Smithies, T. B. 'Manchester 'Go-A-Heads' *Ipswich Temperance Series*, No 148. (c1849): 1.

and caring mothers.¹¹ However, from an examination of his periodicals, it is clear that, as far as style and presentation were concerned, Smithies' journals were radically different from the type of literature emanating from temperance and religious organisations. By creating a distinctive format for his publications he hoped to unite broad support from across the social spectrum in order to make some progress in addressing some of the major issues confronting the philanthropic agencies.

Although this study is primarily concerned with the *British Workman*, some knowledge of the style and content, and of the organisational structures established to secure the success of *The Band of Hope Review*, is germane to a better understanding of issues concerning the production, circulation, distribution and target readership of the *British Workman*. At this point, therefore, a brief account of the circumstances surrounding the issue of *The Band of Hope Review*, and the purpose it was intended to fulfil, will help contextualise the format, editorial style, support structures, and mechanics contributing to the success of his second periodical.

Smithies, Temperance Literature, and *The Band of Hope Review*.

Smithies' tractate *Voices from the Penitentiaries*, (1850), co-authored with J. W. Green and published by John Cassell, ran through at least nine editions. It proved to be a valuable resource for temperance evangelicals, and speakers cited it on a number of platforms, prompting some heated debate in the correspondence columns of the *British Banner* and other periodicals. According to Mountjoy, the,

¹¹ One area in which some women obviously excelled, and one with which Smithies wholeheartedly approved, was in the writing of temperance texts. Articles and stories by some of the leading female authors of temperance and religious matter, including Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour, (1808-1878) temperance authoress and lecturer, *DNB*; Mrs. Ellis, (1812-72); Hannah More, (1745-1833) religious writer, *DNB*; and Mrs. Felicia Dorothea Hemans, (1793-1835), poet and journalist *DNB*; featured prominently in both the *BHR* and the *BW* from the outset.

“...hostile reaction by ‘pure Gospel’ Christians, [with] Smithies being hissed at Exeter Hall, shocked but encouraged him, and gave him recognition in London”. In order to promote temperance education among young people Smithies intended to reissue in a single volume an enlarged, illustrated version of Clara Lucas Balfour’s temperance periodical, *The Juvenile Abstinence*. Originally issued as a serial publication, Clara Balfour’s work had a great impact on Smithies who appreciated the clarity and sustained force of her temperance messages, argued from a number of different perspectives. He was also alert to the educational value of the texts and recognised the potential for wider dissemination and greater usefulness in the reissuing of a more attractive illustrated edition, at a more affordable price. In its original periodical form, Balfour’s *Juvenile Abstinence* was not well known outside temperance circles, and as a part issue, Balfour herself recognised that some of the force of her wider temperance message was lost.¹² Some of the texts were reprinted and issued as part of the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts and were more widely circulated. Other items were published in *The Band of Hope Review*, however, it was to be some considerable time before Smithies was in a position to re-publish an enlarged, illustrated version under the title of *Morning Dew-Drops*.¹³

Education and instruction, whether moral, religious, or ‘useful’, were seen as the main platforms from which the working classes might elevate themselves to greater prosperity, respectability, and happiness. It is evident that there were those who felt that a properly structured moral education could ‘tame’ the potentially socially disruptive elements within the urban masses and encourage a continued adherence to the *status quo*. Knowledge could also raise the skills of the lower sections of the working-classes, thereby rendering them less of a drain on resources that might be better employed elsewhere.¹⁴ Education, as long as it was provided in an appropriate manner, would render the working classes more of

¹² Balfour, C. L. (1881): 5-6.

¹³ First notification of publication of *Morning Dew Drops* appeared in the *Band of Hope Review*, No. 32. August (1853): 32.

¹⁴ T. H. Huxley, for one, forcibly argued for the redirection of charitable bequests, away from, ‘utterly vicious ends as the giving of doles to old men and women, to more worthy causes such as teaching children, “...how to read, how to write, how to earn their daily bread, how to be honest men and women, merit the fostering hand of the State”. See, Hutton, R. H. ‘Professor Huxley on the Charities of London’, *The Spectator*, 20th. May, 1871.

a benefit to themselves and society, through carefully argued explanations of the benefits which might be attained by all. Certainly Smithies was always ready to demonstrate, through the pages of his tracts and periodicals, the ways in which energies and monies could be better used within the context of respectable, working-class domestic regimes. He was constantly advising his readers against the evils of alcohol consumption, tobacco consumption, indolence and waste. His educational strategy involved raising an awareness of the benefits of religious and moral instruction through the medium of his illustrated periodicals. Smithies was convinced that the widespread dissemination of instructional and entertaining matter, offering guidance on temperance, Sunday worship, and adherence to religious practices, would reform the habits and tastes of the working classes.

Others approached the subject from a different perspective and some were not only highly critical of the standard of literature being produced for the general public, but also suspicious of its intentions. For example, whereas Smithies advocated an education based Christian values and religious and temperance instruction, John Cassell, another great pioneer of educational literature for the working classes, adopted an entirely different approach, underlining a socio-political agenda while also acknowledging the benefits of temperance and the importance of religion. Cassell was of the opinion that the working man should be committed to self-improvement first and foremost because he had the capacity to be intelligent and should, therefore, seek to use to the fullest advantage those “faculties with which God endowed” him.¹⁵

Secondly, Cassell argued that it was the duty of the working man to cultivate his intellect in order that this birthright might be developed and advanced for the purpose of being passed on to future generations. Thirdly, the age and society in which the working man functioned demanded that he fulfil certain duties to society and his fellow man, and the more intelligent he was the better he would be placed in his service to those in need. “And by the cultivation of that goodness of heart, and the practice of that virtue which true knowledge teaches, he gradually

¹⁵ ‘The Working Man Should Be Intelligent’, *The Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*, ns Vol 3 No 78. March, (1853): 402.

grows up a respectable member of society, and as far as his character is known, so far is his influence felt and acknowledged by his fellow-workmen".¹⁶

Smithies began what was to become a lifelong involvement in improving literature with the publication of *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday-Scholars' Friend*, a halfpenny, illustrated paper for children consisting of four pages measuring 21.5 x 31.2 cms. The first number was published on 1st. January, 1851 by Partridge & Oakey. In creating a profusely illustrated paper he built on the experiences gained from his early efforts to promote temperance meetings in York and to raise funds for the local Wesleyan church. It is also evident that he acted on the advice given to him by one of his mentors, Nehemiah Curnock, who suggested, "If you want children and even grown-up people to remember what you say,- show them something," and made his teachings "attractive and telling by graphic illustration".¹⁷

The matter consisted of short, bright, attractive articles, with numerous small woodcut illustrations intended to reinforce, and make additionally attractive, the lessons contained in the letterpress.¹⁸ The dominance of the illustrated masthead, and the main engraving in the reprint of the first number of *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday-Scholars' Friend*, under the new head of *The Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend*, (Fig 5), gives an indication of the emphasis placed on illustration in creating a visually striking, and distinctive publication. The journal was designed to promote temperance principles among young people while reaffirming, and extending, their religious and moral education. As Keefe noted,

The promoters did not count on selling many copies to individual members of the public, even at this nominal price; the aim was to induce ardent supporters of the

¹⁶ 'The Working Man Should Be Intelligent', *The Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*, ns Vol 3 No 78. March, (1853): 403.

¹⁷ Nehemiah Curnock was the Minister at Wesley Place Chapel, York, from 1843. It was Curnock who taught Smithies to appreciate the importance of graphic illustration in developing successful teaching strategies for both children and adults. *Stringer Rowe*, (1884): 27-28.

¹⁸ It is possible that Smithies set out to emulate the 'all ramble-scramble' editorial style adopted by Charles Knight for *The Penny Magazine*, 'to touch lightly upon many subjects' in order to retain the interest of juvenile readers and less literate adults. For an analysis of Knight's style see, Bennett, S. 'The Editorial Character and Readership of *The Penny Magazine*: An Analysis', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol 17, No 4 Winter (1984): 126-141

Temperance movement to buy the Review in bulk for distribution gratis as a tract, and to enlist the help of Sunday-school teachers in securing subscribers among their pupils. In time sufficient supporters were obtained for *The Band of Hope Review* to make it, if not a profitable venture for George Watson, its printer, at least one which paid its way. The Society of Friends bought large quantities, and country booksellers began to order modest parcels each month.¹⁹

Smithies estimated that *The Band of Hope Review* would require a circulation of 10,000 copies per month in order to become self sustaining. In order to facilitate a wide circulation a Gratuitous Circulation Fund, and an organising Committee, were established prior to commencement of publication. The Committee comprised, Rev. Joseph Kingsmill, M.A., Government Model Prison, Pentonville; Hugh Owen, Esq., Law Board, Whitehall; Mr. T. B. Smithies, Cambridge Terrace, Barnsbury Park, London; Rev. William Tyler, Pine House, Holloway.; and Jacob Post Esq., Church Street, Islington.²⁰ Donations were made in order to fund copies for free distribution to institutions such as Sunday-schools and Ragged Schools, to sailors, railway porters, cabmen, and working class families.²¹ Extracts from 'letters of approbation' published in the early numbers of the journal, and lists of subscribers to the specially formed Gratuitous Circulation Fund, suggest that an overt association with the Sunday School Movement as expressed in the original title, was no impediment to attracting potential subscribers from a wide range of social and denominational backgrounds.²² In the third number, (March 1851) Smithies announced that the circulation of the first two numbers had, "equalled our most sanguine expectations".²³ By July the gratuitous circulation fund was distributing 25,000 copies monthly to, "Ragged Schools, Sunday and Week-day schools, Railway Trains, Omnibuses, Packets, Emigrant Ships; amongst Policemen, Railway Labourers, Mission Stations, &c."²⁴ However, it was noted that, "The issue of the first publication was not unattended with difficulty, but with the co-operation of Mr. Watson, its printer, and one or two other friends, and above all by dint of his

¹⁹ Keefe, H. J. *A Century in Print: The Story of Hazell's 1839 – 1939*, London, Hazell, Watson & Viney, (1939): 25-26.

²⁰ *BHR* No. 25. January, (1853): 4.

²¹ See 'Our Circulation', *BHR* No. 4. April, (1851): 15.

²² Appendix C Testimonials.

²³ *BHR*, No 3 March (1851): 12. Donations of significant sums to the Gratuitous circulation Fund included: Samuel Gurney, (£20), Wm. Albright, (£5), Re. Henry Townley, (£2), and John Cassell, (£1).

²⁴ See *BHR* No 7 July (1851): 26

own persistency... [he] soon had the gratification of seeing his benevolent venture growing into a pecuniary success.”²⁵

Calls for additional efforts to increase circulation were regularly publicised and the interest of a growing number of supporters was sustained through notices in the ‘To Our Readers’ section. Potentially influential supporters were supplied with copies, and favourable testimonials were received from prominent figures such as Lord Ashley, M. P., James Silk Buckingham, Elizabeth Fry, Rev, Newman Hall, R. D. Alexander and Mrs Carlisle. By July 1851 it was claimed that ‘...upwards of twenty-five thousand copies of the monthly numbers’ were being freely distributed and, in June 1853, Smithies was able to state that circulation had reached 70,000 copies monthly.²⁶ By establishing a gratuitous circulation fund prior to publication, it was possible to freely distribute the journal to Sunday-schools, Ragged Schools, Shoe Black Brigades, City Missions and other agencies. Furthermore, intimate connections with the rapidly growing Band of Hope Movement helped locate *The Band of Hope Review* at the heart of juvenile temperance education. Some substantial sums of money were raised by the Gratuitous Circulation Fund and, on one occasion, four gentlemen announced, “If the friends of the Band of Hope Review, will raise in contributions of FIVE SHILLINGS AND UPWARDS, the sum of £100, for the Gratuitous Distribution Fund, prior to the 1st of January 1855, we agree to double the amount by handing to the treasurer a similar sum of £100.”²⁷ Promoted by well-wishers from all classes of society, and members of many denominations within the Christian church, the paper was to achieve, “...the largest circulation of any children’s periodical in [the] country”, by the beginning of 1855.²⁸

The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar’s Friend, (January 1851 – December 1852), marked a fundamental shift in the conceptualisation of temperance periodicals for young readers.²⁹ Smithies redefined the temperance

²⁵ *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, September (1883): 134.

²⁶ *BHR* No 30 June (1853): 21.

²⁷ *BHR* No 44 August (1854): 78. During a similar challenge made by ‘a friend in Surrey’, in 1852, £282 was raised. See *BHR* No 46 October (1854): 86

²⁸ Mountjoy, (1985): 47

²⁹ *The Band of Hope Review* had a wide readership and was circulated extensively among adults through a number of different channels. This particular paper is discussed in greater detail below.

periodical by publishing a combination of texts and images designed to inform and educate readers in matters concerning temperance, religion, loyalty to the Crown, morality, good parenting, peace, and kindness to animals. The journal was also read by adults and distributed extensively among servicemen at home and abroad. In some respects *The Band of Hope Review* can be seen as a continuation of developments in temperance publishing evident in some of the papers produced for adults from the mid 1840s, by Thomas Cook, Joseph Livesey, John Cassell, Lees and Perfitt.³⁰ From an examination of the contents and statements of intent from a sample of existing temperance publications, it is evident that editors endeavoured to extend the influence of their periodicals by the inclusion of articles on a broader range of subjects, in response to the changing nature of temperance discourses. By approaching the temperance question from more secular and moral viewpoints, and by weaving basic economic arguments and several strands of temperance discourse into simple narratives, rather than issuing lengthy texts written from medical, scientific or overtly religious perspectives, Smithies challenged the more traditional and narrowly defined temperance concepts as expressed in earlier papers like *The Truth Tester*, *The Standard of Freedom*, or *Temperance News and Journal of Literature and Humanity*, with their weighty articles covering science, sanitary reform, health, literature, vegetarianism, and penal reform.³¹ *The Band of Hope Review* combined temperance advice with basic spiritual and moral guidance in a light entertaining style, argued from a religious, rather than a scientific or political, perspective. Smithies did not set out to attract readers by bolting on departments covering phrenology, science, physiology, and literature, in order to bolster a tired temperance format. He designed his paper to meet the needs of a clearly defined market, the Sunday-school scholar, members of the recently formed Bands of Hope, and Ragged School children. From comments made in response to the first numbers of *The Band of Hope Review*, and the testimonials of prominent members of the ruling elite, it is apparent that the paper also appealed to a

³⁰ F. R. Lee's *Temperance Advocate, and Healthian Journal*, (1846-8),

³¹ Differences of opinion as to what was meant by 'temperance' existed from the outset and, in part, defined the nature of the temperance movement itself, and there had been anti-tobacco, and anti-drug, groups within the movement for many years but increasingly during the 1840s 'teetotalism' was beginning to be thought of more holistically. *The Truth-Tester* was promoted as "A Periodical Devoted to Free Discussion on Anatomy, Physiology, Dietetics, Temperance, Hydropathy, and Other Questions Affecting the Social, Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Health of Man." See 'Title Page' and 'Preface' Vol. 1. (1847).

readership which included members the middle and upper classes. As one prominent supporter, the Earl of Shaftesbury wrote,

The First Yearly Part of this little serial is commenced with the design of counteracting the influence of low priced immoral publications; of promoting a love for Bible truths and an adoption of Temperance and Peace principles by the rising generation... Designed under God's blessing, to form a breakwater against the fearful influence of the immoral prints which are everywhere flooding the country...³²

Intended to "train up the temperance child in the way it should go",³³ the content was concentrated around a programme of moral, spiritual and religious instruction, as an integral part of temperance training that could be delivered at school, and in the home. As such the *BHR* has to be considered not only in relation temperance education and basic religious instruction, but also in the wider context of educational discourses set against a background of a growing perception of the urgent need for, "a system... of cutting off that constant supply of juvenile delinquents, by which the community of adult criminals is perennially supplied."³⁴ *The Band of Hope Review* represented an extension of temperance education into mainstream educational discourses, and paved the way for other cheap, 'improving', periodicals directed at the working classes.

The Band of Hope Review was considerably larger in size than many of the cheap papers then in print. Of the other 'improving papers' published around the same period only *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, (1853-55), and *The British Workman*, (1855-1921), had a page size larger than *The Band of Hope Review*. For example, *The Baptist Children's Magazine and Sabbath Scholar's Reward*, (1827-1865), had a page size measuring 22.0 x 18 cms, and the long running *The Children's Friend*, (1824-60), was tiny in comparison as was the *Juvenile*

³² Earl of Shaftesbury, *BHR*, 'Preface' Vol. 1. Dec (1851)

³³ Harrison (1994): 144

³⁴ *Edinburgh Review* CCVI April 1855 383 The article in which the quotation appears was in response to a number of influential publications produced at the time – *Report on Criminal and Destitute Children*. Parliamentary Blue Book 1852; *Report on Criminal and Destitute Children*. Parliamentary Blue Book 1853; *Acts for the Better Care and Reformation of Young Offenders*. Nos. 237. and 279. Ordered to be printed 1854; *Reformatory Schools*. Miss. Carpenter London 1852; *Juvenile Delinquents*. Miss. Carpenter London 1853; *Report of a Conference held at Birmingham (Dec. 1851) on the Subject of Preventative and Reformatory Schools*, *Rapport sur les Etablissements d'Education Correctionnelle de Jeunes Detenu*. Par M. De Persigny, Paris 1854; *Treatment of Criminal Children*. Report of the Society for the Amendment of the Law. London, 1854; *Essays on Juvenile Delinquency*. London 1854.

Temperance Messenger and Monthly Instructor, (1846-47), with a page size of 12.5 x 8.0 cms.³⁵



Fig. 5

A new series of the journal, commencing in January 1853, involved a change of title to *The Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend*, (Fig. 5). There were no explanations as to why Smithies elected to change the title as he did, although there was a notice published in response to a reader's enquiry stating that a new title block would be required during 1852.³⁶ One effect of altering the title was to free the paper from any impediments that the exclusive religious references that the incorporation of 'Sunday Scholar's Friend,' might have placed on any potential for extending the readership. However, the original masthead did not appear to pose any specific problems regarding liberal distribution and it was scatter[ed], gratuitously, to children and adults alike. The masthead was particularly important for establishing the identity of the paper and conveying the intentions of the proprietor. What was important about Henry Anelay's design was the way in which motifs that would have been recognisable to temperance supporters were reworked to create an entirely new composition that announced a new publication while, at the same time, acknowledged a continuity of temperance periodical publishing. The central motif of family reading bears a striking resemblance to the family group pictured to the left on the title page of

³⁵ Volume 2 of this periodical had a slightly larger page size of 14.5 x 9 cm.

³⁶ 'To Correspondents' *BHR* No. 4. April, (1851): 16. We can only speculate as to the reader's suggestion but it is clear that Smithies had made plans for a new title block shortly after publication of the first number. At the same time that the title was amended, all references to the Sunday-School Union, one of the main sponsors, were dropped from the wrappers of the annual volumes. Reprints and back issues of the *Band of Hope Review* Nos. 1-24 were re-published under the revised title *Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend* although there were no significant alterations to the letterpress which still retained numerous references and advice to Sunday scholars and items referring to the *Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend*, see, *BHR* No. 3. March, (1851): 12.

The Juvenile Temperance Messenger, (Fig. 6), and the base of the design, showing two children supporting a banner bearing the words ‘Band of Hope Review’” echoes a similar motif included in the Teetotal Coat of Arms, (Fig. 7). These elements create a sense of familiarity that would have been reassuring to existing temperance supporters, and the inclusion of the motif of a young girl rushing in to deliver a new periodical for the family to read, served to announce the arrival of a brand new paper, the *BHR* (Fig. 8.).

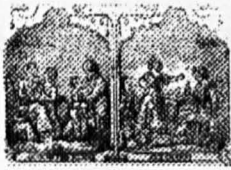


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

Through the pages of his periodical Smithies was able to extend to his subscribers, friends, and fellow philanthropists confirmation of the positive effects of their efforts in supporting the work of Sunday-schools, Bands of Hope, and other reforming agencies. Rather like self-fulfilling prophecies, little stories and anecdotal tales perpetuated the idea that the purchase and distribution of *The Band of Hope Review* as an instrument for temperance and religious instruction in Sunday schools, and in the home, had effected radical transformations in the awareness of young children to the dangers of drunkenness. For example, in the following narrative a child pleads with her drunken father to ‘come home’ from the public house.

“Father, Father, Do Come Home!”

Not many Sunday nights ago, we were returning from divine service in the suburbs of London, when, on approaching a public house, a piteous cry was heard, “Father! Father! Do come home!” It was the cry of a child - a little girl, who was earnestly endeavouring to prevail upon her drunken father to “come home.” The incriminated parent vainly strove to induce his child to enter the public-house and “Have a glass.” We spoke to the unhappy man, and induced him to return to his dwelling. We found that he had once been a Sunday scholar. There were no Bands of Hope when *he* was a boy; and the teacher’s warning voice against strong drink, he said, had never sounded in *his* boyish ears; but his child had been trained up by her teacher in the - Sunday school, in total abstinence principles, and now, neither threats nor promises could

induce her to cross the threshold of the house where her poor father had been robbed of reason and respectability..."³⁷

This short piece served not only to validate the position adopted in *Voices from the Penitentiaries*, and argued by Smithies and his supporters in the Temperance movement, but also acknowledged the significance of the role played by *The Band of Hope Review* in the process of advancing temperance instruction among juveniles. Furthermore, it confirmed a receptiveness towards the temperance message in the 'rising generation' and a resilience in young minds properly 'trained up', in the face of temptation. It was in the use of illustration, however, that Smithies transformed the temperance periodical for children.

The large page format and the number and quality of the illustrations set *The Band of Hope Review* apart from all of the earlier temperance periodicals produced for children. Before the 1850s many tracts and periodicals were unillustrated and where illustration was used, a decorative title page, or a single small engraving, was common for the cultural form. With *The Band of Hope Review* Smithies created a lavishly illustrated publication.

JANUARY	4
FEBRUARY	5
MARCH	8
APRIL	3
MAY	3
JUNE	5
JULY	3
AUGUST	4
SEPTEMBER	7
OCTOBER	5
NOVEMBER	4
DECEMBER	4

Table 8. To show the number of pictures in each issue: BHR Jan –Dec. 1851

As can be seen in Table 8 the paper never carried less than 3 illustrations in its four pages, and the pictures, the large decorative masthead, and the layout of the

³⁷ See *Band of Hope Review*, No. 3. September, (1853): 36.

letterpress, combined to create an impressive front page for the first edition. (Fig. 5.) It is not possible to determine whether the illustrations for the first issue were all original commissions, but it is likely that the main engraving on the title page, like the ornate masthead, was specially produced for the journal. John Knight, the engraver of both the masthead and the main picture illustrating children signing the Band of Hope pledge, worked on blocks for Smithies from the outset.

Initially illustrated with relatively small wood engravings, Smithies had to rely on friends and colleagues for some of the blocks although others would probably have been held as 'printer's stock' by George Watson.³⁸ During the first few years Smithies made several appeals for sketches, copy, the loan of blocks, and copies of old newspapers and periodicals.³⁹ A notice in the number for August 1851, stated that "any young readers who are artistically inclined may render us good service by sending suitable designs for illustrating our pages. The loan of any good wood blocks will be acceptable." A further notice some two years later, acknowledging the loan of a block from the Church of England Sunday School Institute, suggests that search for imagery appropriate to his needs was an ongoing process.⁴⁰

The origin of the majority of the illustrations used in early editions of *The Band of Hope Review* is unacknowledged. However, the evidence suggests that Smithies utilised images from a number of sources, although he was quite specific that they needed to be 'good'. He was fortunate, therefore, to have built up a network of contacts in religious, temperance and philanthropic circles, enabling him to call upon the services of some particularly prominent associates. For example, it was through his friendship with Edwin Landseer, and an arrangement with Henry Graves, Landseer's publisher, that Smithies was able to publish engravings after Landseer's *War and Peace* in an early number of the *BHR*. Similarly, a full-page

³⁸ Printers usually held a stock of head and tail pieces, and decorative motifs such as embellished capitals with which to punctuate text. Smithies acknowledged "...with thanks the kind donation of eight wood blocks by Mr Cave of York". *Band of Hope Review*, No. 4. April, (1851): 15.

³⁹ See request for copies of the *Scottish Temperance Review* and the *Adviser*, and the loan of a good woodcut of William Penn Making the Treaty, 'Notices to Correspondents' *BHR* No 6 June 1851 24. In the same number he also states that he has the intention to illustrate some matter on the 'wonders of the human body' promised by a medical man.

⁴⁰ See *BHR* No 8 August 1851 .32, and *BHR* No. 30. June, (1853): 24.

woodcut of a biblical scene from a drawing by John Gilbert, was supplied by Mr. Sears of Burton Crescent, and Messrs. Cash and Co. provided a substantial engraving after a sketch by George Cruikshank.⁴¹ The fact that Smithies made such requests at all highlights the extent to which pictures he considered suitable for his purposes were in short supply at that time. Once the journal became established, however, Smithies was able to commission original illustrations, affording him greater control over style and content.

An examination of the *BHR* shows that, prior to the establishment of the *British Workman*, Smithies had already attracted a number of influential artist and illustrators to contribute to his publication. As indicated in Table 9, engravings after Henry Anelay, John Gilbert, Edwin Landseer, George Cruikshank, and Harrison Weir had featured in the paper. The reputations of the artists, and the quality of the illustrations, were major factors in securing the future success of *The Band of Hope Review*.

ARTIST	1851-55	1856-60	1861-65	1866-70	1871-75	1876-80	TOTAL
ANELAY, HENRY	61	36	28	7			132
BARNES, ROBERT			4	18	19	35	76
DOUGLAS, EDWIN					1	4	5
GILBERT, JOHN	7	5	10	2			24
HUARD, LOUIS		1	2	1			4
HUNT, WILLIAM			6	2	2	2	12
LANDSEER, EDWIN	2		4	8	3		11
SCOTT, THOMAS			5	14	7	3	29
TAYLER, FREDERICK		3				1	4
WEBB, WILLIAM J					1	3	4
WEIR, HARRISON	1	9	23	7	8	10	68
CRUIKSHANK, GEORGE	2			12			14

Table 9. To Show Artists Submitting 4+ Illustrations- *Band of Hope Review*, 1851-80. (Five Year Intervals)

⁴¹ William Cash was a member of the same temperance organization as Smithies as was George Cruikshank with whom he had shared the platform on a number of occasions. The Gilbert illustration appears in *BHR* No.7. July, (851): 28; the Cruikshank in *BHR* No. 36. December, (1853): 45, and Landseer's *War and Peace*, in *BHR* No. 42. June, (1854): 72.

By the early 1860s, *The Band of Hope Review* was to become the most extensively circulated temperance paper for children with a sustained circulation above 250,000 copies per month⁴² However, as one of Smithies' temperance colleagues recalled, "...as the publication brought in funds all were re-invested in improvements."⁴³ The success of the *BHR* also meant that Smithies was able to fulfil a long held ambition to issue an enlarged and illustrated single volume edition of Clara Balfour's *The Juvenile Abstinence* under the title of *Morning Dew-Drops*. The first enlarged edition of the book, profusely illustrated by Henry Anelay, was published in August 1853.

When Smithies decided to issue the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, the printer, publishers, production and administrative structures, costings, and circulation and distribution channels were all in place and functioning effectively. Although he had learned a great deal from the problems he had encountered in establishing and securing the future of *The Band of Hope Review*, it was no guarantee that the success of his flagship periodical *British Workman* could be assured. The following section is intended to give an overview of the history of the *British Workman* and to highlight the similarities with the *BHR*. It also serves as a preliminary to fuller discussion in subsequent chapters of the creation of the journal's identity and readership and a detailed examination of the strategies employed to build a mass circulation.

The *British Workman*, February 1855- September 1921.

The 'British Workman' has been commenced with an earnest desire to promote the Health, Wealth, and Happiness of the Working Classes. We solicit the support of both employers and employed, believing that the interests of both are firmly linked together, and that whatever injures one, affects the other. Instead of making promises we shall let these and future pages speak for themselves.⁴⁴

⁴² Altick R. (1957): 395.

⁴³ *The Temperance Record*, 26 July, (1883): 471.

⁴⁴ *British Workman*, No. 1. 1st. February (1855): 1. This call for a coming together of 'masters and men' with the intention of promoting the mutual well-being of capital and labour is more than just a plea for a unity of purpose. Coming as it does in the aftermath of the crippling strikes in the cotton industry in Preston, 1853, the events of which were 'immortalized' by Charles Dickens, (see *Hard Times* p). It is more of a clarion call from the editor, and those whose interests he



Fig. 9.

The first number of the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, (Fig. 9), was issued on the 1st. February 1855, and eventually ran to sixty-six full yearly parts, or volumes, before it was finally terminated with the number for September 1921. Because of the costs involved in producing a large illustrated publication and without any guarantee that a temperance paper for adults would attract a large enough audience, it was originally intended to publish two numbers (in February and March) as an experiment.⁴⁵ It contained ten wood engraved illustrations of varying sizes, (excluding the ornate illustrated masthead), a brief introduction, a mission statement from the editor, and nineteen separate items of text. The reader was presented with a combination of large and expensive wood engravings, and a miscellany of temperance, religious, and morally improving texts, anecdotes, advice, and ‘useful’ statistics. Each page was arranged into five columns and enclosed by a double ruled border.

Smithies used virtually the same infrastructure that had been put in place during the first four years publication of the *BHR*, with George Watson as printer, S.W. Partridge and Co, W. Tweedie, and A. W. Bennett, as London publishers. It is also evident, from the list of names contributing testimonials to early numbers of the journal, that a broadly similar group of influential supporters and philanthropists who, like the Earl of Kintore, gave permission to the editor to add their names “to the list of those who have already given it their sanction”, encouraged a wide circulation of the paper.⁴⁶

represents, for reflection on the harm done by workers to workers and their families, and to industry by the pursuance of strike actions. It can be read as an attempt to reaffirm the position of capital in the production of the wealth, and the continued health, of the nation, but this is not the only possible reading.

⁴⁵ *National Temperance Chronicle*, February, (1855): 24. Numbers 11 & 12 were issued in December 1855 to make up the full 12 monthly issues. *The Temperance Chronicle January* (1856): 206

⁴⁶ See Appendix C, ‘Testimonials’.

As Mountjoy notes,⁴⁷ in order to put together his periodicals, particularly in the early years, Smithies drew on material from a wide selection of sources ranging from tracts originally issued by the Religious Tract Society, Cash's handbills, and items extracted from other magazines and periodicals. He borrowed wood blocks, and personally wrote several articles, in order to keep costs to a minimum. By employing what Mountjoy referred to as 'cut and paste' editorial techniques, and by reusing several of the blocks used to illustrate *The Band of Hope Review*, there are clear similarities in style and content between the early numbers of *The British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil* and the *BHR* which are indicative of a continued reliance on established practices. He retained the services of a core group of contributors, artists, illustrators and engravers, and continued to pursue similar strategies to those that eventually secured a large circulation, and economic stability, for his first periodical.

A new series of the *British Workman* was introduced in January 1861. Full-page engravings became a regular feature on the title page, and from 1862 onwards, and the Yearly Parts were issued in stiff paper covers printed in colour by Edmund Evans. Thomas Smithies was to edit the periodical continuously up until his death in July 1883, a period covering just over twenty-eight years. As far as can be established, during the whole of the time that Smithies was editor, the paper manufacturer was William McMurray, a committee member of the Newspaper and Periodical Press Association for the Repeal of Paper Duty, and the high quality of paper on which it was printed, ensured the highest quality reproduction of illustrations and legibility of letterpress.

The journal was printed by George Watson. Watson was one of a number of individuals who had supported Smithies in the early days of publication of the *BHR* and his commitment to Smithies and his publications was eventually rewarded as the circulations of both *The Band of Hope Review* and *British Workman* increased, and numbers of publications issued by S W Partridge and Co. multiplied. Over a period of thirteen years, or more, George Watson was able to oversee a significant expansion of his business, ([Table 10](#)).

⁴⁷ Mountjoy, (1985): 47.

February 1855	George Watson, Kirby Street, London
April 1868	Watson & Hazell, Kirby Street, London
June 1868	Watson & Hazell, 28 Charles Street Hatton Gardens
January 1876	George Watson & Co. 28 Charles Street, Farringdon Road
December 1884	Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd., London and Aylesbury.
January 1900.	Bradbury, Agnew & Co., London and Tonbridge.
January 1901.	Hazell, Watson & Viney Ltd., London and Aylesbury.
January 1917	London and Norwich Press.

Table 10. To show Printers associated with the *British Workman*, 1855-1821

While the illustrations, the stature and creativity of the artist, and the skill of the engraver were frequently cited as the main attributes of the *British Workman*, the importance of the skills and knowledge that the printer brought to the production of a quality illustrated publication was rarely mentioned, although one observer acknowledged, “the value of good drawing, good engraving, and good printing”.⁴⁸ It was George Watson’s expertise and skill in working with large wood engravings, and the reputation of Hazell, Watson, and Viney, for producing top quality printing, that effectively determined the quality of the printed image, and the clarity of the letterpress. The demands placed on the printer’s skills, having to work with large scale images, and complex illustrations from artists like John Gilbert, meant that working on the production of the *BW* helped to push back the boundaries of wood engraved illustration during the second half of the nineteenth century

Many of them [Gilbert’s drawings] must have caused George Watson to exert all his skill in securing a worthy standard of reproduction. Wood-engravings have to be ‘overlaid’ by scraps of paper of varying thickness pasted over parts of the solids to enhance the high-lights and give ‘colour’ and crispness to the picture... he soon enjoyed a high reputation for his fine printing of large scale wood-engravings. How greatly these illustrations were appreciated is shown by the large number of them taken from the *British Workman* still preserved in Victorian scrap-books⁴⁹

The printer was largely responsible for the overall appearance of a publication, in the selection of the type, setting the margins and the proportion of the leaders, and for “bring[ing] up an elaborate wood engraving”.⁵⁰ The Jurors’ Award, Class XXVII Section C. Honourable Mention for Illustrated Books, presented to S. W.

⁴⁸ *The Animal World*, 1 September, (1883): 138.

⁴⁹ Keefe, (1939): 36-37.

⁵⁰ *The Printer’s Register* 6 September, (1878): 43.

Partridge at the International Exhibition of 1862 was, in part, an acknowledgement of the quality of the wood-engraved prints produced by George Watson.⁵¹ The *British Workman* was also singled out at the international Paris Exhibition of 1878, as being one of a small number of examples from an otherwise “meagre” selection representing British printing, that conveyed an “adequate idea” of British capabilities in certain classes of “the typographic and lithographic arts”.⁵²

Publishers.

February 1855	S W Partridge, 34 Paternoster Row, London
March 1855	S W Partridge, 34 Paternoster Row, W. Tweedie, 337 Strand, A W Bennett, 5 Bishopgate Street.
January 1868	S W Partridge, 9 Paternoster Row, W. Tweedie, 337 Strand,
August 1876	S W Partridge, 9 Paternoster Row, W. Tweedie, 337 Strand, (& F E Grafton, Montreal).
December 1879	S W Partridge, 9 Paternoster Row, London.
January 1910	S W Partridge & Co, 8-9 Paternoster Row London
January 1911	S W Partridge & Co. 21-22 Old Bailey, London
January 1821	S W Partridge, 46. Grosvenor Gardens, London.

Table 11. To show Publishing Houses associated with the British Workman, 1855-1821

An examination of the *British Workman* reveals that S. W. Partridge, 34. Paternoster Row, were the principal publishers of the *British Workman*, (Table 11). They also managed most, if not all, of the publications edited, or written, by Smithies.⁵³

⁵¹ See S. W. Partridge, ‘Catalogue of Illustrated Books’, in *British Workman* 10 Year Volume, 1855-64, Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

⁵² *The Printer's Register* 6 November (1878): 93.

⁵³ According to Frederick Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume* (1897): 268, the publishing business of Messrs. S. W. Partridge & Co. was founded by Mr. T. B. Smithies, however, Evidence suggests that the publishing company of Partridge and Oakey was established around 1846, a pamphlet entitled *The Twin Brothers* being the earliest listed in the British Library records. A small three-page list of works at the back of Oakey’s ‘Power of The Press, contained only fourteen titles, along with a notice of forthcoming numbers of a periodical publication entitled *Tracts for the Times*, the first two of which had just been issued. The 1849 catalogue issued from their Bible and Continental-Protestant Depot, 34 Paternoster Row, was also a very thin publication, listing a mere forty-seven titles the majority of which were religious books and tracts only five of which were illustrated. Two of the illustrated items listed were the very expensive *Matthew Henry's Commentary* at 53s and *The Domestic Bible* at 28s each advertised as containing 700 cuts. The

The responsibility for publishing the *BW* remained with S.W. Partridge and Co., however, between July 1883 and September 1921, the journal underwent a number of changes, both in terms of editorial staff and format, (Table 12).

Thomas Bywater Smithies	February 1855 – July 1883.	28Yrs
Samuel Reeve	August 1883 –April 1886.	2 ¹ / ₂ Yrs
Edward Step	May 1886 – December 1892.	6 ¹ / ₂ Yrs
Jesse Page	January 1893 – December 1898	6 Yrs
Sam Woods M.P.	January 1899 –	
Jesse Page	January 1904 –	

Table 12. To show Editorial Changes to the *British Workman*, 1855 – 1904.

Under Smithies direction the *British Workman* remained the most successful periodical of its type and the editorial style of the paper remained consistent throughout. After Smithies' death, editorial responsibilities passed to his assistant Samuel Reeve. Having worked closely with Smithies for a number of years, Reeve was well placed to carry forward the periodical while maintaining the tone and balance established through the long term of Smithies' idiosyncratic tenure. At the end of 1883, the *British Workman* passed to the publishers S. W. Partridge who purchased the rights from Eliza Smithies, Thomas' sister⁵⁴. Unfortunately, Reeve's time as editor was short lived. He died in April 1886, after having occupied the position for just twenty months and it was from this particular point in time that the periodical began to lose its way. Edward Step, F.L.S. the popular naturalist and author was the next person to occupy the editor's chair and under his direction there were several adaptations made to the content and presentation of the paper which affected the overall balance of the publication even though there were no major changes to the main temperance and religious platform on which the journal had been established. The paper was also affected by the fact that it was, by 1884, a corporate publication controlled by a publishing firm rather than a paper under the sole direction of one person. When the ownership of the *British Workman* transferred from the Smithies estate to S.W. Partridge and

other three texts comprised were first, second and third prize winning 'Sabbath Prize Essays by Working Men', "Elegantly Bound, with Six Engravings on Wood, by GEORGE MEASOM, from Designs by GILBERT". These texts were priced at 3s 6d for the overall prize winner and 3s for the runners up. The cheapest pamphlets, costing 6d and 4d each, were well out of the reach of the majority of working class readers, as was their serial publication *The Working Man's Charter* issued in weekly instalments at 11/2d-also available monthly.

⁵⁴ Eliza Smithies worked with her brother, she proof read for him, (as did his mother Catherine Smithies), and she co-edited *The Children's Friend*.

Company, responsibility for the publication was entrusted to a managerial team including Mr. S.W. Partridge, Mr. S. Reeve, (editor), Mr. G. T. Vernon, (art manager), and Mr. F. T. Gammon. The effect on the style and appearance of the journal was noticeable. This can be partially explained by the new regime, and the fact that responsibility for its production became corporate, rather than individual. More fundamentally however, with the death of Smithies, the *British Workman* lost its major asset. The name of the *British Workman* and the name of T. B. Smithies were so closely identified with each other that they were almost interchangeable. ‘The British Workman’ ‘The Editor’ and ‘T.B. Smithies’ had become established as ‘benchmarks’ of moral integrity, consistency and reliability, and the highest of standards in illustrated improving literature. For example, educational material for children of the middle classes was endorsed by Queen Victoria, and was published with a seal of approval that stated that it was from “The Editor of the ‘British Workman’”. So, too, were compilations of volumes of texts promoting the causes of the Lord’s Day Observation Society.⁵⁵ Additionally, much of the support for the periodical, particularly in the early days, was proffered out of respect for the man and his principles as much as for the value of the publication. Smithies had been able to draw on the goodwill and assistance of a considerable network of individuals and agencies on the basis of a mutual respect and friendship built up over many years. Also, by the 1880s, many of the more prominent figures in the philanthropic world that had been closely associated with Smithies and his periodical had also passed away.⁵⁶

The period after 1883 was one during which there were several changes at editorial level, and when ownership of the paper was transferred to S. W. Partridge and Co. As a consequence the years 1884 to 1921 were years of both continuity and change and, although the paper was published for a further thirty-seven years, the later years of the *British Workman* were marked by a number of major modifications to many of the original characteristics of the periodical. The most obvious were the changes of size and format but there were also other adjustments to the price and the marketing of the paper that were, perhaps,

⁵⁵ See, for example the dedication page to *The Mother’s Picture Alphabet, 1862, Illustrated Sabbath Facts, and Illustrated Temperance Anecdotes*.

⁵⁶ William Tweedie, (d. Oct. 1874), George Moore, (d. Nov. 1876), Clara Lucas Balfour, (d. July 1878), Shaftesbury, (d. Oct. 1885), Samuel Morley, (d. Sept. 1886).

equally significant. It is also evident that repeated changes of editor and the acquisition of the paper by S W Partridge and Company also affected the management and development of the paper during the remainder of its lifetime.

It was not just the loss of key supporters from the philanthropic community, and the deaths of Smithies and Reeve within the space of two years, that affected the prosperity and viability of the *British Workman*, there were fundamental shifts of emphasis within the temperance movement, and in the social, cultural, political, and economic climate of the country as whole, all of which impacted on the trajectory of the paper. Consequently, in an attempt to revive flagging fortunes, the periodical was completely re-modelled after the completion of volume 37, 1891.

A new 'enlarged series of the *British Workman* introduced on January 1st. 1892 was physically smaller, (see Table 13). The page size of the periodical was reduced by 24%, although the number of pages increased to eight, in order to try and establish a 'new career of increased usefulness' and recapture some of the successes of the past, by endeavouring to facilitate a "renewal of our youth".⁵⁷

Title	Height	Width	Area	Pages
British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil, The (1855)	38	28	1064	4
British Workman, The n.s. (1861)	38	28	1064	4
British Workman, The n.s. (1892)	34.5	23.5	810.75	8
Partridge's Pictorial Magazine (1901)	27	20.5	553.5	12
British Workman and Home Monthly, The (1904)	25	19	475	12

Table 13. To show Changes of Title and Format, *British Workman*, 1855-1904.

(All measurements are given in cms. and refer to the extent of the printed page.)

* This subtitle was added on the inside title page.

* From January 1917 – Sept 1921 the paper was reduced to eight pages and was issued in a four page wrapper headed 'The British Workman An Illustrated Magazine for The Million' (April 1921 was an exception with the title on the wrapper reverting to 'The British Workman and Home Monthly').

Despite the new format, the changes of ownership, and editorial discontinuity, Edward Step argued that the "object of the paper in 1892 [was] the same as it was in 1855, and all the intervening year (sic) i.e. the same 'earnest desire to promote

⁵⁷ *British Workman*, ns No.1. Vol. 38 January, 1892.

the Health, Wealth, and Happiness of the Working Classes’”.⁵⁸ Having overseen the introduction of a radically altered periodical Step vacated the editorial position at the close of 1893, and was succeeded by Mr. Jesse Page, F.R.G.S. Jesse Page maintained the periodical on the course determined by Edward Step and the management team of S. W. Partridge & Co., and although he held his position as editor for more than a decade, this was not a period noted for stability and consistency with respect to the content or the style of the journal. It would appear that there was a break in Step’s service as the number for January 1899 proclaims that it was edited by S. Woods, M.P., the fact emblazoned in bold type on the title page, above a full-page illustration depicting a meeting between the composer Haydn and Count Esterhazy.⁵⁹ Wood’s spell as editor appears to have been short-lived as there is no record of his involvement after 1899. By 1904, Jesse Page was once again addressing the readers in an editorial reflecting on the history of the *British Workman* through to its fiftieth year. While changes of editor were outlined in a review of the history of the journal published in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the periodical, there is no mention of S. Woods M.P. as having served as editor.

The Yearly Part for 1901, (Volume 48) was published under the title of *Partridge’s Pictorial Annual*. Reference to the *British Workman* was relegated to the status of a subtitle on the title page, situated beneath the banner head of ‘Partridge’s Pictorial Annual’. The subtitle read, ‘being the *British Workman* for the year 1901’.⁶⁰ Once again the page size had been reduced significantly, although the number of pages was increased to twelve, marking a continued erosion of the original identity of the *British Workman* around the turn of the century.

By 1904, the publication’s Jubilee year, little of the original *British Workman* remained. Yet another change of format reduced the page size even further so that, by this time, the printed page been subjected to a 55% reduction, when compared with size of the original broadsheet. Repeated reductions in the overall

⁵⁸ *British Workman*, ns No.1. Vol. 38 January, 1892.

⁵⁹ *British Workman*, ns No.85. January, (1899): 1.

⁶⁰ See ‘Title Page’ *BW* Vol. 47. 1901.

dimensions of the printed page determined that the hallmark of the periodical, large, well-executed, (often full page), illustrations, were relegated to history. By 1904 the page of the *British Workman and Home Monthly* was about the same size as that of *The Family Herald*. (See Table 14.), and although many of the monthly numbers still contained a large number of illustrations,⁶¹ the photomechanical reproduction of mediocre artwork, and the substitution of half tone photographs printed onto cheap paper stock, at the expense of wood-engravings, rendered the publication as characterless and lacklustre as many of its contemporary, middle class, leisure oriented, titles such as *The Family Friend*, *The Windsor Magazine* and, *The Strand Magazine*. Smithies' original and pioneering periodical had become almost anonymous, a shadow of its former glory, subsumed into the general mass of early twentieth century cheap illustrated periodicals.



Fig. 10

From January 1917 onwards, the paper was issued in a four-page wrapper bearing a bold black and white single block illustration including a view of St. Paul's and the London skyline across the Thames under the heading *The British Workman: An Illustrated Magazine for The Million*. The wrapper included a number of advertisements for 'lifestyle' products such as Fry's Cocoa, and Lux Soap (Fig. 10).

After a period spanning almost three generations publication came to an abrupt and unceremonious end. The final number of the *British Workman* was issued in September 1921 three months short of completing the sixty-seventh volume. There were no notices in any of the preceding numbers to suggest that publication

⁶¹ *BW* No. 553, January 1901, contained nineteen illustrations, the majority of which were small half-tone photographic reproductions. *BW* No. 613, January, 1906, was similarly illustrated with twenty small pictures.

was to cease and no closing statements of the kind that often marked such occasions. Instead, the following poems marked the final numbers of a significant temperance journal.

'The Old Mill Wheel'
The stream has ceased for long
In sparkling flood to pour,
And the old wheel's droning song
Is heard no more.

Anon.

British Workman No. 801 September (1921): 71.

'Dare To Go On'
Yes, you failed; though you tirelessly toiled
And laboured with passionate soul;
The glorious prize was too high for your reach,
And you grieve that you quite missed the goal.

Yes, the fault may be yours as you say,
And you feel all unworthy and weak;
But, soul, there is meaning sublime
In the words you so bitterly speak

For 'tis one of the Master's own ways
Just to test out the trustworthy men –
The souls who, though failing, can still keep their faith,
And get up and go at it again.
The Dear Lord knoweth well our conceit –
How we use our strength to attain,
Till He teach us that only through Him
Need we try the glad triumph to gain.

So the Saviour will surely try you
Many times ere the crown shall be won,
But the uttermost victory waits for the man
Who can fail, and then dare to go on.

Selected

British Workman No 795 March (1921): 23.

The *British Workman* was by far the most important and influential of Smithies' papers and was unsurpassed, at the peak of its popularity through the 1860s and 1870s, as a medium for visual temperance education. To further facilitate the wider dissemination of religious and temperance principles Smithies produced a considerable range of associated illustrated matter including low cost handbills printed on paper made from straw; tracts; fly sheets; wall-papers; and almanacs, offering in a more condensed form texts and images from both *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman*. As well as these more ephemeral forms, Smithies' periodicals were available in a number of bound formats, - yearly parts, five, eight, and ten, year volumes, - for distribution as personal gifts, or donated to

institutions such as railway and shipping companies, police stations and workhouses. Additionally, the paper was printed in a number of different languages so that Smithies might capitalise on its usefulness as a missionary tract (*British Workman* January 1892: 4). As such it was distributed among foreign nationals in the United Kingdom, particularly sailors visiting London docks, as well as being used to promote the Christian message abroad. With the attainment of sustained mass circulations for both the *BHR* and the *BW* some time around 1859-60, Smithies was also able to extend the number and the range of his publications. In 1861 he took over control of the long running *The Children's Friend* introducing an enlarged illustrated new series. The *Infant's Magazine* was added in 1866, a short-lived new series of the *Servant's Magazine*, in 1867, *The Friendly Visitor* also in 1867, and the *Family Friend*, in 1870.⁶² He brought out *The Weekly Welcome*, (later *The Welcome*), in 1876, and *The Band of Mercy Advocate* in 1879. Catalogues of works published by S. W. Partridge & Co indicate that an assessment of full extent of Smithies' contributions to temperance and religious literature is beyond the scope of this study and would itself require a separate investigation. A list of some of the literature with which he was associated is given in the appendices,⁶³ and a brief evaluation of the impact that Smithies had on the development of cheap periodicals publishing post 1860 given in the final chapter.

In Chapter Four, I shall focus on discussion of the ways in which Smithies managed and manipulated the 'identity' of the *British Workman* in order to create a periodical that would meet the needs of a diverse philanthropic community, and yet appeal to readers, and subscribers, from across the social spectrum. I shall also examine the strategies employed to build and extend the circulation of the journal thereby establishing it as the first truly mass-circulation temperance publication.

⁶² See, Stringer Rowe (1884): 55, and Mountjoy (1985): 49.

⁶³ Appendix D. Smithies' publications.

Chapter Four

Promoting 'The Health, Wealth, and Happiness' of the Working Classes: Defining the *British Workman* and its Readers.

Chapter Four.

Promoting 'The Health, Wealth, and Happiness' of the Working Classes: Defining the *British Workman* and its Readers.

Following on from the discussion of circumstances leading up to the publication of the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, and issues relating to the development of the style and content of the journal, this chapter considers in greater detail how the style and content served to define the *British Workman*, and distinguish it from other cheap periodicals. I shall also examine the complex relationships that existed between periodicals and their readers, taking into consideration what Brian Maidment identifies as 'the troubled, even contradictory, sense of implied audience' in his assessment of magazines of popular progress.¹

There is compelling evidence to indicate that Smithies had to reassess the target audience for the *British Workman* in order to render the publication more acceptable to the wider philanthropic community and so increase circulations. This included the issue of a number of 'special editions' during the first two and a half years, along with modifications made to the masthead design during the same period. Additionally, I shall examine in detail the strategies employed and encouraged by Smithies in order to create the first mass-circulation temperance paper. In doing so I shall develop some of the points relating to the importance of informal networks raised earlier with respect to the creation of what might be described as a 'British Workman' community.

The British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil, London: W. Tweedie, 337 Strand. The aim of this new periodical is at once most philanthropic and christian, and it purposes to occupy a space in our popular literature which has hitherto been all but vacant. It is intended to furnish for adults by its simple narratives and striking illustrations what the *Band of Hope Review* does for the young, and in that respect we cannot but hope that it may be equally as successful. We have abundance of cheap trashy literature which ministers to the frailties and vices of the labouring population, but a wide lack of that which confronts their licentious courses, and shews their want of economy, cleanliness, and right feeling, so essential to their true elevation. Such an effort, therefore, as the one before us has a claim upon the co-operation of every temperance, educational, and sanitary reformer, and all of these respective classes may

¹ Maidment, B. E. 'Magazines of Popular Progress & the Artisans'. *Victorian Periodicals Review* Vol. 17. No. 3. (1984): 82-94

feel grateful that such an additional instrument of usefulness has been brought into the field. The kindly spirit in which the articles are written must conquer the groundless prejudices which too often characterise the working population, and the obvious teachings of the home facts and illustrations with which the work abounds, must carry conviction to many minds where other methods would fail. Employers should circulate it gratuitously among the masses collected in their factories, foundries, and workshops.²

The notice from *The British Temperance Advocate*, the official journal of the British Temperance League, announcing the publication of the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, is indicative of the favourable responses originating from within the temperance community.³ Similar sentiments were expressed in the religious press. The magazine was promoted as “the best thing of the kind to interest and benefit the working classes,”⁴ and praised for the superior quality of its engravings. It was recommended as “one of the best and cheapest pennyworths we have seen for some time” by the editor of the *Christian Times*,⁵ and a critic writing in *The English Presbyterian Messenger* declared that it would be a “disgrace to the Christians of England... if such a publication were allowed to die.”⁶

The author of the notice in *The British Temperance Advocate* argued that the periodical was intended to address issues of concern to both philanthropists and Christians. The fact that the notice appeared in *The British Temperance Advocate*, and an early comment stated that the *British Workman* was “intended to furnish for adults by its simple narratives and striking illustrations what the *Band of Hope Review* does for the young”, indicated that the *BW* was clearly recognised as a temperance paper. However, it is also evident from the notice that the *British Workman* was also designed to address the wider issues outlined in Chapter One. Potentially the journal was an alternative to the “abundance of cheap trashy literature” that ministered to the “frailties and vices of the labouring population”, and functioned as an “additional instrument of usefulness” by promoting the “economy, cleanliness, and right feeling, so essential to their [working classes]

² *The British Temperance Advocate*, Vol 22 April, (1855): 44–45.

³ See also, *The National Temperance Chronicle*, September, (1855): 156. and *The Weekly Record*, 21 June, (1856).

⁴ *National Temperance Chronicle*, February, (1855): 24.

⁵ *The Weekly Record*, 21 June, (1856).

⁶ *The British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*, Yearly Part No. 3. (1857): front cover.

true elevation". By the 1850s, such issues had become integral features of contemporary temperance discourses. Also of significance was the plea for the "co-operation of every temperance, educational, and sanitary reformer" in supporting a paper "at once most philanthropic and Christian" in a combined effort to conquer the "groundless prejudices" too often held by the working population towards the aims and objectives of evangelical social reformers. The Earl of Shaftesbury, a person intimately connected to an extraordinary range of philanthropic activity on behalf of the working classes, was of the opinion that "all existing arrangements and organisations, singly and collectively, [were] inadequate to the task." He also recognised that more might be achieved in rescuing the "most filthy, destitute, and degraded classes of the whole Metropolis" if there were greater co-operation, particularly between the "feeble" Established Church and the even more feeble Nonconformists.⁷ The *British Workman* was seen by several prominent supporters from different sectors of the philanthropic community as journal that might stimulate the combined and better coordinated efforts of christians, philanthropists, employers *and* the working classes themselves, that were deemed necessary in order to achieve the "true elevation" of the poorer members of a rapidly expanding urban population.

Defining the *British Workman* as a Periodical.

As Andrew King has argued,⁸ there are several factors that an editor or proprietor needs to take into consideration before introducing a new publication into the literary marketplace. He describes the main factors as genre, title, network and space. The identity and style of a new magazine is determined to a large extent by the nature of the market into which it is to be introduced, and the strength and nature of the existing competition. As the writer of the notice from *The British Temperance Advocate* suggested, a new magazine or journal had to be designed so as to meet a perceived need to "occupy a space in our popular literature which

⁷ See, Weylland, J. M. *The Man With the Book; or, The Bible Among the People*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co., (1906): vii-viii

⁸ King, (2000): 76-112.

has hitherto been all but vacant". The proprietor of any new journal also had to identify the intended audience, and shape his publication to address their needs, or to attract their support.

The physical appearance of a periodical was an important factor for consideration when targeting the market, and attempting to influence reader perceptions. Commenting on the completion of a second half year volume the proprietor of one periodical was moved to say that "...people have spoken of our comely shape, and have whispered kindly of our more important qualities of intelligence and good feeling."⁹ With reference to the 'shape' of a magazine or journal publishers of new spiritually uplifting papers like, *The Leisure Hour*, *Sunday at Home* and *The Quiver*, adopted a page size and style closely associated with the more sober, intellectual journals such as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, (page 14 x 23 cms, 2 columns), and *Chamber's Journal*, (page 14 x 22.5 cms, 2 columns), (Table 14). However, the page size of the *British Workman* located the paper within the more respectable part of the publishing spectrum closer to newspapers and also set it apart from contemporary religious and temperance periodicals, and the tracts that were commonly distributed in great quantities among the lower strata of society, and largely ignored by them.

Periodical Title	Start Date	Width, cms	Height, cms	Columns
Band of Hope Review, The	1851	19	29.5	3
British Workman, The	1855	28	38	5
Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper	1853	23.5	39	3
Family Friend, The	1849	10	15	2
Home Friend, The	1852	10	17	2
Leisure Hour, The	1852	13.5	22	2
Popular Educator, The	1852	15.5	21.5	2
Progressionist, The	1852	16	21.5	2
Sunday at Home. The	1854	14	20.5	2
Teetotal Times, The	1846	14	22.5	2
Truth-Tester, The	1847	13.5	22	2
Working Man's Friend, ns.	1851	15.5	21	2

Table 14. To show comparative printed page size, excluding gutter, of cheap 'respectable' family papers and temperance journals 1846-1855.

⁹ See 'Preface' *Family Friend* Vol. II. June, (1850).

With a page measuring 28 x 38 cms, the physical size of the page of the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil* was considerably larger than that of almost all other contemporary, cheap publications, (excluding *The Band of Hope Review*). As can be seen from Table 14, the only other publication with a comparable page size was *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*. Cassell's *Popular Educator*, the third largest in terms of page size, was some 69% smaller than the *British Workman*. The distinctive page size also distanced the *British Workman*, culturally and intellectually, from other cheap mass circulated sensationalist titles like *The Family Herald*, *London Journal*, *Reynolds's Miscellany*, and *The News of the World*, all of which were published in a recognisable and characteristic format. Adopting a broadsheet format more often associated with up-market, middle class oriented, newspapers, lent an air of gravitas and respectability normally associated with that particular genre of publication. The similarities to Cassell's popular papers in terms of page size, the variety of the content, and the copious use of illustration were intended to attract readers from within those sectors of the working classes already familiar with titles such as *The Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*, *The Popular Educator* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*. Familiarity on the one hand, and novelty on the other, contributed those characteristics required of any new publication intended to reach the widest possible readership by simultaneously proclaiming 'an ancestry' in the world of illustrated journals, and by signalling its unique characteristics. ¹⁰

Evidence suggests that the *British Workman* was not simply a paper for the working classes. Smithies needed to attract a large body of readers and subscribers from within the ranks of all classes in order to attain the circulation figures required to ensure the survival of the paper and to fulfil its objectives. I shall argue, therefore, that although the *British Workman* was dedicated to the "industrial classes" and "commenced to promote the health, wealth, and happiness of the working classes",¹¹ the need to enlist the co-operation of middle class and upper class philanthropists, and to address middle class anxieties concerning the threats to working class morality and, perhaps, to social stability associated with

¹⁰ See King, (2000):78-84. for a discussion on popular periodicals and the cultural associations of physical size.

¹¹ Mission statement, *BW* No. 1. February, 1855: 1.

the reading of 'penny papers', determined that it should gain the support of a wide cross-section of social groups. In order for Smithies' reform programme to succeed, those members of the working classes desiring to improve their social, moral, and economic circumstances, had to be enticed to read the paper and adopt religious and temperance principles.

Working men, use your leisure hours well, and *you* may, by God's blessing, increase both your usefulness and happiness in life. Read Smiles' 'Self-help,' and 'The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties,' and the numerous cases which have been given in the *British Workman* of Celebrated Carpenters, Shoemakers, Tailors, Stonemasons... *who have risen by their plodding industry and frugality.*¹²

Reading the paper potentially offered them the guidance and advice that they needed in order to make informed choices about how best to spend their hard earned income, and leisure time.

To ascertain how Smithies contrived to produce a publication for the working classes that would also appeal to the middle classes I shall, firstly, consider in greater detail the strategies employed by Smithies in order to create a periodical that would attract readers across the social spectrum. This will involve an examination of the ways in which he carefully managed and exploited the visual appearance of the *British Workman* in terms of style and content, paying particular attention to the artists, writers, and engravers that he engaged. Secondly, I shall look at the methods adopted and encouraged by Smithies to increase the circulation and distribution of the *British Workman* taking into account the ways in which he was able to capitalise on the network of friends, associates and contacts that he had built up through his religious and temperance activities. (See Chapter Two).

¹² Front end paper, *British Workman* Yearly Part No. 9. (1863)

Defining the *British Workman*: Mastheads, Mission Statements and Bindings.



Fig. 11.

For the first twenty-six numbers, (February 1855, to February 1857), the paper was titled the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*. For the March, April, and May editions the text ‘and Friend of the Sons of Toil’ was omitted from the masthead and the original illustration was substituted with images designed to signify special numbers directed at the lifeboat service, weavers and sailors, respectively. There had been earlier special numbers targeted at other groups of workers but never without the ‘and Friend of the Sons of Toil’ epithet. The *British Workman* for June, 1857, carried on its front page a lavishly illustrated reworking of T. S. Arthur’s popular temperance tract ‘The Last Penny’, complete with five illustrations, one of which occupied full half-page. The editions for July and August were issued under the original masthead, however, the August number was the last one to carry the original title.

The original illustrated masthead comprised the title ‘BRITISH WORKMAN’, the sub-title ‘AND FRIEND OF THE SONS OF TOIL’ and three illustrations depicting various types of labour, (Fig. 11). The larger central illustration was flanked by two small vignettes to create a tryptych echoing the religious symbolism embodied in such forms of depiction and, at the same time, acknowledging the fundamentally religious nature of the periodical and the temperance mission. The masthead was also a celebration of British industrial might and prosperity and an explicit acknowledgement of the essential role played by hard working men, of all trades, in securing and maintaining the position of the Nation as a world leader. It was also visual confirmation of the type of workman to which the periodical was originally projected.

The central illustration, which punctuates the space between the main title 'British Workman' and the subtitle 'and Friend of the sons of Toil', is composed around a central motif of the heraldic arms of the United Kingdom beneath which is emblazoned the motto 'IN ALL LABOUR THERE IS PROFIT'. This central motif is flanked by representatives of various branches of British industry and commerce, and is situated against a backdrop that depicts great building works, factories, docks, railways and the Crystal Palace. It is a composition celebrating work and industry and depicts the metropolis as a veritable hive of activity out of which appears a placard advertising the 'British Workman one penny monthly'. The triangular composition of the central tableau, made up of representations of various workmen- a navvy, an engineer, a farmer and a stonemason, surmounting a stepped plinth, is reminiscent of classical pediments. The formal symmetrical arrangement of the motifs conveys a sense of architectural solidity and permanence. To the left of the main image is a vignette in which a machine-tool worker is depicted at his vice in an informal attitude of toil, as if taken from a photographic 'snapshot'; while to the right is a similarly constructed representation of a tailor busy at his workbench. Both images show their respective labourers surrounded by the tools of their trades, their workplaces illuminated by light streaming through a large window. However, in both cases the scale of the worker in relation to his working environment emphasises the importance of the human element within industrial and manufacturing processes presaging the paper's participation in discourses concerning the human condition in an industrial age, albeit from religious and temperance perspectives. Issues concerning representations of the worker in the industrial environment are considered in greater detail later.

The masthead suggested that the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil* was part of a long publishing and historical tradition. As a periodical it was tapping into established concepts of 'Britishness'- stability, longevity, Christianity, civilised, cultured. Additionally it acknowledged and emphasised the modernity, power and progress associated with the status of Britain as the workshop of the world and engineer of the greatest Empire on earth. Here, again, is evidence of the duality of familiarity and novelty that Smithies sought to

exploit in presenting his new periodical to his potential readership. The potential for a range of complex ideas and interpretations being associated with or embedded in the title of a periodical is well argued by Andrew King. He demonstrates that *The London Journal*, as a title or brand name, "... is less of a concrete entity than a floating signifier anchored to meanings that change and function differently over time, as the cultural field of which it forms a part also changes".¹³

While publications like *London Journal*, *Edinburgh Review*, and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* might hope to appeal to a wider audience than their geographically loaded titles suggested – proclaiming a specific regional identity while at the same time aspiring to, and professing, national (and international) circulation and distribution – the *British Workman* immediately staked a claim to being a paper for the whole nation. Additionally, the title declared that the journal was directly linked to, and was available in, any place that the working man might be located whether that be at home, overseas in the Colonies, or in the wider Empire and beyond. The name *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil* conveyed a set of ideas and values that were both straightforward and complex at the same time. The reader was presented with a header that could be divided into title – *British Workman*, and subtitle - *Friend of the Sons of Toil*, linked together by the conjunction 'and'. This determines that the *British Workman*, however 'British' and 'Workman' might be defined, was partly a periodical intended to echo or explain the characteristics and qualities associated with concepts surrounding perceptions of 'British workmen'. Furthermore, the additional 'Friend of the Sons of Toil' suggested that the British workman and the 'sons of toil' were not necessarily one and the same, although they may have identified with each other and come to share common values and objectives through the establishment of a relationship or partnership based on friendship and mutual understanding. The title generated a number of ambiguities that indicated the possibility of more than one target audience, a publication intended for mass appeal and wide circulation with potentially conflicting ambitions and expectations. On the one hand there was a mission to advance the social

¹³ King, (2000): 44, 97-111.

condition of the working classes and, therefore, to attract readers from those groups of workers or from those concerned with their welfare. On the other hand there was the objective of promoting the moral improvement of the British workman within the working classes themselves, and among the middle classes. In attempting to fulfil these ambitions the paper had to present a unity of purpose that drew the two communities together rather than separate them.

The title and masthead, therefore, represent the periodical equivalent of a 'brand name' identifying the product, establishing its uniqueness thereby distinguishing it from its competitors. It also communicates to the consumer information regarding the character of the paper and expectations about content. The masthead creates, and secures, an identity for the publication itself, and also for the readers and subscribers.¹⁴ The many modifications to the masthead may also signal that Smithies was searching for a 'stable' model that would appeal to the widest possible audience.

Taking into consideration King's arguments concerning the complexity of interpretations attached to mastheads, we need also to examine what Sinnema, for one, calls a "politically discriminating ekphrasis" in order to reach a better understanding of the complex relationships that co-exist between images and texts, both in the nature of their production and their effects upon the readers that consumed them.¹⁵ According to Sinnema's thesis, based on close readings of the *Illustrated London News*, any interpretations of text/image collaborations in the *British Workman* need to be made in light of an awareness of how Victorian publications fabricated identities for their readerships, "... by contributing to such solidifying ideologies as those of national superiority, limitless technological progress...".¹⁶ If we read the components that make up the masthead of the first

¹⁴ Despite changes in size and format, the masthead of the *Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor* remained essentially the same. Those of the *London Journal*, the *Penny Magazine* and the *Family Herald*, for example, continued unaltered during the lifetimes of the respective publications.

¹⁵ Sinnema, P. *Dynamics of the Pictured Page*, Aldershot, Ashgate, (1998): 31.

¹⁶ Sinnema, (2002): 32. In fact, Sinnema states that the *ILN* fabricates an English identity for its readers, but this is an oversimplification in as much as one needs to be talking of a plurality of identities as would be received by a diverse readership as existed even amongst the social groups that he lumps together under the umbrella term 'bourgeois'.

number of the *British Workman* in the context of Sinnema's argument, it could also be interpreted as visually and textually representing the roles that different sections of society had to fulfil if the achievements of the British nation were going to be maintained or surpassed. There was a full acknowledgement by Smithies that the British workman was a key player in the process. It is also evident, however, that the working-classes had a specifically defined role and that employers had another. Work was the 'cement' that held all the constituent parts together for the benefit and greater good of all.¹⁷ In this context the crest partly represents the 'glue' of 'great Britishness' and as such may be interpreted not only as the literal and compositional centre of the masthead, but also as the *raison d'être* of the industry and toil of the nation. This process of identification is further reinforced with the incorporation of a rustic, 'carved wood' text suggesting tradition and craftsmanship. The text is detailed with a wood-grain effect which is not readily identifiable but is reminiscent of weathered oak. The symbolic nature of the oak would announce the sturdy 'Englishness' that the editor wished his readers to associate with this particular publication, and the ideals that it promoted. The banner text literally proclaimed its pride in national identity in the word 'British', and visually in the nature of its representation. Being designated the 'British' Workman also identified and differentiated the British attitude towards work from those held in countries like France, Germany and Austria, particularly with reference to the practice of Sunday working, an issue the was regularly aired in the pages of the paper.¹⁸

¹⁷ It was from within discourses concerning the nature and the place of work within the dominant ideology, that Ford Madox Brown commenced his *force majeure* entitled, *Work*. This painting incorporates a great deal of the contemporary 'middle-class' debate on the social aspects of numerous kinds of labour and the relative merits of each. Madox Brown himself was keen to supplement his complex visual representations of work with a comprehensive textual account of his intentions, to further enlighten his audience. In his commentary Madox Brown refers to the fact that his early ideas 'gradually developed' and that he came to feel that the British [my emphasis] excavator, who is the central figure depicted in the painting, was worthy of the powers of an English [my emphasis] painter. Although not finally completed for exhibition until 1865, it was, nevertheless, started in 1852, and worked on, and developed, over a thirteen year period. Golby, (1986): 112–118.

¹⁸ See, in particular, 'Sunday work in Vienna', *British Workman* No. 314, February (1881): 53-54.

Mission Statements

While the size and appearance of a periodical, the masthead, and the title could signal an intended audience, it was fairly common for new publications to open with an address from the editor, or proprietor, to the reader. 'Mission statements' served to flag up specific aims and objectives, outline the content, and explain the editorial ethos that distinguished a given title from its competitors. They also attempted to define readerships by delineating a desired territorial space in the marketplace, and by reaching out to new audiences.¹⁹ The editor of *The Truth-Tester*, for example, perhaps mindful of the failure of temperance literature to attract a wide audience, requested a patient hearing for his new journal. "With this introduction, which must bespeak for us a patient hearing and a fair trial, we proceed to state our Objects and Designs. We purpose to Advocate TEMPERANCE in its most enlarged acceptation, including the entire abandonment of Alcoholic Drinks, Animal Food, Tea and Coffee, Drugs, Tobacco and Snuff, and Condiments; and to recommend a gradual return to nature..."²⁰

A number of new 'improving' periodicals introduced at the beginning of the 1850s set out to predefine their respective audiences through the opening mission statement. Alternatively, they retrospectively defined their readership on completion of the first volume. The 'Preface' to the first volume of *The Family Friend* (1849) suggested that the intended readership was that 'miscellaneous society' for which existing religious publications were too 'exclusive'.²¹ The editor of *The Home Friend*, (1852), declared that his publication would, "convey both instruction and amusement... [and] would excite the interest of a large class of readers... [including] the tenant of the lowliest cottage",²² and the editor of *The Leisure Hour* (1852), stated, "...it will be easy to gather our conceptions of those for whom we write. We dedicate our pen to the thoughtful of every class".²³

¹⁹ Additionally, periodicals reissued in volume form were frequently 'prefaced' with extra matter that extended or reiterated, the original mission statement, reflected on past successes and weaknesses, and projected future hopes and ambitions.

²⁰ *The Truth-Tester, Temperance Advocate and Healthian Journal*, ns Vol. 1. (1847): 1.

²¹ 'Preface' *The Family Friend*, Vol. 1. (1849).

²² 'Preface' *The Home Friend*, Vol. 1. London, SPCK (1852): iii-iv

²³ 'A Word with our readers', *The Leisure Hour*, London, RTS, (1852): 9.

Cassell's address to potential readers of *The Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*, (1850), was presented with a different emphasis, suggesting that it was directed at a more exclusive audience, an audience of working men and women wishing to "educate" and "elevate" themselves so that "as human beings" they might stand "on a perfect level with the rest of their species".²⁴ He offered his publication on equal terms with his audience in a language that recognised, mirrored, and anticipated the integrity and modesty that was intended to unite the paper and its consumer, with a promise to work hard to promote their best interests.

It is evident that we have come forth without any expectation of patronage from the wealthy, having appeared in a plain garb, though we trust, one of substantial quality... But when you find us, though plain and unpretending in our form, legible and well filled, you will surely extend to us the warm hand of welcome, and hail us as one of yourselves. We have voluntarily chosen you for our patrons and pay-masters. Accept the office; and in return, we promise you the unceasing tribute of our talents, and the best exertions to promote your welfare.²⁵

Cassell's object with the *Working Man's Friend* was to encourage a readership drawn largely from the working-classes, promoting their welfare and expecting "no patronage from the wealthy". Consequently the language he adopted was intended to appeal predominantly to that section of the working-class population often referred to as the 'artisan elite', the more articulate and politically minded worker wanting to 'get on'. Smithies, on the other hand hoped that his paper would appeal to a wider audience than that envisaged for the *Working Man's Friend*.

Although Smithies dedicated his paper to the 'industrial classes' the intended readership of the *British Workman* was not as clearly defined as the title, the mission statement, or dedication, indicated.²⁶ The paper was variously directed at

²⁴ *The Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*. Vol.1. No.1. 5 January (1850): 2.

²⁵ 'To Our Readers', *The Working Man's Friend*. Vol.1. No.1. 5 January (1850): 32.

²⁶ The dedication was a regular and prominent feature in bound volumes of Smithies' periodicals. Not only were yearly parts dedicated to influential individuals associated with various religious and temperance organisations to which Smithies himself was closely affiliated, some volumes were dedicated to those politicians and aristocrats whose political and philanthropic efforts were admired by Smithies. Most prominent were the dedications to the Queen and members of the royal family. Genette defines dedications as falling into two main categories – private and public. In all instances it can be argued that Smithies dedicated his volumes to individuals prominent in the most active religious and temperance organisations, or other philanthropic ventures, that is, public figures working for the greater good of the working classes. While the individuals to whom

both the working classes and employers on the understanding that the interests of both were “firmly linked together”. Although it was specifically dedicated to the ‘industrial classes’, both the working classes and middle classes were encouraged to become subscribers. The publication was also bought in large quantities by members of the aristocracy and the ruling elite, in most cases for gratuitous distribution.²⁷ Initially, Smithies’ paper was designed for all classes of labourers and there were many occasions on which he issued special numbers of his paper dedicated to specific groups of workers. As Table 15, highlights, during the first five years of publication twenty-one of the sixty numbers issued, (35%) were dedicated to members of specific trades, or to prominent individuals who, in Smithies’ opinion, “by profitably employing their Leisure Hours have risen to Eminence.”²⁸

Celebrated Carpenters----	<i>See No. 7.</i>
Celebrated Shoemakers----	<i>See No. 8.</i>
Celebrated Tailors----	<i>See No. 9.</i>
Celebrated Barbers----	<i>See Nos. 10. 61. & 64.</i>
Celebrated Stonemasons----	<i>See No. 11.</i>
Celebrated Bricklayers----	<i>See No. 12.</i>
Celebrated Blacksmiths----	<i>See No. 15.</i>
Celebrated Gardeners----	<i>See No. 17.</i>
Celebrated Shepherds----	<i>See Nos. 18. & 19.</i>
Celebrated Farmers’ Boys----	<i>See Nos. 22. & 58.</i>
Celebrated Colliers and Miners----	<i>See No. 25.</i>
Celebrated Weavers----	<i>See Nos. 28. & 30.</i>
Self-elevated Men----	<i>See Nos. 26. 27. & 29.</i>
John the Scullion and Bishop----	<i>See No. 24.</i>
George Stephenson, the Engineer----	<i>See No. 49.</i>
Dr. Kitto, the Oriental Traveller----	<i>See No. 52.</i>
Adam Clarke, the learned Doctor----	<i>See No. 65.</i>
John Rennie, the Great Engineer----	<i>See No. 69.</i>

Table 15. To Show Special Numbers of the *British Workman*, February 1855 – December 1860.

Smithies dedicated his publications would have been familiar to a significant number of people we cannot be certain that they would have been widely recognised by the majority of lower class readers.

²⁷ There is also evidence to indicate that individual members of the upper classes regularly read the *BW*. One such correspondent wrote, “...I beg you will place my name on your subscriber list.” Earl of Albermarle. *BW* No. 15. March, (1856): 60.

²⁸ *British Workman*, No.71 November (1860): 384. There was a regular issue of ‘special editions’ throughout the first five or six years of publication, but particularly so during the first three years when the periodical was circulating below the self-sustaining target of 100,000 copies per month. In each of the first three years, half of the numbers issued were directed at specific employment or interest groups, including the army.

Targeting specific groups of workers with a series of monthly issues, 'celebrating' the achievements of self-made men who had risen from low positions, encouraged the working-classes themselves to actively participate in supporting his publication by identifying with it and subscribing to it. Notices appearing in the paper acknowledging those employers who encouraged the promotion, distribution and reading of the *British Workman* among their employees, give further indications that the primary audience envisaged was to be drawn from working men. Additionally, the fact that Smithies dedicated the paper to the 'Industrial Classes' lends weight to the idea that he was signalling to readers, subscribers and philanthropists of all classes, that the readership for his paper would mainly consist of urban labourers.²⁹

The use of the term industrial also suggests that the journal was initially directed at working men from those groups employed in manufacturing, and allied occupations. Men who, like the engineers and cotton operatives of Lancashire, for example, or the mill workers in the textile districts of the West Riding of Yorkshire, had regular employment, enjoyed reasonable levels of income and whose economic and social status and moral responsibilities were, it was implied, ordained by providence. "There is no-one who can yield himself to a slothful habit without finding it productive of debility, approaching paralysis, of his powers on one hand and a mass of active and rampant vices on the other hand.... There is no degradation attached to a man of industrial habits"³⁰ Whether or not Smithies choice of the term 'industrial', rather than industrious, echoed the exploitation, by industrial capitalist ideologists, of 'Christian Socialist arguments about the redemptive qualities of labour is uncertain, but there can be little doubt that it was initially intended that the *British Workman* should appeal to readers and subscribers from the urban working classes. As argued above, the complex design of the ornate masthead also pointed towards an audience of predominantly skilled workers/labourers. However, several modifications to the presentation of the *British Workman*, most particularly the masthead, and changes of emphasis on

²⁹ The balance between representatives of predominantly urban/industrial trades and occupations like bricklayers, carpenters (66%) and engineers, and rural labourers such as shepherds and farmer's boys (33%) is additional evidence that the *British Workman* was primarily an urban publication.

³⁰ Barringer, T. *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, London, Yale University Press, (2005): 172.

the way in which the paper was distributed, indicate that Smithies' initial intentions regarding target audience underwent some reassessment during the second and third years of publication.

Genette argues that the title or masthead "is more flexible and more versatile, always transitory, because transitive- is as it were, an instrument of adaptation", and that modifications in presentation are part of a 'natural' process in the evolution and development of the marketing and consumption of a given text.³¹ The title, or brand name, of a periodical is usually the most stable feature. While the contents or editorial direction might fluctuate over time, as meanings and tastes change or adapt, the identity of the paper remains 'anchored' within a distinctive set of social, political, or moral values associated with the masthead.

There are indications that the masthead was modified in order to make the *British Workman* more acceptable to a wider, more inclusive, audience and to make it better suited to the committee of a well established Christian philanthropic organisation with responsibilities for distributing approved religious texts to the poor. With greater numbers of the *British Workman* being made available for distribution in poorer urban communities, both the circulation and the usefulness of the paper might be considerably increased. However, Smithies had to balance the needs and expectations of the committee of the London City Mission with his own efforts to retain, and expand, his existing reader and subscriber base.

Given that the masthead of a periodical serves to identify both periodical and reader, and carries with it so much 'baggage', the original masthead of the *British Workman* identified a target readership within a broad but definable section of the working classes, and included labourers and artisans. The frequent modifications made to the masthead clearly demonstrate that, for Smithies, it was not inviolate as a signifier. The nature of the amendments and alterations confirms that, along

³¹ Genette, G. *Paratexts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2001): 408. According to Charles Grivel and Leo Hoek, the basic functions of the title are to 'identify the work', to 'indicate the subject matter', and to 'entice the targeted audience'. However, Genette argues against such a simplistic assessment restricted by concerns about 'subject' and 'object' as it is not always clear whether a title refers to the 'subject' of a text or the 'object'. He also suggests that all the functions associated with the title of a work "are not necessarily fulfilled at the same time", and that the first function could be achieved by a 'semantically empty title' with the other two being optional. Genette, (2001): 76-78.

with numbers specially dedicated to a considerable number of designated trades, (Table 15), Smithies was trying to attract more readers and subscribers in order to increase circulation and cover the costs of publication. A notice from the *London City Mission Magazine* confirmed that the number for October 1857 was 'carefully prepared and printed with a special reference to its adaptation to the use of the Society'.³² Permanently abandoning the 'Friend of the Sons of Toil' after this date suggests that earlier changes to the masthead may have partly been made in preparation for the large grant to the London City Mission. With the original masthead strongly suggesting that the paper was primarily intended as a publication for those in regular employment and the respectable labouring classes, the changes were possibly made in order to make the *British Workman* more acceptable for official adoption by the Committee of the London City Mission as an appropriate publication for distribution by their missionaries, and more suited to their work among the poor. The navy, the engineer, the builder, the mechanic, and the tailor, would not have featured prominently on the list of occupations found among the poor families that the missionaries visited. The vast majority were either, unemployed drunkards, casual labourers, or thieves, living off the streets, sifting through the dustheaps, or working from home in sweated trades. John Matthias Weylland, one of the more experienced city missionaries, and London City Mission historian, lists beggars, thieves, sailors, tramps, street urchins, aliens, Jews, and prostitutes among the clientele attended by the missionaries in the courts and rookeries where the poorest communities lived.³³ Taking into consideration the populations that the missionaries were dealing with, and the environments into which they had to venture, it is not surprising that being supplied with tracts more likely to meet with approval was such a high priority to the LCM and its workers.³⁴

³² *London City Mission Magazine* 2 November (1857): 312.

³³ See Weylland, (1891): 34.

³⁴ The grant to the London City Mission and the distribution of the *British Workman* to the poor is considered more fully in the section on circulation and distribution, pages 164-5.

The Content of the *British Workman*.

Andrew King has demonstrated in his analysis of *The London Journal* how the content of a periodical, the letterpress and illustration, can serve to determine the 'space' that a new magazine or journal might occupy in the literary marketplace. The 'units of reading', the serial novels, one-episode tales, poems and departments, and the styles and modes of illustration and artwork, all contributed to establishing the identity of a periodical and its target audience. The 'personnel network' of artists, writers and engravers employed in the production of the letterpress and illustrations also contributed to the ethos of a journal and influenced reader's expectations.³⁵

Contributors: Letterpress and Illustration. -Letterpress.

Each number of the *British Workman* contained a variety of texts including poetry, anecdotes, short stories, and serial stories. There were factual items, pieces of statistical information, notices of new publications and items of interest and advice for men and women in 'Columns for Mothers, Wives, and Daughters'³⁶, 'Hints for the Wives of Working Men'³⁷, and 'Columns for Husbands and Wives'.³⁸ In common with many papers the regular inclusion of sections 'To Our Readers' and 'Notices To Correspondents' allowed for a direct interaction between the periodical and its readers. Many of the contributors were anonymous and numerous texts were reprints of articles culled from other publications such *The Builder*, *The Cork Constitutional*, *The British Messenger*, *The Mother's Friend*, and *The Christian Treasury*. Articles in the early numbers included poems from Mrs. Hemans and Hannah More, and short pieces by Reverend J. B. Owen, and Dr. Huie. Regardless of the type of article or the status of the author, all the letterpress was selected to promote Temperance, Industry,

³⁵ King, (2000): 76-85.

³⁶ *BW* No. 7. August, (1855): 27.

³⁷ *BW* No. 5. June, (1855): 19.

³⁸ *BW* No. 10. November, (1855): 39.

Education, Kindness to Animals, Peace, and Religion.³⁹ However, Smithies drew on an established group of authors for the more substantial items of letterpress. Identifying authors as respected writers of religious and temperance literature, or as recognisable and authoritative persons within the philanthropic and Christian communities, lent additional weight to the content of the article. It was the contributions from the more prominent writers that most clearly defined the identity of the periodical as a paper for spiritual, moral and temperance education.

It is beyond the remit of this study to attempt to identify the hundreds of writer who contributed to the *British Workman* over the years. Certainly Smithies composed a great deal of the letterpress himself. This investigation is primarily concerned with the illustrative content of the journal. However, the importance of the letterpress cannot be overlooked. At the very least the juxtaposition of good illustrations with mediocre texts would have undermined the effectiveness of the publication. It is appropriate, therefore, to mention some of the more significant names associated with the articles published in the paper.

First, and foremost, Mrs. Clara Lucas Balfour, the author of *The Juvenile Abstainer*, the periodical so much admired by and later reissued by Smithies in an enlarged illustrated format under the title of *Morning Dew-Drops*, was one of the most respected temperance writers of her generation and one of the main contributors to the *British Workman*. Work directly attributed to her was a regular feature in the paper between November 1855 and June 1882. Some of her more substantial serialised pieces, 'Perseverance; Or, Sketches From Real Life', (January–December 1856), 'Hints On Household Management', (October 1860–November 1861), and 'The Bible-Pattern of a Good Woman'. (January 1862–April 1863) were separately issued in bound volumes. In all 114 items carry her name but she would have undoubtedly contributed many more. Mrs. Ellis, (Mary Stickney), author of a number of important moral handbooks for middle class women, including *The Women of England, Their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits*, and *Pictures of a Private Life*, contributed a story, *Widow Green and Her*

³⁹ See, for example, 'Title Page' Yearly Part No. 20. (1874).

Three Nieces, serialised in thirteen parts between January 1858, and May 1859, and later issued in novel format. Several items were commissioned, at considerable expense, from respected writers like Mrs S.C. Hall, (to whom Smithies paid £50 for 'writing a variety of original pieces'),⁴⁰ Nelsie Brook, (Mrs Ellen Ross), Mrs Sherwood, with poetry from Mary Howitt, and Ellin Isabelle Tupper.

One of the most popular male contributors was Rev. John William Kirton, author of 'Buy Your Own Cherries', 'How Sam Adam's Pipe Became A Pig', and 'Take Care Of Your Tis Buts'. He also wrote the letterpress for 'The Gin-Shop', a popular work republished in a number of formats for wide circulation, illustrated by George Cruikshank. Other clergymen, including the Rev. P. B. Power, the author of 'The Oiled Feather', and the Rev. Thomas Harris Walker, author of, 'Good Servants, Good Wives & Happy Homes', were also regular contributors. The work of Old Humphrey, (George Mogridge), appeared in the first number of the paper and his temperance and morality short stories continued to appear in the paper up until May 1882, although the majority of items were published during the 1850s and 1860. On his death his widow donated a number of previously unpublished manuscripts so that Smithies might make use of them in his papers. The number of individuals contributing letterpress was considerable and many of the short stories, anecdotes, poems, and serialised works were published anonymously. Additionally, contributions were regularly made by several of the most popular and influential American temperance writers of the period including John Bartholomew Gough and Timothy Shay Arthur.

⁴⁰ 26/31.AM.17142. Letter to Mrs. Hall, dated 23 November 1865, in which Smithies confirmed arrangements for the supply of matter, equal to *Our Children's Pets*, that might be made up into an illustrated book that might 'do good to the rising generation'.

Contributors:-Illustration.

As the quality and content of the illustrative matter was fundamental to the establishment of the *British Workman* as a mass-circulation temperance periodical, and an examination of Smithies' use of illustration for didactic purposes lies at the heart of this study, a more detailed account of the artists contributing to the journal, and of the subject matter of the images they created, is valid here.

The name, skill, status and reputation of an artist contribute to a viewer's perceptions of the values and meanings attached to the works that they produce, as do the expectations of the viewer. As with the letterpress, it was essential for Smithies to ensure that the engravings published in the *British Workman* were appropriate and that they conformed to, "the first object he regarded as essential, and which he never lost sight of... the accomplishment... of a greater amount of moral and religious improvement of his readers".⁴¹ A more detailed consideration of what Smithies thought of as 'good' pictures is given in the next chapter. However, "the benevolent character and *beneficial tendency* of the publication", and "the type, style, sentiment, and pictorial illustration" of the paper, were immediately acknowledged by supporters like the Bishop of Carlisle, the Rev. J. B. Owen, and Samuel Carter Hall, originator of *The Art Journal*. The letterpress and the pictures were recognised as being, "well calculated to effect the laudable object" of elevating the "moral condition of the labouring classes of England".⁴² Evidence suggests that from the outset, the pictorial content was especially important to Smithies' educational strategy, and that it was to assume greater importance as the paper became established. Artists like John Gilbert, (later Sir John Gilbert), developed a reputation as the "Michael Angelo of wood-draughtsmen", and of being "without a rival" in the art of book illustration.⁴³ Smithies held up John Gilbert's career and achievements as "another noble instance of the results of study and perseverance", marking the contributions he made to the *British Workman* by the "celebrated artist whose pencil has so often

⁴¹ *The Animal World*, 1 September, (1883): 138.

⁴² Appendix C Testimonials.

⁴³ *Bow Bells*, No 4.7 Vol XX. n.s. 4. February, (1874): 62.

adorned our pages".⁴⁴ Of the few contributing artists celebrated in the pages of the paper George Cruikshank was acknowledged as "a veteran artist of world-wide celebrity" well known for his temperance work, and the 'picture-lessons' he produced in furtherance of the temperance cause.⁴⁵

ARTIST	1855-59	1860-64	1865-69	1870-74	1875-79	1880-84	TOTAL
ANELAY, HENRY	83	44	15	1		2	145
BARNES, ROBERT			22	17	38	16	93
BUCKMAN, E					4	6	10
COOPER, A W			3	2	1	6	12
CRUIKSHANK, GEORGE	4	2			1		7
DOUGLAS, EDWIN *					6	1	7
FOSTER, BIRKET	2	4	1	1	1		9
GILBERT, JOHN	12	14	12	4	2		44
HUARD, LOUIS		9	11	2	2		24
HUNT, WILLIAM *		1	2			1	4
LANDSEER, EDWIN *	1	1	4	1	1	3	11
NICHOLSON, T H	4						4
RAINEY, WILLIAM						45	45
SCOTT, THOMAS			5	14	7	2	28
STANILAND, C J				1		3	4
TAYLER, FREDERICK *	2	5	1				8
WATSON, JOHN D		4	3	1		1	9
WEBB, W J				4	8	7	19
WEIR, HARRISON	16	10	13	13	8	10	69
WILSON, T H			1	2	2		5

Table. 16. To Show Artists Contributing 4+ Illustrations - *British Workman* 1855-84. (Five Year Intervals).

The contributions from the twenty named artists are catalogued at five yearly intervals so that a pattern of their contributions to the periodical is more readily identifiable. The four artists marked by an asterisk (*) are so highlighted because wood-engravings after their paintings were reproduced by permission from either the artists themselves or through their publishers.

Although many of engravings were not attributed to any specific artist, an analysis of the illustrations in the *British Workman* over a thirty-year period, (1855-1884), provides sufficient evidence to establish that Smithies commissioned some of the most popular and respected artists and engravers. As is

⁴⁴ *British Workman*, No. 214. October, (1872): 134.

⁴⁵ *British Workman*, No. 118. October (1864): 472.

evident from Table 16, Henry Anelay was the principal illustrator during the first ten years, having made significant contributions during the initial, and crucially important, five year period of the paper, with least eighty-three contributions. Anelay was a competent, experienced and popular artist with the ability to design for the wood block. He started his career in periodicals illustration with *The Penny Magazine*, worked on the *Illustrated London News*, *Reynolds's Miscellany*, and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, coming out of retirement to work for Smithies. What is also evident is that, during his tenure as editor, and as circumstances permitted, Smithies sought to include work from some of the best known illustrators, including John Gilbert, George Cruikshank, Robert Barnes, John Dawson Watson, and Harrison Weir, and in striving to continually improve the illustrations published in his papers, he also arranged to publish wood engravings after paintings by some of the most prestigious artists of the Victorian period, among them Edwin Landseer and Edwin Douglas.

With the commencement of a new series of each of his two main publications in January 1861 there was a noticeable increase in the number of pictures from artists like John Gilbert and Harrison Weir. There were additional wood-engravings after works by Landseer and William Hunt, and less reliance on the work of Anelay.⁴⁶ A number of important factors evident in the data given in Tables 9 & 16 have a direct bearing on the ways in which Smithies employed illustration in his publications, and highlight patterns of both continuity and change during the period in question.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Henry Anelay had reportedly come out of retirement to work for Smithies and had many other commitments during his twenty year stint on *The Band of Hope Review* and *British Workman*. Rodney Engen's account of Anelay's work, *Victorian Wood-Engravers*, remains the most comprehensive to date. As yet no-one has afforded Anelay the recognition that his contribution to nineteenth century book and periodical illustration deserves. A thorough investigation would uncover more than has been found during the research for this thesis.

⁴⁷ The artists included in the analysis are those who have been unambiguously identified either by acknowledgement in the text or by name/initials in the engraving. Furthermore, all the artists contributed a minimum of four images reproduced so that the statistics might be more representative while, at the same time, making the information manageable. The inclusion of the work of T H Nicholson, C J Staniland and William Hunt presents a more accurate balance between engravings after established works of art, and specially commissioned drawings.

Landseer, Douglas and Graves.

The network of contacts built up through a close association with prominent members of major religious and temperance organisations enabled Smithies to benefit from generous terms by which the work of some of the most prestigious artists might be reproduced in his periodicals. It is evident from some of the earliest numbers of *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman* that Smithies was keen to introduce his readers to carefully selected engravings after fine art works as well as illustrations with more overt religious and temperance themes. Smithies had a long-standing friendship with Edwin Landseer who lent his support to Smithies and his work from the beginning. It was through Landseer that Smithies established an acquaintance with Henry Graves. This meant that engravings after the work of Edwin Douglas and Landseer were made available for publication in the *British Workman* greatly enhancing the status of the artwork available to readers of the journal and a real boost to Smithies' efforts to provide the best possible illustrations.⁴⁸ As Mountjoy states, the friendship between Smithies and Landseer meant that several engraved reproductions "of the latter's telling animal portraits first appeared in the *British Workman*".⁴⁹ Smithies acknowledged his debt of gratitude in a tribute to Landseer published in the *British Workman* shortly after the artist's death. A full page engraving was accompanied by the following extract.

We have felt anxious to do honour to his name in our pages by presenting our readers with one of the best engravings that can possibly be produced on wood. The portrait is life-like and the surroundings are from Sir Edwin's most noted paintings. We owe a debt of gratitude to Sir Edwin which we can never forget. He was the first artist of note who kindly encouraged us in our work. Many persons have wondered how we were able to copy so many of his great works in our pages. It was through the kind intervention of the late Jacob Bell Esq., that Sir Edwin called, about twenty years ago on his publisher, Mr. Henry Graves, and said, "Encourage the editor of that pictorial paper, He is doing good work." From that day to the present we have ever had the cordial help and counsel of Mr. Graves- the Queen's publisher- for which we must ever feel grateful.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The prestigious firm of Henry Graves and Co. engravers to the Queen, were responsible for producing some of the most popular prints of the period.

⁴⁹ See Mountjoy, (1985): 51.

⁵⁰ *British Workman* No. 230. February, (1874): 198.

The arrangement with Henry Graves was certainly beneficial to Smithies although Graves would also have benefited from having wood-engravings after Landseer's and Douglas's work published and widely circulated via the *British Workman* and *The Band of Hope Review*. It is possible that many of Smithies' middle class supporters and wealthy philanthropists would have been alerted to the forthcoming production of fine art, steel engraved editions of prints after the work of these sought after artists. The advanced publicity, and a generous commitment on behalf of Graves to Smithies' reforming programme, would have been appreciated by persons wealthy enough to purchase expensive reproductions.

Subject Matter: Illustrations

An analysis of the subject matter covered by the title page illustrations of the *British Workman*, (1855-1884 inclusive), reveals the overwhelming dominance of 'genre' subjects depicting scenes from everyday life either in the public space, (the workplace) or in the private arena, (the home). The readers were consistently presented with images that project scenes from working class life as they might be experienced by the hard working, teetotal, church-going working-classes. The peak years for genre subjects, from 1855 to 1859, include those issues of the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil* when Smithies published a number of special editions in order that he might encourage a wider circulation to, and increase subscriptions from, specific groups of workers – carpenters, bricklayers, cobblers, blacksmiths and colliers. In these issues the illustrations depicted a worker at his trade as opposed to a general scene from everyday life. Issues concerning the representation of workmen and labourers are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter Six. However, the regular publication of a significant number of portraits and images of animals served an important function in the transmission of temperance ideals to readers.

Portraits.

The full-page portrait of Landseer was but one of many such images that appeared in the *British Workman* and along with the portraits of the important and famous, along with many ‘likenesses’ of notable temperance, religious, and philanthropic persons appeared within its pages over the years. Smithies regularly included portraits of those individuals who had made some mark on society. The accompanying letterpress commonly identified those portrayed as the type of person who had ‘risen up through the ranks’ by means of personal determination and endeavour and, quite often, by adhering to firm temperance principles and maintaining a strong commitment to their faith.⁵¹ While there were those who came from privileged backgrounds there were others, presented as role models, who attained recognition through ‘study and perseverance’ or rose from ‘low to lofty stations’⁵². Portraits comprise the second most numerous category and it is apparent that, as the format of

SUBJECT	1855-59	1860-64	1865-69	1870-74	1875-79	1880-84
BIBLICAL	1			7	8	2
ANIMALS	6	8	4	5	4	6
GENRE	46	38	34	33	29	39
HISTORY	3	3	11	3	1	3
PORTRAITS	4	11	11	12	18	10
TOTAL	60	60	60	60	60	60

Table 17. To Show *British Workman* Title Page Illustrations By Subject 1855-84

⁵¹ An examination of the paper reveals the range of individuals and types whose portraits were published in the *British Workman* over the twenty seven years that Smithies was editor. These included HRH Queen Victoria and international statesmen, politicians, philanthropists, businessmen, temperance leaders, and members of the clergy.

⁵² Sir John Gilbert’s success as an artist was attributed to his constant practice as a young boy of nine, see *BW* 214 Oct (1872): 134, while hard work determined that Abraham Lincoln the farmer’s son, became President of the United States. “The labouring classes in every land may look with honest pride on this son of toil, as embodying all that is bravest and noblest in their order ... A worker early and late, a water drinker, always clear headed, and good-humoured... *BW* 127 July (1865): 26.

the front page was changed in the 1860s, to coincide with the introduction of a new series, full-page illustrations became the norm. Portraits of specific individuals, or of idealised representatives of various trades and worker types, regularly accounted for 18.3% of the title page engravings published, (See [Table 17](#)), peaking at 30% during 1875-9. Portraits of the accomplished and the famous were interspersed with engravings celebrating labourers, costermongers, coalmen, train drivers, milkmaids, chambermaids and flower-girls. The majority were represented in a naturalistic manner, and afforded great attention to detail. Louis Huard's carpenter, Huttala's coalheaver, Lawson's piper, and Robert Barnes' railway guard, for example, are all portrayed labourers with the due care given to the portraits of statesmen and other dignitaries like Napoleon III, Lord Selbourne, or Sir William King Hall.⁵³ Additionally, there were several occasions when subjects from widely different and contrasting backgrounds and social strata were published in consecutive numbers presenting readers with an image of a 'noble savage' followed by that of a peer of the realm,⁵⁴ or that of a chambermaid followed by that of a rear admiral.⁵⁵ In affording the same attention to detail, by commissioning the same artists and engravers, and presenting expensive full-page engraving in such a manner, Smithies' use of illustration effectively played down the social ranks and distinctions that in reality separated the costermonger from the politician, or the chambermaid from the admiral. Certainly within the context of the engravings in the *British Workman*, depictions of people, real or imagined, were presented on equal terms, elevating the lowly rather than demoting the lofty. By publishing such images of prominent members of the social and political elite, the *British Workman* provided working class readers with some of the finest available examples of wood-engraved portraits. The large size of the illustrations and the quality of the artwork, engraving and printing, created desirable artworks that might elevate the mind, while the accompanying letterpress often celebrated the life and achievements of the person portrayed, while focusing on the promotion of the advantages of the principle of self-help. The potential rewards

⁵³ See *BW* Nos. 153. 180. 211. 149. 222. & 273. respectively.

⁵⁴ The full-page engraving in *BW* No. 162 June, 1868: 165, was a portrait of an African prince. The following month, *BW* No. 163. July, 1868: 169, carried a full-page engraved portrait of the late Lord Brougham. This could be interpreted as an acknowledgement of the tireless, controversial, and outspoken anti-slavery stance adopted in many of Brougham's articles published in the *Edinburgh Review* during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁵ See *BW* No. 272. August, (1877): 125., and *BW* No. 273. September, (1877): 129.

to be gained by emulating the lifestyles of the successful were woven into the texts and images for the benefit of the reader. The illustrations depicting idealised anonymous, imagined, workers like the dustman, the sweep, the coal-heaver, the fisherman, the labourer and the postman, not only acknowledged the important contributions made to society by even the lowliest of workers, but also informed middle class readers of the debt they owed to the working classes for the provision and maintenance of the comforts they enjoyed. The prominence of these illustrations also drew attention to important issues raised in the letterpress. Additionally, Smithies presented reassuring representations of those groups variously perceived as dangerous, immoral and criminal, to readers from across all social classes. He raised awareness among both the working classes and the middle classes of the fact that even the lower social orders were worthy of, and responsive to, well organised and well directed philanthropy, and that the 'respectable' hard working, sober, pious, labourer was as valuable and productive a member of the community as any one else. Furthermore, the *British Workman* demonstrated that, from an educational perspective, pictures of the working man and woman were as useful in the right context, as images of presidents and politicians.

Animals.

The third most common subject for the full-page engravings was that of birds and animals. Care for the 'brute creation', and the exercising of one's duties and responsibilities towards 'our dumb companions' also figured prominently in Smithies' temperance education programme. Unlike humans, animals were generally considered innocent, and incapable of committing sin. Nevertheless, they were often endowed with emotional sophistication and intelligence and served as exemplars of compassion, companionship, loyalty and trust. They were also shown to be faithful practitioners of total abstinence. Smithies was fortunate in being able to offer readers of his periodicals hundreds of engravings of animals,

drawn by popular illustrators like Harrison Weir, and prominent, respected artists like Edwin Douglas, J. F. Herring, and Sir Edwin Landseer. Many of the illustrations were a celebration of the animal kingdom although several of the engravings were also used to convey some form of simple moral message through what Smithies referred to as 'eye-lessons', teaching children and adults alike about the humane treatment of animals. Some of the more important pictures engraved from paintings by Edwin Landseer, such as 'Laying Down the Law'⁵⁶, and 'Dignity and Impudence'⁵⁷, in which animals were invested with human traits and characteristics, were used to flag up human failings. Others, particularly Herring's pictures of horses, drew attention to the water drinking, temperate, habits of animals, particularly, working animals that were able to function effectively on water alone.⁵⁸ By linking issues of morality, temperance and respectability to contemporary animal's rights, and public health issues, people like Smithies, Shaftesbury, Carlisle, Gurney, and their associates recognised and acknowledged a commonality of cause that might serve their reform agendas.⁵⁹

Temperance, for Smithies, was one of a number of pathways to spirituality, morality and respectability. The sober person was more likely to be more receptive to those evangelicals issuing tracts, delivering sermons, and encouraging attendance at a place of worship. While the drunkard might not enter the kingdom of heaven, it is also evident that the non-drinker was not guaranteed entry either. To the moral reformers of the time, "cruelty to animals... was conducive to other moral evils such as rowdiness, drunkenness, and public disorder...The Society for the Suppression of Vice secured convictions for Sabbath-breaking and cruelty to animals during its first year of operations.⁶⁰ The mistreatment of 'dumb companions', and the brute creation, was also thought of as being 'cruel and sinful'. "He, who hath said that not a sparrow falleth to the

⁵⁶ *BW* No. 145. January, (1867): 97.

⁵⁷ *BW* No. 322. October, (1881): 85.

⁵⁸ See, for example, 'Members Of The Temperance Society', *BW* No. 259. July, 1876 76.

⁵⁹ "Of all the efforts I have been called to make, there is none that so strongly commends itself to my feelings and my judgement, as the 'Free Drinking Fountains Movement'" - Earl of Shaftesbury; "Erect Drinking Fountains, and habits of intemperance will soon shew a diminution, and with a diminution of intemperance will be stopped the most prolific sources of crime." Earl of Carlisle. *BW* No. 54. June, (1859): 216

⁶⁰ See Roberts, M. J. D. 'The Society for the Suppression of Vice and its early critics, 1802-1818' *Historical Journal* No. 26 (1983): 159-76.

ground without the heavenly Father's permission, will surely visit for these things."⁶¹ Swearing, smoking, Sunday working, or participation in recreational activities on the Sabbath, along with the reading of 'infidel' publications, likewise undermined a person's moral integrity, character and respectability.

The publication of engravings after Landseer and Douglas served multiple purposes. They raised the artistic profile of the publications in which they were printed, they pushed back the boundaries of wood engraving and printing to create new standards of artistic representation, advancing the medium to unprecedented levels of technical competence and pictorial excellence. They also provided an ideal vehicle through which to deliver a temperance and moral lesson. For Smithies, some of these images gave their 'own description' and required "no letterpress to explain... meaning".⁶² Illustrations such as 'The Favourite'⁶³, and 'The Society of Friends'⁶⁴ were selected to teach the importance of being "useful and obedient" children, mindful of "God's mercy to man". The pictures were intended to be "eye-lessons" in the hope that lessons would be remembered for "years to come".

While the status of the artist and the content of the illustration were important factors contributing to the identity of the *British Workman* as a pioneering temperance publication, and important criteria for determining what might or might not be considered 'good' pictures, the work of the engraver and the printer should not be marginalized. Smithies was most fortunate in that he was able to enlist the services of several highly skilled wood engravers. Two names in particular stand out- John Knight and James Johnston. Between them Knight and Johnston were responsible for engraving a large proportion of the illustrations published in the *British Workman*, as well as those in many of Smithies' other magazines and journals. Their skills, combined with those of the artists, contributed towards creating some of the finest examples of the art of wood-engraved illustration produced during the nineteenth century. Their contributions

⁶¹ Smithies C. ed. *A Mother's Lessons on Kindness to Animals*, (1872): 31-32.

⁶² *BHR* July, (1862): 74.

⁶³ *BHR* July, (1862): 73.

⁶⁴ *BHR* April, (1862): 61.

were too numerous to single out any specific images for comment, nevertheless, numerous comments testifying to the excellence of the illustrations, (see, for example, Appendix C), confirm the Smithies' reputation for providing high quality illustrations.

Perhaps the finest examples of the collaborative effort of engraver, artist and printer can be found in another of Smithies publications, *A Mother's Picture Alphabet*, (1862), the illustrations for which were in the 'hands of the artist and the engraver'⁶⁵ for a period of three years. Engraved by James Johnston from designs by Henry Anelay, the book was described by critics as, "The handsomest book of its kind offered to the general public...". (*Athenaeum*). "As regards illustration, type, paper, and binding, NOTHING illustrative of the ALPHABET has, we imagine, been yet produced, which will bear the remotest comparison with it..." (*ILN*)⁶⁶. "We have never seen a more exquisite book for young children." (*Illustrated News of the World*). "A book has just come into our hands which appears to merit especial notice from us, in our character of Art-journalists." (*Art Journal*).⁶⁷

While animal pictures were an important facet of the broad temperance agenda promoted by Smithies, they did not constitute the most important genre. Depictions of working men and women were by far the most numerous. Engravings depicting the working man in the work environment, although important in contributing to the process of identifying, and isolating, the individual from the undifferentiated mass of the lower classes, featured less frequently than images of the working man as portrayed in domestic situations. Analysis of the genre to which images belong gives some indication of the balance between the public and the domestic environment, the workplace, and the home. The prioritising of images representing the domestic sphere was a recognition of the importance of the concept of the home in contemporary

⁶⁵ *BW* No. 88. April, (1862): 350.

⁶⁶ *BW* No. 89. May, (1862): 354.

⁶⁷ *BW* No. 88. April, (1862): 350.

discourses, of the transformation of temperance rhetoric from a predominantly negative, damning, religious style, to a more constructive and empowering form.⁶⁸

Wrappers and Bindings.

The bindings were intended to alert contemporaries to their designated market; they delineated very clear distinctions of social class. Sheep, calf and canvas were for the poor; roan, morocco and coloured calf (with or without gilt edges) indicated that one supported the Bible Society, and was not the object of its charity."⁶⁹

As Howsam argues, the formats in which texts were produced and marketed, in this case bibles, could serve to identify the social status of the intended readership, and the conditions under which they were most likely to be consumed. Texts directed at different economic or social strata were often distinguished by the overall quality or, in some cases, physical size of the materials employed in their production. In the case of texts supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society for sale, or gratuitous circulation, among the lower classes, Howsam has identified the use of cheaper, aesthetically and practically inferior, raw materials—paper, inks and bindings. Produced specifically for the poor, “Bibles and Testaments in dull bindings of sheepskin or canvas emerged from the depository and into the streets”.⁷⁰ For example, Bibles supplied to police stations staffed by at least three or four men were generally of a large type variety while the ‘Diamond’ edition was conspicuous for its diminutive size and the employment of a minute typeface.⁷¹

⁶⁸ The significance of the cult of domesticity to the reforming temperance agenda adopted by Smithies, is discussed in Chapter Six.

⁶⁹ Howsam, (2002): 131.

⁷⁰ Howsam, (2002): 147.

⁷¹ Howsam notes that in the distribution of the cheaper editions with extremely tiny typefaces such as the ‘Pearl’, ‘Ruby’, and the ‘Diamond’, ‘readability was sacrificed for portability’. However, the demand for such editions suggests that they were extremely popular but whether this was from the point of view of the distributors or the recipients is not clear. Bound in roan with gilt edges, they proved to be desirable pocket bibles for the middle classes. (2002): 107- 111, 135.

Early copies of the annual volumes, or Yearly Parts, were offered in a simple stiff, plain, paper cover, printed in black, with a simple illustration and title, or in crimson cloth, (Table 18). From January 1862, the cheapest available binding of the Yearly Parts of the *British Workman* (eighteen pence) comprised a stiff paper cover printed in colours with a plain linen spine. By the 1870s the title lettering, overprinted in a simple black font at the top edge of the cover, replaced the more ornate style as found on the edition for 1863, for example, where the decorative motto ‘British Workman’ was incorporated into a coloured wood engraving printed by Edmund Evans, after a design by John Gilbert.

Compliation	Price - Standard Binding	Price - Superior Edition (Gilt edges)
Yearly Part	1s 6d Paper (1855-91) *	2s 6d Cloth Crimson Cloth
2 Year Volume	3s 0d Stiff covers	4s 6d
3 Year Volume	4s 6d Cloth	6s 0d
4 Year Volume	6s 0d Cloth	7s 6d
5 Year Volume	9s 0d	10s 6d
6 Year Volume	9s 0d	10s 6d
7 Year Volume	10s 6d	12s 0d
8 Year Volume	12s 0 d	14s 0d
9 Year Volume	13s 6d	15s 6d
10 Year Volume	15s 0d	17s 0d

Table 18. To show the range of prices and bindings for the *British Workman* 1855-1864.

As well as the four-page folio paper the *British Workman* was made available in a range of other formats, most commonly in bound annual volumes. Back numbers of the monthly paper were regularly reprinted and in October, November, and December notices informed readers and subscribers that Yearly Parts containing all the issues for the current year were available, usually in time for Christmas.⁷² It is evident from the information in Table 18 that a range of other options was also available, in different bindings and at various prices.

The different bindings determined the perceived status of volumes. Those bound in cloth were substantial, the boards being heavy and the binding robust but the more expensive five and ten year volumes were produced with superior bindings and thicker more ornate boards tooled and heavily embossed with gilt lettering

⁷² It was quite common for copies of Smithies publications to be purchased in bound volumes and given as Christmas presents. A gilt edged volume of the *Band of Hope Review* (1865) inscribed by George Moore, Esq., “one of the Merchant Princes of the City of London”, *BW* March, (1857): 108., to his employee “Thomas Priddy with every good wish for the New Year” is in my personal collection along with other items including bound volumes of publications presented as birthday presents or Sunday school prizes.

and decorative motifs, finished with gilt edges. Such volumes were more robust and would have been functional in libraries and Mechanic's Institutes. Some were purchased as expensive gifts and presentation items or as books for the drawing-room, perhaps for private use as a readily accessible reference work treasured in much the same way as the family Bible, displayed as an attractive feature.⁷³ From 1862 the annual volume (Yearly Part) was issued in coloured paper wrappers printed initially by Edmund Evans, the paper covers eventually being replaced by more substantial boards from 1892 when a new series of the journal was issued and the number of pages was increased to 12. These Yearly Parts continued to be published in coloured, illustrated chromolithographed boards up to, and including, Volume 61, 1917 (which contained the monthly parts for 1916).

Wrappers are extremely rare as they were often removed prior to binding although some from copies issued from 1917 onwards have been preserved and are available in the British Library collection. (Fig. 8). Early Yearly Parts were issued in an illustrated, coloured paper wrapper complete with end papers and a catalogue of S.W. Partridge publications and could account for a significant, additional amount of extra temperance content per annual volume, thereby enhancing the temperance credentials of the periodical.⁷⁴ One of the reasons that the *British Workman* has been overlooked as a temperance periodical is the innovative approach that Smithies brought to temperance education and the concept of temperance publications. It is, therefore, in the wider temperance context that the following chapters consider Smithies' use of illustration.

⁷³ Specially bound volumes of Smithies' weekly publication *The Welcome* were presented to the Pacific and Orient Steamship Co., one for each of their fleet of vessels. Each volume carried the name of the ship to which it was assigned. See *London City Mission Magazine*, 1 August (1883): 181-2. George Moore placed yearly parts 'strongly bound together in cloth for this purpose' in railway waiting rooms in Cumberland and Westmoreland. *BW*. No. 26. February (1857): 104.

⁷⁴ The wrapper and associated epitexts of the *BW* 'Yearly Part' (1857) carried 45.4% temperance matter in addition to the 25.25% contained in the regular monthly numbers.

The *British Workman* as a Temperance Publication.

The *British Workman* has been variously described as “a temperance paper..., for an educated artisan readership”⁷⁵ an ‘improving paper’⁷⁶, a ‘not at all important’ illustrated paper,⁷⁷ and “a very popular penny magazine... philanthropic...”.⁷⁸ It has been labelled as “bourgeois sanctimony for the working man” in the catalogue of the Museum of Labour History, Salford, and included rather ambiguously by Jonathan Rose in his paper on ‘Worker’s Journals’.⁷⁹ The *British Workman* was considerably more than an illustrated, social and moral monthly with a temperance slant, and yet, in temperance bibliographies, it remains unacknowledged. Not only has this important periodical been overlooked as a pioneering illustrated paper, but its significance as a major advancement in temperance publishing has also been largely ignored, even though it was recognised by all the main temperance societies and promoted as a valuable addition to the range of temperance publications available during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Mainstream temperance periodicals were quick to advertise the *British Workman* in their notices of new publications. The National Temperance League praised the ‘superior’ quality of its engravings and “other outward attractions”, adding that some of the texts were ‘fully deserving of a reprint as a New Year’s tract for distribution’.⁸⁰ It was commended in the *British Temperance Advocate* as “the best thing of the kind to interest and benefit the working classes, on the Temperance and kindred subjects,”⁸¹ while the journal of another Society drew the attention of ‘all earnest temperance reformers to this excellent periodical’, noting how one of the monthly numbers had been especially adapted to “aid the temperance movement”, adding that the Leeds Temperance Society had “taken steps to circulate it among the operatives of that large town”.⁸² The temperance

⁷⁵ Nead, L. *Myths of Sexuality. Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, (1988): 37.

⁷⁶ Nead, (1988): 142. See also Mountjoy (1985): 48.

⁷⁷ Reid, F. *Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties*, Dover, New York, (1975): 257.

⁷⁸ White, Gleeson. *English Illustration, The Sixties 1855-70*, London, Kingsmead, (1970): 81.

⁷⁹ See Don Vann, J. & VanArsdel, (1995): 308.

⁸⁰ *The Weekly Record*, 6 December, (1856): 298

⁸¹ *National Temperance Chronicle* February, (1855): 24.

⁸² *British Temperance Advocate*, 19 January, (1856).

press encouraged “every teetotal working man to introduce [the] periodical to his companions.”⁸³ Smithies stated that the *British Workman* was “intended to be for ADULTS, what the *Band of Hope Review* is for CHILDREN”, that is a temperance paper.⁸⁴ It is within the context of temperance education that the arguments in this study are framed.

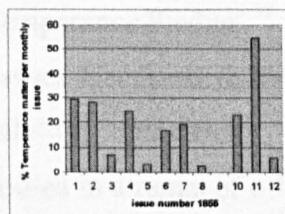


Fig. 12.

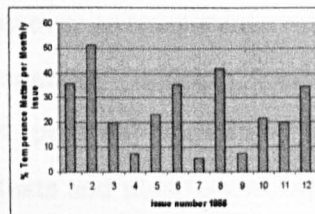


Fig. 13.

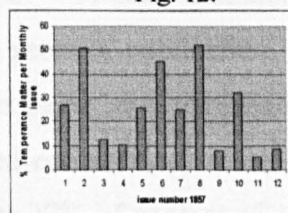


Fig. 14.

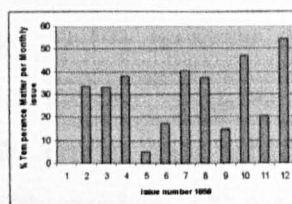


Fig. 15

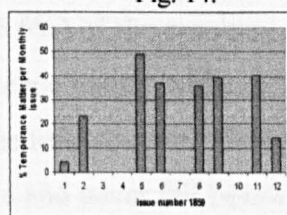


Fig. 16.

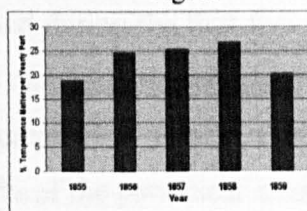


Fig. 17.

Figs. 12-17. Bar Graphs To Show the Percentage of Temperance matter in the *British Workman*.for the years 1855-59

During Smithies’ tenure as editor the main departments of the *British Workman*, as advertised on the free front end-paper of the yearly parts, were temperance, industry, education, kindness to animals, peace and religion. The temperance content of individual numbers, (the format in which the journal was most commonly circulated among the working classes and the poor), varied slightly from issue to issue but, overall, regularly accounted for a significant percentage of the subject matter of the letterpress and the engravings. There is evidence to suggest that the hierarchy of subject matter was modified according to intended

⁸³ *The Temperance Chronicle* 1st January, (1856): 206.

⁸⁴ *The Band of Hope Review*, No. 53. May, (1855): 116.

readership.⁸⁵ However, I believe that Mountjoy's figures underestimate the extent to which temperance issues predominated in the paper.⁸⁶ Letterpress that overtly deals with temperance subjects is readily identifiable – Joseph Livesey's 'Loaf Lecture',⁸⁷ Clara Lucas Balfour's 'The Innocent Victim',⁸⁸ John William Kirton's 'Buy Your Own Cherries',⁸⁹ – as are some of the illustrations, particularly those depicting drunkards – George Cruikshank's 'Loss and Gain',⁹⁰ Henry Anelay's 'Drink',⁹¹ and 'Temperance Pledge'.⁹² However as temperance was closely allied to all the other issues discussed in the magazine- religion, work, thrift, animal welfare, respectability, domesticity, and personal morality- the temperance content was embodied in a range of other texts and illustrations regardless of their principal functions.⁹³ A close examination of the textual and illustrative matter over the first five years of publication, (Figs. 12-17), up to the time that Edward Baines classed the paper as a temperance periodical,⁹⁴ suggests that temperance matter commanded considerably more of the printed page and, in fact, regularly accounted for over 30% of content of monthly numbers, (22 out of the first 60 – 36.6%). Ten (16.6%) of the numbers issued during the first five years contained over 40% temperance matter while in five numbers temperance matter accounted for over half of the total content. Overall temperance matter steadily increased for the first four years and never fell below 20% of the periodical's content regardless of the target audience. Also, the Yearly Parts, with their additional wrappers and epitextual matter, carried an even greater percentage of temperance related texts and images.

⁸⁵ Information carried on the front of the most expensively bound volumes identified religion, industry, thrift, and temperance.

⁸⁶ Mountjoy, (1985): 48. Mountjoy calculated that religious matter accounted for the lion's share of the space in the *British Workman* (1855-70) with 40% of the content, 20% of which was Sabbatarian. He calculated that temperance was second in order of importance with (17.25%). Other significant areas of concern being identified as industry (13.75%), wisdom or 'useful knowledge' (10.25%), kindness to animals (10.25%), and peace (8.5%).

⁸⁷ *BW* No. 1. February, (1855): 2.

⁸⁸ *BW* No. 32. August, (1857): 128.

⁸⁹ *BW* No. 103. July, (1863): 410.

⁹⁰ *BW* No. 7. August, (1855): 28.

⁹¹ *BW* No. 19. July, (1856): 76.

⁹² *BW* No. 86. February, (1862): 344.

⁹³ For example Ellis, M. S. 'Widow Green and her Three Nieces' serialised in *BW* No.37. January, (1858): 147 – *BW* No. 53. May, (1859): 211. The serialisation of this story could account for the apparent lack of directly temperance content in four of the monthly numbers for 1859. See (Fig. 6).

⁹⁴ Harrison (1969): 149.

Circulation and Distribution, and the Establishing of a *British Workman* Reading Community.

A consideration of the potential of mastheads, titles, bindings, dedications, mission statements and other epitextual matter, can provide valuable insights into the intended function of a periodical. They can help define both the periodical and the potential reader. Efforts to identify the readers of popular periodicals of the nineteenth century have been hampered by a lack of verifiable, or at least reliable, information. As Patricia Anderson argues, sources that could help the researcher to establish the number, age, gender, and class of readers for specific titles are, at best, partial, often unreliable or inaccurate, and more often than not, non-existent. In the absence of archival materials – original correspondence between editors and readers or subscribers; subscription lists, accounts, independently corroborated circulation figures; or references made in personal memoirs,- the publications themselves offer the only accessible option. This usually means working with an editor's answers to 'unknown' questions posed by readers who were largely anonymous or identified only by a place of residence, initials, or pseudonyms like 'a constant reader' or 'a subscriber'.⁹⁵

In addition to correspondence items, some information relating to the social status of readers might be gleaned from advertising pages and, as Lucy Brown suggests, clues regarding the geographical distribution of a given periodical can often be teased out of advertisements.⁹⁶ While Brown's study relates to the penetration of London based newspapers into the provinces, and accepting that information gleaned from within the pages of periodicals themselves needs to be used with caution, both Brown and Anderson demonstrate the potential, and pitfalls, of

⁹⁵ See Anderson, P. "'Factory Girl, Apprentice and Clerk"- The Readership of Mass-Market Magazines, 1830-60', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Summer, (1992): .64-72. Similarly with the *British Workman*, purchasers of the paper, or contributors to the Gratuitous Circulation Fund, and the vast majority of subscribers were not acknowledged. There were certain circumstances, however, in which more information was published about particular individuals and groups, significantly increasing the possibility of more accurately determining the age group, gender, and occupation of readers. Subscriptions to relief funds, contributions to competitions, and testimonials often drew increased responses from readers. Concentrated into a short period of time, it was not unusual for such lists to indicate gender, geographical location, and social status. Names and titles identify individuals, and the publication of sums of money donated can often locate donors within broad economic bands – affluent, comfortable, or relatively modest. It is possible, though, that some might be more generous than their regular income might allow for and their contributions the result of several weeks saving.

⁹⁶ See Brown, L. *Victorian News and Newspapers*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, (1985): 43.

handling such sources of information. Despite the culture of anonymity that prevailed in the press for a great part of the nineteenth century, limiting the possibilities for identifying more than a small number of individual subscribers, evidence suggests that the *British Workman* attracted a readership from across all strata of society, located throughout the United Kingdom and across the Empire. Furthermore, an analysis of items of correspondence published in the periodical provides a valuable insight into the constitution of a readership in which it is possible to clearly identify specific individuals, their gender, their occupation, and their interaction with the periodical and its contents.

As an educational paper the *British Workman* was intended to be kept for reference with back numbers, Yearly Parts and other bound formats, always available from the publishers. In common with most periodicals, establishing a dialogue between readers and subscribers was an important aspect of Smithies' conduct of the *British Workman*. In the early years, when circulations were low, items of correspondence which served to stimulate an increase in circulation, and to encourage potential subscribers and canvassers to further promote the paper, were most common.

The philanthropic and educational mission of Smithies' paper fostered a perceived need to publicly recognise and acknowledge the various efforts of individuals and groups. Acknowledgements were made in recognition of the efforts individuals working to extend the circulation of the journal, as were the actions of those working for the benefit of others. This recognition often took the form of a small notice in the correspondence columns, but there were also occasions when more extensive and detailed lists were published. In the *British Workman* we find testimonials from working men, like the declaration listing the names, and places of residence of 100 teetotal blacksmiths from across the country who advocated total abstinence from 'spirituous or malt liquors' in the workplace.⁹⁷ The published lists of entrants to writing competitions,⁹⁸ or of contributors to the Gratuitous Circulation Fund provide additional information, as do the lengthy lists of names of contributors to several 'British Workman' relief funds.

⁹⁷ See, 'Testimony of Blacksmiths', *BW* No. 15. March, (1856): 60.

⁹⁸ See 'Prizes for Writing' *BW* No. 75. March, (1861): 268; and No. 8. September, (1861): 323

A close examination of the 'Notice to Readers' columns and correspondence items printed in the paper, along with published statements and responses from the editor, makes it possible to determine approximate circulation figures, and to ascertain some of the strategies employed by Smithies and his supporters in order to secure the mass-circulation eventually attained. Additionally, the same sources of information make it possible to establish an overall pattern of distribution, and build up a picture of the gender and social and economic composition, of readers and subscribers. The *British Workman*, therefore, affords the researcher a valuable insight into the mechanics of establishing a mass-circulation periodical, and provides important information about the readers and subscribers. It also offers an opportunity to examine the contributions made by the periodical to the operations of the philanthropic process during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this chapter I shall examine in detail the methods employed to increase circulation figures, particularly during the first four years, looking at the contributions made by individuals and by informal and more organised networks. This will include groups such as those established in the workplace, and others represented by the emergence of local canvassing committees. Using the published lists of subscribers to several relief funds organised by the editor I shall demonstrate that the *British Workman* was not only the first truly national paper of its kind, but that it also enjoyed a worldwide distribution.

I shall also examine claims made by the editor and various influential supporters, and the assertion made by the Committee of the London City Mission, that the paper was for the working classes "ONLY". I will argue that paper was not only widely circulated, but that it also attracted readers and subscribers from across the social spectrum. Evidence also suggests that modifications to the appearance of the journal were designed to meet the changing needs and expectations of working class and middle class subscribers, and of the wider philanthropic community. Furthermore, it is also evident that some of the methods adopted for extending the distribution the *British Workman* impacted on the overall composition of the targeted readership.

Circulation and Distribution: Reliability of Sources and Figures.

The physical size of the pages of the *British Workman* means that a close examination of the paper on which the periodical was printed, reveals individual watermarks embedded in the paper. In a number of instances it is possible to clearly identify the name of the manufacturer, William MacMurray, and the year in which the paper stock used for particular print runs was produced. These watermarks also offer valuable insights into the way in which Yearly Parts and other volumes of the *British Workman* were compiled and circulated.

The apparent chronological anomalies between numbers and dates printed on copies of the periodical, the date of paper manufacture and the compilation, binding and issue of the volumes, confirms that the manufacture of paper and assembly of the volumes were not always contemporaneous. This is particularly marked in some numbers bound into a copy of a ten year volume for the years 1855-64. The following is a list of some of the individual monthly numbers that have been bound into a ten year volume, (1855-1864), and the range of clearly identifiable watermarks detected in the paper stock.

BW No. 17 May 1856	Watermark 1862
BW No. 18 June 1856	Watermark 1865
BW No. 19. July 1856	Watermark 1867
BW No. 20. August 1856	Watermark 1866
BW No. 23 November 1856	Watermark 1866
BW No. 25. January 1857	Watermark 1865

While these apparent inconsistencies help to identify an ongoing and long term practice of printing and reprinting of numbers of the journal, the practice of reprinting also complicates any attempt to establish reliable circulation figures. Back issues of the *British Workman* were available from September 1855, and it is evident that additional copies were reprinted as required, and that a supply of back numbers was maintained in order to meet a number of different objectives. Subscribers could obtain copies that they had missed, surplus back numbers were made available to organisations and tract distributors at competitive rates when bought in bulk for free distribution and stockpiled copies were used in order to make up bound volumes when requested. In common with other periodicals, the *British Workman* was issued in a number of different formats and reprinted at

regular intervals.⁹⁹ Reprinting, and re-issue in Yearly Parts and other volume formats makes it difficult to establish the actual monthly circulation of the paper. Copies were available through the Gratuitous Circulation Fund at preferential rates, (330 copies per £1, or 0.72d per copy), and back numbers were also sold at preferential rates, (240 assorted numbers for 10s). It is not clear whether or not these were included in the published circulation figures.

The *British Workman* was available on subscription directly from the publishers S. W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster Row, and subsequently from William Tweedie, 337, Strand; or A. W. Bennett, 5. Bishopsgate Street. It could also be ordered through any newsagent or bookseller. A list of the main agents located in major cities in Scotland and Ireland, and in the principal towns in the industrial north and the midlands, indicates that Smithies expected to attract the majority of his subscribers and readers from the large urban centres.¹⁰⁰ Despite the well developed infrastructure in place to facilitate subscriptions to the journal,¹⁰¹ early circulation figures fell well short of the target figure.

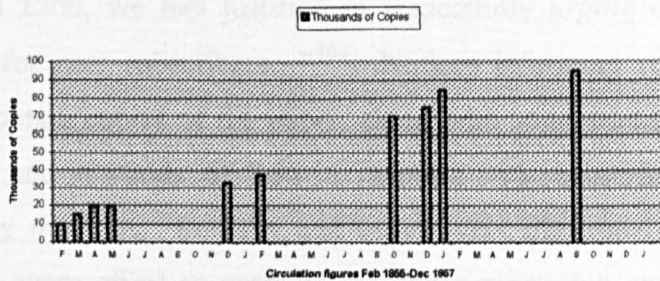


Fig. 18. Bar Graph to show the claimed circulation figures for the *British Workman* during the first three years of publication Feb 1855-Dec 1857.

The first two trial numbers, published in February and March 1855, had declared circulations of 10,000 and 20,000 copies respectively. Sales increased slowly, reaching 33,000 in November, well below the figure of 100,000 copies per month required to cover the costs of publication. By December, 1856, the figure had

⁹⁹ See King, (2000): 122-24. The earliest notice stating that all back-numbers had been reprinted was published in August 1855, suggesting that earlier short print runs had been exhausted. They were repeated on many other occasions including September 1857, January 1959, November 1861, October 1862.

¹⁰⁰ The main agents being, Oliphant and Son, Edinburgh; Gallie, and the Scottish Temperance League, Glasgow; Robertson, Dublin; Bremner, Heywood, Manchester; Dewar, Thomson, Liverpool; White and Pike, Birmingham.

¹⁰¹ By January 1855 ordering and subscription processes had been set up to facilitate ordering *The Band of Hope Review* which was well established by the time that the *BW* was issued.

reached 75,000 copies per month, climbing to 84,000 in January 1857 and reaching 95,000 by September of the same year, (Fig. 18). Extracts from letters thanking Smithies for copies of his periodical, and reprints of comments printed in the provincial press, suggest that advance copies were issued to various parties.¹⁰² It would appear from the evidence of poor early sales that large organisations such as the Bands of Hope and the Sunday-school Movement did not promote or circulate the paper to any great extent. It is possible that, as Mountjoy noted, the *British Workman* struggled, in part, because of a lack of support from an established, nationally networked society or organisation. Smithies had, perhaps, expected the same individuals and institutions that had supported *The Band of Hope Review* to play a prominent role in rapidly build an extensive subscriber base for the *British Workman*.¹⁰³

Having sustained heavy financial losses on the first two 'trial' numbers, Smithies had to embark on a vigorous and sustained campaign to increase circulation. At the end of the second year he declared, "The loss upon the twenty-four numbers having exceeded £700, we feel justified in respectfully *urging* our readers to canvas at once for new subscribers..."¹⁰⁴ Notices informing readers how to subscribe to or obtain copies of the paper, along with suggestions as to how to stimulate sales, and methods of how to acquire new subscribers, appeared regularly in early numbers. Lengthy and expensively illustrated notices urged readers to make every effort to promote the paper prompting one supporter to pose the question 'Is the British Workman to Live?'

IS THE "BRITISH WORKMAN" TO LIVE?

OUR attention has been drawn to a long and valuable notice of our paper in the English Presbyterian Messenger, from which the following is an extract.

WE know of no broadsheet so well calculated to make its way amongst the Working Classes, as the *British Workman*, and *Friend of the Sons of Toil*; nor any from which so much positive good may be effected. Our greatest fear is, that it may prove too good to live long enough. It will be a disgrace to the Christians of England, and especially to Christian employers, if such a publication be allowed to die. But such a quantity of excellent paper, letterpress, and beautiful—and we may add, expensive—

¹⁰² See Shaftesbury letter, *BW* No. 2. March, (1855): 7, and comments extracted from *the Leeds Mercury*, *Durham Chronicle*, *Wakefield Journal*, and others, *BW* No. 3. April, (1855): 10.

¹⁰³ Mountjoy, (1985): 48.

¹⁰⁴ *BW* No 24. December, (1856): 96.

illustrations, cannot be produced without a very extensive circulation—little short of 100,000 copies.

We beg to thank the esteemed editor for thus drawing attention to the importance of aiding in extending our circulation. At present, we have not reached 20,000 monthly, and consequently every No. is issued at a heavy loss, and we have no intention of continuing the paper, unless there is probability of shortly reaching the *self-supporting point*.

We believe, however, that by the exertions of those friends to whom copies have been forwarded, this point *will* be attained. Cheering letters from all parts have reached us, but none more encouraging than one from a BOOKSELLER in the manufacturing districts, who, having taken deep interest in the paper, (naming it to his customers—placing copies in his windows—enclosing circulars in his parcels, &c., &c.) now states, "I already sell 500 copies monthly."

If the BOOKSELLERS will kindly lend their helping hand there is no doubt but that the "British Workman" *will* live.¹⁰⁵



Fig 19.

Influential supporters like the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed their concern for the future of the paper, fearful that "the projector will be obliged to discontinue before it has reached the circulation which it ought to obtain", on account of it being "got up in a style so far superior to its price."¹⁰⁶ The concern expressed by the Archbishop, and the editor and proprietors of the *English Presbyterian Messenger* lent weight to, if not confirmed, the significance of the *British Workman* to the religious community. Although circulation figures were discouraging, and Smithies declared that he had 'no intention of continuing the paper' unless circulation quickly reached 'the self-sustaining' point,¹⁰⁷ the continued backing of wealthy individuals like Samuel Gurney, and letters of support and requests for subscriptions from members of the aristocracy, combined with Smithies' a sense of duty and belief that God's will was being done, determined that the *British Workman* continued to be published despite significant

¹⁰⁵ *British Workman* No. 4 May (1855): 14. The illustration accompanying the notice is from a reworked block originally used to advertise the same strategy for advertising *The Band of Hope Review*. This engraving was also used to illustrate 'Hints from Helpers, No. 3.' *BW* No 39, March (1858): 156.

¹⁰⁶ *BW* No. 5. June, (1855): 20.

¹⁰⁷ *BW* No. 4. May, (1855): 14.

financial losses. It was crucial, therefore, that a large and secure subscriber base was established as soon as possible. The illustration encouraging booksellers to display copies in their windows, (Fig. 19), was one of the earliest examples of what were to become the 'Twenty-eight Suggestions for increasing the Circulation of the "British Workman"'.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, it was evident that during the first two or three years, the main strategy for increasing circulation was to continue to encourage postal subscriptions.

During the first twelve months ten notices were printed in the journal advertising the ways in which monthly copies could be obtained by post. Seven of the notices were illustrated. During the same period there was just one notice requesting booksellers to display copies of the *British Workman* in their windows. The advice on how readers might take out postal subscriptions, thereby "availing themselves of the privileges conferred by the new post office regulations",¹⁰⁹ were accompanied by a table of costs. Initially, subscribers only had one option, to order 18 copies for 18d, post free. From June 1855 onwards a range of less expensive options became available giving a choice of a minimum of 8 copies for 8d; 16 copies for 16d; 24 for 24d; and so on. Back numbers could be obtained in assorted packets and, by September, 1855, as few as 4 copies could be ordered for 4d., all post free. On the evidence of the rapid modifications to ordering procedures, and the reduction in the minimum number that might be ordered at any one time, one has to conclude that the purpose was to stimulate subscriptions from the less well off. The regularity with which advertisements for postal subscriptions were printed, and the succession of downward adjustments to the minimum acceptable order, underlined the importance of the postal subscription as a means of increasing circulation. Displaying copies in a window was a valuable way of attracting the attention of casual purchasers who may, or may not, take out a regular subscription. Having copies paid for in advance for delivery directly to the subscriber at home served two important functions. The editor could assess regular monthly circulations more accurately, adjusting orders from the printer accordingly, and copies of the paper were delivered to the customer's home. The significance of the home delivery, where the paper could

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix K.

¹⁰⁹ *BW* No. 6. July, (1855): 24.

have a beneficial effect on the whole family, is clearly evidenced in a series of engravings accompanying the notices. (Figs 20 - 23). The original vignette, designed by Henry Anelay, was originally used for the same purpose in *The Band of Hope Review* but, in the *British Workman* the image becomes increasingly more sophisticated.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.

Figs. 20–23. Showing Henry Anelay’s development of the original vignette of the delivery of the ‘British Workman’ by post.¹¹⁰

There were a number of modifications and enhancements made to what was a comparatively simple vignette image of a postman portrayed with his foot on a doorstep, delivering a packet of papers. Over a comparatively short period of time the vignette was transformed into a finely detailed illustration, (Figs. 20-22). In the second and third versions the motif of a house is added. This becomes more clearly defined and detailed in subsequent versions in which the depiction of, and, consequently the significance of, the act of delivering the papers, is given added weight by the additional contextualisation. The final images, (Figs. 22 & 23) focus attention not only on the postman and the house, but also on the recipient of the package, and on papers themselves, both motifs being rendered in detail. The papers in the packet can be more readily read to represent copies of the *British Workman* being handed over to a male, a family-man, accompanied by his children.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ See *British Workman* No 2 (1855): 7. No 9. (1855): 36; No 36. (1857): 144; & No 44. (1858): 176, respectively.

¹¹¹ Although periodicals subscribed to, and paid for, do not constitute a gift in the given sense of the word, there are echoes, in Anelay’s depiction of the postman handing over copies of a periodical to a father, of the concept of the ‘gift’ discussed in Chapter Two, and Anelay’s illustration on the front of *BW* No. 59. Fig 10. in which Queen Victoria is shown presenting a copy of the Bible to the Emissary of an African Prince. The authority figure, in the engraving depicting the delivery of papers, being the postman who is, in turn a representative of the crown.

As well as taking out subscriptions for themselves, or on behalf of others, individuals were encouraged to actively seek out new subscribers. This could involve hawking copies around their respective communities, or introducing the paper to their colleagues at work. The interest and encouragement expressed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Cambridge, Shaftesbury, Lord Panmure, and other Establishment figures, may well have prompted other influential figures to support the paper. However, evidence suggests that Smithies was particularly moved by the efforts of the working classes themselves.

He confessed to being cheered by letters such as the one from the Birmingham workman who, after a hard day at work, still found time to, "... introduce and recommend the *British Workman* to his fellow Sons of Toil...".¹¹² The efforts of foremen canvassing for new subscribers in their workshops,¹¹³ or the ladies who painstakingly folded and stitched copies of the paper into tract covers so that they could be more readily distributed, were all acknowledged in the journal. As noted above, it was the disinterested and voluntary labour of working men which, to a large extent, determined that Smithies should persevere despite heavy financial losses.

Smithies was constantly on the look-out for ideas of how circulation figures might be increased and encouraged existing readers and subscribers to write in with their ideas. He published many of the suggestions sent in by readers in the correspondence columns of his journal, a number of which were embellished with a small engraving. As well as urging booksellers to display copies of the journal in their windows, (Fig. 19), other illustrated notices included an account of an old lady in the West Riding, of between seventy and eighty years of age, 'mounting the stairs of the high tenements to sell numbers' in the courts and alleys.¹¹⁴ A medical gentleman recommended providing copies for patients in hospital wards at a time when, 'through the chastening influence of sickness, their minds are best prepared to appreciate the lessons'.¹¹⁵ Others advocated presenting copies to

¹¹² *BW* No.5. June, (1855): 12.

¹¹³ *BW* No.10. November, (1855): 40.

¹¹⁴ *BW* No. 33. September, (1857): 132.

¹¹⁵ 'Hints from Helpers, No. 1'. *BW* No. 37. January, (1858): 148.

lodging house keepers,¹¹⁶ selling copies at steam-boat terminals,¹¹⁷ and encouraging school children to take copies home to their parents.¹¹⁸ (See Figs. 24-27). Helping promote the *British Workman* partially fulfilled the expectations of those advocates of the principles of self-help while, at the same time, created opportunities for ‘industrious boys’ and ‘active’ lads hoping to become “little self-supporting trader[s]”.¹¹⁹



Fig. 24.



Fig. 25.



Fig. 26.



Fig. 27.

Despite the numerous ideas proposed by readers there was, in effect, a limited number of ways in which individuals could quickly get circulation above 100,000 copies per month. It was never quite as simple as persuading each existing subscriber to enlist four others, or for “the good example of our Derbyshire Correspondent [to] be followed by other [sic] 2,000 working-men”.¹²⁰ An analysis of notices printed during the first five years of publication reveals that some of the more substantial contributions were made by wealthy individuals from the middle classes. It is also evident that the organised efforts of established agencies such as the town and city missions, or the newly formed committees of working men that employed more systematic methods, played an important part. The items in the correspondence columns also show that there was a range of activity involving groups and individuals drawn from all classes and social backgrounds, bound together by a common philanthropic endeavour.

While any information provided through the offices of the editor has to be considered potentially biased, obviously selective, and wholly incomplete, there

¹¹⁶ Hints from Helpers, No. 4. *BW* No. 40. April, (1858): 160.

¹¹⁷ Hints from Helpers, No. 6. *BW* No. 42. June, (1858): 167.

¹¹⁸ ‘To Schoolmasters’, *BW* No.,41. May, (1858): 163. The importance placed on the encouragement of individual effort is emphasised by the fact that thirty-five illustrated hints and suggestions were published in the first forty-eight numbers of the paper.

¹¹⁹ *BW* No. 42. June, (1858): 167.

¹²⁰ *BW* No. 12. December, (1855): 48.

Distributors and Circulation Figures	No. of Copies	BW Reference
Grocer, Congleton	24	No 3. p. 11
Bookseller, Manufacturing District	500	No 4. p. 14
Gentleman, Northern Counties	1000	No 6. p. 24
Gratuitous Circulation Fund *	c.1840	No 9. p. 36
Gratuitous Circulation Fund *	480	No 10. p. 40
Gratuitous Circulation Fund *	c. 520	No 11. p. 44
Gratuitous Circulation Fund *	5,000	No 11. p. 44
A Working Man	30	No 12. p. 48
London City Mission	3000	No 12. p. 60
Town Mission, Hitchin	600	No 20. p. 80
Rev. A. C.	130	No 20. p. 80
Wm. Spriggs & Mr. J. Banks, Winchester	700	No 21. p. 82
Swan Iron Works	150	No 21. p. 82
To Workmen at G B Thorneycroft & Co.	-	No 22. p. 86
Ladies, Canvassing Cottagers, Middx	-	No 26. p. 104
Mr. A Jackson, Dunfirmline Foundry	80	No 27. p. 108
Samuel Gurney, M.P. (119 Volumes)	1428 (equ.)	No 30. p. 120
Old Lady, West Riding	300	No 33. p. 132
To Workers, Britannia Iron Works, Bedford	-	No 33. p. 132
Circulation Committee, Leeds	500	No 36. p. 144
Gentleman, MD, Leicester	6	No 37. p. 148
Lady, Norfolk	c. 1650	No 38. p. 150
Four Gentlemen, (for London City Missions)	200,000	No 38. p. 152
Dorsetshire, Town Missionary	-	No 39. p. 156
Gentleman, provinces	100	No 39. p. 156
Messrs. Hands & Walsh, Camelford	170	No 39. p. 156
To Apprentices and Men, Liverpool Manufactory	-	No 40. p. 159
Correspondent, Liverpool	8	No 40. p. 160
Gentleman, Bromyard To Agricultural Workers	200	No 41. p. 163
A Lady, to Shipyard Workers, Isle of Wight	200	No 41. p. 163
Bookseller, Huddersfield	1400	No 43. p. 171
Gentleman, (20 Volumes)	240 (equ.)	No 45. p. 179
Friend, Dumfries	30	No 46. p. 186
Family, Berkshire	689	No 46. p. 186
District Canvassing Committee, Burslem	1000	No 49. p. 196
Workmen, Messrs. Abbots, Newcastle -u- Tyne	300	No 51. p. 203
To Manchester Machinists	36	No 52. p. 208
Ladies Committee, Durham	900	No 53. p.211
Poor Workingman, Provinces	89	No 55. p. 219
A Friend, Large Manufactory	800	No 58. p. 231
Manchester Manufacturer	230	No 58. p. 231

Table 19. To Show *British Workman*: Distributors, and Circulation Figures (February 1855 – December 1859 inc.)

*-Estimated number of copies purchased from contributions made to the Gratuitous Circulation Fund by a number of named individuals, at the rate of 6s. per 100 copies, as indicated in *British Workman*, No 9. October, 1855: 36.

Equ.-This figure represents the equivalent number of single copies corresponding to the donations of a number (in brackets) of bound Yearly Parts.

are, nevertheless, some useful indicators in Table 19, that permit certain observations pertaining to the various means employed to extend the circulation of the periodical. This information, culled from the correspondence columns, also gives some indication of the range of social classes to which subscribers, (and distributors), belonged during this early period.

Firstly, it is clear that persons associated with the periodical, both anonymous and identifiable, did not belong exclusively to one gender, or one class of society. Neither can it be said that they were predominantly working-class or middle-class. While it is not possible to categorically identify all of the persons listed in Table 19, the inclusion of a Member of Parliament, a doctor, an army captain and businessmen and employers, as well as 'ladies', 'gentlemen' and members of the clergy, reveals that supporters were drawn from a variety of social backgrounds. It is also evident that a combination of enthusiastic individual efforts, and organised collective endeavour, was required in order to secure the eventual success of the periodical. The Gratuitous Circulation Fund, for example, which organised the purchase of thousands of copies for free distribution to soldiers in the Crimea and for other worthy causes, had on its committee, the Chaplain of Pentonville Prison and a prominent civil servant. The London City Mission was a Society controlled by a committee made up of senior members of the Church, prominent Members of Parliament and representatives from the landed gentry.¹²¹ At the other end of the scale there were the grocers, booksellers, provincial vicars, foundry owners, ladies, friends, a working man, and an old lady, who cannot be reliably identified as belonging to the middle, (or the working), classes. Neither is it possible to determine that these were members of the working-class. Approximately 20% of the items of correspondence concerned with circulating the paper originated in the workplace, and it would appear that a number of employers responded to Smithies' request that 'masters' should present copies to their workmen.

¹²¹ The principal officers of the Gratuitous Circulation Fund were, the Rev. Joseph Kingsmill, M.A. Chaplain at Pentonville Prison; Hugh Owen Esq., (later Sir Hugh Owen), senior civil servant, prominent Welsh Nonconformist and founder of the Welsh Metropolitan Total Abstinence Society, the Rev. William Tyler, and T. B. Smithies. The Quaker Jacob Post, Esq., was treasurer, and Messrs. Barclay, Bevan, Tritton and Co., were bankers. The credentials of the Committee were, therefore, exemplary, serving to reassure readers and potential contributors to the fund of the integrity of, the fund, the paper, the associates, and, by implication, the sincerity of their objectives

Women were involved in a number of activities operating in an individual capacity within their local communities, like the old lady in West Yorkshire, the lady in Norfolk, or the lady from the Isle of Wight, or as part of committees and associations. One of the most successful of the men's groups, the Burslem Distribution and Canvassing Committee, signed up 1,000 new subscribers by canvassing from door to door. The number of copies circulated by groups, rather than individuals, with the exception of the 1428 copies, (119 volumes) purchased by Samuel Gurney for distribution in railway station waiting rooms, and the 1400 regular subscribers obtained by a Huddersfield bookseller exceeds that achieved by individuals. The Gratuitous Circulation Fund, the London City Mission, the Winchester and Hitchin Town Missions, the Durham Ladies Committee and the Burslem District Canvassing Committee all made significant contributions. I shall discuss the significance of the grant of 200,000 copies to the LCM by 'four friends' in greater detail later.

Considered in isolation the information given in Table 19 does not constitute a sufficiently comprehensive body of statistical evidence from which one might attempt to quantify, with any degree of certainty, the respective importance of middle-class and working-class support for the *British Workman*. The raw figures do give some indication of the scale of the contributions made by middle-class and working-class supporters, and demonstrate that middle-class individuals were directly involved in the process of securing increased circulations for the journal. The middle classes were instrumental in soliciting the participation of many working class subscribers, canvassers, organisers of committees. The references to subscribers at the Swan Iron Works, to the employees of Messrs. Hands and Walsh, and the 'Apprentices and Men at a Liverpool Manufactory', indicate that, when encouraged, members of the working classes took out subscriptions in their own right. What also emerges is evidence of a range of strategies some of which required varying degrees of co-operative and collaborative effort between the classes. However, evidence also suggests that organisations such as the London City Mission became increasingly involved in distributing the *British Workman* and that collective, rather than individual, efforts were more regularly promoted in later editions of the journal.

From Individual Enthusiasm to Methodical and Organised Effort.

In completing the third year of our labours, we have to thank our numerous friends for their hearty and persevering help. It is right, however, that we have not had the pleasure of seeing a single month's receipts from the sale of the publication, equal to the expenditure for engravings, paper, printing, advertising, postage &c. The loss incurred has now reached a considerable amount. We name this fact for the purpose of urging our friends to continue their efforts for still further increasing the circulation. We are gratified to find that in many places small "Working Committees" are being formed for the purpose of canvassing from house to house for new subscribers.¹²²

Smithies was acutely aware of the time and effort expended by his readers in trying to bring circulation figures up to the self-sustaining point of 100,000 copies per month. For a temperance paper to have attained a circulation of 95,000 copies per month by September, 1857, was in itself a remarkable achievement.¹²³ The various efforts made by thousands of supporters were regularly applauded in the 'Notices to Correspondents' or 'To Our Readers' items, partly to acknowledge the work being done, and as a rallying call for sustained and even greater efforts to make the *British Workman* known in every house and village..

During the first five years of publication, 1855-59, there were seventy-seven notices printed in *The British Workman* referring to various ways in which the circulation of the paper might be extended. An analysis of the notices reveals that there were five key strategies employed. Copies could be obtained by personal subscription, through a bookseller or newsagent, arranged by a canvassing committee, a district visitor, or supplied through the gratuitous circulation fund. During the first four years there was an emphasis on individual effort. Copies were ordered on subscription, employers introduced copies to their workmen, and middle class ladies and gentlemen distributed copies in their local area. The success of the Burslem District Canvassing Committee towards the end of the fourth year, prompted a rash of notices encouraging others to follow the example set by this particular group of working men. The following item from 'Notices to Correspondents', is not untypical.

¹²² *BW* No. 36. December, (1857): 144.

¹²³ *BW* No. 33. September, (1857): 132.

HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CANVASSING. -We could fill a volume with gratifying letters received from our numerous friends who are extending our circulation by canvassing for subscribers. We subjoin a few extracts:—

"I canvassed fifty-three houses,' and obtained sixty-one subscribers to the ' British Workman,' besides orders for a 7s. 6d. volume, and six yearly parts. Another friend of mine, who canvassed sixty houses, obtained sixty subscribers, and orders for several yearly parts."—G. H.

"I received your letter and parcel, and at once distributed the canvassing-bills. To-day I called for them, and took down the names of subscribers, when I found I had obtained orders for 105 copies."—J. C., Inverary.

"As a general rule, I find your paper most joyfully received; and many have thanked me most heartily for bringing it before their notice. I have had much encouragement in my canvassing efforts, having obtained 600 subscribers, amongst whom are twenty publicans!"—G. P., Abergavenny.

A supply of the House-to-House Canvassing Bill, and of the "28 Suggestions for extending the circulation of the 'British Workman,'" may be had, post free, on application to the Editor, No. 9, Paternoster Row, London. E.G.*¹²⁴

Anyone interested in establishing a canvassing committee was encouraged to contact the editor who would then arrange for such persons to be furnished with a list of suggestions offering advice on how to set up such a committee. They would also be provided with a supply of printed handbills for distribution, a strategy that was not uncommon among other periodical publishers, although Smithies placed the onus upon individual readers or committees to solicit the appropriate materials from the editor or publishers.¹²⁵ It was also suggested that existing agencies involved in direct contact with the working classes, the District Visitors, City Missionaries, Scripture Readers and Tract Distributors,¹²⁶ could also help support and advise fledgling canvassing committees. As the number of canvassing committees grew, and circulation increased, Smithies made available canvassing cards that might be left with those families visited, (with spaces for 12, 24, 50 or 100 names), along with illustrated handbills.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ *BW* No. 6. July, (1860): 266.

¹⁸ Unlike Cassell who had handbills stitched into copies of the *Working Man's Friend* thereby placing copies, along with the relevant request for distribution, directly into the hands of his subscribers, for ease. See footnote, *Working Man's Friend* Vol. 1 No. 10. 9th March (1850): 291.

¹²⁶ See *BW* No 49. January, (1859): 196. Rather optimistically Smithies stated that if hundred canvassing committees could achieve the same levels of subscriptions as had the one set up at Burslem, then a further one hundred thousand copies would be added to the list of subscribers within the space of a month.

¹²⁷ See, for example, *BW* No 84. December, (1861): 335

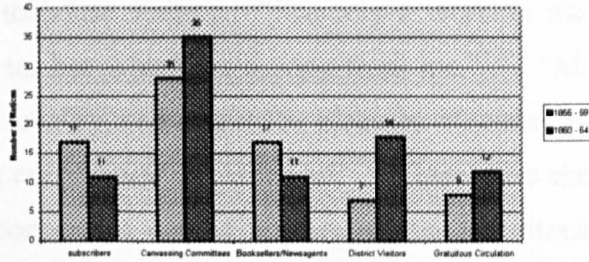


Fig. 28. Bar Graph to show the comparative number of notices regarding means of circulating the *British Workman*, 1855-59 and 1860-1864.

An examination of the subject matter of seventy-seven notices published between 1855-59, (Fig. 28.), gives some indication of the importance of collective, rather than individual, effort in extending circulations. Ordering by subscription and ordering through booksellers each accounted for 17 of the notices, (22% each or, combined, 44% of the total). Notices appealing to district visitors, or advertising the work of the gratuitous circulation fund numbered 8, (10.3%), and 7, (9%), respectively. However, items promoting the potential of canvassing committees numbered 28, and accounted for 36.3% of the total. The encouragement of canvassing committees composed predominantly of working class subscribers generated by far the greatest amount of attention from Smithies. In one such notice in December 1859 he referred to their efforts, and those of other individuals, announcing “We have much pleasure in being able to say that Canvassing Committees as well as individual canvassers for subscribers... are on the increase... They will be gratified to learn that through their efforts a very large addition has been made to our list of readers, so that we close the year with a circulation of not less than 200,000.”¹²⁸

During the following five year period, (1860-64), with circulation figures reaching in excess of 250,000 copies per month, eighty-seven additional notices urging greater efforts to increase circulation, were printed. Canvassing committees, with 35 notices, (40%), were once again afforded the most attention,

¹²⁸ *BW* No. 60. December, (1859): 238. Unlike the notices reporting losses and modest increases in circulations, often prominently posted on either the front or back page of the paper, the announcement that a circulation of 200,000 had been achieved was buried in a lengthy notice to readers on an inside page. There was never an acknowledgement of the 100,000 milestone being reached.

with extracts from letters reporting the ease with which subscribers might be obtained by house to house visiting. “Scarcely a working man do I show the ‘British Workman’ to, but who buys a copy from me.”¹²⁹ “Mrs H. and myself have canvassed our locality, and I have the pleasure of stating that we have got a subscriber at almost *every house* we called at!”¹³⁰ There were also increases in the number of notices concerning district visitors and the gratuitous circulation fund while those concerning subscribers and booksellers declined. By the end of 1864 circulation was no longer a major worry for Smithies although he continued to report on the progress of various individuals and groups reminding readers that there were still “thousands of working-men in the United Kingdom to whom the publication is yet unknown”.¹³¹

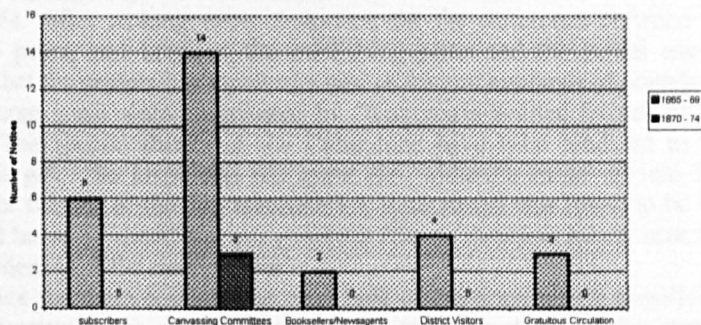


Fig., 29. Bar Graph To show the comparative number of notices regarding the different agencies promoting the circulation of the *British Workman*, 1865-69 and 1870-1874.

Canvassing Committees continued to be the subject of the greatest number of notices, (Fig. 29.), although during the period 1865-69, the number had fallen to twenty-nine. Over the course of the following five years (1870-74) there were just three items, all of which referred to canvassing committees. The information presented in Figs. 29 & 29, show evidence of a relative decline of appeals to individuals as potential new subscribers in favour of those promoting the development of organised and systematic effort. The figures, when considered alongside comments published in the paper, suggest that door to door canvassing, either by individuals or as organised by canvassing committees, became the preferred method of promoting the paper. The personal contact between

¹²⁹ *BW* No. 70. October, (1860): 278.

¹³⁰ *BW* No. 71. November, (1860): 282.

¹³¹ *BW* No. 85. January, (1862): 338.

canvassers and potential subscribers and readers, in the home or the workplace, was seen as a crucial part of the *British Workman* mission. That this was so was further emphasised in a notice printed in *The London City Mission Magazine* in reference to the grant of 200,000 copies of the *British Workman* for October 1857.

"THE BRITISH WORKMAN."

Among the presents of tracts received during the past month, one was so large and valuable that we feel bound to notice it separately in the pages of our Magazine. It consisted of a copy of the October number of the serial with the above title, for every family visited by the missionaries, the number having been carefully prepared and printed with a special reference to its adaptation to the use of the Society.

Our readers will probably not realise, on first perusing such a statement, the value of the present. We will therefore explain to them that "The British Workman," is a large quarto sheet containing a considerable amount of letterpress, and illustrated with cuts of a superior order. It is published by Messrs. Partridge and Co., 34, Paternoster-row, at a Penny, and is particularly cheap at such a price. The number of copies which had to be supplied, in order that one might be presented to every family visited by the missionaries, was 200,000. That number of pence will be found to be 16,666 shillings, or 833l. 6s. After making every deduction for the difference between a retail and wholesale price, and between the publishing price and the actual cost, it will be manifest that the present has involved a cost of several hundreds of pounds. The funds for this large grant were contributed by "four warm-hearted friends of the working classes." The special thanks of the Committee have been tendered to them for so valuable a gift. So large was the grant that, although made up into 340 separate parcels, for the use of the 340 missionaries, *each* parcel was found to be too heavy to be carried home by them, and our generous friends therefore kindly sent them all free to the residences of the missionaries.

But it is not the mere cost nor the mere bulk of the grant which constitutes its value. The publication is one peculiarly acceptable to the working classes, and extensively read by them, where the ordinary tracts which are distributed are neglected. Its admirable illustrations render it popular. It has also the merit, so urgently required by us in tracts, of being written especially for the working classes, and for them ONLY. In every column the reader at once perceives that it is a working man's publication. Its religious bearing is decisive and without exception. And, while it does not lose sight of the fundamental truths of the Gospel, it especially strives to grapple with the sins of the class to whom it is addressed, such as drunkenness, swearing, the violation of the Sabbath, neglect of public worship, &c. The universal testimony of our missionaries is to the effect of the very great want of such publications among the large and important class whom they visit, and the general acceptableness of this publication. Apart from the value of the truths in the number now presented, we feel assured that the presentation of a copy of it by the missionaries as a gift will obtain for them an admission into families from which they have been hitherto excluded. We earnestly trust that a rich blessing from on high may rest on the distribution, which will probably be read by not fewer than a million persons, for 200,000 families will make nearly that immense number of individuals.¹³²

The grant of a copy of the *British Workman* for missionaries to distribute to every family that they visited was not only a stimulus to wider circulation and increased subscriptions, it was also an official acknowledgement of the usefulness of the paper to the philanthropic work conducted by the London City Mission.

¹³² *The London City Mission Magazine*, 2 November, (1857): 312.

Furthermore, its acceptance by the committee was formal confirmation of what was to become an enduring partnership between T. B. Smithies and a large, pan-denominational philanthropic organisation. The observation that the *British Workman* was, “peculiarly acceptable to the working classes, and extensively read by them, where the ordinary tracts which are distributed are neglected”, confirmed, as argued in Chapter One, that the “ordinary tracts” issued by organisations like the RTS were not as effective as “silent messengers” as some distributors claimed.¹³³ This is further reinforced in the admission that the *British Workman* supplied a great need, “so urgently required by us in tracts, of being written especially for the working classes, and for them ONLY”.

The involvement of the LCM prompted additional large grants to the Society and the systematic visitation of poor families, by missionaries, ensured that the journal was placed directly into homes where it was felt it would be “acceptable” and most useful.¹³⁴ Although the largest, the grant of 1857 was not the only occasion on which large numbers of the paper were supplied to the LCM. Along with other large free grants of the paper, £120 was donated in 1859 by “one gentleman” specifically for its purchase.¹³⁵ Further funds totalling £240 were allocated to purchase copies, (approximately 72,000), in 1860, and, in 1863, 100,000 copies of the paper were granted, along with the same number of copies of *The Band of Hope Review*.

However, the significance of postal subscriptions should not be underestimated particularly in view of the fact that the main purpose of house to house canvassing was to obtain new subscribers.

¹³³ Tract distribution was often indiscriminate, for example, although the RTS *Monthly Messenger* had a circulation of 60,000 monthly, it was not just issued to the working classes. “We do not confine ourselves to the poor man’s cottage the tract is left at every house, and is generally well received by all classes”. *Annual Report*, London City Mission, 1848: 37.

¹³⁴ Ellen Ranyard’s Bible women, often working under the guidance of the LCM, requested grants of the *British Workman* so that they, too, might distribute copies to families beyond the influence of male missionaries.

¹³⁵ *London City Mission Magazine* June, (1859): 159.

Subscription and Postal Facilities.

Year by year the English, French, and American governments have gradually been drawing nearer and nearer to this great boon, and although they have not yet consented to carry a LETTER across the seas for a penny, yet they have recently adopted a most glorious postal convention whereby we can send a *registered* PAPER or periodical, to almost every part of the world for a penny. Last month we forwarded upwards of two thousand copies of the *British Workman* and the *Band of Hope Review* to two thousand English residents in Australia, India, Algeria, Sardinia, Canada, France, Switzerland, the United States, China &c., for the postage of which we had only to fix to each packet a PENNY stamp! ¹³⁶

Changes to postal regulations, (as outlined to Smithies in a letter from J. Tilley, assistant secretary to the General Post Office, dated 17th March, 1855), meant that more preferential arrangements could be put in place allowing fewer copies to be ordered at any one time.¹³⁷ Notices informed readers that single copies of the *British Workman* could be sent to various destinations in Europe, and to the United States for one penny, but, perhaps more importantly, ‘four or five’ copies of the periodical, (not exceeding 4oz.in weight), could be sent “to any part of the three kingdoms for a penny stamp.”¹³⁸ For Smithies this meant that, “The Magazine, the good Tract, the Pamphlet, or even the small book, after being well read at home, may now be sent accompanied by a Parent’s prayers...” The good tract no doubt included the *British Workman*, and posting unwanted copies to sons and daughters in service at home or abroad extended the useful life of the paper and introduced it to another potential subscriber.¹³⁹ Additionally, potential individual subscribers were encouraged to ‘club together’ in order to take advantage of the free postal option for packets of the periodical.

The General Post Office performed a fundamentally important role in the distribution of the *British Workman*, not just throughout the United Kingdom, but also throughout the British Empire and Dominions, and beyond. As well as the Post Office, one also has to consider the strategic role of the railways, and the Merchant Fleet whose Packets were responsible for carrying items of mail to foreign shores. Understandably Smithies took full advantage of the facilities that were offered by the GPO and he responded quickly to any beneficial revisions

¹³⁶ *BW* No. 15. March, (1856): 58.

¹³⁷ *BW* No. 4. May, (1855): 4.

¹³⁸ *BW* No. 5. June, (1855): 20

¹³⁹ *BW* No. 6. July, (1855): 22

that were made to the postal services, often praising the foresight of Rowland Hill, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the correspondence section of his periodical. Legislation introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Lords of the Treasury at the behest of Rowland Hill meant that, [in January 1855), 4oz of printed matter could be sent to any part of the United Kingdom for 1d.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, as soon as the facility became available the *British Workman* was registered at the General Post Office for “transmission abroad” so that single copies of the paper could be sent overseas to “almost any British colony” for the cost of a one penny postage stamp, as long as it was posted within fifteen days of publication.¹⁴¹ Smithies regularly published information about postal costs and handling charges along with the illustrated notices advertising subscription rates and procedures, (Figs 20-23), in order to encourage existing readers to purchase extra packets, (of 18 copies), and forward them to their friends.

One other important factor was the introduction, in 1854, of ‘innovative’ post boxes¹⁴² which were rapidly located at convenient points within communities large and small, making it easier post letters. This made the whole process of establishing a subscription much easier and was particularly beneficial to people living some distance from a bookseller or newsagent. By 1859 the post box had become a common feature in communities throughout the country and significant increases in circulation figures suggest that the new postal facilities may have contributed to additional subscriptions to the *British Workman*. The journal had not reached a circulation in excess of 100,000 copies per month by February 1858, and yet Smithies announced a circulation in excess of 200,000 copies in the edition for December, 1859. Exactly what extent development in the postal and transport services contributed to the increase in circulation figures is uncertain. The fact that post boxes had become widely established by 1859, at around the

¹⁴⁰ *BW* No. 6. July, (1855): 22.

¹⁴¹ *BW* No. 9. October (1855): 36. By March 1856, Smithies was proud to announce that as a result of a ‘most glorious postal convention’ some two thousand copies of the *British Workman* and the *Band of Hope Review* had been forwarded to two thousand English residents in places as far away as Australia, the United States and China, each at the cost of just one penny. *BW* No.15. March, (1856): 58.

¹⁴² Although there is some debate as to the exact date of introduction Anthony Trollope is credited with introducing the post box in 1853, while the postal museum at Bath asserts that a Trollope style post box was first introduced in 1854.

same time that house to house visiting was being promoted, was timely if nothing else.

Geographical Distribution: The First Global Temperance Paper.

Although the early editions of the *British Workman* were not circulated in large numbers, notices in several provincial papers indicate that the journal enjoyed a wide geographical distribution. Critical reviews in the local press in Leeds, Manchester, Wakefield, Durham and Glasgow demonstrate that the paper was read in several of the manufacturing districts of the industrial North and in Scotland, while similar notices in the *Bridgewater Times*, (sic), the *North Devon Journal*, and the *Wilts Standard* also suggest that the paper was well known in more rural constituencies as well.¹⁴³ Reader's queries printed in the 'Notices to Correspondents' columns similarly located the paper in places as diverse as Congleton, Stroud, Wolverhampton, Swansea and Bradford. Correspondence received from puddlers and blacksmiths, concerning the merits of water drinking in the workplace, confirmed that by March 1856 Smithies' temperance message had permeated into workplaces throughout England and Scotland.¹⁴⁴

However, Smithies' decision to carry no commercial advertising on the grounds that, "he could not satisfy himself as to the extent of responsibility involved in their admission",¹⁴⁵ and his policy of keeping notices to readers and correspondents as brief as possible in order to free up valuable space, limits the usefulness of these particular sources of information. What does emerge, however, is that the very earliest editions of the paper were being read in both rural and urban communities across the United Kingdom, even though evidence indicates that the journal was primarily conceived as an urban publication. The

¹⁴³ See *BW*, No.3 April, (1855): 10.

¹⁴⁴ *BW* No. 15. March 1856: 60. The list provides a clear indication that the paper was circulating among skilled working men in many of the manufacturing districts of the North-west, Yorkshire, and Scotland in addition to some from places in more rural locations such as Broxbourn, Herts; Leiston, Suffolk; Netherwhitton, Northumberland; Haddington, Lincs; and Norwich. See Appendix J.

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Reeve, *The Welcome*, No. 388. July, 1883: 602.

lack of information in correspondence and advertising items was more than adequately compensated for by the inclusion of comprehensive lists of subscribers to various relief funds.

There were three major appeals to readers requesting funds for the relief of distress. The first, The Lancashire Distress Fund, (September 1862-September 1863), was in response to the 'Cotton Famine' precipitated by the Civil War in America, when thousands of textile workers were laid off work. The second, the 'British Workman' Lifeboat Fund, (March 1869-September 1871), was an appeal for funds to finance a much needed lifeboat. The third requested donations in aid of French peasants affected the ravages of the Franco-Prussian War, (December 1870-September 1871). During the course of these appeals thousands of contributions were received from readers throughout the United Kingdom and the Colonies.¹⁴⁶ Each contribution was recorded in the journal or, in the case of the French Fund, in supplements specially produced for the purpose.¹⁴⁷ Nine hundred and thirty-seven subscriptions to the Lifeboat Fund, and one thousand one hundred and thirty-one for the relief of the Lancashire cotton workers, were itemised. From the names and locations published in these lists it is evident that the *British Workman* was read by men and women from a wide range of social backgrounds and that it enjoyed a wide geographical distribution. Donations to the Lifeboat Fund were received from throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and as far away as Chile, while some of the French Fund donations originated in New Zealand. Contributors included ladies, gentlemen, members of the aristocracy, workmen and women, servants, boys and girls.

¹⁴⁶ As Mountjoy notes in reference to the Lifeboat Fund, every donation of threepence or more was acknowledged. See Mountjoy, (1985): 48. The lifeboat, and direct associations with rescuing 'lost souls' was an important theme in temperance propaganda. See, for example Shiman, L. L. *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, Basingstoke, Macmillan 1988, especially chapter 2 "The Teetotal Lifeboat," and chapter 7 on the purchase of a lifeboat by the Independent Order of Good Templars. See also Thomas Hood's skit "A Sea-Totaller," poking fun at temperance lifeboat symbolism. *New Monthly Magazine* 63: December 1841, 433-37. Also in Hood, T. *Whimsicalities: a Periodical Gathering*, London: Moxon and Co, 1843: 124-35. A lifeboat named 'Tom and Ida Smithies' was presented to the National Lifeboat Institute in memory of the interest always shown in lifeboat work by T. B. Smithies and his sister.

¹⁴⁷ No supplements recording the French Fund contributions have been located although one hundred and thirteen donations were listed in *British Workman* Nos. 193 January (1870): 51, and 201 September (1871): 82. Of the 113 donors 43 (38%) were identifiable as male, and 35 (30%) as female.

An analysis of the most extensive list, that of subscribers to the Lancashire Distress Fund, provides a wealth of valuable information regarding the geographical distribution, and the possible social composition of the readership of the *British Workman* as it stood at the beginning of the 1860s. Not only were individual subscribers named in person, so too were the amounts donated along with towns and counties of residence, and places of employment. Even those subscribers listed as a ‘Cat’s Meat Man’, a ‘Working Woman’, a ‘Welshwoman’, a ‘Working-man’, or ‘a Lady’, provide further information about gender, social status and nationality. The lists are also indicative of the collaborative nature of much of the fund-raising, not only in established institutions such as Sunday-schools and temperance associations, but also in the workplace and the home.



Fig. 30. To Show Geographical Distribution of Donors to the British Workman Fund for the Relief of Distress in the Lancashire Cotton Famine.¹⁴⁸

Fig.30 represents a geographical distribution of the *British Workman* as indicated by references to towns, villages, and counties as given in the subscription lists published between September 1862 and September 1863. While the act of subscribing to the relief fund does not in itself determine that those same groups and individuals subscribed to the paper, it does represent an acknowledgement of the fundraising appeal, a willingness to actively participate in its aims and objectives, and, I would argue, a close association with the paper. That a number of named individuals were known to be closely associated with T. B. Smithies

¹⁴⁸ The distress fund operated for a period of one year and lists of donors were published monthly in the *British Workman*. During the time of the appeal many individuals and groups made multiple contributions and so the concentrations as indicated on the map are not representative of the number of donors associated with each geographical area, but the number of donations acknowledged.

and his periodical, and are elsewhere confirmed as subscribers to, or purchasers of, the *British Workman* lends additional weight to the premise that a direct correlation may be made between donating to the relief fund and either subscribing to, or being a reader of the paper.

An analysis of the origins of subscriptions to the Lancashire Distress Fund supports the argument that the paper had a wide geographical distribution through the English counties at this time and that it was read in both agricultural and industrial districts. Of the 1131 donations to the Lancashire Distress fund it is possible to determine the gender of five hundred and eighty persons, three hundred and seventy-six males, (33%), and two hundred and four females, (18%). Two hundred and eighty-one, (25%), originated in the workplace, school, church, temperance bazaar, or other communal source, (Table 20). Contributions were also received from readers in the Bahamas, New Zealand, South Africa, Jamaica, Brazil, Tasmania and Malta, confirming that the journal was known throughout the Empire and beyond. Sustained efforts to increase the circulation figures of the *British Workman* and extend the sphere of its influence eventually resulted in the establishment of a worldwide circulation. The publication of a number of foreign language editions for distribution to foreign sailors visiting the Port of London, or for distribution by missionaries to foreign shores, also encouraged wider geographical distribution.

	NO. DONATIONS	% DONATIONS
MALE	376	33
FEMALE	204	18
WORKPLACE	137	12
ORGANIZATION	144	13
OTHER	270	24
TOTAL	1131	100

Table 20. To Show Origin of Contributions to the Lancashire Distress Fund by Donor Type.

Foreign Language Editions.

By the early 1860s the monthly circulation of the *British Workman* exceeded 250, 000 and Smithies was able to use the additional income to both improve the quality of the illustrations and letterpress in the *Band of Hope Review* and the

British Workman. He was also in a position to extend the number and range of his publications in order to reach a wider audience. In 1861 Smithies took over from Carus Wilson as the editor of the *Children's Friend* and re-launched the publication in a new enlarged and lavishly illustrated series. There followed a number of additional publications throughout the next decade with *The Infant's Magazine* (1866), *The Servant's Magazine*, ns. (1867), *The Friendly Visitor*, (1867), and *The Family Friend*, ns. (1870). It was during this busy period that Smithies also embarked on a range of foreign language editions of the *British Workman* and other papers.¹⁴⁹

By November 1871, the *British Workman* was being published and distributed in no less than eight languages. However, these foreign numbers were direct translations of the original English editions and not specially compiled for the foreign nationals among whom they were distributed. Anglo-centric, Christian, texts and images were, therefore, distributed in an unmediated form regardless of the cultural or religious background of the recipients. While distributing copies of Italian translations of the *British Workman* under the head of "Il Artizano" may have placated a few homesick Italian sailors on account of the, "large picture of a mother with her child... [that] was thought to be the well known Madonna and Child", ¹⁵⁰ others recognised a need for periodicals that addressed the specific needs of other cultural groups.

Now what periodicals are there in the whole wide world that will thus encourage, stimulate and arouse the coloured people? Not one. I have not met with any English or American publication at all suited to their needs. It is a common remark of the people here, when asked to adopt some reform; 'That will do for white people; but it is not for we.' And if the *British Workman* or any similar paper is placed in their hands, it but intensifies this feeling. The contrast between themselves and white people is constantly before them. Week after week they see pictures of pleasant homes and scenes in home life, and in every case they are connected with the home of the white man. If by chance some coloured face is shown, it is a curiosity...¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Stringer Rowe (1884): 55.

¹⁵⁰ Gilman, 1913: 123. The copy of the journal in question was probably *BW* No. 197. May, 1871. This particular edition boasted a large engraving entitled 'Italian Mother and Child' on the front page.

¹⁵¹ 'An Illustrated Press', *The American Missionary*, Vol. 34. No. 4. April, 1880: 103.

Mar 1869	Spanish	French	Dutch	German	Italian			
July 1869	Spanish	French	Dutch	German	Italian			
Sept 1869	Spanish	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish		
Oct 1869	Spanish	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Polish		
Aug 1871	Spanish	French	Dutch	German	Italian		Norwegian	
Nov 1871	Spanish	French	Dutch	German	Italian			Malagasay

Table 21. Dates of Notices Concerning Foreign Language Edns. of the *British Workman*. 1869 – 1871.

Initially the distribution of foreign language editions was concentrated in and around the London docks where a great many foreign nationals were to be found among the visiting sailors. The perceived importance of this mission to foreign sailors can be measured in part by the number of agencies involved. As well as the LCM, the British and Foreign Sailor's Society, and the Mission to Seamen also had their agents serving this transitory community. Smithies' primary objective was to further extend the sphere of influence of his paper by supporting the work of the missionaries charged with ministering to the hundreds of thousands of foreign seamen who annually passed through the Port of London and those residents and migrant workers from different countries. In an effort to respond to concerns for the spiritual and moral well-being of these foreign sailors Smithies had editions of the *British Workman* translated into some of the more common European languages. Initially French, Spanish, Dutch, German and Italian numbers were prepared. Later as the usefulness of these foreign numbers was affirmed in the reports of the missionaries, other languages including Norwegian, Polish, and Malagasy, were added, (Table 21). During his time as editor the *British Workman* was translated into at least twenty-five different languages including Tamil, Hindu and Hindustani,¹⁵² several of them being for the benefit of those Asians whose English education increased a demand for English Scriptures.¹⁵³ On the occasion of an official State visit a special Russian language edition was published and presented to the Russian Emperor. Copies were made available to the general public, on request, price one penny.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² *The Band of Hope Chronicle*, September 1883: 134-5

¹⁵³ See *London City Mission Magazine* 1 July, (1884): 165-6. The report of missionary to the Royal Albert Dock, in which he commented – "I have been largely supplied with Christian literature for the French from the valuable stores of the late Mr. T. B. Smithies. The supply has enabled me to turn my attention to the crews of these steamers". - was not untypical. See also the *LCM Annual Report* 1884, for the comments of the missionary to Asiatics and Africans.

¹⁵⁴ See *BW* June (1874): 215

The efforts of individuals, groups and societies ensured that the periodical found its way to friends, family and servicemen, from Europe to Asia and the Americas. As the journal became more successful, and the income generated allowed subscribers to take advantage of offers of preferential postal rates, copies could be posted virtually around the globe to family and friends. John Macgregor, better known as 'Rob Roy', reported the 'great acceptability of the paper' within a number of communities across the North American continent, stating that he had found copies among the slaves in the Southern States, miners in California, woodsmen in Canada and settlers in Nova Scotia.¹⁵⁵ There were also letters in the correspondence columns indicating that as a result of generous donations to the gratuitous circulation fund, the paper had penetrated far into Africa¹⁵⁶ and was circulated in Australia,¹⁵⁷ Copies of the journal spiritually sustained sailors trapped by the winter ice at Cronstadt,¹⁵⁸ and exercised a beneficial influence on soldiers in India. Harrison Weir, one of the principal contributors of illustrations also stated that he had received "letters praising it [the *British Workman*] from, 'up the country' colonists in Australia and New Zealand... [and] the wilds of California..."¹⁵⁹

Establishing the *British Workman* as the most extensively circulated, and widely distributed temperance paper of the nineteenth century, enabled Smithies to reach the widest possible readership with his particular style of educational literature. The creation of an illustrated paper with a mass readership does not, in itself, explain why the paper was popular, or how the temperance message was put across to the readers. Neither does it explain how the *British Workman* succeeded as a periodical where so many other attempts had failed. In Chapter Five I shall examine the ways in which Smithies exploited his concept of 'good pictures' in order to reinvent traditional temperance narratives.

¹⁵⁵ See *BW* n.s. No. 1 January, 1892.

¹⁵⁶ *BW* No. 49, January, (1859): 195.

¹⁵⁷ *BW* No. 48, December, (1858): 190.

¹⁵⁸ *BW* No. 32, August, (1857): 126.

¹⁵⁹ *BW* No. 558, June, (1901): 66.

Chapter Five

**The People Must Have Pictures,
and the Pictures Must Be Good.**

Chapter Five.

The People Must Have Pictures, and the Pictures Must Be Good.

Based on an analysis of the content of the *British Workman*, and the personal convictions of the editor, it is evident that Smithies intended to achieve his stated aims and objectives by providing his readers with a programme of visual education through the medium of high quality wood-engraved illustrations offered at an affordable price. Illustration was fundamental to the success of his declared mission to promote the health, wealth and happiness of the working classes, and for the realisation of his ambitions to broadcast temperance principles to the widest possible audience. *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman* became the most successful temperance periodicals of the second half of the nineteenth century circulating in excess of 250,000 copies per month from the early 1860s onwards. The large circulations were achieved, in part, because of the novelty, quality and popularity of the pictures, many of which were engraved from drawings commissioned from some of the best and most popular artists and illustrators of the day. As Smithies was reported to have remarked “The people must have pictures, and the pictures must be good”, this chapter addresses two main issues. Firstly, what factors prompted Smithies to come to the conclusion that ‘the people’ needed pictures, and, secondly, what, in Smithies’ opinion, were the characteristics of a ‘good’ picture.¹

In order to provide possible answers to these questions a brief survey of popular periodical illustration during the decades immediately preceding the publication of the *British Workman* is necessary in order to ascertain the types of pictures commonly found in popular literature for the working classes. Building on some of the issues raised in Chapter One concerning the perceived threat to public morality presented in the popularity of ‘pernicious’ literature, I shall begin with an examination of images from the types of illustrated matter that appeared to generate the greatest amount of anxiety among middle class observers. I shall then discuss the style of illustration used in existing temperance literature.

¹ Stringer Rowe, (1884): 16.

An examination of the type of illustration in contemporary popular literature will help to determine some of the factors that influenced the ways in which illustrated temperance literature developed during this same period and I will argue that, stylistically and artistically, there was often little distinction between the style of images in the two literary forms. In order to do this I will consider a selection of images extracted from the popular press as well as those identified in contemporary accounts, and examples drawn from some of the most popular and widely distributed temperance publications. I shall demonstrate that although it was not uncommon for illustrations to be used in order to embellish and decorate what would otherwise have been endless pages of unbroken letterpress, the use of pictures was limited. I shall look at the ways in which illustration was employed, and at some of the constraints that were imposed on the producers of temperance propaganda, in an attempt to establish why illustrations were not always thought of as being as effective a vehicle for learning as they might otherwise have been. Having reviewed how illustration was used to broadcast the temperance message to its respective audiences, I shall examine the methods that Smithies introduced into the processes of visual education as part of his desire to provide the people with good pictures.

Given the extensive range of illustrated temperance propaganda and the countless thousands of tracts and periodicals produced, along with the inherent difficulties associated with periodicals research, my investigation into the use of illustration in temperance propaganda prior to the publication of the *British Workman* will be focused on two texts published by two of the best known temperance reformers, R. D. Alexander, and Joseph Livesey. One of the texts is a single tract, the other a periodical publication with a limited lifespan issued over a period of twenty-four months from January 1852 to December 1853. It will become evident that there were striking similarities in the use of illustration in the two texts despite their marked differences as cultural forms.

The first text was embellished with a series of six engravings illustrating 'A Drinking Education', *Ipswich Temperance Series* tract No. 86., one of R. D.

Alexander's widely circulated and gratuitously distributed series of tracts. The second is a sequence of five images published across several issues of Joseph Livesey's *The Progressionist*, a short lived pioneering paper intended to be purchased on subscription by independently minded, predominantly middle class, supporters of the total abstinence brand of temperance. Having ascertained the manner in which illustration was used in order to illuminate one of the most common tropes in temperance propaganda, that of the road to ruin, I shall consider the ways in which Smithies revolutionised the use illustration as a medium for temperance education. In order to explain Smithies' strategy I shall open this discussion by comparing and contrasting his use of the diptych form, or image binaries, with examples from other published temperance sources. I shall then outline the ways in which Smithies elected to illustrate an alternative version of the narrative exploited by both Alexander and Livesey, in order to more fully demonstrate how his methods marked a radical shift from those employed by other temperance publishers.

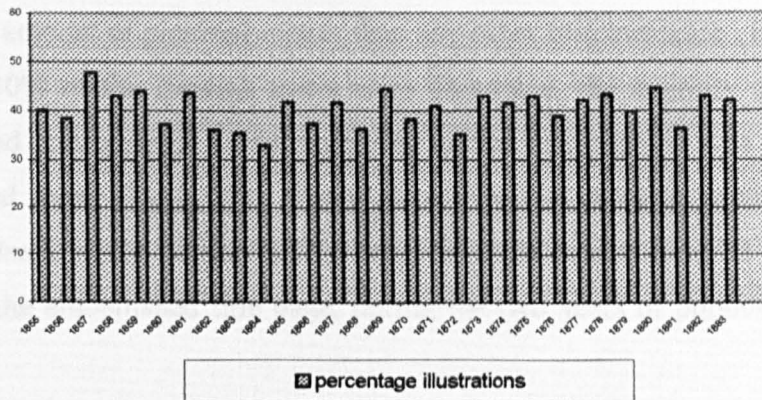


Fig. 31. Bar Graph to show the illustrative matter as a percentage of the total printed page area in each January number of the *British Workman*, 1855-83 inclusive.²

As the figures presented in Fig. 31 indicate, illustrations, including engravings, vignettes, and decorative texts, constituted a very significant proportion of the overall content of the *British Workman* during Smithies' tenure as proprietor. Over the thirty-year period covered by the analysis the mean percentage of illustrative matter to printed page area was 40%, while the letterpress, (of which

² The January numbers were selected for this statistical analysis because of the emphasis that Smithies himself placed on the New Year as being the time for increased efforts on the part of his readers to canvass for more subscriptions to the periodical.

only a small proportion was given over to notices), accounted for approximately 60% of the total contents of the periodical. What is evident from an analysis of the picture/letterpress content over this period is that the proportion of illustration to letterpress remained fairly constant throughout. The amount of illustrative matter never fell below 33% of the total matter regardless of difficulties and expense involved in acquiring appropriate images, or stylistic changes that the periodical underwent during the first five years of publication. However, what is not indicated by the statistics is the extent to which the number of illustrations and decorative motifs featured in each monthly issue. Neither do figures inform us of the fact that the total number of illustrations per issue was gradually reduced so that larger and better quality wood engravings could be published as circulations increased to the self-sustaining level. As the income generated by more extensive circulations increased, larger, technically more proficient and more costly full page pictures became a regular and most striking feature of the paper.

Compared with other temperance publications the *British Workman* contained a far greater amount of pictorial matter than any other title available. For example, less than 30% of the Ipswich tracts were illustrated, the majority of those that were carried only a single small engraving on the first page, as was common for this cultural form, (Table 22). There were only two pictures published in *The Teetotal Times*, while Livesey's *The Progressionist* carried only 22 illustrations, including the embellished title page, during the two years of publication, (Table 23).

Tract Nos.	1-49	50-99	100-149	150-199	200-249	250-299	300-329
Number of Illustrated Tracts	9	21	24	8	8	12	14

Table 22. To show the number of illustrated Ipswich Temperance Series tracts, per 50 issued 1844-c1860.

No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Ills.	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
No.	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Ills	2	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1

Table 23. To show the number and frequency of illustrations in Livesey's *The Progressionist* January 1852-December 1854

Mass-Circulation Periodicals Illustration up to 1850.

The introduction of the *Penny Magazine*, (1832-46), demonstrated that it was possible to produce good quality illustrated papers, and retail them at a modest price, if enough copies were printed and sold in order to bring down the unit price and spread the expense of engravings costing perhaps, 10s. each, or more depending on the size of the engraving and the status of the artist.³ The high circulations figures recorded for the early editions of the paper confirmed that there was a public eager to purchase periodicals of this type.⁴ Similarly, sales of the first number of the *Illustrated London News* (1842-), (a sixpenny illustrated weekly intended primarily for a middle-class reader), “exceeded 26,000 copies ‘which might have been doubled, could we have anticipated the demand’”.⁵ Other illustrated titles offering pictures of a quality close to that of the *ILN* were soon to follow and the *Pictorial Times* (1843), established by Henry Vizetelly as competition for Ingram’s paper, was quickly bought up.⁶ Illustrated periodicals increasingly permeated the cultural and social experiences of the whole of society from the 1840s onwards as the middle classes subscribed to the new illustrated papers and as the working classes also began to demand cheap periodicals that catered to their particular tastes. However, it was, in part, the continued popularity of ‘street literature’ and the proliferation of cheap, entertaining,

³ Engravings accounted for a considerable portion of the financial outlay. As Andrew King notes, actual costs are difficult to establish but available fragmentary evidence gives some indication of the sums involved. Charles Knight’s *Penny Magazine* included ‘engravings of a costly character’ and his *Pictorial Bible* was ‘profitable, costly as were the wood-cut’ Knight, Vol 2 (1864): 184 & 253. See Bennett, S. ‘Revolutions in Thought’, in Shattock, J. and Wolff, M. (eds) *The Victorian Periodical Press*. Leicester University Press, (1982): 239 for an approximation of costs for illustrations in the *Penny Magazine* and *Quarterly Review*. Established artists like John Gilbert could command up 35/- per drawing while working for the *ILN* in 1842, while at mid century small silhouettes might be had for 1/6d. See King, (2000): 134-135.

⁴ Within a few weeks of the launch the *Penny Magazine* had attained circulation figures averaging 187,000 per weekly issue. Bennett, S. ‘The Editorial Character and Readership of *The Penny Magazine*: An Analysis’ *VPR* Vol. 27/4, Winter (1984): 128.) However, the social status of readers is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty and the true extent to which was circulated among the working classes has not been established.

⁵ See DeVries (1995): 11. After six months of publication the circulation had risen to 66,000 copies per week.

⁶ *Mogg’s New Picture of London and Visitor’s Guide to it’s Sights*, 1844, makes reference to the great excellence of the illustrations in the *ILN*, *Pictorial Times*, and *Punch*. Celina Fox suggests that demise of the *Pictorial Times* in 1848 with debts of £20,000 may have been attributable to the ‘enlarged scope of its illustrations’ and the development of a social conscience. Fox, C. ‘The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical illustration During the 1840s and Early 1850s’. *Past and Present*, No. 74. (1977): 102.

sensationalist, Sunday papers with their crude wood cuts, (*Punch* Figs 1 & 2), that provided the impetus for the establishment of a pioneering style of illustrated, educational and morally improving papers in the early 1850s with the *Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*, *The Band of Hope Review*, *The Leisure Hour*, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, and the *British Workman*.

With cheaper production costs, and the potential for large circulations, popular entertaining pictorial papers could be mass produced and sold for as little as one penny to an increasingly literate and eager lower-middle-class/working-class consumer. Several new titles directed at the mass market were launched in quick succession and soon attained extensive circulations with annual readerships numbered in millions: *Lloyd's Weekly*, (1842), *News of the World* (1843), *London Journal* (1845), and *Reynolds' Miscellany* (1846), were among the most popular, with their mixture of serialised fiction, reviews, and wood engravings.⁷ As I argued in Chapter One there was considerable middle class evangelical concern over the potentially corrupting nature of some of the letterpress; the style and content of the illustrations also often exercised the pens of the critics. While many illustrations published in cheap mass-circulation periodicals were deemed to be appropriately suited to their intended readers' sensibilities and inoffensive to "the most fastidious taste", being a combination of informative, educational, naturalistic, or decorative, others were deemed to be vulgar, crude and scandalous in nature. However, it is evident from an extract in *The Penny Magazine*, relating to the reproduction of some of Hogarth's work, that care was taken not to publish images that might excite or disgust. It is also evident that the status and skill of an artist, in this case Hogarth, could redeem representations of "human nature in its degradation of vice and imprudence" which, if executed by the hand of a lesser artist, would otherwise have been considered vile and offensive.

⁷As Anne Humpherys argues periodicals of this genre generally adhered to a basic formula 'intended to appeal to every taste' in the broad mass of the population from the lower middle-class downwards. See, 'G W M Reynolds: Popular Literature and Popular Politics' *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 16/3 (1983): 80.

Those who are acquainted with the works of Hogarth will be aware that in this selection we have not introduced a single print that can offend the most fastidious taste. In many of them will be found representations of human nature in its degradations of vice and imprudence; but such representations are redeemed of the possibility of exciting disgust by the exquisite skill of the artist.⁸

For example, Celina Fox points out that George Cruikshank's illustrations for Harrison Ainsworth's *Jack Sheppard*, and Hervieu's etchings for Mrs. Trollope's *Michael Armstrong, or The Factory Boy*, were described as 'objectionable' in an article published in the *British and Foreign Review*, (1840).⁹ Such responses to the work of well established and influential graphic artists were an indication of the development of a more genteel middle class aesthetic that served to define the newly established social élite and, at the same time, distinguished them from an aristocracy thought of as rooted in late eighteenth century decadence and excess.

A decade later, Henry Mayhew gave a written account and some pictorial examples, (Figs. 32 & 33) of the type of illustration being circulated in some of the popular literature, and in the newspaper press at mid century. The extract is quoted at length as it not only provides an insight into the subject matter of some of the 'chap book' imagery being circulated, but also identifies the Sunday newspapers as one of the sources of cuts depicting 'atrocities' in graphic illustrations. He also offers an opinion on the likely audience for this particular type of imagery.

It is very easy to stigmatise the death-hunter when he sets off all the attractions of a real or pretended murder, -when he displays on a board, as does the standing patterer, "illustrations" of "the 'dential pick-axe" of Manning, or the stable of Good, -or when he invents or embellishes atrocities which excite the public mind. He does, however, but follow in the path of those who are looked up to as "the press," -as the "fourth estate." The conductors of the *Lady's Newspaper* sent an artist to Paris to give drawings of the scene of the murder by the Duc de Praslin, -to "illustrate" the bloodstains in the duchess's bed-chamber. The *Illustrated London News* is prompt in depicting the locality of any atrocity over which the curious in crime may gloat. *The Observer*, in costly advertisements, boasts of its 20 columns (sometimes with a supplement) of details of some vulgar and mercenary bloodshed, -the details being written in a most honest deprecation of the morbid and savage tastes to which the writer is pandering. Other weekly papers have engravings -and only concerning murder -of any wretch whom vice has made notorious. Many weekly papers had expensive telegraphic

⁸ Fox (1977): 90 - 111.

⁹ Fox (1977): 104-5.

despatches of Rush's having been hung at Norwich, which event, happily for the interest of Sunday newspapers, took place in Norwich at noon on a Saturday....

Until the "respectable" press become a more healthful public instructor, we have no right to blame the death-hunter, who is but an imitator -a follower -and that for a meal. So strong has this morbid feeling about criminals become, that an earl's daughter, who had "an order" to see Bedlam, would not leave the place until she had obtained Oxford's autograph for her album! The rich vulgar are but the poor vulgar -without an excuse for their vulgarity... Some of the "illustrations" most "in vogue" of late for the boards of the standing patters were, -the flogging of the nuns of Minsk, the blood streaming from their naked shoulders, (anything against the Emperor of Russia, I was told, was a good street subject for a painting); the young girl, Sarah Thomas, who murdered her mistress in Bristol, dragged to the gallows by the turnkeys and Calcraft, the hangman; Calcraft himself, when charged with "starving his mother;"¹⁰

As well as the comments referring to lurid descriptions and depictions of violent crimes, of particular interest here are the references to the pandering of writers to "morbid and savage tastes", and the lengths to which weekly newspapers would go in order to publish their engravings illustrating crimes of passion and violence. What is also evident is the complicity of the 'respectable' press, the *Lady's Newspaper*, and the *Illustrated London News*, for example, for catering to the curiosity of the upper classes, and for encouraging a wider market for such journalistic vulgarities.



Fig. 32.



Fig. 33.

Complaints about specific, identifiable images of the 'wretched' sensationalist type are relatively rare. Criticisms were more commonly of a generalised nature, and quite frequently levelled against the 'penny dreadfuls' with their tales of gallows heroes, and adventurers. James Greenwood's account identified some of

¹⁰ Mayhew, H. Vol. 1. (1861): 229-232. Mayhew was not alone in his observations and opinions, Charles Manby Smith, observed (with reference to chap book illustrations), "...we see the people running after this palpable rubbish because it has the appearance of a bargain. The worst of it is, that the classes we generally term the uneducated, are by no means alone in this kind of preference : the vile daubs above described are found not only in the dwellings of the poor and uncultivated, but, with broader frames and more luxurious gilding, in the houses of persons with some pretentious to fashion and taste. People who would not be seen abroad in an ill-cut coat, or a bonnet a month behind the mode, are yet content to gibbet their gloss ignorance of the simplest principles of art on their own walls, for the information of all comers". Smith, C. M. 'Chap-Pictures', *The Little World of London*, London, Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co. (1857): 241.

the titles causing concern including, “The Skeleton Band,” “Dick Turpin,” “The Black Knight of the Road,” “Starlight Sall”, “Blue-skin”, and romantic tales like *The Mysteries of London*, the latter dating from 1847.”¹¹ However, the limited available evidence suggests that there was a direct critical link between morally suspect illustrations and pernicious letterpress.

Criticisms directed at specific titles, regarding the sensationalist and pernicious nature of the letterpress, were more common than complaints about images. However, where pernicious and immoral publications can be identified in contemporary comments describing textual content, it is not unreasonable to believe that at least some of the illustrations, published in order to provide heightened emotional stimulation for the reader or to embellish the fiction, were equally disapproved of.¹² One might infer that pictures intended to serve no higher purpose than to excite the imagination or titillate the base senses, pictures that performed no useful service in the drive to improve the moral and spiritual condition of the working classes, although not mentioned by name, were the focus of contemporary criticism and condemnation. As argued in Chapter One, cheap illustrated newspapers were popular with the poorest members of the working classes they circulated freely in communities deprived of even the most basic educational opportunities, and with a high incidence of poor literacy among adults.

Concerns about the quality and subject matter of illustrations were not confined to those pictures printed in popular secular papers. Thomas Smithies was particularly critical of the standard and style of illustration used in religious and temperance tracts, describing them as ‘ridiculous’ and ‘repulsive’, arguing that, on many occasions, the images selected to illustrate texts were quite unsuited to

¹¹ Greenwood, J. *Seven Curses of London*, Boston, Fields & Osgood, (1869): 101-106. Citing Reynolds’s *The Mysteries of London* suggests that other illustrated publications such as *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf*, and *Varney the Vampyre*, or the publications which serialised them, - *Lloyd’s Weekly*, *Reynolds’s Miscellany*, and *The London Journal*, would also fall into the category of ‘gallows literature’.

¹² Voices raised in disapproval of cheap literature for the working classes, illustrated or otherwise, originated largely within philanthropic, religious, reforming circles and not from the readers for whom they were principally produced.

their purpose.¹³ It is not possible to determine whether Smithies' comments regarding the disappointing nature of illustrations were made with the advantage of hindsight and with the illustrative matter of his own periodicals in mind. Neither is it possible to identify the "popular literature sent forth in the cause of righteousness and temperance", nor the particular images which occasioned his comments. It is possible, however, to identify the types of literature and images to which he may well have been referring. He would, in all probability, have been fully aware of the strengths and weakness of most, if not all, of the available temperance publications. He was a contributor to the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts, *Cassell's Teetotal Times*, *The Sunday School and Youth's Temperance Journal* and *The National Temperance Chronicle*. As a subscriber to, and member of, many of the large temperance organisations he was probably familiar with their periodical literature. He was a great admirer of Clara Balfour's *Juvenile Abstinence*. An examination of the type of illustration used in temperance tracts and periodicals from the 1840s onwards gives a flavour of the type of illustration with which he would have been most familiar.

Illustrated Temperance Literature, 1830 – 1855

One thing he maintained with admirable obstinacy: the people must have pictures, and the pictures must be good.¹⁴

The most widely distributed temperance literature was in the form of tracts, many of which were illustrated to some degree but rarely with more than one small engraving. Evidence from missionaries, district visitors and other philanthropic agents, suggests that, for a variety of reasons, including apathy, religious indifference, resentment of authority and poor literacy, large sections of the urban working classes were unresponsive to, and dismissive of, literature of a moralising nature.¹⁵ It was also claimed that during the period 1832-1850, the

¹³ Stringer Rowe (1884): 16.

¹⁴ Stringer Rowe (1884): 48-49.

¹⁵ There were, also, districts in London where no literature was distributed through lack of visitors or withdrawal of funding for missionaries.

tracts, pamphlets and hand-bills that comprised the major portion of the religious and temperance literature directed at the lower classes had become “utterly stale and unprofitable”, and “deplorably stupid”.¹⁶ Although many of the tracts, handbills and periodicals were illustrated to some extent, most religious and temperance periodicals carried few images or pictures other than an illustrated title page. Furthermore, illustration was not always used consistently.¹⁷ As argued in Chapter Two, at the time of the introduction of *The Band of Hope Review* there were very few illustrated temperance periodicals still extant. John Cassell’s *Teetotal Times* was published up until the end of 1851 but only two illustrations have been located in the body of the text. *The National Temperance Chronicle*, too, only boasted the occasional small embellishments in its advertising matter. However, there are sufficient examples to be had from the *Ipswich Temperance Series* and some of the earlier tracts and periodicals, to give an indication of the style, quality and subject matter of illustrations employed in some of the most significant and widely circulated forms of temperance literature.

The Ipswich Temperance Series Illustrated Tracts.

Less than 30% of the whole series of more than three hundred titles was illustrated, (Table 22), with the least impressive tracts simply embellished with small anatomical diagrams intended to reinforce medical arguments, or crude vignettes depicting drunkards and smokers. The greater number of illustrations, however, were half-page woodcuts of mediocre quality, usually located on the first page and accompanied by 2, 4, 8, or more, pages of unbroken letterpress

¹⁶ ‘Popular Literature, -Tracts’, in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, No. 523 Vol. 85 May (1859): 516.

¹⁷ Illustration was more commonly used in literature directed at children although here, again, circumstances determined that it was often used sparingly. For example, *The British Temperance Advocate and Journal* issued annually a Temperance Almanack embellished with the Temperance Coat of Arms. The proprietors of *The Sunday School and Youth’s Temperance Journal*, (January 1851-December 1852), declared, “Woodcuts will be *occasionally* given in the body of the work; and given *always* if the circulation reaches an extent which the Executive reasonably expect”. However,, this amounted to two small cuts in each of the second and third numbers of Volume 1. Similarly, *The Band of Hope Journal* contained only one small cut per month.

enclosed in a double ruled border with the occasional final embellishment of a printer's stock 'tailpiece'. The least visually stimulating tracts merely consisted of pages of letterpress under a plain title, occasionally enclosed by a stock ruled border.¹⁸ However, even when illustration was used there was little to commend it artistically and, in many instances, the illustrations used did not match the demands of the letterpress. Either the illustration lacked clarity and failed to 'illuminate' the textual content of the tract or worse, appeared to have been selected in order to simply decorate the page rather than to inform the reader. One factor common to all was their small scale, restricted by the physical dimensions of the page, the limitations of the woodcut process and the availability of images. There is no reason to expect that mass produced illustrated temperance literature should differ to any great extent from any other form of cheap literature in terms of modes of production or by being subject to restrictions imposed by limitations of technology and available resources. The content of the letterpress and the subject of the illustrations might differ considerably from that found in other cultural forms but the paper, inks, printing processes, blocks, engraving skills, and the pressing need for economy, were constraints that applied generally. It was not unusual, therefore, to find that the same woodcut was often used to illustrate completely different tracts, and while an accompanying image might make a tract visually more interesting, inappropriate or mismatched imagery could send out confusing and contradictory messages, possibly undermining the potential of both the letterpress and the engraving to reinforce the aims of the writer.¹⁹ Take, for example, the engravings used¹⁹ to illustrate three tracts from the *Ipswich Temperance Series*, (Fig. 47, and Figs. 35 & 36), two of which, (Figs. 35 and 36), appeared on consecutive numbers illustrating completely different texts.



Fig. 34.

¹⁸ See, for example *Ipswich Temperance Series* tract No. 139, 'The Temperance Love-Feast', and No.56, 'Young Man's Tract' as illustrations of the common mode of presentation for this series.

¹⁹ One might argue that in the case of a woodcut depicting a murder or a hanging, used to illustrate a broadside or a street ballad, any murder or any hanging would suffice without detriment to the accompanying letterpress.

All three illustrations depict a fairly well-to-do, although somewhat dissipated, young mother lying on her bed with a restless young child cradled in her arm. The young mother is about to take the drink being poured for her by a smiling older woman who might be a nurse, a servant, or a relative. All of the illustrations appear to have been printed from the same, or a slightly modified version of the same, block.²⁰ The spectator is to believe that the drink being poured is alcoholic by the inclusion of a bottle on a table in the right background. It is unclear from the image however, for whom the drink is intended. An illustration from the *Ipswich Temperance Series*, tract No. 68, (Fig. 34), entitled 'A Drinking Education' was one of a series of six images accompanied by letterpress warning against the use of alcohol as a stimulant for nursing mothers.²¹ Commenting on the 'decided prepossession of monthly nurses especially, to recommend 'ardent spirits' in the nursery, the writer argues that, as a consequence, the constitution of the mother is, "in many cases materially injured, and she is, unintentionally, the means of injuring the constitution of her darling babe". (The six images illustrating 'A Drinking Education' are discussed in greater detail in the case study below).

As presented in the *Ipswich Temperance Series*, tract No.148, (Fig. 35), the same image occupies half a page, separating the title 'Manchester 'Go-a-heads' by T. B. Smithies', from the first paragraph of letterpress. The engraving captioned, 'Thus is the young mother made a drunkard', illustrates a standard temperance theme, that of turning people into drunkards by tempting them with their first drink. In this respect the image and the argument in the letterpress are consistent with those in the first scene of 'A Drinking Education'. Often, as far as some teetotal practitioners like Smithies were concerned, alcohol was administered in the mistaken belief that it was a medically expedient restorative. Additionally, therefore, there are layers of interpretation relating to discourses concerning the

²⁰ It may be that stereotype copies were used, or that the engravings were copied and printed from different but almost identical blocks but given the cost implications it is more likely for them to have been printed from the same block.

²¹ An earlier version of this tract was issued with the title 'The Education of the Drunkard' and advertised as being illustrated with 'five pictures', (see *The National Temperance Chronicle and Recorder* (1848): 423. Originally, the series of cuts illustrating 'A Drinking Education', were published in *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, illustrating the six steps to intemperance. See Vol. 3. Nos. 152- 158. October and November, 1839.

responsibilities and duties of motherhood, and of educating children and setting them on the right path. However the letterpress records the personal testimonies of ten women telling of the improvement in their lives after having “signed the pledge”. These are narratives of reform and hope rather than of maternal responsibilities or the potential descent into drunkenness and degradation that often resulted from taking the first drink of alcohol.

When the same image is used again for *Ipswich Temperance Series*, tract No.149, (Fig. 36.), the illustration performs a significantly different function. The subject matter of the engraving is identical to those already mentioned but, in this case, the illustration has been neatly cropped to form a precise rectangle. The accompanying letterpress takes the form of a medical treatise titled ‘Mothers, Doctors, and Nurses’ by John Higginbottom, F.R.C.S. The sub-title reads, ‘A Dialogue between a Medical Man and His Friend, on the subject of taking alcoholic drinks during suckling’. The bottom of the title page is taken up with a publishers notice, carrying information on how to obtain copies of the tract. By incorporating some of the elements of textual presentation used in scientific and medical treatises at the end of the eighteenth century, Tract 149 seeks to transmit to the reader, through the composition of the title page, some of the eighteenth century ‘scientific veracity’ associated with such texts and mimicked by Motte’s edition of *Gulliver’s Travels*.²²



Fig. 35.



Fig. 36.

There were numerous other instances when different tracts in the *Ipswich Temperance Series* were illustrated by the same image, (Figs 37 & 38), and, as was the case with other forms of cheap literature, it was not uncommon for a more

²² See Wagner, P. *Reading Iconotexts*, London, Reaktion Books, (1995): 60-70.

or less appropriate engraving to be used to the point where the block was worn out resulting in poor quality images in which any subtlety that may have originally existed was lost. These small cuts were often badly executed at the drawing, engraving, and printing stages. However they were often all that was readily available.²³



Fig. 37.



Fig. 38.

It is possible therefore, that these particular images were used because they were the most appropriate ones to hand and included representations of women and references to drink, rather than having been specially cut to illustrate these particular texts. As a notice in one sparsely illustrated paper suggested, obtaining appropriate pictures could be a problem and editors were prepared to compromise the integrity of either the letterpress or the engravings, (or both), as long as illustration was included. It is also evident that second hand blocks could originate from anywhere and that texts could be illustrated on the basis of ‘best fit’ as appears to have been the case for one temperance editor who informed his readers. “We shall also continue to adorn our pages with instructive engravings, and of a much superior character... We have made arrangements with a first-rate London house for a supply of such as will be suitable for our columns, and to which interesting stories can be adapted.”²⁴

The illustrations used for the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts were not untypical of those generally available. They were very much of their time, crudely drawn, crudely cut and printed with little sensitivity. In style and execution there was little to differentiate between the images used in tracts dating from 1849/1850, and those used to illustrate earlier, or other contemporaneous publications such as

²³ The engraving illustrating ‘The Mother’s Tract’, No. 60. (Fig. 17), was not only used No. 74. (top), ‘The Drunkard’s Wife’, but also on tract No. 55 ‘The Young Woman’s Tract’. The bottom illustration on tract No. 74. was also used to illustrate tracts No. 80. ‘The Restoration’, No. 285. ‘The Drunkard’s Wife and Children’, and No. 298, ‘Tom Williamson’.

²⁴ *The Youth’s Temperance Magazine and Band of Hope Journal*, Vol 3. December (1850): 134.

The British and Foreign Temperance Society Tracts of the 1830s, The London Temperance Intelligencer, 1836, and The Juvenile Temperance Messenger, 1846, (Figs. 39-42).



Fig. 39.



Fig. 40.



Fig. 41.



Fig. 42.

However, the use of multiple imagery, the diptych, (Figs. 38 & 42), and series illustration, (as opposed to the multiple use of a single image), is of particular relevance to this discussion on the employment of visual imagery in temperance education in the 1840s, and to a better understanding of the ways in which Smithies ‘revolutionised’ the use of illustration in temperance education. I want to discuss here, therefore, the ways in which the multiple image, or series format, was used in temperance propaganda as a means of reinforcing the temperance message in a manner echoing the method employed to great effect by George Cruikshank in his two important series, *The Bottle* (1847), and *The Drunkard’s Children*, (1848).

Multiple Images and Series Illustration.

Several series of engravings published in consecutive numbers of *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer* between 5 October 1839²⁵ and 11 April 1840²⁶ warned of the disastrous consequences of intemperance.²⁷ A number of these illustrations frequently employed a composite ‘before and after’ mode of representation in which the dominant theme was one of loss and forfeit. Stark captions reinforced the seemingly uncomplicated narratives and representations of comfort, order and respectability, in direct juxtaposition with discomfort, chaos and degradation. Such images conveyed the notion of an undisputed and irrevocable link between drinking and moral and economic ruin. This type of illustration drew on a long history of religious and devotional diptychs and echoed the pendant paintings of artists like Chardin who employed the form to illustrate moral lessons.

One of the earliest examples of the ‘diptych’ form found in temperance periodicals dates from 1840 and illustrates a number of *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, (formerly *The London Temperance Intelligencer*) mentioned above. The image in question was one of a series of single engravings issued in consecutive numbers between January and March, 1840, entitled ‘Illustrations of Intemperance’. The engravings depicting various aspects of drinking, such as a scene at an Irish Wake, the dangers of smoking in bed while drunk and pay-day in a public house, were accompanied by a stanza or two of verse.

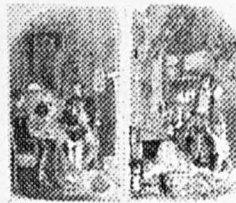


Fig. 43 .

²⁵ *BFTI* Vol. 3. No. 152.

²⁶ *BFTI* Vol. 4. No. 179.

²⁷ Included in these sequences of engravings were the original versions of the illustrations used for ‘A Drinking Education’, published here as ‘Intemperance- Step the First, etc. ‘Illustrations of Intemperance’, and accompanying letterpress denouncing the effects of the various forms of alcoholic beverage- beer, gin, wine, etc. were also included.

'Temperance and Intemperance', (Fig. 43), comprises a pair of complementary images. The left hand section of the illustration describes a scene of domestic harmony and well being, with a relaxed family unit, the child dandling on the father's knee, the contented wife, and the tidy, welcoming, well furnished room symbolising the material comforts of home and the fruits of sobriety and hard work. The image is deliberately located directly above the word 'temperance' in the caption, and the following verse which underwrites a middle class reformist concept of domestic order. Domestic comfort, familial contentment, and material comforts are the fruits of hard work, and, among other things, deference, loyalty and good parenting. Thomas, the father has remained "meek", as was appropriate to his station in life. He is a loyal and loving husband, and a dutiful father concerned to "impart true wisdom" to his young children.

Domestic Happiness.
 Thomas, still meek, not growing vain
 By his exalted state in life;
 Remembers well his vows to JANE,
 And makes her now his wedded Wife.

Ruling in love, and one in heart,
 Soon children bless'd their growing years;
 And soon the father sought t' impart
 True wisdom to their young ideas.

Conversely, the right hand half of the image depicts a scene of misery, discord, discomfort and poverty. The vanity of the wife, who "pleas'd her eye, but plagu'd her heart", despite the love and attention of her husband, drives him to drink. Consequently all the comforts of home are sacrificed to idleness, the wife is abused and used "like a Turk", all familial and domestic harmony and affection are shattered like the remnants of furniture shown strewn about the room, and the children abandoned and neglected. The whole of this dreadful scene is underscored by the word 'intemperance' and the following lines.

Domestic Misery
 Not so with HAL:- he married one
 Who pleas'd her eye, but plagu'd her heart;
 And when too late, the veil was drawn,
 Wept o'er her babes with broken heart.

In want of food, through want of work,-
 -Or, idle with a job to do,-
 He drank, then us'd her like a Turk,

With, “How now, Madam! Who are you?”²⁸

The dominant message conveyed through the engravings and the letterpress is as plain and abrupt as the transition from one image to the next, or in the transition of the eye across the page from the left hand panel to the right. Drink and you will lose everything. It is a brief and relatively blunt lesson on the consequences of intemperance.

The before and after format was often employed to illustrate the differing lifestyle implications associated with contemporary interpretations of the temperance ideal. In Smithies’ periodicals the same format was used to extend temperance arguments into discourses concerned with dirt and cleanliness, idleness and industry, good parenting, animal welfare, and financial prudence. However, Smithies’ use of illustration differed significantly from the way it was often used in other illustrated temperance literature.

The earliest example of this particular form of illustration in the *British Workman*, dealt with issues to do with the rights of masters and men in the workplace, and the moral and economic consequences of being on strike or in work.²⁹ Published in the wake of the Preston strikes and linked with, although not in close proximity to, an article on the cost of strikes to the economies of both the workers and the employers, this illustration conforms to, and yet significantly differs from, similar usages employed elsewhere.



Fig. 44.

²⁸ Using someone “like a Turk” implies buggery or anal sex and, in this context, serves to increase the bestialization of the drunkard.

²⁹ *British Workman* No 1 February (1855): 4

In 'On Strike- in Work', (Fig 44), the arrangement of images depicting the contrasting circumstances as experienced by the workman in each of the attendant situations presents an instantly recognisable narrative. The man in work is considerably better off, materially and morally, than the one out of work. He is a good father, attentive to the needs of his family and loved by his wife and children. The Bible on the table is an indication of his observance of religious practices. The striking workman and his family are unkempt, neglected and impoverished. They have no food, no furniture and no Bible. When viewed in relation to (Fig 43.), the differences between the image from the *British Workman* and that from *The British and Foreign Intelligencer* becomes obvious. Reading the complete image from left to right as is the western tradition, the illustration from the *British Workman* represents a shift from a negative to positive reading, signalling a radical departure from the mode of illustration commonly employed in temperance propaganda. For Smithies, the most important lessons to be learned were rooted in the promotion of the advantages of temperance, rather than the disadvantages of intemperance. He preferred to offer the carrots of success, rather than the sticks of failure, as incentives to spiritual and moral reform.

In common with the example from *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, (Fig 43.), some of the issues addressed in early numbers of Smithies' paper concerned the domestic habits of women, and the importance of the role of the wife in the maintenance of sobriety, or the reform of drunkenness, in their husbands. Unlike the narrative in the *BFTI* illustration, Smithies stressed the constructive and beneficial attributes of the good wife, rather than the destructive influences of the neglectful wife by the way he organised his illustrations. This was a style of illustration that he used repeatedly, particularly in the context of the expected domestic duties of the wife and mother, key facets in Smithies' temperance reform agenda.



Fig. 45.



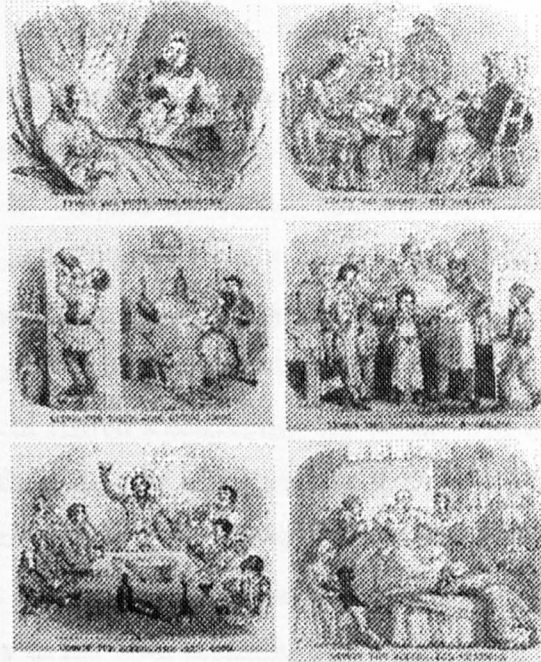
Fig. 46.

Similarly, 'Idleness/Industry', (Fig 45), and 'Cleanliness/Godliness', (Fig 46), not only conform to ideological concepts of separate spheres for men and women, they draw attention to concepts of female integrity, the perceived role of women in the management of the home, and the importance of the domestic space in contemporary temperance discourses. These issues are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter

Smithies use of the 'diptych' style of illustration served to reinforce the positive benefits of adopting a particular moral code of practice or lifestyle, rather than the disadvantages of intemperance. His engravings covered themes that ranged from the impact of working class drinking habits on religious observance, and whether it was more profitable to attend the public house rather than attend Church on Sundays, to good housekeeping practices and the role of women within the home. He used illustration to promote choice and to encourage positive action, by illustrating the benefits and rewards of temperance, sobriety, hard work, self restraint, perseverance and personal humility. As far as I have been able to determine, he was the first to exploit this method of illustration in temperance periodicals. Evidence suggests that as the relative costs of producing illustrated matter decreased with advances in printing technologies, it became more commonplace, for a short period at the end of the 1840s, to use series illustrations. The dates of publication suggest that the use of this type of illustration in cheap periodicals was encouraged by the success of George Cruikshank's *The Bottle* (1847), a work that came to represent a milestone in temperance illustration. Building on the discussion of 'good pictures', in relation to temperance education propaganda, and standard illustrative practices for the cultural form, in the following section I shall examine the ways in which the 'series' format was used to illustrate a standard temperance trope, the 'road to ruin', by R. D. Alexander, Joseph Livesey, and Thomas Smithies, for the purpose of explaining in greater depth, Smithies philosophy regarding the educational use of pictures.

Two Case Studies. Illustrating a Standard Temperance Narrative: The Road To Ruin.

One-‘A Drinking Education’.



Figs. 47-52

‘A Drinking Education’ is a twelve page tract comprising six pages of letterpress interspersed by six full page wood engravings each signed in the block J. Kirchner.³⁰ The author of the letterpress is not known. Each of the six engravings, (Figs. 47-52), is accompanied by its own page of explanatory letterpress describing the significance of the events depicted, taking the viewer through various stages of a process that ultimately leads to the physical and moral ruin of a young man who, as an abstainer, could have had a prosperous and useful life, being born into a comparatively affluent family, provided with a decent education, acquiring a trade, and having good prospects. There are distinct echoes of William Hogarth’s well known morality tales *The Harlot’s Progress*, *Marriage a la Mode*, and in particular, *The Rake’s Progress* not only because the illustrations take the form of a series, and the narratives of the potential of youth and the consequences of selfishness, waste, moral decline and madness, but also because of the striking similarities in the physical appearance and facial

³⁰ The illustrations used in this series are modified versions of those drawn by W. N. and originally published in the *BFTI* to illustrate an extended piece of textual matter. (See footnote p. 187). It is not possible to determine whether Kirchner was responsible for the drawing, the engraving, or both.

expressions of the two main protagonists in the final image of each series. The six engravings illustrating the Ipswich tract are designed to warn against following the examples set, and, inform the viewer of the inevitable consequences of drinking.

Each of the engravings illustrates a stage in the short life of Alfred from his birth to his eventual confinement to his sick-bed, wracked with madness induced by delirium tremens. In 'Lesson the First.- The Nursery', (Fig. 47.), the sickly mother, weakened and fatigued by the strains and stresses of childbirth and nursing a demanding infant, takes a drink of alcohol offered by her nurse in the belief that it will act as a restorative. From that first drink, taken for medicinal purposes, the seeds of Alfred's destruction are sown. The reader is informed by the letterpress that following the same practice in an effort to cope with the trials of three confinements, the mother becomes used to taking alcohol while her children are babies. In, 'Lesson the Second. - The Parlour', (Fig. 48.), we see the mother, with a baby in her arm, repeating her initial folly. She drinks to fortify her spirits, puts "a little spirit into the baby's food" and gives her daughter a "drop of wine", while remonstrating with one of the guests for giving Alfred 'a sup of porter'. The nurse who set the terrible chain of events in motion smiles, waves, and encourages Alfred from the back of the assembled group of friends. By 'Lesson the Third.- The Dining Room', (Fig. 49.), all of the children have acquired a taste for drink, and we are informed in the letterpress that Alfred has become a "cunning and experienced" drinker with an appetite for strong liquor, stealing drinks out of the cupboard. The overturned chair, the empty bottle on the table, the discarded tract advising parents to "Train up a child in the way he should go...", and the absence of parental supervision all foretelling of future dangers. By the time he is apprenticed to a trade at the "tender age of fourteen" Arthur has taken to smoking as well as drinking, and his education continues with 'Lesson the Fourth.- The Workshop', (Fig. 50.) where, encouraged by work colleagues and customs of the trade, he pays his "footing" and provides drinks for everyone. He is inexorably approaching "nearer and nearer to the fatal gulf of intemperance".

As a young man having successfully served his apprenticeship and “commenced business under somewhat favourable circumstances”, Alfred becomes independent, and resorts to regular social drinking with his friends. ‘Lesson the Fifth.- The Club Room’, (Fig. 51.). He is considered *respectable* by his associates and is appointed ‘Chairman of a Convivial Club’. His lifestyle eventually takes its toll, Alfred becomes a confirmed drunkard. He sacrifices everything for the brief opportunity to enjoy himself rather than accept his responsibilities and suffers from the pain and horror of delirium tremens.

Destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known... He whose motto was ‘a short life and a merry one’ may indeed find that his life is short... His few hours of merriment are followed by days and nights of anguish; mirth and laughter are succeeded by sorrow and tears; and gaiety and splendour give place to squalid wane and misery. Physical debility is accompanied by mental prostration, yet the memory and the conscience are... fearfully alive.³¹

‘Lesson The Sixth.- The Chamber, (Fig. 52.), brings our ‘hero’ Alfred full circle, his drinking education ends where it began. Just like the infant he has become helpless and reliant on the care of others, only now he is haunted by his past sins.

Collectively, the six engravings reinforce the dominant theme running through the letterpress describing the ways in which the seeds of the drinking habit are sown and the ways in which the habit grows and becomes more problematic over time. The idea that each stage in Alfred’s development, as he grows from infancy to adulthood, is matched by an almost exponential growth in the taste for strong liquor is most clearly delineated in Fig. 38. The figure representing Alfred, the eldest boy, depicted drinking directly from a bottle, is, within the context of the overall composition, nearly twice as big as his younger sister Caroline who is shown in an almost identical pose drinking the remnants of a glass of wine.

Individually, the engravings say more about the consequences of the various stages of the drinking habit than is expressed in the accompanying letterpress. There are indicators in the written text suggesting that the habit may be broken, and that completing the ‘journey’ need not be an inevitability. These are, after all, lessons to be learned and to be taken note of. The possibility of reprieve is

³¹ ‘A Drinking Education’ (n.d.): 11.

implicit in the selection of words used, and in the act of reading the tract. The closing sentence does offer hope to those willing to learn from the lessons given. “Then let the wicked forsake his way... let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy on him...” The illustrations, however, are devoid of any element of the hope suggested in the letterpress. There is no escape, no turning back from the chosen path. In Fig. 47, the infant is trapped within the crook of the mother’s arm. The only open door, in Fig. 49, leads to more drink and greater danger, and in Figs. 48, 50 and 51, Alfred is hemmed in by people and surrounded by alcohol. In Fig 52, the only possible exit, the window, is effectively barred.

‘A Drinking Education’ conforms to the popular temperance narrative of the road to ruin, in which the first drink inevitable leads to moral destruction and misery. The storyline contains all the necessary components describing the stages of a journey which, once set out on, is inescapable. The sense of inevitability conveyed in the letterpress is graphically, and crudely, reinforced in the engravings, the whole series of which amplifies stages various stages of physical and moral corruption brought about by drinking. While the storyline is all too familiar ‘A Drinking Education’ is unique in the Ipswich series of tracts for the format, size and number of illustrations.

The second of my case studies, in which I examine an almost identical theme published under completely different circumstances and for a different audience, serves to confirm the popularity of the ‘road to ruin trope’ and, more importantly, the illustrations show more clearly the close relationships that existed between some sources of temperance imagery and the pictures often associated with street literature or popular sensationalist newspapers.

Illustrating a Standard Temperance Narrative: The Road To Ruin.
Two- Livesey's *The Progressionist*.

The trope of the 'journey', the transition from sobriety and respectability, to drunkenness and ruin, was forthrightly portrayed in countless tracts and illustrations during the 1840s and early 1850s. This second case study, an examination of the use of imagery in *The Progressionist*, (1852-1853) produced by Joseph Livesey, one of the more uncompromising temperance activists and independent temperance periodicals publisher, highlights particularly effectively the fundamental shift in emphasis between the 'traditional' form of the road to ruin narrative and the strategies adopted by Smithies for educating/informing his readers of potential alternative outcomes.

In common with other advocates of total abstinence, Joseph Livesey vehemently argued against any suggestion that drink could be consumed in moderation and was totally unsympathetic towards any authority suggesting otherwise, often coming into open conflict with some members of the clergy. A sequence of six engravings published in the twenty-four numbers of the *The Progressionist* issued between January 1852 and December 1853, illustrate the tenor of Livesey's arguments in what Brian Harrison recognised as "graphically portrayed miseries of the drunkard's life".³² Because of the limited number of images published during the lifetime of the paper, it is possible to identify in the engravings, a line of argument that 'illuminates' Livesey's stance on the temperance question, relative to that of the 'moderationists'. The engravings also confirm the continued popularity of the 'road to ruin' narrative in the year prior to the publication of the *British Workman*, and contribute to a better understanding of the factors determining what, for Smithies, constituted 'good pictures'.³³

³² Harrison, (1969): 149.

³³ The images under discussion here were not produced as a series in the same context as Hogarth's *The Rake's Progress*, Cruikshank's *The Bottle*, or 'A Drinking Education', where all the Figs were conceived as a unified piece of work. The engravings from *The Progressionist* were all produced independently of each other, not all of the images had been commissioned specially for the paper, and they were not all contemporaneous with the date of publication. However, they were published sequentially, at regular intervals over a short period of time, and in the order given here. They all appeared in the same periodical, itself published at regular intervals, and there is a teleological narrative expressed through five engravings.

The illustrations are striking for a number of reasons – the style of the cuts/engravings, the forthright and direct characteristics of the messages portrayed, and the anachronistic, sensationalist nature of the subject matter of several of the later key images in the sequence. Whereas, in the first case study, the journey began in the nursery, here the narrative primarily focuses on political aspects of the temperance question more relevant to the concerns of adult male activists.

The first engraving in the sequence under consideration, ‘Is Not This A Striking Figure Of The Obstructive Character Of Moderation?’ (Fig. 53.), was issued in the second number of *The Progressionist*, in February 1852. It was preceded by an article entitled ‘New Year’s Movement’, outlining a new beginning, the start of a new journey on behalf of the efforts of the Preston based teetotallers.

Now is the time to be free, and bid a final farewell to jerry shops, dram shops, public houses, and taverns. We ought to cut the whole drinking system, and begin to live as men ought to live. Drunkards! We are giving you another opportunity... We will deliver you from the miserable slavery you are now enduring, and restore you and your families to happiness and peace. Moderate drinkers! We know your dangerous position. Every drunkard in the kingdom began as you have done, and never intended to go to excess... Backsliders! Oh what a number in this town, who were once teetotal and happy, and are now enduring the miseries of drinking! You often think with grief of soul of the peace and pleasure you have lost.³⁴



Fig. 53.

The image is almost self explanatory. The organisation of the cut, the caption, and the additional text incorporated into the illustration, leave little room for mis-interpretation. The moderationists, represented by the figure placing a sturdy post with the word ‘moderation’ clearly written it, are shown blocking efforts to remove the drink problem. The combined strenuous efforts of the teetotallers to remove the drink nuisance, represented by the barrels on the opposite end of the

³⁴ *Livesey's Progressionist* No 2 February (1852): 7.

lever are frustrated by a minority within the temperance movement itself. In the second engraving in the series, 'The Mouse Trap', (Fig. 54), the motif of the lever takes on additional meaning.



Fig. 54.

The refusal of the moderationists to accept the implications of the ready availability of the 'first drop' of alcohol is the subject of 'The Mouse Trap', published two numbers later, in April 1852. In this image, a drunkard, in the guise of a sailor, is shown teetering precariously on the edge of a precipice, in the process of inviting another 'potential' drunkard to join him in the 'first drink'. Having pocketed his bible, putting aside the religious teachings that he has been brought up with, the newcomer is hesitant. He is shown reaching for the glass with his right hand while, at the same time, his left hand is held up as if trying to resist the temptation. Both men are positioned on a featureless downward slope that offers little in the way of security against the slide into potential oblivion. The drunkard is happily oblivious to the fact that in the act of offering the first glass, both he and his companion would 'tip the balance' thereby sending them both to their doom. The rays of the sinking sun inform the reader that the men are about to be plunged into darkness and oblivion.

This wood-cut, like the first, displays many of the characteristics of the coarse 'chapbook' illustrations of the 1830s and 1840s in that it is crudely drawn with scant attention to detail or 'lifelike' representation. The composite blocks have been hurriedly cut and re-assembled and have not been re-worked to eliminate the tell-tale 'white line' that divides the image in two. The illustration is almost a 'blunt instrument' serving to reinforce an equally blunt message- drink will be the cause your downfall. However, the scene depicted in the '*Mouse Trap*' offers the possibility of avoiding the spiral of spiritual, moral and physical disaster. The 'trap' has yet to be sprung and both protagonists may still elect to turn away from

the evils of drink and return to the safety offered by the relative security of the grassy outcrop from which the plank is projecting. The image also reminds the viewer of the teetotalers arguments. By turning away from the temptation, by turning one's back on alcohol, the problem would be removed without the need of legislative action and drink itself, rather than drinkers, would topple over the abyss.



Fig. 55.

In the third of the engravings, (Fig. 55), 'A Looking-glass for Legislators; or, The Fruit of Their Labours', Livesey reminds his readers of the consequences arising from the continued availability of alcohol. He hints at the costs to the middle classes of the constant visible threat to social stability posed by the "half starved, ragged children" and the impact that drunkenness has on the working class population. This is accompanied by a scathing attack on the drinking system, and the gin-palace owners who become excessively rich at the expense of the poor working classes.³⁵

What a contrast the Streets of London present! Splendid edifices, columned and fluted, as though the architect had endeavoured to bring the whole wonders of science, like some Apelles of old, into one grand climacteric, and in the space of a building some twenty feet in width. These are our gew-gaw gin-palaces, some of which are said to have cost £10,000 in building, and £20,000 more for decorations, to say nothing of the stock in trade. All this has been repaid, in some cases in a few months, and a fortune realised in a very few years. Of course the THREE BALLS are not far away from the bunch of grapes; where bed, tea-kettle, fire-irons, fender, &c., are taken to the house, over the door of which is inscribed MONEY LENT; and two to one if it is ever returned. Look at the customers who do business at these houses! A more motley group was, probably, never congregated, that are found within and around the purlieu of these dens of infamy... the fish-men and fish-women, husbands and wives... a blooming, innocent, light-hearted girl...with half -a-dozen wretched, half-starved, ragged children, clinging to her knee for protection, but undergoing an education,

³⁵ Livesey was not a prohibitionist he was a "moral suasionist". He always held the view that the evil lay in the drink rather than in the drinks traffic. However, engraving, the caption and the letterpress suggest, there were occasions when he felt that official action might be appropriate. Harrison, B. (1994): 198-99

which will render them callous to every feeling of benevolence or humanity... in training for theft and crime as well as for the barbarous calling...³⁶

Leading on from the previous image where the temptation of the first drink and the corrupting influences of drunkenness on the individual were highlighted, the possibility and means of a resolution was offered. In 'A Looking-glass for Legislators', Livesey draws attention to the fact that although drunkenness affected individuals, and individuals could, if they so desired, solve their problems by exercising will power, it also constituted a massive social problem which was bigger than the individual and therefore required collective effort to tackle it. In the engraving continuous streams of people are depicted in an endless procession from home, to the pawn-shop, to the gin-palace, to poverty and the workhouse, or, to a life of crime and eventual imprisonment. Intemperance was impoverishing gullible and weak people, leading them like cattle to the slaughterhouse and, in the process, creating pauperism and encouraging the rising generation to become drunkards and thieves, "training them for theft and crime, as well as for the barbarous calling". The 'drinking education' that some children received at home was being replicated on the streets of the metropolis, where "half-starved, ragged children" were also "undergoing their education".



Fig. 56.

In the next engraving in the sequence, 'Gradual but Certain Road to Ruin', (Fig. 56), the stages of the journey of the individual 'road to ruin' are more clearly defined, and illustrated in greater detail. In this instance the journey ends in a location other than the workhouse or the gaol, only the price to pay on completion of the journey is higher. Material, economic and social ruin in the present, the

³⁶ *The Progressionist* Vol. 1. No. 5. May, (1852): 73

loss of earthly possessions and punishment in life, are but trifling consequences clearly marked as being the first eight steps of a journey that ultimately ends with greater spiritual loss and eternity in purgatory, 'THE DRUNKARD'S GRAVE, AND THE DRUNKARDS' HELL'. Earthly loss is only one of the unfortunate consequences of partaking the first glass of the "devil's brew". Here, though there is a suggestion in the compositional arrangement that there is a point, (the summit), before which those with sufficient moral courage and will power, perhaps with the intervention of the appropriate authorities, (in this instance the police), might be able to draw back from the decline into crime and death. As in Fig. 42, Livesey has acknowledged that there comes a point at which outside agencies might have to intervene in order to tackle the existing problem.

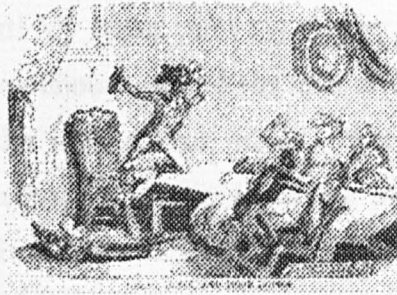


Fig .57.

The next image, 'Death, Drink, and their Doings', (Fig. 57.), reinforces some of the points raised in earlier images reminding the reader of the spiritual, as well as the material costs involved in drinking to excess. Death, in the guise of a friendly reveller is stalking the drunkard. There is an implied inevitability about the outcome of the narrative in this the picture. There is no obvious avenue of escape. As with the construction of the images illustrating the 'A Drinking Education', the artist has created a scene without doors or windows, the drinking companions are either trapped with their backs to the wall, obstructed by the heavy furniture, or by one another. It is evident from this image that Livesey was sending out a warning to all classes, not just the working population, as the scene depicts a group of middle-class gentlemen in various stages of intoxication.



Fig. 58.

In the sixth, and final, illustration in this sequence, published some twelve months after ‘Drink, Death, and Their Doings’, the drunkard’s journey reaches its climax. ‘A Beautiful Girl Kills Her Father and Goes Mad’, (Fig. 58.), illustrates an extract reprinted from *The British Banner* and shows the violent slaying of a wife-beating father by a beautiful, but deranged, axe wielding daughter. We are informed by the letterpress that “... her father had been accustomed to drink and ill-use her mother... ‘I cannot bear it! My father beats my mother,... I shall go mad!...’ The daughter rushed to the woodhouse, seized the axe, and seven times with all her might, dashed it upon the head of her father... and instantly became raving mad.”³⁷ There is something climactic about the picture which presages the demise of the periodical itself, as well as the tragic fate that awaits the confirmed drunkard with all the added impact on family and loved ones. The reader is presented with an illustration depicting the final act, the point of no return that destroys the lives of a husband, father, daughter, wife and mother, the whole scene witnessed by a mysterious ‘hand of God’ emerging from the clouds of smoke and wrath to the extreme right of the image. Echoing the motif employed by Michelangelo, the pointed finger, in this instance, signals destruction rather than creation. When compared to images from *The Progressionist*, the pictures illustrating ‘A Drinking Education’ are less shocking in character and less violent in content. In the sequence published in *The Progressionist*, Livesey has raised the stakes in graphic representations of the path to drunkenness and ruin. The narrative is essentially the same ‘road to ruin’ as that described in ‘A Drinking Education’ but the anticipated audiences are different.

³⁷ *The Progressionist* Vol. 1. No. 24. December, (1853): 365. With the failure and end of publication of *The Progressionist*, Livesey was, perhaps also hinting at the loss of a valuable agent of reform, his periodical. The utter desolation in transmitted through the scene illustrated might also echo concerns for the future of a temperance movement, and a society, that would not heed the warnings broadcast in favour of total abstinence rather than temperance, choosing instead to abandon interest in the voice of reason.

The *Ipswich Temperance Series* tract would have been distributed to a wide range of families, possibly by middle class ladies. R. D. Alexander would have to have been sensitive to the importance of illustrations doing their work without causing offence. It is evident from Figs. 53 & 54, that Livesey's illustrations were intended for a specific target audience of committed total abstinence activists. Livesey was directing his attack at moderationists within the temperance movement, the religious community, and the licensed trade, as well as at the drunkard. Three of the engravings, (Figs. 56-58) contain particularly violent and disturbing motifs. The vision of hell depicted in 'Gradual but Certain Road to Ruin', (Fig. 56), the menacing vision of death in the guise of a drunken reveller in 'Death, Drink, and their Doings', (Fig. 57), and the sensational murder scene, (Fig. 58), are not representative of the type of engraving commonly found in the more widely distributed temperance tracts of the period. The engraving, 'A Beautiful Girl Kills her Father and Goes Mad', is particularly relevant in the context of the arguments set out in this chapter. As far as subject matter and narrative are concerned, the murder, dramatic action, the chaos, the heightened emotion, the sense of theatre and the suggestion of voyeurism, determine that the image is closely affiliated to the sensationalist and gruesome depictions of violence and murder illustrating some of the street literature mentioned by Mayhew, (Figs. 32 & 33). Stylistically and technically, comparisons can also be made with illustrations from the popular romances of the 1840s, like Reynolds's *Wagner the Wehr-Wolf*, (Fig. 59.), that were intended to inflame and excite the passions.



Fig. 59.

It is evident that the pictures illustrating *The Progressionist* bear a number of the hallmarks of the type of 'cuts' designed by Cruikshank to illustrate William

Hone's political pamphlets,³⁸ the chapbook and broadside, or the flights of fancy portrayed in the pictures illustrating the penny romances and the penny dreadful.

Smithies and Temperance Education: Graphic Representations of Intemperance and Drunkenness, and the 'Road to Ruin' Narrative.

Although there is no record of what Smithies thought of as being a 'good' picture' the ways in which he used illustration to direct his readers through readings of the images he used to illustrate his texts helps us to understand his concept of appropriate visual narratives. There are also indications of the type of illustration that he thought inappropriate for his own publications in the following account given by one of the men who worked for his printer, George Watson.

"Will you please explain how this outrageous picture appears in my paper?" he says sternly to the foreman. "It came straight from the engraver this morning, Mr. Smithies. But what is wrong with it?" "Can't you see—can't you see—the man has a pipe in his hand!" "Yes, Mr. Smithies, but a few months ago you had a whole page block of a man with a pipe in his *mouth*." "Of course; that man was a ne'er-do-well, as the title of the picture implied. But this is a *good* man, and it would be an outrage for him to appear in my paper as if about to contaminate his lips with filthy tobacco." Only after the obnoxious feature has been removed from the block by an engraver does Mr. Smithies allow the run of the paper to start—sadly behind time.³⁹

It is evident that Smithies was deeply concerned to ensure that positive moral messages were transmitted through the engravings used to illustrate his periodicals and that 'good' men and good deeds were portrayed as such, and not 'contaminated' by motifs like pipes that symbolised 'filthy' immoral habits. "Only ne'er-do-wells smoked, according to the proprietor of The British Workman... who published this drawing as an awful example."⁴⁰

³⁸ Compare, for example, 'Death, Drink, and Their Doings', (Fig. 57.), with the cut depicting a scene in the Crown and Anchor, from 'The Loyal Man in the Moon', (1820); or 'A Looking-glass for Legislators', (Fig 55), with 'St. Omer's', from 'The New Pilgrim's Progress', (1820), in Rickword, E. *Radical Squibs & Loyal Ripostes*, Bath, Adams & Dart, (1971): 115 & 264.

³⁹ Keefe, H. J. *A Century in Print: The Story of Hazell's 1839 – 1939*, London, Hazell, Watson & Viney, (1939): 52.

⁴⁰ Keefe, (1939): 49.



Fig. 60.

Unlike images illustrating many other temperance tracts and periodicals in which the subject matter predominantly focused on the negative aspects of drinking, the loss of control and self respect, the destructive impact on the home and family, and the descent into moral degradation, despair, crime and violence, the great majority of illustrations reproduced in the *British Workman* did not directly address intemperance and its consequences through depictions of drunkards or drunkenness. The figures in Table 24 represent the total number of images reproduced in the paper during the first five years, in which drinking, smoking, or acts of drunken violence were the main or subsidiary subject. The number of engravings representing drunkards, or containing motifs directly related to the drink habit, such as bottles or tankards, totalled 14 relatively small engravings, or 2.3% of the 600 images contained in the complete five year volume.⁴¹ It is evident from the statistics and from the recollections of his printers that the policy adopted by Smithies in his use of illustration was to concentrate on, and emphasise, instilling positive patterns of behaviour in his readers.

YEAR	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859
DRUNKS	2			3	3
DRINKING	2	2	1		1
SMOKING	3	1			1
VIOLENCE		3	2		

Table 24. To show the number of Illustrations Depicting Drinking, Smoking, or Violence published in the *British Workman* each year 1855 – 1859.

As demonstrated in the examples drawn from the *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts and *The Progressionist*, there was often little hope of redemption for

⁴¹ A complete edition of the *British Workman* 1855-1859 was advertised as containing 600 illustrations. See, for example *BW* No. 64. April, (1860): 254. Similarly, during the first 4 years of publication (1851-54) only 23 illustrations showing drunkards or drinking were published in *The Band of Hope Review* out of a total exceeding 400. Compare this figure with that for Livesey's *Progressionist*, a contemporary illustrated temperance periodical in which almost 50%, (7 out of 15), of the illustrations (excluding diagrams and tables) depicted drink, drinking, or its consequences.

drunkards in mainstream temperance literature, and many of the illustrations reinforced the inevitability of the consequences of partaking of the 'first glass'. Smithies, however, offered his readers and subscribers, and drinkers and reformers alike, an alternative version of the 'road to ruin' narrative, an alternative and more enabling vision of the future. It was a future in which the drunkard was rescued and encouraged to take the pledge and to follow the teachings of the Gospels. A time when working men were well enough informed to be enabled, through reasoned choice, to set out on paths of righteousness, prosperity and respectability rather self-destruction. Smithies was primarily concerned with educating the working classes about the benefits of total abstinence, thrift and domestic economy, although readers were also regularly reminded of the potential consequences of intemperance, and equally important issues concerning non participation in religious rituals and non-observance of the Lord's Day. It is evident from an analysis of illustrations published in the *British Workman* and *The Band of Hope Review* that Smithies avoided using images that might send out the wrong signals to his readers or could be either misinterpreted, or selectively read. Unlike the examples offered by others which drew attention to the inviting and sociable aspects of drinking, or to its less glamorous, threatening, violent and destructive consequences, or the deceitfulness and the consequences of the drink habit, Smithies commissioned images that reinforced the opposite view of the temperance question, the advantages of total abstinence as opposed to the disadvantages of alcohol consumption. A close examination of some of the popular temperance texts republished in his papers reveals how he reworked existing temperance narratives, taking his readers into familiar situations, building on their expectations in order to reveal alternative outcomes. The first image published in the *British Workman*, an illustration accompanying Livesey's 'Loaf Lecture', (Fig. 62), can be read in this way.



Fig. 61.



Fig. 62.

The impact of the first engraving was a crucial element in the process of establishing the identity of the periodical. The fact that it was from the pen of Cruikshank and that it illustrated a text by Joseph Livesey, one of the founders of the temperance movement in England, not only unambiguously established the impeccable temperance credentials of the paper, but also served to bring together the two main temperance ideologies of the period.

Cruikshank's illustration for 'The Loaf Lecture' is a reworking of the first Plate of his famous series *The Bottle*, 1847, (Fig. 61.), and as such, 'The Loaf Lecture' offers a complexity of possible interpretations for the contemporary reader. On a superficial level the illustration gives an untroubled depiction of a family being instructed about the value of bread as part of the daily diet, with, perhaps, the shabby looking father being singled out for specific attention by the 'lecturer', a neighbour and fellow work colleague who had been a teetotaler for seven years. The accompanying text, however, informs a different reading of the image. The letterpress informs the reader that the teetotal lecturer is warning against the deleterious effect that regular expenditure on alcohol has on the disposable income of the household, and its effects on the health and happiness of the family as a whole.

Two such men are represented in the picture on the first page, and one of them is trying to explain to his neighbour how it is that he manages to make his wages go so far, and provide so many comforts for himself and his family. He is endeavouring to prove to his shop-mate what folly it is for a working man to imagine that he can't do without Intoxicating Drink. "You know," says he, "that I have been a Teetotaler for seven years, and I owe to Teetotalism the happy, comfortable home I now enjoy. Seven years ago I used to think, as you do, that I couldn't do my work without my usual allowance of beer; I argued that hard work needed strong beer; and I really thought that there was more nourishment and strength in good ale than in any thing else I could take—that strong ale made men strong."⁴²

Although references to the effects and consequences of drinking are not overtly alluded to in the image, many of the readers of this issue of the *British Workman* would have been fully aware of the temperance issues raised through the clear association between 'The Loaf Lecture' and '*The Bottle*'.⁴³ However, it is also probable that a number of these same readers would have been familiar with the

⁴² See *British Workman* No. 1. February, (1855): 2.

'progress' of the full narrative developed through the eight Plates that made up the complete series. *The Bottle* describes in graphic form a standard temperance propaganda warning of the inevitable degeneration into despair, criminality, and ruin precipitated by the initial glass – the road to ruin. The potential for moral and economic ruin as suggested in the direct parallels between 'The Loaf Lecture' and *The Bottle* was, I believe, deliberately flagged in the first number of the *British Workman* and yet the negative consequences of intemperance were rarely pursued or reinforced in subsequent issues of the periodical.

Given the popularity and reputation of the artist, and the significance of the temperance narrative to which it alluded, the illustration to Livesey's text provides a clearer indication of the temperance agenda proposed by Smithies and his supporters, than an uninterrupted mass of letterpress in a mission statement might achieve. The reworking of a familiar narrative has the potential to remind the viewer of the sequence of events as depicted in the original and, at the same time, deny the expected narrative ending in order to set up an alternative closure with its own set of political, social and moral implications. In the case of *The Bottle*, the 'road to ruin' narrative is carefully plotted. The following description of the scene in Plate One, given in one of the popular temperance papers, is evidence of the way in which the engraving was intended to be read.

Plate 1.—" *The Bottle is brought out fur the first time: the husband induces the wife just to take a drop*"—The scene presented is that of an ordinary sitting room, having all the attributes of domestic comfort. The husband, and wife, and children, and even the cat and kitten, all cheerful and happy. The husband holds out a glass in tempting style, which the wife playfully puts from her, but evidently with an intention to partake. Thus, as Douglas Jerrold has well expressed it,— "The fiend Drink is welcomed to the hearth, and the tragedy is begun."⁴⁴

A reader familiar with Cruikshank's work would have been forewarned of the evils of drink and, as a reader of the *British Workman*, he was potentially in a position to avoid, or overcome, the consequences of intemperance through education and instruction, or through the timely intervention of a philanthropic agency. However, Cruikshank's illustration for 'The Loaf Lecture', and the obvious similarities of the *BW* engraving with the hugely popular *The Bottle*, may also have suggested that the paper was initially directed at a more articulate

⁴⁴ See *Teetotal Times*, No 20 October (1847): 159

working class, many of whom may well have had first hand experience of Cruikshank's work.

Temperance lectures and temperance meetings are good, proper, and useful, in their own way, but Cruikshank's Bottle will be more efficacious in some quarters than a thousand of them; We rejoice, therefore, to find "THE BOTTLE" displayed in hundreds of windows in the metropolis, and we have, in most cases, found those windows surrounded by attentive groups, and many a grave sentence is uttered in praise of the artist, and in dispraise of the vice whose consequences he has so faithfully depicted.⁴⁵

However, with the extensive distribution of the paper to poorer communities by city missionaries, there appears to have been a need for a simpler, more accessible explanation, further reinforcing the idea that the readership of the paper had been re-defined to include the less literate in order to increase circulation and extend the influence of the journal.

13, Barnsbury Square,

London, 13 June 1861.

Dear Mrs. Cruikshank,

I am unwilling to trouble Mr Cruikshank, and therefore write to ask you if you can refer me to any letterpress or work suitable for helping City Missionaries to give an address, or lecture on the plates of the 'Bottle'. One of my correspondents whom I am anxious to oblige asks me this question. As it is from a gentleman who is not yet a Tenperance man, to whom I am most anxious to enlist in our ranks, I shall be glad if you can enable me to give him the desired information.

I am yours very truly

T. B. Smithies.

PS. I hope to get Mr Gurney Barclay to see the painting shortly... please tell Mr. C. this.⁴⁶

The images and letterpress in later numbers of the *BW* point to the potential for the reclamation, redemption and potential restoration of respectability. This characteristic of Smithies' use of illustration suggests that subscribing to the *British Workman*, and the temperance and moral values expressed within its images and texts, could serve to warn readers against the dangers of taking that 'first step' on the road to drunkenness and ruin. Also, the paper offered guidance and advice regarding the necessary remedial actions required in order to

⁴⁵ See *Teetotal Times*, No 20 October (1847): 159

⁴⁶ Cruikshank Papers CO256 Bx 26 F 31

determine a course towards future salvation and the prospect of “health, wealth, and, happiness”. Finally, the *British Workman* could also act as a vehicle through which others, possibly those tempted or already set out on the path of degradation, might be redeemed by following the advice offered, or through the timely intervention of some philanthropic agent or society.

These observations are supported by the various depictions of the ‘working man’ and ‘labourer’ as they appeared in the *British Workman* throughout the twenty-seven years that T. B. Smithies was the editor. While the drunkard portrayed by Cruikshank is shabby, unwashed and dejected, he still has his family and his home. Apart from the husband, the rest of the family members are represented as being clean, respectably attired, and surrounded by a range of personal possessions. The drunkard to the left of the picture is thus confronted with the choices that he can make. He has arraigned before him an inventory of all he might still lose as a consequence of continued intemperance, or, on the other hand, the home and family he might yet retain influence over, and the respectable life he could once more aspire to, if he took the pledge. Cruikshank’s depictions of the gin palace, or reworked versions of his illustrations, were frequently used in temperance propaganda. The following case study dealing with representations of the Gin shop, reveals how publishers of temperance tracts and periodicals continued to rely on those traditional temperance narratives and styles of imagery that projected a pessimistic, rather than optimistic, outlook for drinkers and for temperance reformers well into the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It also builds on the issues raised in the comparison with Livesey’s strategy and serves to further highlight Smithies’ pioneering approach to temperance illustration, and temperance education.

Smithies, Series Illustration, and the ‘Road to Ruin Narrative.’

By comparing Smithies use of series illustrations with that of R.D. Alexander and Joseph Livesey, I shall develop some of the arguments raised with regard to the implied inevitability of the road to ruin narrative. I shall also enlarge on matters

concerning Smithies' responses to wider temperance and social discourses, and to his concept of the good picture. While Livesey and Alexander used the 'road to ruin' trope to warn of the dangers and consequences of taking the first drink, the illustrations and the letterpress also transmitted ideas dealing with a variety of complex issues concerned with working class morality and middle class anxieties. Getting across the temperance message to the working classes was at the heart of temperance propaganda but the temperance movement was also concerned with a number of pressing social matters, and problems arising from urbanisation and industrialisation. As discussed in Chapter One in the context of temperance periodicals publishing and the evolution of temperance ideologies, religion, health, housing, sanitation, the humane treatment of animals, diet, and working class leisure and pastimes, all impacted on the aims and objectives of the temperance reform movement. In discussing Smithies' use of series illustration in putting across the 'road to ruin' narrative, I shall also examine the ways in which he developed the concept of the 'good' picture in order to transmit increasingly sophisticated temperance propaganda to the masses.

The Gin-Shop.



Fig. 63.



Fig. 64.



Fig 65.

This extravagant and striking example of the way in which Smithies used the series illustration to convey the 'road to ruin' trope, (Figs. 63-65), was first issued in three consecutive numbers of *The Band of Hope Review* published in 1868. Cruikshank developed the gin shop motif as used for *Sketches by Boz* into a series of twelve illustrations designed to accompany a story, in verse, written by Rev. J. W. Kirton, author of popular temperance and moral tales such as *Buy Your Own Cherries*, *How Sam Adams' Pipe became a Pig*, and *The Four Pillars of*

Temperance. The Gin-Shop, which originally appeared in serialised form in three issues of *The Band of Hope Review* in March, April, and May 1868, and was republished in booklet form *circa* 1870.

The letterpress accompanying the ‘Gin-shop’ is a reinterpretation of narratives such as ‘The Fool’s Pence’, which closely follows the journey of the main protagonists as described in Tayler’s version of 1849. In some respects illustrations to *The Gin-shop* draw on earlier imagery by Cruikshank, and echo the first two illustrations to *The Political House that Jack Built*. The classical temple form of architecture in the opening scene of *The Political House that Jack Built*, (the ‘symbolic temple’) ⁴⁷, is replaced by the grand façade of the gin-palace. Similarly, in the second image, the sacks of coins and treasure chest, (The Wealth) in the former pamphlet, are substituted by barrels of ale and bottles gin in the latter.⁴⁸ The nursery rhyme form picks up on parodies of the nursery rhyme books of the eighteenth century, and there are distinct similarities between the ways in which Kirton builds his rhyme to that employed by Rowlandson in *This is the House that Jack Built*, (1809).⁴⁹ Coupling Cruikshank’s illustrations with nursery rhyme refers back to the radical squibs of the early nineteenth century when the form was used as a means of slipping propaganda ‘under the readers guard’.⁵⁰ The twelve engravings in the ‘Gin-shop’ series form a carefully structured storyboard tracing the transition of a working man and his family through the inevitable stages of drinking, drunkenness, degradation and despair. However, the ‘Gin-shop’ series, (unlike *The Bottle* and many other temperance narratives) does not culminate in self-destruction or murder.

The series begins with an image of an opulent gin palace with a lavish, ornate and decorative exterior designed to attract the public and tempt them inside, (Fig. 63/1). “This is the *Gin-shop* all glittering and gay”. The façade of the gin-shop is a picture of symmetry and order, with double fronted windows, barley-twist columns and advertisements for ‘Christmas Gin’ and ‘Double L Whisky’, all situated beneath the watchful eye of a guardian angel figurine which is positioned

⁴⁷ Wood, (1994): 230.

⁴⁸ Wood, (1994): Figs. 39. & 40.

⁴⁹ Rickword (1971): 231-233. The full text of Kirton’s rhyme is given in Appendix G.

⁵⁰ Rickword (1971): 24

reassuringly above the doorway. The second scene, (Fig. 63/2), depicts the 'Luncheon Bar' in the interior of 'The Angel' gin-shop. The scene is filled to the edges of the frame with barrels of spirits and beers, foaming tankards and other vessels garlanded with barley sheaves, wheat sheaves and vines. Again there is a completely ordered and symmetrical arrangement to the composition. However, textual elements incorporated into the picture serve to undermine the order imposed by the rigid compositional organisation of the image and introduce a cautionary note. The fruits of the earth are signalled as having been destroyed to produce the stock in trade of the gin-shop, while the labels on the jars which underpin the whole image at the bottom of the design, suggest the poisonous characteristics of their contents. Furthermore, the barrels of ale, stout and porter are tightly packed under what could be read a vaulted ceiling suggestive of a supporting structure mimicking a 'gunpowder plot' scenario and the possibility that the whole edifice could come crashing down, and with it the drinks industry. The initial stages of the standard road to ruin narrative are played out through scenes three to eight. In scene three, (Fig. 63/3), the subject of the narrative, the workman, is shown drinking at the bar while in scene four, (Fig. 63/4), the landlord places his bags of 'gold' into his 'Patent Fireproof Safe'. As the story unfolds in scenes 5-7 the landlord and landlady continue to prosper at the expense of the workman and his family, (Fig. 64/5/6/7). However, in scenes eight and nine, (Figs. 64/8 & 65/9), responding to a plea by the 'woebegone' wife, the local pastor intervenes and induces the drunkard husband to sign the pledge and attend church. This marks a turning point in the story and a departure from the usual road to ruin temperance narrative. The workman is rescued from intemperance and he becomes a teetotaller and regular church-goer. Through the assistance provided by the local church and temperance society, "The Son of man is come to seek and save that which is lost", (Fig. 65/11). In the final scene, (Fig. 65/12), order, peace and respectability are once again restored to the workman and his family. In another variant of *The Bottle*, (Fig. 61.), and 'The Loaf Lecture', (Fig. 62.), scene twelve represents a total reversal of the expected outcome. The workman's cottage has become, "The home of delight, whence prayer, like incense, ascends day and night". Nevertheless, the need for constant self-restraint and for sustained religious observance in order to assure continued prosperity and harmony is also clearly flagged up in the final two scenes of the series. The

dominant message conveyed in the letterpress and the illustrations is that, regardless of how far one might have fallen, the support and beneficial influences of the church and the temperance movement, and the conforming to a teetotal lifestyle, can redeem even the most wretched of individuals.

The artist has communicated a rather haunting picture of what the rest of the world has forgotten and forgotten. Let us go down a mile or two, starting from the

The Fool's Pence.

Down? The world it portrayed as being indeed bright and open.

I have argued that it was quite common for illustrated tracts to carry a single engraving. So far this analysis of the ways in which standard temperance narratives were presented has looked at multiple image scenarios. In order to develop this examination of the innovative ways in which Smithies reworked standard temperance themes it is necessary to explore Smithies' use of the single image in order to transmit to his readers the dominant messages embedded into the images and texts reproduced in the *British Workman*.



Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

The Fool's Pence,⁵¹ (1844), for example, carried a single wood engraved image on the front, illustrating a text by Rev. Charles Tayler, M.A. The illustration, (Fig. 66), by an unnamed artist, depicts the interior of a busy gin-palace in which a variety of customers are shown purchasing or consuming alcohol. The repertoire of characters portrayed is similar to that included in a number of depictions of the same motif, although here the artist has elected to offer a more reserved representation of the drunkard. An elderly man, accompanied by a woman, is leaving with a bottle grasped firmly in his hand. Behind them a bearded man in a top hat gazes intently at a young female stood at the counter drinking. A young man by her side reaches out for a tankard of ale drawn by a

⁵¹ 'The Fool's Pence'. *Ipswich Temperance Series* No. 22

barmaid and to his right, two young girls, no taller than the bar top, are reaching for something that has attracted their attention on the counter. On the extreme left of the scene, a dejected looking fellow smoking a pipe stands with his back to the bar.

The artist has constructed a rather inviting picture of what the text describes as a “genteel and fashionable” London gin-shop - a ‘palace’, something similar to the splendid mansion with rosewood fittings and immense lamps as described by Dickens.⁵² The inside is portrayed as being ordered, bright and spacious, the barrels, bottles and jugs are neatly arranged on shelves behind the bar. The clientele seem at ease in the warm and comfortable environment, not at all like the customers with “pale, sunken cheeks, inflamed eyes, and ragged garments” as described by Charles Tayler in the letterpress.

The scene (Fig. 66), incorporates several of the motifs employed by George Cruikshank in an earlier depiction of *The Gin Shop* (Fig. 67), produced before Cruikshank became a staunch supporter of the temperance cause. However, the depiction of drink and drinking comes to the fore in Cruikshank’s gin-shop interior with the huge barrels of Old Tom and Cream of the Valley dominating the image. The small child at the counter, the crooked old man on crutches, the rows of large barrels, and the pretty bonneted barmaid are all represented in ‘The Fools Pence’ and, as with the Cruikshank image, there is little reference to the morally corrupting consequences of drinking. However, there is no depiction of the drunkenness, violence, or crime, often directly attributed to intemperance, in the engraving illustrating ‘The Fool’s Pence’. No-one is shown collapsed in a heap over an upturned table, or on the floor and there is no suggestion of the descent into alcohol fuelled madness and murder as portrayed in *The Bottle*, or in engravings such as those used to illustrate ‘A Drinking Education’ or those in *The Progressionist*.

The impression given in the illustration for Taylor’s tract, is one of conviviality and orderly conduct. Although the stooping man shown moving away from the

⁵² Dickens, C. *Sketches by Boz*, (nd): 157.

bar carrying a bottle and walking with the aid of a stick may be interpreted as someone suffering from the ravages of intemperate habits, however, it could also be read as a depiction of symptoms of the ageing process. The motifs of the wretched drunkard and raucous, if not violent, behaviour, as often shown in illustrations of this subject are curiously absent from this apparently sanitised illustration.⁵³ The central figure of the workman at the bar is upright, in full control of his actions and his pose and mannerisms all suggest a moment of polite social discourse. Nevertheless, the full road to ruin narrative is incorporated into this image as well, although telescoped into a single image. Reading the image from left to right, the stooped old man exiting the gin-palace with his bottle, leaves others in his place, and the viewer is drawn particularly to the young man at the centre. His place will, in the fullness of time, be taken by the children to his right who will learn from his example.

By electing to depict the inside of a gin shop as a clean, bright, friendly and relaxing place, consistent with one of the themes of the letterpress, the artist has created an image which accentuates the attractiveness, the warmth, light, comfort and conviviality of the public house, in stark contrast to the reality of the condition of the homes of the poor. The engraving advertises the gin shop as a haven of light and relaxation for the tens of thousands of the working classes living in dingy, damp, squalid rooms and overcrowded conditions, or in cheerless, dilapidated homes. The consequences of frequenting such places, and the likely outcome of drinking, are only hinted at in the illustration. The main point of the text – the supposed comparative wealth, and extravagant lifestyles of the owners of gin-shops, paid for by the ‘fool’s pence’ willingly squandered by the working classes in reckless pursuit of their drinking habits- is also only partially realised in this illustration. There is just a glimpse into the living quarters of the owner through an open doorway behind the barmaid, where a figure can be seen beyond the draped curtains. Apart from the large, comfortable and well stocked bar-room there is little to suggest the grandeur and opulence of the private parlour or the trappings of material wealth acquired by the landlady, alluded to in the letterpress, the room beyond the curtains appears rather bare in comparison.

⁵³ See, for example, ‘An Old Mariner’s Tale’, or ‘The Fifteen Friends’, (Figs. 68. & 69.) or Fig. 152 ‘Illustrations of Intemperance, Illustration the Fifth, Gin’.



Fig. 70.

When *The Fool's Pence* was republished in the *British Workman*, however, the accompanying full page engraving focussed the viewer's attention on a theme that had been marginalized in the Ipswich text. The comfortable, well furnished room shown in the illustration, (Fig. 70.), is not, as the reader might anticipate, a scene in the gin-palace owner's parlour, decorated and embellished at the expense of the hapless working man. It is an illustration of a meeting taking place in the home of the working man who refrained from spending his hard-earned pennies in the gin shop. Smithies, in characteristic fashion, has taken a well known temperance narrative and turned it on its head. For Taylor the focus of the narrative was the gin-palace owner's profits, gained at the expense of the daily tipple. Smithies' 'British workman', on the other hand, profits at the expense of the landlady and her trade. The man of the house, with his wife and children are plainly but well dressed. The room in which the scene is set is well furnished clean and tidy. A fine art print hangs on the wall and the teapot, tray, candle-stick, cup and saucer, visible on the mantelshelf symbolise a civilised lifestyle. This 'conversation piece' is composed around the relationships between the main characters as explained in the accompanying text. The workman, 'a mechanic named George Manly', (shown seated), is explaining to the 'astonished landlady', who is portrayed with a questioning gesture indicated by open upturned hands, the source of his material comforts, his pleasant home, and his respectable lifestyle. The visual prominence of the bible that George Manly is holding in his right hand would clearly signal to the reader the importance of religion and religious observance in the processes of the acquisition and maintenance of spiritual and material well-being.

The themes and ideas explored through the engraving in the *British Workman* were designed to convince the viewer that same source of income which provided the landlady's finery, and that of her daughters, accumulated from the regular receipt of the 'fool's pence', (as payment for the fourpenny 'nipper' that working men were in the habit of drinking morning, noon and night, before during and after work), could be more advantageously employed to the advantage of working men and their own families.⁵⁴ The distinction between the conspicuous material affluence of the landlady and her daughters, and the just rewards of hard work, temperance, and thrift attributed to George Manly and his family lies in contrast between the empty, questioning, hands of the landlady, and the hand of the workman in which a bible is firmly held. *The Fool's Pence: or, The Astonished Landlady and Her Daughters* focussed the viewer's attention on the potential benefits of being sober and thrifty rather than improvident and that even saving small amounts on a regular basis was beneficial in the long term. Furthermore, by observing religious practices and spending Sunday profitably attending church, and reading passages from the bible with the family, the working man would be spiritually refreshed and fortified, more able to resist the temptation of the public house. The depiction of the landlady and her daughters having mud splashes cleaned from their Sunday dresses by George Manly's wife and daughter, is a gentle reminder of the potential pitfalls awaiting those preferring to indulge in inappropriate acts on the Lord's Day.⁵⁵

The Gin-shop, like 'The Fool's Pence', fixes the reader's attention on the possibility of accumulating great material wealth a little at a time. The pennies, paid to the landlord or landlady for the alcohol consumed, accumulate over time to provide a considerable sum of money. What the working man pays out in pennies on a regular basis, (whilst proclaiming the sums to be too trivial to cause concern), could, according to temperance propaganda, profit the working man and his family instead of the landlord or landlady. The message is clear. By resisting the temptation to enter a public house, by saving his pennies, the working man could afford a more comfortable lifestyle for himself and his family, shifting the

⁵⁴ 'nipper' a glass of gin, rum or whiskey,. See, *BW* No.140. August, (1866): 78.

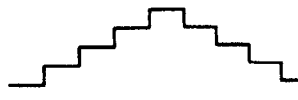
⁵⁵ Reworkings of other tracts were treated in a similar fashion, as can be seen in 'The Poor Man's House Repaired' and 'The Last Penny'.

location of the main source of comfort and happiness from the public house to the home.

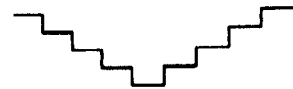
In Smithies' brand of temperance education the trajectory of the drunkard's life was radically transformed. According to 'A Drinking Education', (a) it was a sequence of downward stages, for Livesey, it was up and then down,(b). Either way the drunkard's fate was the same. For Smithies, the situation was remedial. (Figs. 63-65.). Through the timely intervention of a religious of temperance association, or by adopting the principles expounded in the *British Workman*, the drunkard could be rescued from the downward spiral and restored to the straight and narrow, (c).



a.



b.



c.

For temperance reformers, the loss to the drunkard was increasingly measured in material and economic terms as well as spiritual. While it was still considered a sin, temperance narratives warned of the consequences of drinking in temporal terms- house, possessions, and family. It was the home, and all the comforts and social baggage it represented, that was immediately at risk, the consequences for the hereafter were not reinforced to the same extent. As Gerald Parsons suggested, "As early as the 1840s Thomas Binney was rejecting belief in eternal torment, and in 1846 Edward White expounded the view that immortality was found only in Christ and that the ungodly would not suffer eternal punishment but would be destroyed... J.M. Turner has observed of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* that, by the 1870s, "hell has moved off the scene..."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Parsons, G. (ed) *Religion in Victorian Britain*, Vol. 1. Manchester, Manchester University Press, (1988): 105-106.

In the next chapter I shall examine the ways in which Smithies responded to the growing 'cult of domesticity' by stressing the importance of the home environment, and the role of the wife in the maintenance of family harmony, sobriety and respectability. Through an analysis of representative illustrations I shall also demonstrate how Smithies set out to educate his readers about the ever present dangers associated with the public environment, and alert them to the threats to the sanctity of the home.

Chapter Six

'Our Type of British Workman': Smithies and Representations of the Working Classes at Work, at Leisure, and at Home.

Chapter Six

'Our Type of British Workman': Smithies and Re-presentations of the Working Classes at Work, at Leisure, and at Home.

This chapter focuses on the ways in which representations of the labourer in the *British Workman* operated within contemporary temperance, and educational discourses, and engaged with middle class anxieties concerning some of the perceived threats to social stability posed by the 'physical, moral, and religious' condition of what was thought to be "... a very large proportion of 'the million peopled city'"'.¹

Middle class perceptions of the street as a dangerous place, where "infinite numbers of unruly and criminal people" threatened to overwhelm the rule of law, were regularly highlighted. Edward Irving asked, (1829),

Is not every juvenile delinquent the evidence of a family in which the family bond is weakened and loosened? Is not every dishonest apprentice an evidence of the same? Is not every trustless servant an evidence of the same; every ruined female, every ruined youth, the infinite numbers of unruly and criminal people who now swarm on the surface of this great kingdom, and inundate the streets of this great city, and fill these huge calendars of crime which our Judges and our Juries can hardly find time to dispose of?²

The effective end of transportation, (1853) and the introduction of a 'ticket of leave' system of early parole for convicts, "provoked waves of anxiety... that dangerous criminals were being released to prowl the streets of the metropolis", anxieties further fuelled by press reports of 'garotting gangs' operating during the late 1850s early 1860s.³

During the 1850s and 1860s writers, artists, social reformers, and investigative journalists increasingly focussed their attention on the working classes, the world of work, and the role and status of the labourer in a modern industrialised, urbanised society. Thomas Beames, Henry Mayhew, Augustus Sala, James

¹ Garwood, (1853): iv.

² Irving, E. *The Last Days*, (1829): quoted in Pearson, G. *Hooligan A History of Respectable Fears*, Macmillan, London, (1983): 119.

³ Pearson, G. (1983): 127-155.

Greenwood, John Hollingshead, and others, published detailed accounts of their investigations into the lives of the poor.⁴ Mayhew's survey of employment among the London poor, and his hierarchical classification of types of work, was echoed in the fine arts in Ford Madox Brown's *Work*, (1852-1863), an allegorical representation of work which celebrated both intellectual and manual labour. William Scott Bell triumphed the achievements of British industrial power in *Iron and Coal: The Nineteenth Century*, (1861), while Dickens, on the other hand, questioned the dehumanising aspects of factory work, and the widely accepted concept of factory workers being little more than 'hands'. Dickens acknowledged the dehumanising effects of some types of work in the factory system, and the tendency of some industrial capitalists to view their employees as commodities to be factored into the economics of the industrial process.⁵ In the creation of the main working class characters of *Hard Times*, however, he introduced sentiment, reasoning, and emotion, albeit in a rather primitive and inhibited form. Elizabeth Gaskell, too, recognised the widely perceived lowly status of textile workers in Manchester, and their identification as 'hands'. In her portrayal of the cotton workers she invested her characters with "...an acuteness and intelligence of countenance..."⁶

As well as portraying the world of work, its energy and dynamism, celebrating its virtues, proclaiming and the advantages bestowed on the nation and its population, some artists elected to represent the plight of the unemployed, the poor and the elderly, and others excluded for one reason or another from the world of regular work. *The Graphic* (1869) carried engravings after the work of a number of artists from the 'social realist' school, also focussing attention on the condition of the poor and disadvantaged, and some of the issues arising from

⁴ See, for example, Beames, T.; Bartlett, *London by Day and Night*, Smith, C. M. *Curiosities of London Life*, 1853; Greenwood, J. *The Wilds of London*, 1874, Hollinshead, J. *Ragged London in 1861*; Sala, G. A. *Twice Around the Clock*, 1859; Godwin, G. *London Shadows*, 1854; These reports offered little in the way of analysis of, or possible solutions to, urban social problems; some were alarmist, others a source of sensationalist reading for a middle class audience. Mainly, such studies were designed to raise an awareness of the condition of the lower classes, to stimulate continued or additional philanthropic endeavour, or to shed light on how the other half lived.

⁵ Within the context of the novel and with reference to the crippling cotton strike in Preston (1853) the capacity of reason bestowed on the working man contributed to misguided beliefs among a minority of strike leaders resulting in general unrest, hardship and soul-searching to the detriment of the majority of the cotton operatives.

⁶ See Gaskell, E. *Mary Barton*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, (1987): 41.

rapid industrialisation, urban expansion and social neglect. The city, the worker, his culture, habits and lifestyle were under the microscope, scrutinised and quantified by a concerned and occasionally fearful middle class.

Along with rapid increases in urban populations and the social and moral consequences arising from overcrowding and bad housing discussed in Chapter One, the seemingly inexorable progress of the 'Industrial Revolution', also contributed to an erosion of the status of the worker by the 'de-humanising' of many modes of employment within an ever larger workforce. Zygmunt Bauman has argued that the factory system not only required workers to adjust to, and adopt, new working practices, but that there were perhaps greater, more far reaching, social consequences associated with the introduction of machines into the workplace resulting not only in a division of labour, but also in a 'division of the labourer'. "So under the guise of a work ethic a *discipline* ethic had to be promoted. ...the factory system needed part-humans; soulless little wheels of a complex mechanism – and a war was waged against the other, now useless, emotional 'human parts'."⁷ Factory and machine employment apparently required the physical capacity of the worker and not necessarily the intellectual ability. As factory inspector Leonard Horner's report on the manufacturing districts of Lancashire (1852), indicated, references to the 'scarcity of hands' demonstrated that use of the term was familiar and comfortable in both the language of government, and to the highest-ranking officials within government.⁸ Several contemporary commentators used the term freely and, as the work of writers such as Frances Trollope⁹ and Frederick Engels¹⁰ indicates, the term was part of a standard vocabulary some time earlier so that, by the 1850s, it was becoming entrenched in the language of all classes. A significant proportion of the working-classes underwent a re-classification determined by the imagery and terminology associated with the de-humanising processes of industrialisation, generically classified as some kind of sub-human types through the constant

⁷ Bauman Z. 'Haunted House: The 'Work Ethic' was Bad Enough', *New Internationalist*, April, 1997.

⁸ See 'From the Report of Leonard Horner, Factory Inspector, to Lord Palmerston, Home Secretary, 1852'. cited in Golby, (1987): 9. A report on the comparative well being of workers employed at Saltaire by Titus Salt notes that a "... better looking body of factory 'hands' ..." had not been seen elsewhere. Sam Kydd, *Reynold's Newspaper*, 29 November (1857)

⁹ Trollope, Frances, *The Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy*, (1839-40).

¹⁰ Engels, F. *Condition of the Working Class in England*, (1845)

references to the term 'hands', and subjected to an 'ideological' shift down the social scale towards the fearful mass of what Ellen Ranyard referred to as the 'London Heathen' and the 'Sunken Sixth'.¹¹ While the working classes were often perceived as an undifferentiated mass by an ill-informed and largely disinterested middle-class, there is evidence to suggest that, by the 1850s, a growing number of influential individuals sought to express the world of labour in new and enlightened ways by locating the place and value of the worker within the broader industrial, economic, political and social context; identifying the worker within and relative to the position of others in his own class while, at the same time, signifying the importance of the role of the worker in providing for the comforts of, and in securing the well-being of those in control of the capital.

One of the most significant surveys made of the working classes for the benefit of middle class readers was Henry Mayhew's extensive investigation into the lives and customs of the poorer members of the population of London at the mid point of the century. In *London Labour and the London Poor*, an investigation which was commenced for the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849 – 1850,¹² Mayhew was to separate the working-class population into three main categories being, "...those that will work, those that cannot work, and those that will not work". To this he added the further category of "those that need not work", thus covering all of society. "Under one or other section of this quadruple division, every member, not only of our community, but of every other civilized State, must necessarily be included: the rich, the poor, the industrious, the idle, the honest, the dishonest, the virtuous, and the vicious – each and all must be comprised therein".¹³

In the fine arts painters came to appreciate the relevance of a wide range of contemporary subjects as deserving their attention as social observers and commentators. William Frith, Holman Hunt, Henry Wallis, Henry Midwood, and William Bell Scott were just a few of the many artists who produced works

¹¹ Ranyard, (1860): 245.

¹² The survey was eventually published in four volumes, in 1861 by Griffin, Bohn and Company although Vols. 1 and 2 were completed in 1851-52, (along with much of the material for vol. 3.) and issued as a twopenny weekly under the title of *London Labour and the London Poor*. For legal reasons the work was halted in 1852 and did not resume until 1856.

¹³ See, for example, facsimile title page to *London Labour and the London Poor*, Vol.1. (1861): xi. Dover reprint, 1868. For an extended list see Vols.3. & 4.

throughout the 1850s and 1860s with motifs drawn from modern life. *Work* (1852-1863) (Fig. 71) by Ford Madox Brown, is a celebration of the work of the navy, "...at least as worthy of the powers of an English painter, as the fisherman of the Adriatic, the peasant of the Campagna".¹⁴



Fig. 71.

Similarly, in *Iron and Coal: The Nineteenth Century*, (1861), William Scott Bell elected to celebrate achievements of British industrial power and the physical aspects of heavy work in an idealised, mechanised environment illustrating several of the manufacturing processes in Sir William Armstrong's armaments factory. Like Madox Brown, Bell has focussed the viewer's attention on the workmen by locating them at the centre of the composition, suggesting the 'centrality' of the worker in the production process. Here, again, the labourer is presented in a heroic manner, toiling with heavy hammers next to a fiery furnace, reminiscent of James Sharples' *The Forge* 1844-47. Bell has elected to present the viewer with what one critic refers to as a "hopelessly unrealistic" and "ideologically charged" portrayal of heavy manual work at a time when men worked "cruelly long hours for very poor pay, often in conditions of extreme physical danger".¹⁵ Henry Wallis, on the other hand, portrayed an altogether different consequence of relentless physical effort in his painting of *The Stonebreaker*, (1857). Here the rural labourer is shown slumped against a bank having died of fatigue while at work, the impact of the subject of the painting moderated by the softness of the twilight and the warmth of the autumn colours.

¹⁴ As well as the central motif of the navy, Brown included a beer seller, tract distributor, street vendor of herbs, a delivery boy, policeman and coster-girl. Also portrayed are the intellectuals Carlyle and F. D. Maurice, the 'idle rich' (on horseback), and the 'idle Irish' (asleep on the bank behind Carlyle to the extreme right of the composition).

¹⁵ Barringer, T. *The Pre-Raphaelites*, London, Everyman, (1998):106.

In the field of periodicals publishing two philanthropic entrepreneurs made important contributions by introducing pioneering new titles specifically directed at the working class worker, *The Working-man's Friend and Family Instructor*, and the *British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil*. John Cassell sought to explore and explain, to a broader section of the population of middle and working class readers, something of the nature and extent of working class respectability, and how the labourer might capitalise on his potential, through the relatively new medium of mass-circulated illustrated periodicals. Part of the mission statement outlining the purpose of his new publication *The Working-man's Friend and Family Instructor*, advised the reader as follows. "...our one object, in our new publication, shall be to show the labourer his dignified position among his fellow citizens, and to teach him how to use it more to his advantage...".¹⁶ Although initially unillustrated, the *Working Man's Friend* mission statement clearly established the perspective from which Cassell sought to represent the working man. His later publication the *Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art*, included illustrations exploring further the relationships between working man and modern industrial processes.

Brian Maidment argues, that through the publication of a number of periodical projects during the early 1850s, Cassell managed to re-locate the worker in relation to modes of production demonstrating that a 'contract' existed between operative and machine – one could not operate without the other regardless of the sophistication or complexity of the technology.¹⁷ This was in contrast to Charles Knight who earlier had elected to publish a number of engravings celebrating the mechanisation of the printing of the *Penny Magazine*, in which large machine presses dominate the image while the operatives running the presses are rendered as almost insignificant. Their static poses denying the effort and energy required to keep mechanical processes operating smoothly.

Illustrations commissioned by Cassell mark an ideological shift in representations of the relative positions of worker and machine; ideological in the sense that the worker was located back at the heart of productive processes, visually changing

¹⁶ *WMFFI*, Vol. 1. No.1. 5 January, (1850): 2.

¹⁷ See Maidment, (2001): 79-113.

scale to suggest more of an equal role between man and machine thereby elevating the importance of the operative within the process of production. Representations of various industrial processes- glass making, sugar refining, iron founding, soap making, - published in the *Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art*, 1852, not only informed a wider audience of working class reader and celebrated the complexity and ingenuity of British manufacturing at the time of the Great Exhibition, the images also acknowledged the involvement and the importance of the worker at each stage of production. Full page engravings offering schematic representations manufactories and workshops explained the production systems, machines, divisions of labour, and the specific roles of the workers from the handling and manipulation of raw materials through various shop floor procedures to finished articles, in both heavy and light industrial processes in which men and women were employed- Gillot's Pen Nib Manufactory and Moore and Sons Clock Factory. Innovative compositions and page design, high quality engraving, and fine printing, meant that a range of industrial environments were rendered more accessible to a new audience, informing the reader in an immediate and graphic way about some of the complex modern industrial activities, and the amount of human involvement essential to the production of basic commodities perhaps taken for granted by the consumer. Engravings published by Cassell incorporated stylistic elements and viewpoints used by James Sharples in his widely acclaimed *The Forge* (1847), and echoed the iconography and symbolism employed in membership certificates of the newly established craft trades unions. They focus on the specific role of the worker, isolating and confirming individual craft identities within the myriad expressions of industrialisation.¹⁸ The working men that constituted the greater

¹⁸ See, 'Furnace for Re-Melting Pig-Iron' and 'Flattening Machinery' *Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art* (1852,): 141 for similarities with Sharples work. See also 'The Great Western Railway Company's Works at Swindon', 104-105; 'Manufacture of Soap', 232-233; 'Messrs. Elkington and Cos. Electro-Fig Works', 296-297; In marked contrast to 'official' accounts of Britain's industrial prowess, depictions of human endeavour were conspicuously absent from the illustrated records of the Great Exhibition. An examination of the contents of the *Art Journal Catalogue of the Great Exhibition* suggests that Britain's pre-eminence in the world of manufactures was not attributable to the workers. The labourers were not on display, the machines and the showpiece artefacts were, as were the names of the companies from whence the displays originated, and despite remarks made by Cassell expressing sentiments to the contrary, the labour and sweat, the effort and the toil of the working man was not explicitly acknowledged. Furthermore he quotes the Prince Consort as referring to "Man" as a 'Divine instrument', not as a human being or a person contributing to production processes.

part of the readership of Cassell's periodicals were members of a narrowly defined group located within the upper strata of the working classes identified as "... the class of operatives", still following their occupations.¹⁹ He cited as examples, mechanics, artisans and handicraftsmen, while he excluded book-keepers²⁰ and those workers engaged in the counting-house and similar pursuits.²¹ His illustrations also echo the iconography of the emergent trades union. (Figs. 72.-73.).



Fig. 72



Fig. 73

Smithies and Representations of the Worker.

It is evident from the design of the original masthead that Smithies, like Cassell, wished to focus his readers' attention on the physical involvement of the labourer and the industrial environment of the metropolis. However, the central motif depicting navvies, carpenters, smiths, bricklayers and other labourers, and the flanking vignettes, suggest an even greater emphasis on the value of human endeavour in the workplace. He prioritised the physical role of the worker over that of machine production processes and, in the masthead vignettes illustrating labourers involved in craft and hand tool activities, the figure of the workman dominates the images. (Figs. 74-76). However, as the modifications to the masthead prior to the large grant to the London City Mission suggest, Smithies' concept of the working classes, and by implication the target audience for his periodical, was not rigidly defined. It was modified over time in order to more

⁴⁵⁷ See the 'Importance of the Worker' in which it is stated that the vast crowds assembled in order to 'do honour to Labour' were references are made to the labour of the mine, the furnace, the hammer or the anvil, - not the miner, or the blacksmith. *WMFFI*, n.s. Vol 3 No. 61.(1852): 143

⁴⁵⁸ 'Notices to Correspondents', *WMFFI*, Vol. 2. No. 13. (1850): 412.

⁴⁵⁹ See *WMFFI*, Vol 1 No. 10. (1850): 320.

readily accommodate the needs and expectations of a number of philanthropic agencies, and appeal to a much broader working class reader base than that described by John Cassell as the target audience of the *Working Man's Friend and Family Instructor*.



Fig. 74.



Fig. 75.



Fig. 76.

ROUGHS. A WORD has come into general use among thoughtless people of late that implies a censure on the working classes. The men with fustian jackets, and toil-stained faces, are frequently called "*Roughs*." Now the word, when used to designate drunkards, idlers, and thieves, may be a right term; its meaning in that case is *Rogue*; but honest men, who bear upon their hands, faces, and clothes, the marks of industrious occupation, have no right on that account to be called *Roughs*. Indeed when we remember that our roads are levelled, our streets paved, our houses built, our carriages made by the hard hands of paviors, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, smiths, and a host of other ingenious workers, and that we could not walk, or travel, or dress, or dwell in any comfort, but for the toil of the mechanic and the artisan, it is very unbecoming in any one to invent or use terms of contempt to them. All honest toil is honourable and demands respect and sympathy.²²

In the context of the world of work Smithies included all those who bore "upon their hands, faces, and clothes, the marks of industrious occupation", the collier, dustman, sweep, maid, cabman and costermonger, as well as the pavior, smith, carpenter, and bricklayer, the mechanic and the artisan. In a short piece published in October 1867 Smithies defended the common labourer against the generally used derogatory term 'roughs'. In the article he differentiated between the "drunkards, idlers, and thieves" who, in his opinion should more correctly be called "rogues", and the hard working labourers who kept the "roads levelled and the streets paved". By declaring that "all honest toil is honourable", Smithies' interpretation of the working classes was determined, to a considerable extent, by the character and integrity of the worker, rather than the relative value of the work done in a hierarchical system such as the one set out by Mayhew. In the field of

²² *BW*, No. 154. October, (1867): 135

religious and temperance work, and of philanthropic and personal endeavour, he valued the contributions made by all, from the poorest of the lower classes, extending through to the middle and upper classes. This is evidenced by the numerous examples cited in the readers' columns of the *British Workman* in which various types of philanthropic work are acknowledged including extending the circulation of the paper. He was particularly keen to encourage the efforts of working men to set up canvassing committees, such as the ones in Saltaire in West Yorkshire, often illustrating his notices in order to reinforce his message. While the letterpress acknowledges the 'disinterested and voluntary labour' of ordinary men, the accompanying engraving, (Fig. 77.), is layered with other important messages relating to a number discourses concerning, pernicious literature, working class leisure activities, temperance and education. These issues are discussed in greater detail below.



Fig. 77.

CANVASSING COMMITTEES.

WE have again to express our warmest thanks for the important help which many of our friends are affording by the formation of Canvassing Committees. The disinterested and voluntary labour which many working men are giving, after the toils of the day are over, are beyond all praise. In illustration of what *may* be done by a Canvassing Committee, we may state, that the one recently formed by a few warm-hearted sons of toil, at Saltaire, have within one month procured upwards of one thousand new subscribers to the *British Workman!*

Equally the work undertaken by old ladies, boys, and labourers of all descriptions; Ellen Ranyard's working class 'Bible women' spreading the good word among the poorest inhabitants in the most deprived areas of the metropolis; Ragged school children working as shoe blacks at the Great Exhibition, or reformed drunkards working to advance the temperance cause, were celebrated and encouraged. Whereas John Cassell did much to highlight the important role of the skilled workman in the production process and sought to raise the political awareness of his readers, hopefully equipping the artisan class for enfranchisement and full participation in the political process, Smithies adopted a

less overtly political position, focussing on depicting the working classes as non-threatening to the status quo. The ways in which he portrayed the working classes in his periodicals was governed by his appreciation of the good done by people of all classes, for the benefit of all, without consideration of the economic or political status attached to the functions performed. Cassell was primarily concerned to reposition worker within the world of work. In the *British Workman*, the labourer was increasingly portrayed in the domestic as well as the working environment. From a temperance and educational perspective the home was to become central to Smithies' efforts to improve the 'health, wealth, and happiness' of the working classes. Also, by shifting the emphasis of his paper to encourage working men to participate more fully in the domestic environment, Smithies could be seen to be contributing to evangelical efforts to address middle class anxieties concerning the safety of the streets.

In the first twelve numbers of the paper, (excluding the masthead), engravings illustrating various types of workers, navvies, carpenters, tailors, bricklayers, cobblers, and barbers, far outnumbered those portraying domestic scenes by almost two to one. Over the first five years, the number of large engravings depicting work related subjects featuring on the front page of the paper totalled fifteen compared with twelve with a domestic theme. (See Table 25). An examination of the periodical also reveals how workers of all types were 'celebrated' in special editions of the paper, many of which were issued during the first five

Portraying Workmen: Images of the Navy, and the Labourer Reading. The Navy.

Two images in particular, that of the navy with the spade over his shoulder, (Fig. 78), and the image of a group of labourers reading, (Fig 79), featured regularly in individual issues of the paper, and in the epitextual matter of the Yearly Parts and other bound volumes. The motifs of the navy, with or without a spade, and the reading workman, were incorporated into dozens of illustrations published at regular intervals. Significantly, however, the same motifs were used to introduce

bound volumes of the periodical as well as illustrating letterpress within the monthly issues, (Figs. 80 & 81.). Embedded in the images, and the various re-workings of the motifs, are all the principal elements of Smithies' educational programme:- the elevation of the worker in the estimation of the readership of the periodical, the promotion of temperance principles among the working classes, the encouragement of a 'cult of domesticity' to underpin the moral and social improvement of the working man and his family, and the importance of the *British Workman* periodical as an agent of reform and an indicator of working class respectability.



Fig. 78.



Fig. 79.



Fig. 80.



Fig. 81.

The navy as depicted in Fig. 78. epitomises the way in which Smithies presented the ordinary working class labourer to his readers. The pose, the military stance, with the spade mimicking the shouldered arms of the soldier, and the fustian jacket draped across the shoulders in the manner reminiscent of a dragoon's cape, lend an aura of heroicism, echoing the 'classicism' of Madox Brown's navy as portrayed in *Work*, (1852-1863). Not only is the labourer proud and upright, prepared to take on the challenges of maintaining the streets and pavements of the city, as a 'British workman', the embodiment of sober, respectable, hard working men, he represents, and dignifies, the whole of his class. The engraving as used to illustrate the front cover of the third Yearly Part, (Fig. 80), takes on extra significance. The image of the navy is central to the layout of the cover, the focus of attention. Situated immediately below the title of the paper, the navy not only represents the workers addressed by the paper, but also becomes 'The British Workman'. By locating the motif immediately above the words 'and Friend of the Sons of Toil', a close association is formed between the image, and the letterpress suggesting that the upright navy, as a role model, is as much a friend to the sons of toil as the periodical itself. Comments in 'Opinions of the

Press', flanking the image refer to the paper as being "one of the best friends of the working man", "congratulate[s] not only the Working Classes... in having such a periodical as the 'British Workman'", and advises "the workman who buys it... to govern himself by 'its spirit and precepts'". An article published in the paper some time later confirmed the belief of the editor that the periodical could be instrumental in maintaining the sobriety of navvies working on railway construction in that part of the world. Smithies proposed sending out a few hundred copies of the paper for distribution amongst the workmen. The hope was expressed that both the periodical, and the navvies, might 'exercise a beneficial influence' on the native population, and that the workmen would do credit to Old England by their orderly and sober conduct.

OUR "NAVVIERS" IN AFRICA.

An interesting letter from a gentleman at the Cape of Good Hope, to the Editor of one of the London papers, contains the following paragraph :—

Amongst the recent arrivals, we have received several hundreds of " navvies," who have come to labour on the railway for Mr. Pickering, the contractor. They are a robust, hardy set of people, and add a new feature to our already mixed community. if these strangers *can be restrained* from making too free with the Cape wine, and from other evil ways, their presence and industrious habits may exercise a beneficial influence upon our native population. *Cape Town, Nov. 19th, 1859.*

We purpose sending out a few hundred copies of this paper, as a gift to Mr. Pickering, for distribution amongst his men, and we cannot but express the hope that the " navvies" will, by their orderly and sober conduct, do credit to " Old England."²³

The second engraving, of the group of workmen reading a copy of the *British Workman*, (Fig. 79.), reinforces both the importance of the paper in the process of raising the moral condition of the working classes, and depicts those workers referred to as 'roughs' in contemporary discourses as "honest men, who bear upon their hands, faces, and clothes, the marks of industrious occupation".²⁴ As with the engraving of the navy, on the cover of the same Yearly Part, the title page engraving, (Fig 81.), confirms the importance of the process of reading the *British Workman* in Smithies' reforming agenda. The figure of the carpenter, in the square paper hat, although central in the composition of the image, is not the focus of attention. All the workmen have their gaze fixed intently on the paper that he is holding in his right hand. The men are drawn to the contents of the periodical, straining to get a better view, or possibly hear what the carpenter is

²³ *BW* No. 6. July, (1855): 21.

²⁴ *BW* No. 154 October (1867): 135.

reading out to them. The carpenter at the centre of the incongruous group of workmen, (the navvy with his shouldered shovel seems so out of place), is not the potentially politically ambitious, confrontational character as drawn by John Leech in his caricature of a meeting between working class labourers and the aristocracy on a 'shilling day' at the Great Exhibition (Fig. 82). These 'British workmen' are using their leisure time constructively, reading an improving periodical. There is no 'stand off' between workmen and their masters as implied in the Leech cartoon.²⁵



Fig. 82.

Reading and the Working Classes: Reading the *British Workman*.



Fig. 83.

Pictures played a vital role in making Smithies' broad temperance education programme available and accessible to as wide an audience as possible, (Fig. 83). As well as being distributed in the *British Workman* periodical, some of the more useful temperance 'facts', stories, and anecdotes, were made available in the form of books, tracts, wall-papers, handbills, fly-leaves, placards, and almanacs, with prices ranging from 10s. 6d for parlour editions, to 6d per pack of one

²⁵ See Barringer, (2005): 4-5.

hundred assorted handbills, printed on paper made from straw.²⁶ Although the images and the letterpress were capable of transmitting complex layered meanings in their own right, the combinations of engravings and words through which Smithies delivered his educational programme extended the potential to reach the widest possible audience. The paper was of interest to a wide cross section of the population from the poorest of the slum dwellers, the broad mass of the working classes, the middle classes, and the aristocracy. The pictures attracted the attention of viewers, and alerted their attention to the letterpress. Through an engagement with the accompanying text the viewer was then able to extend and enhance his or her understanding of the lessons incorporated into the visual *and* written narratives, thereby complementing and reinforcing their educational experience. The extensive circulation and distribution attained by the paper through the 1860s and 1870s, and evidence to indicate that the paper was subscribed to by members of the highest and lowest social strata, suggest that the scene depicted in Fig. 83. may have been representative of one of the ways in which the *British Workman* was consumed, at least in the public arena.

Reading and the Working Classes.

During the 1820s and 1830s concerns were raised among sections of the middle classes as to whether 'the march of intellect', the acquisition of knowledge and the emergence of literate, and increasingly articulate, working class men and women, was a threat to the political status quo, or a benefit to a progressive and expanding industrialised society. In 'Penny' Wise, 'Penny' Foolish?, Brian Maidment discusses the cartoons and caricatures of the period, and the ways in which mass-circulation wood-cuts and wood-engravings of knowledge-thirsty dustmen and coal heavers attempted to address wide range of complex social

²⁶ For example the *Gleanings for Drawing-Room*, bound in cloth with gilt edges, and medallion on the side was priced 10s. 6d.; collected stories on natural history or animal sagacity, or packets of 125 assorted back numbers of the *British Workman*, could be had for 5s. while illustrated books may be had for prices ranging from 1s. 6d. to one halfpenny. S. W. Partridge Catalogue for 1874.

anxieties, middle class insecurities, and worker aspirations.²⁷ The appropriation and subversion of modes of graphic illustration commonly associated with middle and upper class journals, were not only an acknowledgement of the conflicts and cultural tensions that existed between the modes of representation in the transition period from genteel eighteenth century caricature to the more vernacular style of the early nineteenth century wood engraving. The subject matter, too, attempted to convey the seriousness of some of the issues relating to the “march of intellect” and the spread of literacy among a working class thought of by Carlyle as a “dumb”, “inarticulate” giant.²⁸ Maidment demonstrates how woodcuts and engravings depicting ‘literary dustmen’ and educated ‘Black Diamond Carriers’ engaged with middle class anxieties about the possible revolutionary consequences of an increasingly literate, but unsophisticated, working class, educating themselves above their station, through a combination of ridicule and satire. (Figs. 84. & 85.). However, he goes on to argue that underlying the comic imagery, the “depiction of the urban proletariat through a ‘representative’ figure drawn from the lowliest, dirtiest, least skilled least organised city trades... was threatening as well as picturesque, a reminder of their physical strength, lack of skill... [and] potential danger to social order.”²⁹ It was not just the possibility of political upheaval that concerned the middle classes, as Louis James suggests, there were other social consequences stemming from the education of the working classes that needed to be taken into consideration. Being ‘distracted’ by ‘learned things’, the working classes might neglect their duties, “And slyly call their laziness, this march of intellect Sir.”³⁰ Additionally, as Patrick Brantlinger notes, it was not just the fact that the dustman or the coalheaver were becoming literate, what they read was also a matter of concern, “...the debate about mass literacy shifted from whether the ‘lower orders’ should be taught to read and write at all to the questions of what they were reading, what they should read, and how to

²⁷ Maidment, B. ‘Penny’ Wise, ‘Penny’ Foolish? Popular Periodicals and the ‘March of Intellect’ in the 1820s and 1830s’, in Bell, Brake and Finkelstein (eds). *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identity*, Palgrave, (2000): 104.

²⁸ Klancher, J. P. *The Making of English Reading Audiences 1790-1832*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, (1987): 75.

²⁹ Maidment, (2000): 117. See also Hancher, M. ‘From Street Ballad to Penny Magazine: March of Intellect in the Butchering Line’.

³⁰ James, (1976): 20-21. See also ‘The Trouble with Betsy’ (1982): 356.

control their reading.”³¹ Issues concerning the reading habits of the working classes, the proliferation of ‘pernicious’ literature, its impact on the morals of the urban population, and the perceived lack of appropriate reading matter, have been discussed in detail in Chapter One. One of the reasons that Smithies issued the *British Workman* was to address the lack of appropriate reading matter for the masses. The engravings depicting workmen reading not only publicise the paper, they represent a dramatic shift in middle class perceptions concerning the consequences of working class literacy, and the threats posed by mass circulation periodicals and newspapers. Images of workers reading the *British Workman* represented a move away from the caricatures of the 1830s and 1840s, and their associations with political and social conflicts, to a reassuring state in which the working class appetite for reading was fed by a wholesome, ‘clean literature’.

Reading the *British Workman*.

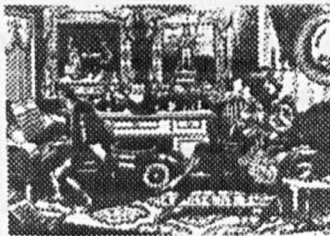


Fig. 84.



Fig. 85.

As Maidment, Hancher, and James have argued, it was not uncommon for depictions of the labourer, or servant, reading to transmit middle class anxieties about the potential for social disruption, (Figs. 84 & 85). Such images also triggered fears arising from the presence, on the streets, of the lowest, dirtiest, and least skilled workers, the dustmen and coal heavers, reminders of the filth, disease, and possible contamination that were an ever present aspect of urban living. With the publication of the *British Workman* some of these fears appear to have receded. ‘Four Well-known Characters of Haggerstone, London’, (Fig. 86),

³¹ Brantlinger, P. *The Reading Lesson: The Threat of Mass Literacy in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, (1998): 95.

shows a group of four coal heavers sitting out in the street, reading a copy of the *British Workman* given to them by a lady distributing tracts. Here, as in the engraving of the group of labourers illustrating so many of the early title pages to *Yearly Parts*, (Fig. 79), the attention of the workers is held by the paper they are reading. These coal-heavers, representatives, as Maidment argues, of one of the lowliest and dirtiest of the street trades, pose no threat to the middle classes, as represented by the female tract distributor and her daughter in the background. In Henry Anelay's picture, 'Drawn from a photograph by A. Collins, London School of Photography', there is no indication of the middle class anxieties or fears of the 1830s. In this particular image the 'march of intellect' is not represented as being politically, socially, or morally undesirable. Working class literacy in this context was not problematic for those middle class evangelical reformers who actively participated in encouraging the practice of reading in pursuit of a morally uplifting education. The difference here was the clearly depicted motif of the *British Workman*, which indicated that the reading matter was 'appropriate', and the inclusion of the female tract distributor and her daughter as confirmation that this particular periodical was sanctioned by the ruling elite.³² The accompanying letterpress served to validate the accuracy of the illustration, the veracity of which was already alluded to by the addition of 'drawn from a photograph' to the right of the caption. It also testified to the effectiveness of philanthropic endeavour, and the usefulness of *British Workman*, in the campaign for the eradication of intemperance among the working classes.

"Haggerstone," cries an old Londoner, "why I never saw so much drunkenness in any place in my life as I have seen *there*. Stop, friend! What you say may be a true picture of what Haggerstone once was, but there is a happy change in a portion of that locality. Many of the men there who were once apparently hopeless characters, the husbands of heart-broken wives, the fathers of ragged and wretched children, and the constant visitants of police courts, are now sober and industrious characters; some of them are men who are 'doing well' not only for this life, but for the next, and who may now be seen on the Sabbath, accompanying their well-dressed families to the House of God. A few weeks ago we saw an interesting group of Haggerstone Coal-heavers, to whom a lady had just given a copy of our little paper. Their courtesy and smiling faces showed that they appreciated an act of kindness, and that the paper was evidently no stranger to them."³³

³² See 'Testimonials' Appendix C, for a list of prominent members of the Church and Aristocracy advocating subscription to the paper. As noted in chapter two, the Pure Literature Society recommended the paper for widespread distribution, the *British Workman*, and the *Band of Hope Review*, being two of the seven periodicals first adopted by the Society on its formation. See *BW*, March (1912): 33.

³³ *BW* No. 19, July, (1856): 73



Fig. 86.

Depictions of the act of reading the *British Workman*, or of being offered a copy of the journal by a tract distributor, a missionary, or a district visitor was the subject of numerous illustrations published in the paper and several of the engravings included a motif of a clearly identifiable copy of the journal, a Yearly Part, or a wall-paper, (Figs. 99 & 100).³⁴ Some of the illustrations were quite small and were used to embellish notices encouraging efforts to increase the circulation with the subject implying the giving and receiving of the *British Workman* by the inclusion of an anonymous publication, (Figs. 20-27). In some of the larger images ranging in size from quarter-page to half-page engravings, (Figs. 78, 81 & 82), the journal is clearly identifiable. Clearly identifiable copies of the *British Workman* can be seen in full page illustrations such as 'Rough Will', (Fig. 99), 'Is It Right?' (Fig. 151), and 'An Evening With Our 'Blue Jackets'', (Fig. 152). Such self-referential pictures served to promote and publicise both the periodical, and its value in the evangelical reforming process. It appears to have been a strategy devised by Smithies as I have been unable to locate any similar images in temperance periodicals issued before *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman*. From the 1860s onwards, however, this style of illustration occurs in a number of illustrated journals and magazines modelled on Smithies' papers. (See below).

Coal heavers and colliers were not the only 'street labourers' depicted in the *British Workman*. Numerous engravings of costermongers and cabbies were published in the early numbers, especially promoting the work of the London City Mission and their missionaries to cabmen. Smithies, and some of his most prominent supporters, devoted a considerable amount of time and resources to the improvement of the working conditions, and the moral condition, of cabbies.

³⁴ See also, *BW* No. 15. March, (1856): 60, No. 29. May, (1857): 113; No. 97. January, (1863): 388;

Observations concerning the habits and customs of the cabbie and the costermonger were reported in numerous sources throughout the whole of the Victorian period, and, like the dustman and the collier, they were often depicted as being among the most immoral section of the working classes, as, for example in the Cruikshank sketch of a surly, ragged looking, pipe-smoking ruffian, (Fig. 95). However, as with the coal heavers, engravings in the *British Workman* portrayed these groups of workers as affable, largely misrepresented, undervalued by society, and generally receptive to philanthropic efforts designed to improve their lifestyle, and particularly responsive to the lessons conveyed through the *British Workman*. In Smithies' representations of the labourer the threats and dangers often associated with the urban proletariat, as described by Maidment, are minimised. Smithies' dustman, as portrayed in 'Dust Oh!', (Fig. 87), is an amiable 'worthy and useful man'. He is shown dressed in unsoiled work clothes, with his sturdy, and equally clean, work basket. The letterpress informs the reader that he, "has his resting-times at home when his work is done; and, he has a home where he can really rest...", on account of his being a 'thinking' and sober type of dustman who "loves his wife, and children, and respects himself too much..." to waste his hard earned money on beer.³⁵ Even when the dirt and filth associated with the realities of refuse collection, or the delivery of coals, is acknowledged, as in 'Story of a Flower', (Fig. 88), depicting a coal heaver blackened from his day's work, the illustration is composed in such a way as to be disarming, the caption, and the letterpress describing the reform of a drunkard coal heaver, and the restoration of a caring father and husband, designed to allay middle class apprehensions. In R. Huttala's portrait, the subject looks out "kindly from under his coal-heaver's hat", and points to the two potted plants that he is carrying. The expression on the Dick's face, and presence of the flowers, (the objects of his 'salvation'), indicated that this particular coal heaver, at least, posed no threat to the established social order. "Now here were his flowers- a present joy, and a possession for the future. They were to be teachers too... they would teach the little ones carefulness, and order, as they watered and tended them, and their bright blooms would make the wife desire to see her room tidy, so as to show them off".³⁶

³⁵ *BW* No. 195. March, (1871): 58.

³⁶ *BW*. No. 153. September, (1867): 130.



Fig. 87.



Fig. 88.



Fig. 89.

The costermonger, (Fig. 89), like the dustman, the coal-heaver and the cabbie, was a common sight on the streets of London. Harrison Weir's illustration is a direct reworking of an engraving after a daguerreotype photograph, (Fig. 90), originally published in Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*.³⁷ Unlike the image in Mayhew, in which the costermonger is largely isolated from his usual street environment, the engraving in the *British Workman* is highly detailed and the background is fully resolved. Hine's version depicts the costermonger as a rather confrontational, surly character. The stick that the subject is holding, the rather aggressive stance, the face partially hidden below the peak of a cap, and the suggestion that the coster may have a black eye, echo the descriptions in the letterpress in which Mayhew notes, "the costermongers boast of their skill in pugilism."³⁸ In contrast, Weir's costermonger is shown full face, the expression is more youthful and pleasant, and the subject is holding a large bunch of rhubarb rather than a large stick. For Smithies, "To be a coster is not necessarily to be a rough, given to drink and noise; we have seen a coster's home which was clean, orderly, and well furnished, and even embellished with articles of taste."³⁹ The absence of background detail in the engravings of 'street folk' in Mayhew might be interpreted as denying the actual presence of these characters on the streets.⁴⁰ The images in the *British Workman*, however, locate the costers, cabbies, coal-heavers and dustmen securely, and non-threateningly, in their normal everyday working environment.

³⁷ Mayhew's work may well have provided the inspiration for another of the *British Workman* images. There are distinct similarities between the illustration of the dustman, (Fig. 85), and the engraving of the London Dustman, (Fig. 90), also in *London Labour*, Vol. 2. 1861: 173.

³⁸ Mayhew, Volume 1 (1861): 12.

³⁹ *British Workman*, No 238. October, (1874): 230.

⁴⁰ See also Fig. 89. 'Black Jack' in Thompson J. *Victorian London Street Life in Pictures*, (1877):

The rewards of a sober, hardworking, lifestyle and the benefits of a commitment to religious observances are no more evident than in the engraving of Joseph Powell, (Fig. 94), the missionary to cabmen. Compared with Cruikshank's slouching, dishevelled, pipe-smoking, shifty looking cabbie, (Fig. 93.), Powell is portrayed as upright, clean and neatly attired, and the proud owner of his own horse and cab. The tracts in his hand indicate that he is ever prepared to inform others of the benefits of the 'six day licence'. The letterpress tells the reader that although Joseph had to "suffer for his observance of the Sabbath... Providence gently smiled upon his path." "God has honoured the industry and temperance of the man and now, instead of being a seven-day driver of a shabby *hired* cab, he is the *owner* of sixteen cabs and twenty-nine horses."⁴¹ .



Fig. 93.



Fig 94.

Several of the images published in the *British Workman*, in which workmen are depicted reading, promoted the positive aspects and the benefits and rewards of healthy literature. There were, overall, very few images illustrating bad habits, although the negative consequences of reading inappropriate literature were brought to the attention of Smithies' readers in images such as 'Frank's Sunday Coat' (Fig. 95) and 'The Drunkard's Bible' (Fig. 96). The main message of each of the images is fairly clear. The contrast between the slovenly, unkempt, pipe-smoking, beer-drinking lout, lazing about in bed on a Sunday morning, probably reading of a 'most horrible murder', or some other ghastly crime, in the 'immoral' 'Sunday Times', and the tall, upstanding, smartly dressed young man in his Sunday coat about to leave for church, is self explanatory.⁴² The title of the newspaper, and the time shown on the clock on the church tower visible through the open window, add weight to the narrative. In the Cruikshank sketch

⁴¹ *British Workman*, No 29 May, (1857): 116.

⁴² The *Sunday Times*, along with other newspapers was often the source for 'penny dreadfuls', see Angelo, M *Penny Dreadfuls and other Victorian Horrors*, London, Jupiter, (1977): 22-24.

to Mrs. S. C. Hall's 'The Drunkard's Bible', the consequences arising from the dying man's neglect of his Bible and religious obligations is powerfully rendered. His family are impoverished, the home is devoid of all comforts, and the children, like their studies, have been abandoned. The drunkard, "lying upon straw, with madness in his brain, trembling in every limb, without even a Bible to tell him of the mercy which Christ's death procured...",⁴³ is isolated by the door frame, dying in a state of sin. According to the messages in such illustrations, reading the wrong sort of literature, as well as neglecting to read the right type of literature, can lead to a sinner's grave.



Fig. 95.



Fig. 96.

Picturing Workmen – Henry Anelay and Robert Barnes.

As the illustrations were intended to reinforce positive attributes and personal traits, rather than project negative ones, the ways in which the artist constructed his compositions, the style of work, the use of line, and an awareness of physiognomy, were all important factors. The number of images reproduced in the *British Workman*, and the number of artists contributing work to the paper, prohibits a discussion of all the representations of the working classes published in the paper. In order to explain more fully the strategies employed by Smithies I shall concentrate on the illustrations supplied by Henry Anelay, the most significant of contributors of artwork during the first ten years, and Robert Barnes, second only to Henry Anelay in terms of the number of pictures of working men published in the paper. Anelay's contributions through the first ten years were instrumental in establishing the tenor and the reputation of the *British Workman* as an illustrated educational periodical. The immediacy and

⁴³*British Workman*, No. 113 May, 1864: 451.

consistency of his style and the almost Cruikshankesque manner in which he portrayed his subjects, the naturalistic representations of cabbies, colliers, and sailors, as energetic, industrious, and good humoured, individuals, invested his labourers with a rough respectability. His illustrations of Haggerstone coal heavers, busy carpenters, and bricklayers, lacked the sense of menace suggested in Cruikshank's cabbies or drunks. The work of Robert Barnes, however, offers a clearer indication of the visual, educational objectives of the *British Workman*.

Robert Barnes' illustrations regularly featured in a number of popular, morally elevating periodical publications from the 1860s onwards – *The Leisure Hour*, *Good Words*, *The Saturday Magazine*, *The Cornhill Magazine*, *Cassell's Magazine*, *The Quiver*, *The Cottager and Artisan*, *The Family Friend*, *The Band of Hope Review*, *British Workman*, - as well as in many books, particularly books for children, a significant selection of which were published by S. W. Partridge & Co. Barnes also contributed illustrations to the American National Temperance Society juvenile paper *The Youth's Temperance Banner*.⁴⁴ Barnes' popularity as an illustrator, particularly with publishers of religious, and moral educational literature such as the RTS, SPCK, and S. W. Partridge, has meant that he has been rather overlooked and marginalized by historians of Victorian illustration. Gleeson White and Paul Goldman are dismissive of his work declaring that he was competent but unimaginative, "with a tendency towards the sentimental"⁴⁵ producing endless representations of "men and women...so limited in type that they might nearly all be members of a single family...healthy, sturdy, producing no disquieting variations from the sound yeoman stock."⁴⁶ I believe that it was precisely those qualities in his work which Gleeson White found most unsatisfactory that made his illustrations so eminently appropriate for the publications to which he contributed, -conservative, morally uplifting papers intended for both middle class and working class consumption. Middle class readers would have been reassured, no doubt, by the solid respectability (of appearance and activity) embodied in his depictions of the working classes, along with the absence of any 'disquieting variations' that might have raised concerns

⁴⁴ See Reid, (1975): 256-7. and, Gleeson White, (1970): 81.

⁴⁵ Goldman, (1994): 91.

⁴⁶ Reid, (1975): 256.

about the efficacy of their philanthropy, or their continued support for the periodicals to which they subscribed. For the respectable working classes, Barnes' images of sturdy 'yeomen' provided confirmation of moderate economic achievement, comfortable lifestyles, and self-assurance attainable by sober, hard-working, God fearing, 'British workmen'. For others still striving for improvement, his pictures were consistent reminders of their own potential, and that spiritual contentment and modest economic advancement were attainable. His illustrations, (Figs. 97-100), supported by the texts with which they were associated, repeated and reinforced the moral messages that they were designed to convey, and stress, the importance of the good wife, the family, and the happy home. Barnes's illustrations of the domestic environment became as important as Anelay's depiction of men in the workplace. In 'John Morton's New Harmonium', (Fig 94), a family and friends are portrayed gathered around the father playing a harmonium accompanied by a boy on the flute, one of the daughters is singing as a doting grandfather, and a proud mother looks on with pride. The scene is of a pleasant and respectable leisure-time activity, taking place in a comfortable, well furnished home. The accompanying letterpress adds to meanings conveyed in the picture, with a tale of drunkenness, reform, and friendship, and happiness. The importance of a good wife, the benefits of thrift, and sobriety, the foundations of a 'Home Sweet Home', are reinforced in the letterpress.



Fig. 97.



Fig. 98.



Fig. 99.



Fig. 100.

Barnes' illustrations pictured the working man with his wife and his family in respectable, comfortable surroundings, often shown relaxing or taking part in some leisurely activity. This could be gardening, (Fig 100), reading, (Fig 99), or enjoying the company and attention of his wife, (Fig 98). Of particular interest is the inclusion of the 'British Workman' motif, either displayed on the wall for decorative purposes, or being read with interest and pleasure, (Figs. 98 & 99). As

well as references to the assistance contributed by reforming agencies like the church, the missionary and the temperance society, the *British Workman* is itself flagged up as an important contributor to the philanthropic process as a moral sustainer of the teetotaler. Furthermore, the men and women portrayed in the illustrations are also presented as belonging to the wider 'British Workman' community.

Because Barnes drew 'human beings' looking as though they might all belong to the same family, having the appearance of springing 'straight from English soil', his illustrations contributed to the reinforcement of the moral lessons that Smithies sought to convey to the working classes. The consistency of style helped to maintain a similar consistency in the transmission of ideas through the images and texts. The familial resemblances that were characteristic of the persons populating Barnes' illustrations helped to create the impression of moral and economic well-being sustained in a recognisable/stereotypical 'British workman', through an adherence to the basic Christian tenets of hard work, thrift, family, and Sunday observance, despite changes and fluctuations in the wider secular world of industry and commerce. The publication of these images in a paper issued each month also determined that visual stimuli were repeated and reinforced at regular intervals and reminded readers and subscribers alike that the social and moral improvement of the working classes was an ongoing process requiring repeated and regular commitment.⁴⁷

Of all the engravings in which ordinary working men are depicted reading a copy of the *British Workman*, the one that portrays the benefits of 'pure literature', total abstinence, and the comfortable lifestyle to which the sober, hard-working, family man might aspire, is an engraving made after William Henry Midwood's *The British Workman*. (Fig 101).

⁴⁷ This echoes the educational approach of Clara Balfour in *The Juvenile Abstainer*, a work that Smithies reissued as *Morning Dew-Drops*, puffed as 'A beautiful book... for an interesting class' and 'a book of more common excellence and elegance'. *BHR*, No. 34. October, (1853): 39.



Fig. 101.

Midwood's depiction of *The British Workman* as a worthy subject for 'high art' and gallery exhibition is significant in a number of ways. Not only does it support the views of artists like Madox Brown and Bell, that such modern subjects are as valid as traditional history paintings, the new style of genre painting, increasingly popular with many wealthy, middle class *nouveau riche*, signified an important development in aesthetics and 'official' cultural forms. The wood-engraving adapted from Midwood's painting served to confirm the 'British Workman' as a home loving, sober, hard working, respectable family man, and an exemplar by which others of the working class might measure themselves. Furthermore, the picture represents both the achievable, and the desired, outcome of the drive to "improve the condition of the working man" on the part of the ruling elite, particularly the evangelicals and philanthropists. There is nothing in Midwood's picture suggestive of the relationship between labour and capital as expressed in the more economically/politically charged images published by Cassell, neither are there any motifs to indicate that the workman portrayed has any materialistic or consumerist ambitions. Smithies' working man does not "earn great wages" but neither does he squander what hard earned wages he does receive in "dangerous and simple luxuries" such as drinking and smoking.⁴⁸ The scene depicted in the engraving is one of domestic contentment in which father, mother, and baby, are relaxing and enjoying each others company in a modest, but homely and comforting cottage interior. There is an air of order and cleanliness, the floor is swept clean, all the contents of the room - objects and persons- are in their allotted places, the wife is cradling a placid child in her arms while the husband breaks off from reading his copy of the *British Workman* to take time to fulfil his parental obligations by entertaining his son or daughter. The family and the circumstances portrayed in Midwood's picture bear many of the characteristics of Smithies' sort of 'ideal, "He has a look of kindness and a pleasant word as he enters for his wife

⁴⁸ Appendix H, 'Our Type of British Workman'

and child. And they in return have a clean hearth, a ready meal, and a smiling welcome. Evening brings the sweet leisure hour which the good man knows how to employ wisely, some book or paper to improve and interest the mind,...”⁴⁹ Significantly, depicting a copy of the periodical in a gallery painting effectively officially confirmed the position of the *British Workman* as the leading ‘improving paper’ of the period, affording it permanent recognition. The illustration not only confirmed the importance of the *British Workman* in the furtherance of temperance education, it also located the home and family at the heart of temperance propaganda. In the next section I shall examine in more detail the ways in which Smithies employed illustration to promote his temperance agenda.

The Centrality of the Home and Family.

“Home is the first and most important school of character. It is there that every human being receives his best moral training, or his worst; for it is there that he imbibes those principles of conduct which endure through manhood, and cease only with life.”⁵⁰

By the middle of the nineteenth century a ‘cult of domesticity’ had made significant inroads into working class culture, accelerated by the extension of the factory system, the greater certainty of regular and rising wages, changing patterns of consumerism, and the potential for household budgeting and saving, and, as Daunton points out, the factory districts of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, being well established by the 1850s, witnessed the formation of the earliest building societies and savings banks. Increased subordination in the workplace, and more demanding work regimes, encouraged the expansion of working class self-help institutions such as the reading room, the Mechanics Institute, the Friendly Society and the Trade Union. More importantly, perhaps, was a rise in the ‘cult of domesticity’ as a response to greater pressures from within the workplace and the increasingly debilitating effects of those pressures on working class aspirations for independence. According to Daunton, although

⁴⁹ Appendix H.

⁵⁰ Smiles S. *Character* (1871): 31, quoted in Roper and Tosh, (eds). *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain Since 1800*, London, Routledge, (1991): 44.

the home represented a retreat from the wider world, it might also be recognised as, "...a mechanism to assert independence and identity within a setting of subordination".⁵¹

The public house was a source of temptation as well as a focus for social interaction, and accordingly was not considered an appropriate place for the working-man seeking complete improvement and independence. Increasingly, with the introduction and expansion of the police force and a widening of its remit extending to the protection of property, including the safeguarding of public order and the regulation of public space, specifically 'the street', further restrictions were imposed on traditional working class freedoms and pastimes. The policeman was seen by those in positions of authority as a 'domestic missionary' to working class districts, but to the working classes themselves the intrusion of the police was an infringement on a traditionally sanctioned right and freedom to assemble in the street.⁵² This shift in perception of legitimate and illegitimate use of public spaces, including the street, arose, in part, out of evangelical distrust of worldly activities occasioned by the greater threat of moral and spiritual contamination presented in the outside world. The centrality of the home in evangelical thinking can, therefore, be partly interpreted as a desire to remove the working classes from the pernicious influences of the street, and other public places such as the pub, fairs, and political gatherings, and to induce the working classes to retire to the relative anonymity of the home of their own volition. The home came increasingly to represent a "refuge from the world",⁵³ As Gray argues, this was not just an interpenetration of values from above permeating downward to the working class through an artisan elite.⁵⁴ Anna Clarke, too, suggests that in the 1840s, Chartists adopted the rhetoric of domesticity, in part, to address some of the problems arising from family dissensions over the exclusion of women from the workplace. By promising women "better husbands, who

⁵¹ See, Daunton, M.J. *House and Home in the Victorian City*, London, Edward Arnold, (1983): 263-266.

⁵² Storch, quoted in Daunton, (1983): 270.

⁵³ Daunton, (1983): 270.

⁵⁴ Gray R. *The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain 1850-1914*, London, Macmillan, (1981): 38.

would actually bring home the bacon rather than drinking up their wages in the pub”, the Chartists endeavoured to gain women’s support for the movement.⁵⁵

Domesticity, keeping to oneself, and home-centredness were core values promoted by teetotalism from the outset. The concept of the home impacted on the perceived roles of both husband and wife, and on the maintenance of the physical and moral environment within which the family lived and developed. A working-class housewife and mother acquired skills that enabled her to ‘make do’, to keep house, mend clothes and feed a family on a limited budget, taking pride in good housekeeping and endeavouring to keep her husband out of the public house, and her children well presented in manners and appearance. The criteria by which the respectability of a wife was determined, the ordering and management of household finances, the maintenance and cleanliness of the home and children, usually required the mid-Victorian working man to support his family without sending his wife out to work. Being able to maintain a wife at home generally required an income above bare subsistence levels, regular employment, affordable rent, and varying degrees of self-sacrifice.

According to the ‘propaganda’ issuing from the main temperance societies, and from temperance reformers like Smithies and Cassell, the adoption of teetotal habits would facilitate the redirection of a significant proportion of the available household income, away from the public house and the gin shop, and into the general housekeeping budget. However, for poorer families, low income workers, particularly in the sweated trades, and workers in casual or seasonal employment such as dockers, farm labourers and navvies, money was limited and saving was invariably problematic. Without the additional income earned by wives and children many families would have been unable to manage at all. Temperance propaganda offered little in the way of practical guidance or advice that was of real benefit to the poor who struggled to maintain themselves at, or below, starvation levels of income. Nevertheless, the usual line of argument continued to stress the importance of thrift, total abstinence and, in the absence of practical advice, a faith in the will of the Almighty. Unlike the main temperance

⁵⁵ Clark, A. *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*. London, Rivers Oram Press, (1995): 231.

organisations, however, Smithies and Cassell provided an affordable programme of education accessible through cheap, mass circulated journals, in order to assist the working classes in improving their domestic, social, and economic circumstances. As Kay Boardman argues, “The ideology of domesticity had become so pervasive in the Victorian period that by the 1850s debates about domestic ideology permeated literary and visual representational practices at every level.”⁵⁶

The evangelical move to establish the domestic space as a place for rational, uplifting, and regulated amusement also coincided with an increased demand for work discipline and rational attitudes to time and consumption. Of course, experiences varied significantly from region to region and from industry to industry, and the lifestyles of the textiles workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire were not necessarily consistent with those of dock-workers in Liverpool and London, or of miners in the coalfields of Staffordshire. Hugh Shimmin, for one, considered the patterns of behaviour exhibited by significant numbers of the working classes in the port of Liverpool, with its large pool of casual labour and the unreliability of employment in the docks, to be inappropriate to, and inconsistent with, perceptions of respectable behaviour, even from within the working classes themselves. Shimmin complains. “They work from week to week, have their Saturday night’s spree, their Sunday’s ‘guzzle’, often have to neglect their work on Monday to overcome Sunday’s debauch, and will infrequently be heard cursing their fate, whilst by their conduct, they do all in their power to render it irrevocable”.

Shimmin’s observations, although expressed as broad generalisations, are indicative of the insecurity of large sections of the working classes in the face of insurmountable social and economic conditions. The lifestyle and recreational activities he describes were not only attributable the dock-workers of Liverpool. London, with its extensive and cosmopolitan workforce, and an economic infrastructure largely built around transportation and the docks, was home to a

⁵⁶ Boardman, K. ‘The Ideology of Domesticity: The Regulation of the Household Economy in Victorian Women’s Magazines’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. 33. No. 2. Summer, (2000): 150.

population of which a large proportion was similarly disposed. Contrary to Daunton's assertion that the working classes generally modified their behaviour patterns as social transformations began to gather pace during the second half of the century, evidence suggests that traditional aspects of working class lifestyle, *i.e.* poverty, insecurity and unemployment, retained their legitimacy in some sectors of large urban populations throughout the whole of the Victorian period. While standards of behaviour, and patterns of consumption, might have changed for some members of the working class, specifically those who were in higher paid and regular employment, and pressure for change occasionally came from within the working class as opposed to from above, only a minority were affected beneficially. In citing Crossick's work on the 'artisan *élite*' in Kentish London, Daunton's argument in support of a rise in the cult of domesticity within the working class is based on a narrowly defined sector of the working classes. The emphasis on a demarcation between a public 'front' and a private 'back' in connection with the symbolic function of the working class parlour as a shrine to respectability and domesticity, confines concepts of working class respectability in the domestic sphere to the artisan *élite* as defined by Crossick. Evidence suggests, however, that even in the face of seemingly overwhelming difficulties, notions of respectability and domesticity permeated deep into the ranks of the working classes and down to the poorest of urban communities. They also impacted upon those 'one room' families obliged to live in sub-tenanted accommodation in urban centres across the country, and into the courts and rookeries of the most densely populated and deprived districts like Lissom Grove, Bethnall Green, Spitalfields, Seven Dials, and Clerkenwell. Working class women employed by Ranyard's Bible Mission visited families in some of the worst areas of London with their "simple apparatus of helping them to help themselves" and giving them the opportunity to buy beds and clothing by weekly instalments.⁵⁷ The Bible women focussed their initial efforts on encouraging cleanliness and tidiness, looking for those who "might be easily transformed" into "nice, neat, modest maiden[s]" or might be, "open to conviction that better clothes and more comfort, a certain portion of work, and an opening for school instruction, would be a benefit to herself and her children."⁵⁸ Their attentions were

⁵⁷ *The Book and its Missions*, Vol. IV. January, (1859): 16.

⁵⁸ *The Book and its Missions*, Vol. IV. January, (1859): 17.

not solely directed towards women; men also benefited from home visits as in the case of the drunkard who had “only worn rags for these last six months” and was “comforted by the help given, he has had his room cleaned, and is beginning to work again”.⁵⁹ As well as offering Bibles on subscription the Bible women also distributed free copies of ‘interesting papers, such as the “British Messenger”, the “Gospel Trumpet”, the “British Workman”, and the “Messenger”.⁶⁰

Introducing the *British Workman* into such poor neighbourhoods through gratuitous distribution provided a further source of information and encouragement to some of the poorest families. The advice and support given by the missionaries and Bible women distributing the journal also introduced additional resources that some of the abject poor might take advantage of in order to rise to positions of respectability within their respective communities. Cleanliness and order were traits associated with domestic pride and respectability even within the poorest communities. Bible women and city missionaries had an obligation to carry the Gospels into the homes of the poor and it was not unusual for scripture readers to insist that living spaces be cleaned and made fit enough to receive the word of God. Furthermore, cleanliness was not always imposed from outside. The rudest rooms in infested hovels were, therefore, occasionally cleaned and whitewashed on the initiative of the occupier. Cleanliness in this case was not just a matter of being next to godliness but it also served to differentiate between those poor aspiring to respectability and those still without any shred of decency.⁶¹

The home was not only a central tenet of religious and temperance ideologies and extensively promoted in numerous tracts and periodicals from the 1850s onwards, the home, the dwelling place as a physical space, became the focus of increased attention. Concerns about sanitation and overcrowding, the design and development of model lodging-houses and model workers cottages, and the creation of model villages, all indicate the importance of the home in the

⁵⁹ *The Book and its Missions*, Vol. III. December, (1858): 285.

⁶⁰ *The Book and its Missions*, Vol. IV. March, (1859): 63.

⁶¹ See, for example, Gaskell, E. *Mary Barton*, particularly Chapter Two and the description of John Barton's comfortable home, and Alice Wilson's "scrupulously clean" home. Gaskell (1848): 49-51.

processes of social and moral improvement of the working classes. So too do the efforts of various church organisations, and numerous philanthropic agencies, (of which there were hundreds operating in London during the mid-Victorian period including the British and Foreign Bible Society, the London City Mission, Ranyard's Bible Mission, and the District Visitation Societies).⁶² The homes of the working classes, and in particular the homes of the poor, were subjected to countless visits by a multitude of agencies. As one City Missionary in London declared, "I am more than ever convinced that... the backbone of mission work is visit, visit, and then begin again and visit consecutively. With all our open air and Mission hall work, marching and parading the streets and courts of my district, the only real and vital way to reach them is to visit them single-handed."⁶³ Although it was subscribed to, or supported by a number of manufacturers, and it was freely distributed in public places, including coffee houses, public houses, and in the street, evidence provided by the reports of city missionaries, and the Annual Reports of City and Town Missions and the Religious Tract Society, demonstrates that the *British Workman* was widely distributed for leisure-time reading directly to the working class home.⁶⁴

⁶² A number of studies focus on the development and extension of domestic visiting during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. See, for example, Prochaska, F. K. 'In the Homes of the Poor', *Women and Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, (1980): 97-137; Lewis, D. M. 'From Door to Door, *Lighten Their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London, 1828 - 1860*, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, (1986): 119-149; Hewitt, M. 'The Travails of Domestic Visiting: Manchester 1830-70', in *Historical Research* Vol. 71/175 (1998):196-227 ; and Summers, A. 'Home from Home-Women's Philanthropic work in the Nineteenth Century', in Burman, S. *Fit Work for Women*, London, Croom Helm, (1979): 33-63. While the practice of tract distribution was widely recognised by various philanthropic agencies as a vital aspect of their domestic visiting, historians have paid little attention to the importance of the tracts themselves.

⁶³ Howat, I. & Nicholls, J. *Streets Paved With Gold: The Story of the London City Mission*, London, Christian Focus, (2003): 91.

⁶⁴ During 1838-39 for example the Religious Tract Society issued 18,042,539 items from its depository 2,314,958 of which were for distribution in the United Kingdom. RTS *Annual Report* (1839): 89-102. Martin Hewitt estimated that 'almost unimaginable numbers' of tracts were distributed in Manchester between 1830 and 1870 with the Manchester City Mission alone distributing nearly half a million in 1842. Table 3. gives some indication of the number distributed in London during the 1840s and 1850s, by agents of the London City Mission. The scale of tract distribution carried out by the Religious Tract Society was often remarked upon in several contemporary sources. The Annual Reports of City Missions, the Mission Magazines, and the individual reports of City Missionaries in Manchester and London, are peppered with instances in which individuals have been encouraged to take out subscriptions to the *British Workman*, the *Cottager and Artisan*, or some other periodical, after being presented with specimen copies during home visits.

An analysis of the content, of both the letterpress and the illustrations, reveals the extent to which the *British Workman* was designed as a periodical for consumption at home as well as at work. In the early numbers particularly, the predominance of illustrations depicting workmen was complemented, to a large extent, by a plethora of articles, serialised advice on domestic economy, such as Clara Lucas Balfour's 'Hints on Household Management', and serialised fiction like Mrs. Ellis' 'The Widow Green and Her Three Nieces', directed a women readers.⁶⁵ It is also evident that within the pictorial matter there was a shift towards a greater emphasis on illustrating the domestic environment, rather than the workplace, during the first years of publication suggesting that issues concerning the responsibilities of the wife and the husband within the context of the home had taken precedent. Visual representations of the home and family in the *British Workman* help to better explain the extent to which Smithies transformed temperance education, and temperance illustration, from mid-century onwards. A comparison with similar representations from other sources also demonstrates the influence that Smithies and his periodical had on the future development of temperance and improving literature.

An examination of the number of engravings depicting scenes from everyday life indicates that a change of emphasis, from illustrating the workplace, to picturing the home, appears to have taken place at a relatively early stage in the publication of the *British Workman*, suggesting that domestic issues were prioritised. Table 25 gives a numerical breakdown of the quantity of engravings of domestic and workplace subjects published in the paper between January 1855 and December 1884. During the first year of publication, of the 131 illustrations, (including engraved vignettes advertising subscription and postal services and rates but excluding the masthead), 13 were unambiguously set in a domestic environment, and 22 scenes depicted work or the workplace. The number of engravings illustrating home and work fluctuated from year to year but during the first five years, (1855-64), illustrations of the workplace, (55), outnumbered those with a

⁶⁵ See, for example, 'Columns for Wives'; 'Column for Wives and Mothers'; 'Hints for the Wives of Working Men'; 'Hints for the Daughters of Working Men'; 'Page for Working Men's Wives'; and other similar articles published during the first five years or more. 'Widow Green and Her Three Nieces' was serialised in 13 parts between January 1858 and May 1859; 'Hints on Household Management' was also serialised in 13 parts between October 1860 and November 1861.

domestic theme, (51). Of the illustrations featured most prominently during the same period, on the front page of the paper, 15 were of work and 12 set in the

YEAR	HOME	WORK	FRONT PAGE (5 YR TOTAL)	TOTAL (5YR)
1855	13	22		
1856	9	8	12 (H)	
1857	15	12	15 (W)	106
1858	8	4		
1859	6	9		
1860	21	13		
1861	15	6	14 (H)	
1862	10	1	9 (W)	98
1863	13	3		
1864	11	4		
1865	7	2		
1866	19	9	14 (H)	
1867	5	6	10 (W)	59
1868	4	1		
1869	4	2		
1870	10	2		
1871	4	4	9 (H)	
1872	6	1	10 (W)	44
1873	5	1		
1874	6	5		
1875	6	2		
1876	5	4	10 (H)	
1877	4	5	9 (W)	50
1878	9	0		
1879	10	5		
1880	3	6		
1881	6	5	13 (H)	
1882	11	3	7 (W)	44
1883	1	0		
1884	6	3		

Table 25. To show the numbers of engravings depicting the home and the workplace, published in the *British Workman*, January 1855-December 1884.

home. Significantly, however, the very first engraving, Cruikshank's illustration to Joseph Livesey's 'Loaf Lecture', (Fig 49), was of a domestic scene. On balance though, the figures suggest that over the first five years, images depicting the home and the workplace were almost evenly represented suggesting that both subjects were of particular importance.

Over the following five year period, (1860-64), there was a marked shift in favour of illustrations with a domestic theme. Engravings with a predominantly

domestic motif were almost three times more numerous than images centred on the workplace, being 71 to 27 respectively. Domestic scenes outnumbered those of the world of work in each of the five years 1860-64. The home featured more regularly on the front page with a complete reversal of the trend from 1855 to 1859. The general pattern in favour of domestic scenes over those of the workplace continued for the remainder of Smithies' time as editor. However, in volumes published after 1890, there appears to have been a greater emphasis on picturing the modern workplace and modern industrial practices.

Representations of the Domestic Environment.

Bearing in mind the primary educational function of the engravings in the *British Workman*, the wide range of representations of the interior of the home, including those of the dying drunkard, the poor labourer, the prosperous mechanic, and the wealthy middle classes, all had moral messages to convey and reinforce. The pictures portrayed a variety of domestic situations and activities like washing, cleaning, dining, relaxing, family entertainment, and social gatherings. Many of the images were relatively straightforward, on a superficial level, and the majority of the readers would have had little difficulty understanding the 'eye lessons' they sought to convey. In more complex ways, illustrations of activities taking place within the domestic space, the threshold, and the garden, were also intended to locate the home within the context of contemporary discourses on the public and the private space. It is necessary, therefore to understand the ways in which images and letterpress in the *British Workman* engaged with contemporary discourses concerning the concept of the home as a place of sanctuary and social stability, and the importance of the home in the processes of temperance reform and the moral improvement of the working classes.

It is immediately evident, from an examination of the engravings published in the *British Workman*, that Smithies maintained consistency in the ways in which he used pictures to inform, encourage, and educate his readers. Although he had first hand knowledge and experience of the conditions under which hundreds of

thousands of urban families were living, he studiously avoided overtly politicising the subject in his periodicals. Accordingly he was always conscious to promote working class domestic improvement by showing what working men's homes might become, rather than as they were. He did, however, advocate some official intervention in order to enable the 'industrial classes' to help themselves, although self-help remained at the heart of his philosophy.

After years of labour amongst the industrial classes, it has been repeatedly my joy to find, in various parts of the provinces, many working men becoming possessors of their own dwellings, and the influence of this, not only on the men, but on their families, has been remarkable. The moment a man becomes possessed of a brick, or a yard of land that he can call his own, he seems to become a new kind of man, to have a stake in the welfare of the nation. With the working classes of London, however, this strong inducement to frugality is, alas, wanting... It was my privilege to be, as I believe, the first to suggest at the Social Science Congress at Liverpool, the principle of the Post Office Savings Bank, and subsequently at Edinburgh, that of the provision for old age by means of Government Annuities...⁶⁶

Although teetotal habits, frugality, and regular saving, in order to acquire 'a brick or a yard of land', might eventually enable some members of the industrial classes to become 'possessors of their own dwellings', many of the 'humbler classes' lived in appalling conditions where, as Smithies noted, "...every house with ten or twelve rooms has ten or twelve families crowded into it; nay, in some rooms, you will find a family huddled into each corner of it."⁶⁷ Similarly, George Godwin, editor of *The Builder*, in calling for increased philanthropic efforts to provide homes for the poor, drew attention to the physical conditions in which thousands of families were living, in London, at mid century. His illustrated accounts stressed the potential impact of overcrowded, ill-drained, ill-ventilated accommodation "not fit for dogs", on the moral condition of the occupants.

I have visited places during the last fortnight not fit for dogs, and yet which hold in every room two or three families, - holes, ill-drained, ill-ventilated, and altogether unsuited for use. In the occupants of such places - men and women with bodies to suffer and souls to be lost - the feelings are blunted, the moral perceptions distorted; decency is out of the question, and degradation nearly certain. Goodness and virtue are sometimes to be found there, wonderful to say, but the majority have no hope; progress is impossible, the future a blank: in the dirt they are, and in the dirt they must remain... still, to succeed to any extent in obtaining for the suffering thousands

⁶⁶Smithies, T. B. *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, London, Longman, (1872): 529-530.

⁶⁷ Smithies, (1872): 529.

dwelling-places worthy the name of HOME, where the virtues and kindly feelings *might* be cultivated, and the household gods worthily set up.⁶⁸

The engraving of a Clerkenwell interior, (Fig. 102), attempts to reinforce the misery and squalor as described in the text, although the scale of the figures makes the room look quite spacious. 'A Cellar Dwelling' (Fig. 101.), depicts an altogether more squalid and cramped situation.⁶⁹



Fig. 102.



Fig. 103.

What is also evident in the engravings used by Smithies is a tacit acknowledgement of some of the realities of the urban living conditions experienced by many of his readers, rather than a direct portrayal of the urban squalor with which he was familiar, and clearly alluded to in illustrations in more politically motivated literature like George Godwin's *London Shadows*, (Fig. 102.), or *Punch*, (Fig. 103.).⁷⁰ However, I shall argue that a gradual shift, from representations of humble, rented accommodation, through engravings illustrating a number of stages of home improvement, to pictures of working men in their own homes, implied that the hardworking, sober, and thrifty labourer would eventually become a home owner as a matter of course, and by the will of God, as a reward for continued sobriety and self restraint. This 'road to prosperity' narrative echoed, and reinforced, the sentiments evident in Smithies' versions of texts like 'The Fool's Pence', and represented a reversal of the inevitability as

⁶⁸ Godwin G. *London Shadows; a Glance at the 'Homes' of Thousands*, London, Routledge, (1854): vii-viii.

⁶⁹ Illustrations in middle class newspapers like the *Illustrated London News* offered a more sanitised version than those in Godwin or in *Punch*. See, for example, 'A Workman's Home Rose & Crown Court Islington' *Illustrated London News* 13 March (1875): 253, and 'Room at number 19 Hollybush-Place' *Illustrated London News* 24 October (1863): 424.

⁷⁰ For further descriptions of Clerkenwell interiors, and public houses as places of vice, see, Gissing, G. *The Nether World*, (1889) in which the author depicts life amongst artisans, factory-girls and slum-dwellers in Clerkenwell in the 1870s.

expressed in the 'road to ruin' narratives commonly promoted in other temperance publications.

Home Improvement.

Thrift and sobriety, along with cleanliness, household management, and explanations of the gendered responsibilities of the husband, and the housewife, featured prominently in religious and temperance periodicals of the period.

Habits of industry, economy, order, and cleanliness, will do much to remedy existing evils, and to render the most humble cottage an abode of domestic peace and happiness...

How great a contrast exists between the home of the man who, earning six or seven shillings daily, spends two-thirds of it at the public house, and that of the hardworking sober labourer, who, though not in receipt of more than eight or ten shillings a week, takes it to his frugal and industrious wife, who contrives to make her husband's home a happy home, and more attractive to him than the beershop or public-house. Here, then, is the first point to which I would direct your attention, as a means within the reach of every working man who desires to improve his own home. Avoid the public-house and the beer-shop. Habits of strict temperance and moderation will enable you to provide more home comforts than you are at all aware of.⁷¹

While morally reforming publications like *The Home Friend* declared that even the low paid working man, with an income of no more than "eight or ten shillings a week", could provide more "home comforts" than he might realize if he was to give his wages to his "frugal and industrious wife". Additionally, it was considered a wife's responsibility to "make her husband's home a happy home, and more attractive to him than the beershop or public-house". This message was also prominent in engravings and letterpress in the *British Workman* from the outset.⁷² The 'Loaf Lecture' stressed the importance of temperance and frugality, comparing the comfort and lifestyle of the teetotaler who "rents a tidy little house", to that of the workman who earned the same wages but could scarcely

⁷¹ *The Home Friend*, Vol. 1 No. 18. (1852): 419. *The Home Friend*, was an SPCK publication, priced 1d weekly, intended, according to the proprietor, for free distribution to the poor "Notice,- It is hoped that 'The Home Friend' will be found very useful to clergymen, for distribution among their poorer parishioners..." 'Preface', *The Home Friend*, Vol. 1. (1852)

⁷² See, for example 'A Few Words to Wives on Common Things', *BW* No 36, December, 1857: 143, or 'Cleanliness is Next to Godliness', *BW* No 34, October, (1857): 136.

make ends meet; occupying “one miserable little room” with his wife and children clothed in rags. It was stressed that “The earnings of a hard-working, industrious man ought to enable him to live in comfort and respectability”.⁷³ Smithies was of the opinion that the working man had a “duty as a father to his family”, to spend his money wisely and that by doing so he could do more for himself than “a hundred Acts of Parliament”.⁷⁴

In representations of the most modest of homes, like those of reformed drunkards, rooms devoid of many of the most basic of amenities, were portrayed as clean, light, airy, and well managed. Increased domestic comforts and family happiness might only be measured by the ability to purchase an orange for a sickly child, as in ‘The Last Penny’, (Fig. 104.), or a few extra provisions for feeding the family as depicted in ‘Good for Trade’, (Fig. 105.). Nevertheless, according to Smithies, from these small beginnings, with continued and sustained self-denial, even the least affluent could gradually improve his domestic and social circumstances. A perception is suggested, through sequential depictions of the interiors of working class homes that, over time, the material comforts of the working man and his family would steadily improve through hard work and self restraint.



Fig. 104.



Fig. 105.

It is evident, from a comparison of the images discussed here, (Figs. 104–108), that there were significant changes in the ways in which the interiors of workers cottages, and the demeanour of the occupants, were represented in the *British Workman*, compared to other temperance tract illustration. Smithies promoted the potential advantages arising from temperance, the careful management of limited household finances, and the domestic skills of a dutiful wife. Engravings depicting the modest, rudimentary homes of the less affluent working classes,

⁷³ *BW* No. 1 February, (1855): 1.

⁷⁴ *BW* No 25, January, (1857): 98.

were superseded by illustrations of working men's homes in which the trappings of greater material prosperity, and domestic comforts were emphasised. Transformations in the ways in which labourer's homes were portrayed, in the two years between 1857 and 1859, implied that by becoming teetotal, the working man could make rapid and significant changes to his, and his family's, domestic comforts and circumstances. There is also a suggestion that the *British Workman* was an integral part of that 'improving' process. As long as readers continued to take notice of the regular monthly reinforcement of fundamental 'lessons', by actively subscribing to, or reading the paper, their commitment to the temperance cause would be similarly rewarded. However, the extra money in the household budget of the temperance family had to be well managed, and as clearly expressed in *The Home Friend*, improvements in the comforts of the domestic environment were the responsibility of the dutiful wife. One working man, William Harvey, intimated that it was not uncommon for women to neglect their domestic responsibilities, declaring, "If the women of England will only arouse themselves to a sense of their home duties, and faithfully discharge them, the humblest cot would far outshine in lustre and attraction, the parlours of all the public houses in the land. "There's no place like home," but then "our wives must make our dwellings *homes*."⁷⁵ The physical and material improvements that might be realised in the working man's home through the adoption of temperance principles is no more strikingly illustrated than in a comparison between the interiors illustrated in, 'The Last Penny' (Fig. 104.), 'Good for Trade', (Fig. 105.), 'The Poor Man's House Repaired', (Fig. 106.), and 'A Lancashire Working-Man', (Fig. 108.).

In 'The Last Penny', the home of Thomas St. Claire, an industrious cobbler whose little self indulgence in "...pipe and mug of ale... would have purchased many comforts for the needy family...",⁷⁶ is depicted as a rudimentary home that also serves as a workshop. Thomas, who has just seen the error of his ways, has become an attentive father, having purchased an orange for his sickly daughter, rather than buying beer. The room shown in the engraving is cold and cheerless.

⁷⁵ 'The Wife. At Home', Prize Essay, Wm. Jno. Harvey, (self-taught), of Portway, Frome, Somerset. *BW* No. 111. March, (1864): 442.

⁷⁶ *British Workman* No. 30 June, (1857): 117.

It is sparsely furnished with a crudely made bed, stool, and seat which doubled as a workbench. Mother, father, and daughter, are very simply dressed, and the accoutrements of the cobbler's trade are spread throughout the room. However, there is a general air of cleanliness and the family members have kindly and compassionate expressions on their faces. The body language of the figures and the composition of the group are suggestive of a caring and compassionate family. There is what appears to be a Bible on the stool to the extreme bottom right of the picture, indicating a belief in the will of God.

In 'Good for Trade', the benefits of keeping to the pledge, are in evidence in the picture. According to the letterpress, a 'reclaimed drunkard' has managed, in a matter of weeks, to settle his debts with local shopkeepers and started to provide wholesome and substantial supplies of food for his wife and family.⁷⁷ The interior is still modest, although better furnished than the cobblers home, there is, as yet, no suggestion of a warm comfortable room, there is no fire and the wife and children are shabbily dressed. (The wife is wrapped in a thick shawl, perhaps trying to keep warm). In, 'The Poor Man's House Repaired', (Fig. 106.) the scene is markedly different. 'Robert', the teetotal 'mechanic', who is identified as a member of a Temperance Society by the certificate prominently displayed on the chimney breast, had abstained from drinking for a year and the material comforts of the family portrayed here, are considerably greater than those evident in earlier engravings.



Fig. 106.

The illustration is of a workman enjoying a hearty evening meal, in a warm, well lit, well furnished, comfortable and inviting room, in the company of his happy, well fed and well dressed family. The youngest children play contentedly while the eldest daughter and adoring wife, (who has broken off from reading her

⁷⁷ *British Workman* No. 34 June, (1857): 1133-4.

Bible), listen attentively to an account of the workman's busy day. Just how far Robert and his family had progressed during the twelve months, and by what methods, is explained in the accompanying letterpress and strikingly reinforced in a second engraving, (Fig. 107.), supposedly illustrating how things used to be, as expressed from the perspective of the despairing wife.

It was growing late, so I wiped away my tears as well as I could, and put the embers together, to make my fireside as inviting as possible. But I dreaded my husband's return- his sharp voice and bitter words pained me to the heart... At length the door opened and Robert entered. I saw by his flushed countenance and angry expression that I had better remain silent... Robert's anger rose to the highest pitch. He dashed the cup and plate I had placed for him to the floor, and seizing me roughly by the arm, he opened the door, and forcing me from the dwelling, bid me enter again if I dared. The night was cold and windy. I was thinly dressed and even ill.⁷⁸



Fig. 107.

Engravings illustrating sparsely furnished cheerless rooms, and dysfunctional families, were uncommon in the *British Workman*, with images of drink or drunkenness accounting for only 2.3% of the total number of engravings contained in the first 5 year volume, (Table 24). By 1861, the transformation of the working man, from a poor drunkard, into a prosperous labourer was almost fully realised. In 'A Lancashire Working-Man', (Fig. 108.), Smithies' hard-working 'son of toil' lives 'rent free in his own home'.



Fig. 108.

MY OWN HOUSE."

WHAT an interesting sight it is when a working-man, after the toils of the day, takes out his 'Penny Paper,' (instead of going to the beer-shop for 'news') and reads to his wife, occasionally pausing to encourage his children in their useful amusements with their

⁷⁸ *British Workman* No. 40 April, (1858): 158.

box of bricks and toys! We are very anxious that the hard-working sons of toil should *strive* to have comfortable dwellings, and, where possible, possess their "own homes." By industrious and frugal habits many working-men might live *rent free*. A goodly number of our readers in Lancashire, Warwickshire, and other Midland and Northern Counties, have accomplished this desirable object. We purpose giving an account in an early number, of "How a Lancashire man bought his little freehold!" in the hope that it will induce many of our readers to go and do likewise.⁷⁹

Again, the significance of "industrious and frugal habits", and the importance of the home and family, are clearly flagged up in the engraving and the letterpress, as are the benefits arising from an education based on useful leisure-time reading, including the local newspaper, and the Bible. The important moral messages embedded in the engraving of the 'penny paper' reading, pious, and teetotal Manchester mechanic, with his comfortable lifestyle, and contented family, were accentuated by adjacent texts and images on the same page. The engraving of the Lancashire mechanic's home was positioned directly above, and dominated, an engraving depicting a wretched 'Sunday Times' reader, (Fig. 95). The close proximity of the two engravings, the status of the images as emphasised by their comparative sizes and technical complexity, and the contrast between the condition of the respectable Lancashire working man, and the dissolute, idle, smoking, Sabbath-breaker, further reinforced the moral messages transmitted through the illustrations.

With the introduction of a new series in January 1861, and the inclusion of a full page engraving on the first page, the portrayal of the 'British workman' as a respectable, sober, and relatively affluent member of the working classes became the norm. The perception of individual moral and spiritual self improvement was lent additional credibility by the numerous contributions of Robert Barnes and others such as J. D. Watson and A. W. Cooper, and a consistency in engraving style. As the technical sophistication of the engravings increased, and the size of the images allowed for more detailed representations of working class domesticity, the material and economic 'progress' of the 'British workman' as depicted in illustrations, was sustained throughout the 1860s and 1870s. In engravings accompanying texts such as, J. D. Watson's 'My Account with her Majesty', (Fig. 109.), Louis Huard's, 'The Fool's Pence', (Fig. 70.), Robert

⁷⁹ 'A Lancashire working-man, who now lives 'rent free', in his 'own home', *BW* No.73 January, (1861): 292.

Barnes', 'John Morton's New Harmonium', (Fig. 97), 'The Working Man's Home Concert', (Fig. 110.), or Barnes', 'Tom Everett's Marriage Settlement''', (Fig. 111.), not only did the tangible, material benefits of temperance, thrift, perseverance, self-restraint and hard work continue to be prominently displayed, similarities in the style of representation, and the physical characteristics of the people portrayed, added to the notion of sustained prosperity.

The full-page engravings that featured in the paper from the mid 1860s onwards portrayed family and domestic scenes showing working class men and women in considerably more favourable circumstances than those actually experienced by large numbers of the working classes. The home of the sober hardworking labourer was projected as an ordered, comfortable, welcoming place with a greater array of material trappings suggestive of increased wealth and respectability, as a sanctuary from the trials and tribulations of the outside world, and as a haven of love, peace, and domestic bliss overseen and organised by a dutiful and competent wife. The realities of the continued impact of fluctuating economic and social circumstances as expressed in dozens of investigations into the condition of the working classes, eye-witness accounts of the vicious, squalid, overcrowded, and unsanitary living conditions experienced by the poor, were rarely acknowledged in illustrations published in the *British Workman*. Nevertheless, illustrations in the *British Workman* warned of the potential threats to the domestic happiness and prosperity of the working man and his family. One of the more common images often used in other temperance literature to warn of the potential danger to the home, that of the returning drunkard, locates the threat around the doorway or on the threshold, (Figs. 37. 38. & 68). Smithies also employed this particular motif on a number of occasions. However, reading similar illustrations in the *British Workman* shows how Smithies appropriated, and restructured the 'threshold' narrative, disrupting reader expectations, and contemporary discourses associated with concepts of 'the returning artisan'.

Illustrating The Threshold, and the Returning Artisan

Although the illustrations in the *British Workman* were predominantly positive stressing the benefits of total abstinence, and the images generally implied that the respectable hardworking teetotaler would improve his material as well as moral prospects, Smithies did not neglect to remind the reader of the potential for economic and spiritual loss, as well as gain. As Joseph Livesey so forcibly argued in *The Progressionist*, and as portrayed in Cruikshank's starkly captioned, 'Loss! Gain!',⁸⁰ or, 'The Drunkard's Bible', (Fig. 96.), even the most determined and committed temperance supporter was constantly subjected to temptation. In the *British Workman* the reader was often alerted to the dangers that might disrupt, or destroy, domestic well being and family harmony in the guise of a choice in which the reader was invited to resist temptation. In the next section I shall discuss how Smithies elected to portray complex ideas associated with the threshold as a place of potential tension and disruption without having to resort to depictions of overt drunkenness or domestic chaos as were frequently used in temperance propaganda.

The threshold, as depicted in images and texts, represents a boundary and marks a difference between inside and outside. As Lewis Johnson suggests the threshold may represent, among other things, distinctions between territory and domestic space, the wild and the cultivated, national and local.⁸¹ The threshold could also represent a place of tension between the interior and the exterior, between inclusion and exclusion, delineating perhaps the comfort and safety of the home, and the stresses and dangers of the outside world. The threshold can also operate as a point of entry into, or departure from, the private domestic environment and the public arena, the worlds of work and home. As Brian Maidment argues, it can be interpreted as " a transitional or liminal space between outside and in, work and leisure, men and families, men and women..."⁸² As already discussed, the well maintained home represented a refuge from the trials and tribulations of

⁸⁰ *BW* No 7 August, (1855): 28.

⁸¹ Johnson L. *Prospects, Thresholds, Interiors: Watercolours from the National Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (1994): 4.

⁸² Maidment B. *Reading Popular Prints 1790-1870*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, (1996): 101.

commerce and labour, and an alternative to the temptations of the public house and the gin-shop. The threshold formed a zone of demarcation, differentiating between two co-existing, and not necessarily compatible, social and political environments with which the working man and his family had to contend.

Brian Maidment has discussed in detail the narrative of the 'returning artisan' within the context of nineteenth century discourses on gender, class and industrialisation, in his close analysis of the illustrated title page of the *Family Economist* 1850.⁸³ Maidment's reading of the vignette illustrating the title page introduces the possibility that, in the context of harsh mid-nineteenth century industrial and social realities, the 'returning artisan' motif represented a disruptive intrusion bringing the world of work into the domestic sphere. Taking into consideration contemporary engravings illustrating tracts issued by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and Chambers' Miscellany of Useful and Entertaining Tracts, depicting drunkards returning from the pub, he argues that "a powerful combination of his gender and industrial role" undermines the celebratory narrative of the artisan's homecoming.

As discussed in Chapter Five, mainstream periodicals like *The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer*, *The Progressionist*, and *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts such as 'A Drinking Education', and 'The Drunkard's Wife', all warned of the probable consequences of drunkenness, and its effects on the home and family. Illustrations portraying the drunkard returning home to disturb, and intrude upon, domestic order and harmony, to threaten and abuse wives and children, to plunder or destroy family possessions, were often used. Whereas it was common, in standard temperance propaganda, to convey the potential discord and disruption arising from the drunkard entering the domestic environment, one of several significant engravings published in the *British Workman*, focussed attention on the potential for loss occasioned by the workman leaving the home.

⁸³ Maidment, (1996): 101-137.

Please Father Come Home Early



Fig. 112.

Dear Friends,

During our leisure hours we have compiled the following pages, with hope of promoting your "health, wealth, and happiness". To increase your *home comforts* has been our peculiar object, and we feel grateful for the testimonies received, assuring us that the *British Workman* has been the means (by God's blessing) of leading several fathers to respond to the entreaty of their children, "Please , father, come home *early*."

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The highly idealised illustration after a design by George Cruikshank (Fig. 112.), was one of a number of similar images published in the *British Workman*, intended to convey to the viewer, in visual form, the importance of the dutiful housewife, the home, and the family, in the context of the temperance movement's agenda for the reform of working man. It also signalled the potentially precarious space represented by the threshold, and the presence of forces in the world of work that could pose a threat to the advantages accruing from an industrious and sober lifestyle.⁸⁵ The main image shows a close family group, the father, "...leaving the door of his home early in the morning, to attend his daily duties in the workshop,"⁸⁶ with his tools hoisted over his shoulder, with his wife and children at the door to see him off. The viewer is presented with an image of a sturdy, muscular, healthy, labourer reminiscent of the 'navvy' in Madox Brown's *Work*, and his clean, neatly dressed, well-ordered, respectable family. The wife, holding a plump well fed baby in her arms, watches with pride as her husband turns to acknowledge his son's attention. The composition conveys the completeness of the family as a unit through the symmetrical arrangement of the different figures and elements, accentuated by being tightly

⁸⁴ 'Please Father Come Home Early', front paste down, *BW*, Yearly Part No. 3 (1857).

⁸⁵ See also, *BW* No. 20. August (1856): 77; No. 111. March, (1864): 440; No. 137. May, (1866): 68; and No. 326. February, (1882): 101.

⁸⁶ Please Father Come Home Early', front paste down, *BW*, Yearly Part No. 3 (1857).

enclosed within an arched frame. The frame surrounding the central motif consists of a simple white border. The decorative elements including trellis, vines and vignettes, add considerably to the possible layers of interpretation expressed in the unadorned original image.⁸⁷ The additional decorative and pictorial elements reinforce the narratives suggested by the central motif alone, through additional avenues of interpretation.

The outer frame is surmounted with symbolic representations of abundance and domestic comfort, wheat, flowers and nesting doves, sitting atop a sturdy trellis that supports the whole composition. The main image is flanked by six small vignettes of children and animals, the family group around the table and the father returning to the family home, all bound together with entwining vines, and superimposed either side, above and below, by a quasi religious texts or mottoes on a ribbon motif. The texts reads,

Behold that thus shall man be blessed that feareth the Lord.
For thou shalt eat of the Labour of thine hands.
Happy shalt thou be.
It shall be well with thee.
Thy wife shall be round about thy table.
As a fruitful vine by the sides of thy house: Thy children like olive plants.

The small illustrations in the border not only serve to bind the whole narrative together, but act as reminders of the pleasures that a workman might return to after his day at work. Unlike the simple 'naturalistic' narrative of family affection as portrayed in Thomas Bewick's engraving of sketch for 'The Cotter's Saturday Night', in which, as Brian Maidment notes, "the bent form and painful gait of the cotter",⁸⁸ strips the image of any sense of the heroic, George Cruikshank's labourer is apparently oblivious to the weight of his burden, or the fatigue of a day of strenuous labour. Where Bewick's cotter is bowed by the efforts of the day, the subject in the *British Workman* narrative, as depicted in the small image in the centre of frame to the right of the main picture, (Fig. 113.), makes a sprightly, and seemingly effortless, return to the family home. As the accompanying letterpress declares, "Would that all working men felt as our friend feels, that all fathers lived

⁸⁷ *BW* No. 20. August, (1856): 77.

⁸⁸ Maidment, (1996): 115.

as he lives, and made *Home*, with its delightful duties the chosen resort, the earthly Eden of the heart.”⁸⁹



Fig. 113.

The complete ‘iconotext’⁹⁰ is a complex arrangement of texts and visual motifs through which a number of messages are transmitted to the reader(s), permitting each reader to bring their own experiences and expectations to the process of reading the page. Behind the family group the wall of a house divides the scene into two distinct sections, the mother and children located within the limitations of the house wall, the father almost entirely set against an open space determined by distant trees and sky. This line of demarcation, like the threshold, delineates the domestic from the public, and separates the two. This is not only in the context of the notion of separate spheres of male and female responsibility, but also, in this case, the safety and comfort of the home as provided by a conscientious wife and well brought up children, and the relative uncertainties and potential dangers confronting all who venture into the wider, male dominated, world of industry and commerce.

The central motif of the family group is constructed with the father positioned between his family and the outside world. The mother and children are securely located within the traditional confines of the home. The father is shielding his family with his body, and his outstretched arm both acknowledges the attentions of the son while, at the same time, prevents the boy from venturing from the security of the home environment, confining him to the safety of his mother’s care. Cruikshank has further suggested the tension that exists in the space defined by the threshold by electing to draw the mother and young child with their eyes fixed upon the back of the departing husband. The ambiguous expression on the

⁸⁹ *BW* No. 20. August, (1856): 77.

⁹⁰ For ‘iconotexts’ see Wagner, P. *Reading Iconotexts*, London, Reaktion Books, (1995).

wife's face and the downward direction of her gaze adding an air of concern and uncertainty, mixed with devotion. These sentiments are echoed in the drawing of the son's upturned face, the eyes seemingly conveying the sentiments expressed in the caption 'please father, come home early'. The narrative of the returning artisan, as discussed by Maidment, in which representations of the drunkard on the threshold undermined the more traditional 'celebratory' homecoming was reversed in the *British Workman*, where the illustrations were designed to portray a more celebratory aspect of the father's return to the family home, (Figs. 114-117.).



Fig. 114.



Fig. 115.



Fig. 116.



Fig. 117.

There were other images composed around the threshold that explored the tensions that could exist between the worlds of work and the home, and served to illustrate some of the trials and the temptations with which the working man had to contend. In an engraving that depicts a variation on the theme of the returning artisan (Fig. 118.), a sailor who has just returned from a voyage, therefore on the threshold between the land and the sea, is shown being propositioned by an unscrupulous 'land-shark' hoping to tempt him to waste his money on drink in a low lodging house.⁹¹ Similarly, images in which a sailor is shown resisting the temptation to spend his money, his 'hard lump', in the public house, (Fig. 119.), or the collier who elected to save his wages rather than spend his money on beer, were frequently published.⁹²

⁹¹ *BW* No. 26. February, 1857: 102. Sailors returning from long voyages, and foreign sailors visiting the port of London, were often in possession of their wages, having been paid off before going ashore, and were the focus of special philanthropic attention. The LCM employed missionaries to seamen and individuals like Agnes Weston established sailor's rest homes. See Chappell, J. *Four Noble Women and their Work*, London, S. W. Partridge, n.d. 73-75. See also 'Jack and the Yellow-Boys', *BW* No. 13. January, 1855: 49, and *BW* No. 299. November, (1879): 233.

⁹² See 'The Wheat from the Chaff', *BW* No. 25. January, (1857): 97-98, and 'Jack and the Yellow-Boys', *BW* No. 13. January, (1856): 4.



Fig. 118.



Fig. 119.

As with the ‘returning artisan’ trope, Smithies was more concerned with presenting the threshold as a place of opportunity, a place where respectable workmen were reunited with their loving families, where the potential dangers and threats present in the public place could be recognised and avoided, and where support and assistance were at hand for those in need. The doorstep at home was where subscribers received their copies of the *British Workman*, (Figs. 20-23), or where the local colporteur arranged the sale of Bibles and testaments. It was where the costermonger conducted his business, (Figs. 89 & 120.), or where the six-day cab-man picked up his fare. The threshold might be at the factory gates where young lads hawked copies of the *British Workman* to workmen, or in the doorway of a public house or gin-shop where the missionary distributed copies to labourers who had decided to call in for a drink rather than go home to their wives and families, (Fig. 121.). Perhaps most poignantly the threshold might also be the entrance to a bedroom where a father could listen quietly to his children praying, (Fig. 122).



Fig. 120.



Fig. 121.



Fig. 122.

By the 1880s the ‘returning artisan’ on the threshold, as depicted in the *British Workman*, had become none threatening and non intrusive. The image of the father entering the family home was a benign motif. This is clearly shown in Barnes’ illustration for ‘Evening Prayers’ in which a mother is getting her two children ready for bed and teaching them ‘The Lord’s Prayer’. The letterpress describes how a

... pulseless stillness reigns throughout the chamber... Tears were in the eyes of the wife and mother as she lifted her face and gazed with a subdued tenderness upon the countenance of her husband. Her heart was too full for utterance. A little while she thus gazed, and then, with a trembling joy, laid her head upon his bosom. The good shepherd was in the chamber where their dear ones slept, and they felt His gracious presence.⁹³

The mother and children are oblivious to the arrival of the father who listens attentively and appreciatively in the doorway, reminded of how the same prayer, taught to him by his mother, proved to be his strength in the past. Far from being an intrusion, the presence of the father is likened to the good shepherd. Smithies' returning artisan was representative of the success of the temperance reform agenda and of the beneficial effects of reading the *British Workman*. By shunning the temptations of the public house in favour of returning home to his family the workman portrayed in the texts and images in the *British Workman* became a metaphor for the respectable husband and father. He was the epitome of the labourer portrayed in Midwood's painting of 'The British Workman', (Fig. 101.) and the role model described by Smithies in 'Our Type of British Workman'.

The man is a real and not an ideal workman who, rising early every morning, goes forth to his toil, having asked God's blessing on him through the day- he is one who never wilfully neglects his work or wastes either his own or his employer's time, he returns at the close of the day wearied indeed, but not murmuring, his heart fills with gladness as he draws near his dwelling. He has a look of kindness and a pleasant word as he enters for his wife and child. And they in return have a clean hearth, a ready meal, and a smiling welcome. Evening brings the sweet leisure hour which the good man knows how to employ wisely, some book or paper to improve and interest the mind, some plants to trim, some furniture to repair, some light ingenious work that gives pleasure in the doing, some cheerful conversation that refreshes the spirits; in this way night comes on, and there is the grateful prayer, and the lying down to the sound sleep that rests and renews the weary frame.⁹⁴

Smithies' 'British Workman' was a father devoted to educating his children, and using his own leisure time wisely, with 'some book or paper to improve and interest the mind, some plants to trim, some furniture to repair, some light ingenious work that gives pleasure in the doing, some cheerful conversation that refreshes the spirits'. He was a husband who empowered his wife, and assisted her in her fulfilment of her own domestic duties by providing her with a sufficient

⁹³ *BW*, No. 337. January, (1883): 146.

⁹⁴ *BW* No. 154. October, (1867): 134. The full text is given in Appendix H.

income to manage the household economy. She, in return, provided “a clean hearth, a ready meal, and a smiling welcome”.

Perhaps more significantly, the threshold to the home represented a kind of gateway to domestic bliss and harmony. Having worked hard, and despite being wearied from a day of toil, Smithies’ working man returned home with a heart filled with gladness. “He has a look of kindness and a pleasant word as he enters for his wife and child”.

For many of the lower orders, however, the threshold still represented a place of despair and disillusionment. They were subject to regular visitations, often against their will, by missionaries, district visitors and other authority figures like the doctor, the local priest, or the police. In Charles Hunt’s *The Stolen Child*, (Fig. 123.), for example, a uniformed policeman is shown on the threshold, about to enter a room in which suspected child thieves are removing the fine clothes from a pretty but terrified little girl.⁹⁵

When obliged to seek assistance and shelter, the threshold was often the place where the poor and destitute among the working classes were subjected to intense scrutiny by the authorities and reminded of their place in the social pecking order. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s social investigators continued to record their observations and report the squalid and miserable existences experienced by tens of thousands of poor urban families. Some artists, like Luke Fildes and Hubert von Herkomer embraced the new ‘social realist’ style so that they might more accurately portray some of the hardships and realities of working class living. Luke Fildes’ painting, *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* (1874), shows a group of wretched and ragged men women and children waiting patiently outside a refuge for the homeless, in the cold and dark, hoping for a place to sleep

⁹⁵ Child abduction was a real issue in nineteenth-century Britain, and America. Hunt’s painting echoes the scene in chapter 6 of Dicken’s *Dombey and Son*, in which Good Mrs. Brown demands that Florence Dombey exchanges her fine clothes for rags. Dickens, C. *Dombey and Son*, (serialised in 20 parts October 1846- April 1848). See also, Fass, Paula S. *Kidnapped: Child Abduction in America*, (1997).

for the night. (Fig. 124).⁹⁶ Alternatively, some chose to be independent or were left to their own devices, as portrayed in Herkomer's painting *Hard Times* (1885). Here an unemployed labourer is portrayed gazing off into an uncertain future while his exhausted and hungry family huddle together on the grass verge at the side of an almost deserted country road. (Fig. 125.). In a similar vein, another of Herkomer's works, *On Strike* (1889), (Fig. 126.), attempts to convey the sense of hopelessness and desperation experienced by labourers during times of industrial strife. As the title suggests *On Strike* graphically illustrates the plight of the working man denied his rightful employment through either a collective or an individual withdrawal of labour. Trapped on the threshold of his home, unable to either enter the house or leave for his usual daily labours, the dejected workman, cap in hand, is isolated and alone. He is unable to fulfil any of his allotted manly duties, to provide for his family or earn his keep. Nevertheless, regardless of the realities of urban living, and the economic and social difficulties facing many of the poor, images composed around the threshold conformed with the majority of the engravings issued in the *British Workman* by continuing to convey a sense of hope, optimism and well-being.



Fig. 123.



Fig. 124.



Fig. 125.



Fig. 126.

As far as pictures based on the returning artisan motif were concerned, evidence indicates that other illustrated religious and temperance periodicals, issued after 1860, seemed to follow a pattern similar to the one adopted by Smithies. Illustrations depicting the returning artisan motif as a moment of joy and happiness appeared in penny magazines such as *The British Workwoman Out and at Home*, (Fig. 127.), *The Quiver*, *The Mother's Treasury*, (Fig. 128.), and *The Cottager and Artisan*, (Fig. 129.). It is also apparent that the threshold was

⁹⁶ Fildes oil painting was developed from a sketch that appeared in the first number of *The Graphic* 4 December, 1869, captioned 'Houseless and Hungry'. Treuherz, (1987): 53. See also Dore's version of the same theme in Jerrold Blanchard's *London*, (1872).

similarly represented as a place where transactions that were in many ways beneficial to the working classes were regularly conducted. The colporteur was portrayed as a welcome visitor bringing Bibles, books and periodicals directly to the home. (Fig. 133.), and numerous engravings published from the 1860s onwards suggested that the missionary or the district visitor was no longer greeted with as much hostility or suspicion as they had often experienced in the past. (Fig. 130.)



Fig. 127.



Fig. 128.



Fig. 129.



Fig. 130.

While many of the illustrations in the *British Workman*, and other morally improving periodicals like *The Cottager and Artisan*, *Sunday at Home* and *The Mother's Treasury*, presented idealised representations of the working classes to their readers, there is written evidence to suggest that, for some individuals, the threshold increasingly became a place of welcome rather than hostility. As the following extracts show, the records of city missionaries, written in journals and printed in *Annual Reports* and *Mission Magazines*, acknowledged that the *British Workman* played an important role in allowing district visitors to gain access into homes in some of the more inaccessible urban neighbourhoods, and to perform their duties more successfully.

The gift of a publication illustrated and written as the *British Workman* is felt by British workmen to be a gift which is too valuable to be refused, and, to obtain it, they consent to receive even into their workshops and places of amusement, as well as in the public house, the messenger who brings the gift, who thus, in large numbers of instances, obtains his entrance where great difficulties beset a missionaries' visit.⁹⁷

This latter important peculiarity has mainly rendered the *British Workman* so eminently popular among the classes visited by this Society, and secured for it a perusal more general than has ever yet been obtained by any other publication circulated by the Society... it has paved the way in very numerous instances for more deeply religious teaching...⁹⁸

⁹⁷ London City Mission, *Annual Report*, (1862): 15-16.

⁹⁸ London City Mission, *Annual Report*, (1864): 13.

In the words of one of the London city missionaries, “The door of opportunity gradually opened.”⁹⁹

Individual missionaries reported that the distribution of the *British Workman* ‘caused quite a sensation’ and that they had never had anything that “took so well”. The paper was received more enthusiastically than any other tract or publication that they had distributed. According to other accounts recorded in various *Annual Reports* the recipients themselves matched the enthusiasm of the London City missionaries. “The poor said, “This is the sort of stuff to give us”, and “The cry was, where are they to be bought? I shall take it in.”¹⁰⁰ “These [*British Workman*] are often taken where a tract is refused; and in a large number of instances they have been purchased by the people”. One missionary reported having obtained 140 regular subscribers from within his district while others claimed to have distributed upwards of 1,894 copies during their visits.¹⁰¹

As the following accounts indicate, the missionaries in Manchester were similarly encouraged and assisted in their work by the extensive distribution of the *British Workman*, and the generally positive responses from those they visited.

There is encouragement, therefore, to prosecute still further this aggressive action amongst classes of working men. ‘The British Workman’, the ‘Illustrated Hand-bills’, and ‘Monthly Messengers’ of the Tract Society, and Mr. Drummond’s ‘Gospel Trumpet’ have served us greatly in this kind of work; the first-named especially, as a help to open the door of entry among a fresh company.¹⁰²

Among the Hopeful features of the district, I believe the improved reading taste of the people may be placed. The London Journal, Reynolds’s Miscellany, The Parlour Journal &c, are not to be met with so frequently. Somewhere about 300 British Workman are taken monthly, besides a tolerable sprinkling of other periodicals of a religious or high moral tone.¹⁰³

Taking into account some of the issues discussed in Chapter Five with reference to the road to ruin narrative, and Smithies’ reworking of and returning artisan trope, it is evident that when compared with some existing temperance literature such as the popular *Ipswich Temperance Series* tracts or *The Progressionist*, the

⁹⁹ *London City Mission Magazine*, 1 March, (1884): 56.

¹⁰⁰ *LCM Annual Report*, (1860): 28-29.

¹⁰¹ *LCM Annual Report*, (1860): 21.

¹⁰² *Manchester City Mission Magazine*, No. 10. January, (1859): 7.

¹⁰³ *MCM Magazine* No.19. April, (1861): 5.

ways in which illustrations were used in the *British Workman* marked a significant shift away from standard practices. I have argued that Smithies redefined the concept of the 'good' picture for his own purposes. An analysis of images composed around the theme of the threshold also shows how he influenced the style of illustration used in other publications. However, an examination of a number of magazines and journals approved by the Pure Literature Society suggests that Smithies' influences were more far reaching. In conclusion I shall reflect on the contributions that Smithies made to the development of illustrated mass circulation temperance periodicals, and consider some possible avenues for further research in this field.

Conclusion

Conclusion

In this study I have been mainly concerned with an examination of the circumstances leading up to the establishment of the *British Workman*, and its development into the most successful temperance journal of the second half of the nineteenth century. I have focused on questions relating to the journal as a vehicle for temperance education for the working classes, and the use of large wood engraved illustration for didactic purposes. I have considered issues surrounding the use of pictures in Victorian temperance literature, and attempted to address questions arising from Smithies' use of pictures in relation to those employed in established temperance literature, based on empirical evidence, rather than ideological interpretation. In Chapter Four I analysed the standard temperance narrative of the road to ruin, in which the first drink inevitably led to despair, destruction and death, in order to show how Smithies' approach deviated from the usual practice. Whereas temperance literature commonly warned of the negative consequences of drunkenness and intemperance, Smithies promoted the positive rewards and benefits of temperance. The discussion of representations of the working classes in Chapters Five and Six explored in greater depth the context of the good picture, and the benefits of a sober, respectable lifestyle, through representations of the working man as important and worthy members of society in both the public, and the domestic, environments.

The failure of the temperance literature of the 1830s and 1840s to attract a wide circulation was due, in part, to the narrowly defined middle-class audience at which it was directed, and a limited appeal, in terms of style and content, to the broad mass of the working classes. Many of the magazines and journals were primarily directed at existing members of the various temperance societies, and focused on reporting dry temperance intelligence, and promoting the views of special interest groups. The tracts and handbills that circulated gratuitously in large numbers, (largely, though not exclusively, to the working classes), were generally greeted with apathy by their intended audiences. Smithies succeeded by creating a more visually attractive style of journal with short and varied articles accompanied by numerous large illustrations designed by first class artists and executed by highly skilled engravers. The non-sectarian tone of the journal

enabled many different organisations to subscribe to the Christian and philanthropic agenda embodied in the images and letterpress. Additionally, Smithies' broad philanthropic interests, ecumenicalism, and membership of numerous nationally networked temperance and philanthropic organisations,¹ brought him into contact with a wide range of influential supporters, many of whom were prepared to lend significant assistance in promoting and financing the widespread distribution of his periodicals. Primarily, however, it was the pioneering use of illustration that distinguished the *British Workman* from other temperance papers and contributed to its eventual success.

Smithies' Influence: Religious and Temperance Literature Post 1860.

When Thomas Bywater Smithies died on the 20th July 1883 he had been editor of *The Band of Hope Review* for a period of thirty-two years, and of the *British Workman* for twenty-seven years. During that time he had established a reputation as “one of the oldest and most faithful of the pioneers of the temperance reformation”,² and as standing “foremost among all editors in his judgement and taste and enterprise, as regards wood engravings”, stimulating, if not causing, “an entire revolution in the art of wood-cutting and wood-cut printing.”³ His contributions to the temperance movement, and to the development of illustrated temperance periodicals, were acknowledged in magazines issued by S. W. Partridge, and in several independent temperance and religious publications. An examination of the obituary notices published in the main temperance journals shortly after his death gives some indication of the high regard in which Smithies and his publications were held within temperance and religious circles.

It is impossible to give the reader any adequate idea of the valuable aid rendered by Mr. Smithies to the cause of religion. It will be sufficient to say here that his works had a large circulation. Among periodicals, were the *British Workman*, *Band of Hope Review*, *Welcome*, *Family Friend*, *Children's Friend*, *Infant's Magazine*, *Friendly Visitor*, and several Almanacs. Besides the letterpress articles, stories, sketches, anecdotes, etc., his publications have always been remarkable for the excellence of

¹ See Appendix B.

² *The Temperance Record*, 26 July, (1883): 471.

³ *The Animal World*, 1 September, (1883): 138.

their illustrations and the neatness of their embellishments. In our opinion Mr. Smithies stood foremost among all editors in his judgment and taste and enterprise, as regards wood engravings. In fact, we are not doing any one injustice by contending that he stimulated, if he did not cause, an entire revolution in the art of wood cutting and wood-cut printing. Old methods of engraving have, during the last quarter of a century, been superseded by great improvements, and the boldness of Mr. Smithies' faith in retaining the services of eminent artists like Harrison Weir, Birket Foster, and John Gilbert, and engravers like John Knight, of Clerkenwell Close, has been rewarded not only by the enormous sale of his publications, but by the universal appreciation and approval of cultured persons. The energy and talent of his nature demanded and obtained the best work which could be produced; but we are enabled to state with authority that when insisting on the value of good drawing, good engraving, and good printing, the first object he regarded as essential, and which he never lost sight of, was the accomplishment thereby of a greater amount of moral and religious improvement of his readers. He had learned the lesson that pictures attract and teach the human mind, and his illustrations therefore were in themselves sermons and treatises.⁴

Many readers of the *British Workman* were certainly attracted to the illustrations and it was a source both pleasure and disappointment for Smithies that the journal was often cut up so that the engravings could be used to decorate the walls of working class homes. It was partly in order to try and minimise the practice that illustrated wall-papers were issued so that readers could create own their "picture galleries". As the following notice demonstrates, the creation of a "home academy" of illustrations from the *British Workman* was intended to compensate in some way for the difficulties experienced by the common labourer in accessing the exhibitions of the Royal Academy, and, to a certain extent, equates the engravings reproduced in the journal with established concepts of works of art.

Picture-Galleries for Working Men's Homes.

Amongst the numerous letters we receive, we find at times sentences like these: "My walls are decorated with engravings out of the BRITISH WORKMAN. After I have read my monthly copy, I cut out the engravings for my picture-gallery."

Such letters call forth feelings of *regret* as well as pleasure, for they tell of the *mission of the letterpress* in such cases being *ended*; whereas the monthly papers might have been lent to and read by many, for not only months, but even for years to come.

We are very anxious to do all in our power to meet the increasing desire of the working classes for good pictures for the walls of their homes, and we have *re-issued* 100 of our largest and best engravings, with the *letterpress surrounding them, printed only on one side of the paper*. These are styled "ILLUSTRATED WALL-PAPERS; or the Working Man's Picture Gallery." They are issued in Packets... each containing twelve assorted Wall-papers;... price one shilling each...

We hope that many of our readers will follow the example of John Wilson, as shown in our engraving, and give joy to *their* wives and families by decorating *their* homes with some of these attractive broadsheets.

Not many of our readers have it in their power to visit the exhibitions of the "ROYAL ACADEMY," but all of them *can* form a "HOME ACADEMY," by a judicious adornment of their walls. By God's blessing, we trust the perusal of the letterpress of

⁴ *The Animal World*, 1 September, (1883): 138.

the Wall-papers we have issued, will have a mission in promoting the "HEALTH, WEALTH, AND HAPPINESS" of many sons and daughters of toil, both of the present and of the rising generation.⁵

Clara Lucas Balfour expressed similar sentiments arguing that one of the benefits of exposure to the illustrations reproduced in the *British Workman* was that readers became more visually literate and, therefore, "...ought to love pictures, and to know something of the law of proportion, and the harmony of grouping, for their taste has been cultivated in these matters". Balfour went further and suggested that the *BW* reader was more likely to visit an art gallery as a consequence of reading Smithies' journal.

The writer has often been far more gratified by seeing a sturdy working man standing with one or two of his children at his side, looking at a fine picture with intelligent appreciation, than by any other sight in that grand collection in the National Gallery. In the South Kensington Museum there is a very fine collection of choice pictures, and some exquisite sculpture that amply repays the most careful inspection, and would invite many visits.⁶

It was not only *British Workman* readers who were to benefit from the pioneering illustrated publications edited by Smithies. An examination of a number of religious and temperance periodicals published from the 1860s onwards reveals that Smithies pioneering ideas, and his journals, were to have a considerable impact on the development of illustrated papers and magazines.

Arthur Hall's *British Workwoman Out and at Home*, (1863), is a particularly striking example of the way in which the style and format of an illustrated periodical was directly influenced by, and modelled on, the *British Workman*. In a brief opening statement, echoing that printed by Smithies in the first issue of the *British Workman*, Hall stated that the *British Workwoman* was intended to

⁵ *BW* No. 317. May, (1881): 66. Within a few months of the first appearance of the periodical wallpapers were made available at the same price as the paper, *i.e.* 1d. The advantage of these wallpapers was that the illustrations and the accompanying letterpress were printed on one side of the paper only and the original image size was retained with the engraving set into the surrounding letterpress. Overall the wallpapers were significantly larger than the standard *BW* page. However it was not until the publication of this extract that there was any public acknowledgement of concern about the demise of copies of the periodical.

⁶ *BW* No. 117. September, (1864): 446.

provide an “organ exclusively devoted to the interests of the British Workwoman” to supplement those “well-conducted journals calculated to promote the social and moral education of the *industrial classes*” (my emphasis).⁷ The choice of title, the visual presentation, the high moral tone of the contents, the large page format, and the regular full-page wood-engraved illustrations, all serve to highlight the distinct similarities between the two journals. The imposing masthead and the bold symmetry of the page layout of the early numbers bear many of the characteristics of the title pages of the *BW* and later modifications made to the masthead of the *British Workwoman*, with the transition to an unassuming though clear title, the double ruled border and the full-page illustrations, further emphasise the debt owed to Smithies’ pioneering work. (Figs. 131- 134).⁸



Fig. 131.



Fig. 132.



Fig. 133.



Fig. 134.

The sentiments expressed in some of the notices printed in Hall’s magazine also echo those in Smithies’ mission statement in which he solicited the aid of ‘both employers and employed’ in promoting his objectives.⁹ Hall invited “All Masters, Mistresses... and the Employers of Workwomen and Girls... to place before their Servants, Mothers...[and] Employees, copies of the ‘British Workwoman,’ under a full assurance to themselves that great good may result.”¹⁰ The close similarities between the *BW* and the *BWW* were also commented on in some press notices. For example *The Gospel Magazine*, argued that “This periodical is good, and ought to be placed by the side of its companion, the ‘British Workman,’ and others of that class, in every cottage.”¹¹ In a similar vein *The Weekly Record* suggested, “We are sure there is room for the ‘British

⁷ *British Workwoman*, No. 1. November, (1863): 2.

⁸ See also *BWW* No. 59. September (1868): 81, and the illustration accompanying ‘The British Workwoman welcome among servants’ in which a group of women are pictured seated around a table reading a clearly identifiable copy of the *BWW*.

⁹ *BW* No. 1. February. (1855): 1.

¹⁰ *BWW* No. 17. March, (1865): 129.

¹¹ *BWW* No. 20. June, (1865): 161.

Workwoman' wherever the 'British Workman' is taken in. They should go side by side, and aid each other as man and wife, brother and sister."¹²

There are also close visual similarities between the design of the title pages for the *British Workman* and *The Cottager and Artisan*, (Figs. 135 & 136). The layout, the combination of letterpress and engravings, the use of wood-engraving as the main reproductive medium, the similarities of fount used for the titles and the ornate and decorative style, are all indicative of Smithies' influence. The fact that illustrations to some numbers of the *British Workman* and *The Cottager and Artisan* were executed by the same artists further emphasised the visual similarity between the two papers, (Figs. 135 & 136).¹³



Fig. 135.



Fig. 136.



Fig. 137.



Fig. 138.

Smithies' influence is noticeable in the development of children's magazines also. The similarities between the page size and design of the title pages of Erskine's *The Children's Prize* (Fig. 139.), and Smithies' *The Children's Friend* (Fig. 140), and some of the subject matter and compositions of the engravings, (Figs. 141 & 142), are too close to be a coincidence.



Fig. 139.



Fig. 140.



Fig. 141.



Fig. 142.

¹² *BWW* No. 21. July, (1865): 168.

¹³ In commenting on the artwork and the quality of the illustrative matter in the *British Workman* and *The Cottager and Artisan* Vincent van Gogh wrote, "The *British Workman* and *The Cottage and Artisan*, both penny papers of The London Tract Society, sometimes have very tame things, but at other times, robust, beautiful things too." *Letter R 15*, V. van Gogh to Felix Rappard 29. October, (1882).

Smithies was responsible for the introduction of a wide range of periodicals and books and a detailed analysis of his publications, and of S. W. Partridge's catalogues, could prove to be invaluable for advancing our knowledge of the development of illustrated books and magazines for children, and adults, during the second half of the nineteenth century. Similarly such an analysis could provide valuable insights into the workings of one of the principal publishing houses of morally uplifting literature over a period spanning more than seventy years.

The English and American temperance movements were closely allied and there was a strong tradition of sharing ideas, with activists undertaking lecture tours on both sides of the Atlantic. It is not surprising, therefore, that Smithies culled articles from publications issued by the American Tract Society and reprinted them in the *British Workman*. American publishers also benefited from reciprocal arrangements. Smithies sent copies of his plates to temperance colleagues in the United States so that his periodicals could be printed and circulated through his New York publishers. He also subscribed to American periodicals so that he might 'cut out pieces for insertion into his own periodicals' as in the case of his ordering of two sets of copies of the *Christian Weekly*, one of which was filed.¹⁴

A comparison of illustrations used in copies of *The Band of Hope Review* and the *British Workman*, with those published in *The Youth's Temperance Banner*, for example, (Figs. 143–146.), clearly show that there was at least a sharing of ideas, and that blocks engraved after Landseer's and Douglas's work were either supplied by Smithies for use in *The Youth's Temperance Banner*, or they were very closely copied.

¹⁴ Letter from Smithies to Lyman Abbott, son of the popular children's author Jacob Abbott, dated 19th August 1861, in which Smithies offers to send a duplicate set of the July numbers and 'Electro No. 16419'. He also refers to 'a 'license' kindly given to him by the 'Committee of the American Tract Society' presumably agreeing to his republication of material from the *Messenger* in his own papers. M1.8. Box 43. F. 56. Lyman Abbott Autograph Collection, Abbott Memorial Collection, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine, U. S. A.



Fig. 143.



Fig. 144.



Fig. 145.



Fig. 146.

Although the personal bonds between individuals were, in several cases, very strong, our understanding of the transatlantic dimensions to temperance reform is limited. An analysis of the content of magazines such as *The Band of Hope Review* and *The Youth's Temperance Banner* could give valuable insights into the close alliance between the American and British Temperance movements.

It was uncharacteristic of Smithies to loan his wood blocks to a third party and, unlike Joseph Livesey,¹⁵ or other publishers, he feared that if he sold them “they might be used for base purposes”.¹⁶ One other source, however, indicates that foreign illustrated periodicals were not only directly styled on the *British Workman*, but that Smithies did also supply wood blocks from which to print the illustrations.



Fig. 147.

The Norwegian worker's paper *Den Norske Arbeider*, (The Norwegian Worker), (Fig. 147), a ‘penny’ paper published during the 1870s, was described as a “mirror of the excellent English workingman's paper *The British Workman*”¹⁷. Haerem's paper was apparently noted for the excellence of its pictorial content, and for a time it was illustrated by images printed from stereotyped blocks

¹⁵ Joseph Livesey sold off 45,000 temperance publications including 70 sets of Stereotype Plates for temperance tracts and handbills, and about 20 Wood Engravings. *The National Temperance Advocate* No. 10. Vol. 3 October (1847): 106. Cassell, Petter & Galpin advertised the sale of ‘electrotypes of upwards of 90,000 wood engravings’ *The Printers' Register- Supplement*, 6 December, (1878): 167.

¹⁶ *The Temperance Record*, 26 July (1883): 471.

¹⁷ Haerem, P. *Peter Haerems Liv og Virksomhed*, Kristiana, Faedrelandets Forlag, (1878): 33.

supplied by Smithies. Peter Haerems, the proprietor, claimed that it was because of the quality of the images and the letterpress that *Den Norske Arbeider* enjoyed circulation figures comparable to those of the *British Workman*.¹⁸

Smithies undoubtedly influenced the style and content of the pictorial matter of religious and temperance periodicals and tracts post 1860, and evidence shows that he was prepared, under certain circumstances, to allow his illustrative matter to be used for new publications, (Fig. 148.). Similarly some of the illustrations that first appeared in the *British Workman* were reused in later publications, (Fig. 149). Nevertheless, temperance propaganda continued to rely on the type of subject matter common during the 1830s and 1840s. Pictures of drunks were still commonplace on tracts issued by temperance organizations during the 1870s and 1880s, (Figs. 150-152), although there were occasions when images and letterpress from the *British Workman* were utilised.



Fig. 148.



Fig. 149.



Fig. 150.



Fig. 151.



Fig. 152.

While it is evident that Smithies' contributions to the development of a more palatable and acceptable form of religious and temperance periodical were influential in terms of the future development of the genre, the extent to which the *British Workman* was effective in meeting the objectives and aspirations of those evangelical philanthropists who appreciated the needs it was designed to meet, and the potential it offered, are as difficult to measure as the overall success of the work it supported. How great was the impact of the religious and temperance press on the moral improvement of the working classes? The optimism and enthusiasm projected in official reports and missionary journals was not necessarily an accurate assessment of what happened at grass roots level.

¹⁸ Haerem, (1878): 33-34. It was unusual for Smithies to loan his engravings to anyone else and it was suggested that Haerem's 'constant pressure' on Smithies to supply material for the Norwegian paper eventually put an end to the arrangement.

Missionaries collected a wealth of statistical information quantifying their work and while the figures themselves may constitute an accurate account of the work done, there was no guarantee that restored backsliders, the “communicants turned to the Lord”, or drunkards reclaimed did not lapse back into their old habits. The frustration and disappointment experienced during home visits, for example, was all too apparent, and the numbers of souls saved and drunkards reformed, although presented with a positive gloss, were not overwhelming.¹⁹ The following figures, taken from the Annual Reports of the Leeds Town Mission, give some indication of the results of the effort expended by 26 missionaries in that town during the mid 1870s.

1873

Hours worked.	33,950.
Visits made.	89,256. (19,926 to the sick or dying)
Scriptures distributed.	877.
Tracts distributed.	88,630.
Cottage Meetings.	2,675. (attendance 87,000).
Persons ‘turned to the Lord’.	204. (of which 70 became communicants, and 100 died).
Backsliders restored.	37.
Drunkards reclaimed.	52. ²⁰

1875

Visits made.	83,800. (22,000 to the sick or dying)
Scriptures distributed.	724.
Tracts distributed.	70,000.
Cottage Meetings.	2,675. (attendance 87,000).
Persons ‘turned to the Lord’.	355. (of which 191 became communicants, and 113 died).
Backsliders restored.	50.
Drunkards reclaimed.	41. ²¹

Determining the extent to which penny papers like those recommended by the Pure Literature Society were distributed among the poor in London has not been one of the main areas of concern in this study. There are numerous references in the *Annual Reports*, *The London City Mission Magazine*, and missionary’s journals confirming that periodicals such as *The Home Friend*, (1852), *The Leisure Hour* (1852), and *Sunday at Home* (1854), were regularly distributed. One missionary reported, “... I have arranged for the people’s purchasing 100 good penny periodicals, such as the *British Workman*, *The Band of Hope Review*,

¹⁹ See Hewitt (1998): 223-224, for an account of the experiences of some of the missionaries and district visitors working in Manchester at mid-century.

²⁰ Leeds Town Mission, *Annual Report*, (1874): 6.

²¹ Leeds Town Mission, *Annual Report*, (1876): 4.

Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, the Tract Magazine and the *Child's Companion...*"²² are not specific enough to determine which of the periodicals mentioned was issued in the greatest numbers. There is evidence to suggest that *British Workman* in particular was distributed in large quantities. LCM records show that the initial grant of 200,000 distributed in November 1857 was the first of several. One notice stated that, "...the Committee have to acknowledge very gratefully large free grants of the *British Workman*, and *The Band of Hope Review* as well as a large donation of £120 from one gentleman for the purchase of these most useful and valuable magazines".²³ Also, "A second donation of £120 has also been received from H. F. Barclay Esq. for the purchase of the *British Workman* on the condition that your committee spent a like sum for the same object - a condition to which they most cheerfully responded... [the *British Workman* is considered] to be a favourite with the classes they [missionaries] visit."²⁴

Similarly, it was reported by the MCM, that the distribution of the *British Workman*, in that town, had encouraged a wider acceptance of RTS periodicals among those visited.²⁵ The testimony of city and town missionaries confirms that the introduction of the *British Workman* helped to stimulate a new enthusiasm for tract distribution, tract production and tract reading. Contemporary sources inform us that the distribution of periodicals and tracts was fundamental to the work of temperance reformers, and evangelical missionaries' ideas.²⁶ Although Harrison and Hewitt make passing references to the role of literature in the transmission of temperance ideas, and the prosecution of domestic visiting, little scholarly investigation has been undertaken into the nature of the literature distributed. Similarly, there is much more to be discovered about the involvement of the working classes in what have usually been considered middle class philanthropic and evangelical activities. While the established practices of home visits, charitable work, and tract distribution continued to be predominantly

²² LCM, *Annual Report*, (1862): 15.

²³ *London City Mission Magazine*, 1 June, (1859): 159.

²⁴ LCM, *Annual Report*, 1861: 20. A further 'gift' of 100,000 copies of the *BW* and 'upwards of 100,000 copies of the *BHR* was recorded in the *Annual Report*, (1864): 13. The sum of £240 would have been sufficient to have purchased approximately 72,000 copies.

²⁵ *Manchester City Mission Magazine*, April, (1858): 8.

²⁶ See, for example, 'Importance of Tract Distribution', *The Bristol Temperance Herald*, No. 11. Vol. 12 November, (1848): 167.

organised and conducted by middle class females in areas where it was still considered appropriate, it was working class men and women who were elected to work among the very disadvantaged.

What emerges from an examination of the available material is just how important the *British Workman* was perceived to be at the time, and how much it affected the work of the city missionaries and the aspirations of a great number of the working classes, both at home and abroad. Smithies' personal creed, his consistency, and 'catholicity' of spirit maintained throughout his thirty-two years in periodicals publishing, were significant contributory factors which determined that his papers would attract a network of friends and supporters from across the political, social, religious and cultural spectra. By adapting his publication to meet the needs of the broad mass of the working class population, and by maintaining the integrity of his declared manifesto while modifying the way in which readers' and supporters' expectations might be accommodated, Smithies managed to establish and sustain unprecedented circulations for his periodicals. The success and popularity of the *British Workman* prompted others to follow his lead in presenting a more visually attractive and persuasive face to religious and temperance publications, directed more considerately, and in a more entertaining manner, at the working classes.

Smithies' publications have been largely dismissed as a potential source of examples of high quality illustration by the likes of Gleeson White and Forrest Reid, although a close examination of Smithies' journals reveals that he commissioned work from some of the most influential artists like John Gilbert, Birket Foster, Edward Hughes and Millais. To what extent might it be argued that, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the wood-engraving achieved the status as a work of art in its own right? Did traditional and historical associations with wood engraving as a radical and subversive cultural form undermine the aspirations of Smithies and Cassell to introduce their readers to high art images, to inculcate a sense of taste through the wood engraving as an elevated art medium? Could the opponents of wood-engraving continue to view the medium as one of utility only, or have White and Reid caused the jobbing but

often excellent and revealing work of lesser known commercial engravers to be undervalued.

The perceived status of the nineteenth-century mass-circulated wood-engraving as an art form has yet to be given serious consideration. Thomas Smithies, Arthur Hall, and others, certainly continued to place their faith in the ‘hand-crafted’ illustration, rather than the more photo-mechanical reproductive processes that were being developed throughout the last quarter of the century. The belief that the continued success of a journal like the *British Workman* was due, in part, to the quality of its illustrations and the “universal appreciation and approval of cultured persons” suggests that “good drawing, good engraving, and good printing,”²⁷ as found in the *British Workman*, were considered to be more desirable, and of greater cultural value, than either White or Reid acknowledge.

²⁷ *The Animal World*, 1 September, (1883): 138.

Appendices

Appendix A Sources of Information on Thomas Bywater Smithies.

Obituary Notices

The Animal World 1 September 1883: 137-38.

The Band of Hope Chronicle, September 1883: 133-35.

British Temperance Advocate, n.s No. 59. November, 1883: 968-69.

The British Workman, No 346, October 1883: 182-83.

Onward, September 1883: 139.

The Temperance Record, July 1883: 471.

The Temperance Record, August 1883: 486-87.

The Times, 25 July 1883: 10.

Books, Reviews, Articles.

Haerems, P. *Peter Haerems Liv og Virksomhed*, Kristiana, Faeddrelandets Forlag, 1878.

Hodder, E. *Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury*, London, Cassell, Popular Edn. 1892.

Keefe, H. J. *A Century in Print: The Story of Hazell's 1839 – 1939*, London, Hazell, Watson & Viney, 1939.

Mountjoy, P. R. 'Thomas Bywater Smithies, Editor of the *British Workman*', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, Vol. XVII. 1985.

Smiles, S. *George Moore Merchant and Philanthropist*, London, George Routledge and Sons, 5th edn. 1880.

Smith, F. *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, London, 1897.

Stringer Rowe, G. *T.B Smithies A Memoir*, London, 1884.

British Workman Jubilee Annual Vol. 50. 1904.

'The Story of The *British Workman*' *British Workman* n.s. No. 1. January, 1892.

British Workman, n.s. No 57, September 1896.

National Temperance League, *Annual Report*, 1857, 1860, 1863.

Appendix B. Membership Lists.

Smithies was intimately associated with numerous organizations including:-

The Sunday School Union.
The Ragged School Union.
The National Temperance League.
The United Kingdom Alliance.
The Band of Hope Union.
The United Kingdom Temperance Provident Institution.
The Church of England Temperance Society.
The London City Mission.
The Blue Ribbon Movement.
The Metropolitan Drinking Fountain Association.
The British and Foreign Bible Society.
The Wesleyan Body.
The Central Temperance Association.
The Lord's Day Observance Society.
The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.
The Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association.
The Lifeboat Institute.
The National Society for the Promotion of Social Science.¹

The following membership lists give some indication of the persons with whom Smithies would most likely have come into close and regular contact, and whose assistance and support he may well have been able to enlist after his move to London in 1849.

The Ragged School Union Committee, 1949.²

Chair	Lord Ashley M P; Bishop of Norwich; Lord Kinnaird; Earl of Harrowby Marquis of Blandford; Rev. Baptist Noel; H. M. Villiers. Revs. J Branch, W. Cadman, W. W. Champneys, Owen Clark, John Cumming, W. E. L. Faulkner, G. Fiske, J. Garwood, John Garrett, R. H. Herschell, Hugh Hughes, James Kelly, W. B. Mackenzie, Samuel Martin, Thomas Mortimer, Robert Redpath, J W Richardson, etc
Ladies Cttee	Lady Ashley, Miss Butler, Mrs Carter, Miss King, Miss Randall, Miss Herring, Miss Howell.
Managing Cttee	John McGregor;
Treasurer	R. C L.. Bevan;
Bankers	Barclay, Bevan, Tritton.

The National Temperance Society 1850.³

Vice-Presidents
R D Alexander; J D Bassett; Thomas Beaumont; C Bowly; Samuel Bowley; J S
Buckingham, John Cassell; Robert Charleton; Rev. R Clowes; Joseph Eaton; J Forbes
M.D.; Charles Gilpin, S C Hall; Lawrence Heyworth; Rev. Theobald Mathew; Dr. Lee;
W J Morgan; Richard Peck, Rev. W Reid; Rev. W W Robinson; Rev. J Sherman; Rev. W
J Shrewsbury; Rev. C Stovel, Rev. T Spencer; Joseph Sturge; Rev. W H Turner. Edward
Thomas; Robert Warner; Edward Webb. Rev. J Wilson.
Treasurer – G W Alexander
Exec Cttee
Chairman. William Janson

¹ See for example, the list of associations represented at Smithies funeral at Abney Park Cemetery, 25 July, 1883. *The Temperance Record*, 2 August 1883: 486-87.

² Source, *The Ragged School Union Magazine*, April, 1849.

³ Source, *The National Temperance Chronicle*,

Richard Barrett; T A Binns; Jabez Burns D.D; William Cabell; George Campbell;
Hildreth Kay
C H Lovell M.D.; John Meredith; George Miller ;R L Pinching M.R.C.S. Richard Place
William Purvis; T B Smithies*; John Stevenson; Edmund Tisdall; William Tweedie;
Stephen Wilson
Secretary- Isaac Doxsey

Committee of the London City Mission 1852.⁴

Treasurer- Sir Edward North Buxton, Bart., M.P.

Secretaries- Rev. John Garwood, M.A. Rev. John Robinson.

Auditors- John Stuckey Reynolds, Esq. Thomas Thompson, Esq.

Honorary Solicitor T. B. Hudson, Esq.

Alexander, J. Wallis, Esq. Mayo, Herbert, Esq. Bevan, Robert C. L. Esq. Meek, George, Esq.
Benson, Robert, Esq. Money, Wigram, Esq. Bird, Charles, Esq. Morris, G. J., Esq. Charles,
Robert, jun., Esq. Newman Thomas C., Esq. Clarke, Frederick, Esq. Owen, William Daniel, Esq.
Claypon, Joseph, Esq. Poole, Moses, Esq. Dear, Richard Edward, Esq. Robarts, Henry, Esq.
Farmer, Thomas, Esq. Rothery, Joseph, Esq. Foster, James, Esq. Rudall, John, Esq. Harcourt,
Adm. F. E. Vernon. R. N. Salt, Isaac, Esq. Hindley, Chas., Esq., M.P. Sheppard, J. G. Esq. Hoare,
Joseph, Esq. Steedman, Andrew, Esq. Jenkinson, Charles Thos. Esq. Stephenson, Ernest A. Esq.
Kinnaird, the Hon. A., M.P. Taylor, Wilbraham, Esq. Lambton, Hedworth, Esq. Trotter, Captain
John. Lycett, Francis, Esq. Wheatlev, Thomas B., Esq.
With power to add to their number.

Examiners of Missionaries

Rev. H. H. Beamish, M.A. Rev. Peter Lorimer. Rev. John Beecham, D.D. Rev. Capel Molyneux,
M.A. Rev. Wm. M. Bunting. Rev. John Morison, D.D. Rev. James Carver, M.A. Hon. and Rev. B.
W. Noel, M.A. Rev. Jno. Charlesworth, B.D. J Rev. John Patteson, M.A. Rev. R. W. Dibdin,
M.A. Rev. Robert Redpath, M.A. Rev. J. M. Fisher, M.A. Rev. J. W. Reeve, M.A. Rev. C. B.
Gribble, M.A. Rev. Edward Steane, D.D. Rev. J. C. Harrison. Rev. John Woodwark.

Medical Examiners

Dr. John Maclean. Dr. J. R. Bennett. Dr. J. B. Carlill.

National Temperance Society 1855

Exec Cttee

Chairman. William Janson

Thomas Binns; T A Binns; Jabez Burns D.D; William Cash; Edmund Fry; Rev. G W

M' Cree

Hugh Owen; T B Smithies; John Taylor; Rev. J Babington; J D Bassett; Samuel Bowly
Joseph Eaton; E S Ellis; Rev. W H Turner

Secretary- Rev. Dawson Burns.

National Temperance Society 1856

Exec Cttee

Edmund Fry; J W Green; T H Esterbrooke; John Phillips; Joseph Taylor; Thomas Cash;
William Cash; J D Bassett; Samuel Bowly; Thomas Binns; George C Campbell; William

Janson;

T B Smithies; William Tweedie.

⁴ Source, *Annual Report, London City Mission, 1852.*

National Temperance Society 1862

Vice Presidents

Rev W Acworth; R D Alexander; Rev Hugh Allen; Thomas Binns; J Broomhall; Potto Brown;

Rev D Burns; Very Rev Dean of Carlisle; John Cassell; Robert Charleton; Joseph Crosfield; George Cruikshank; W H Darby; John Dunlop; James Ellis; Charles Gilpin; Rev J Griffiths; Samuel Gurney; Rev Newman Hall; Lawrence Heyworth; William Janson; William Morris;

John Noble; Rev W W Robinson; Benjamin Scott; Edward Smith; E G Salisbury; Joseph Thorp; Joseph Tucker.

Exec Cttee

T Smith; Joseph Taylor; W J Barlow; J Phillips; John Taylor; W R Selway; R Griffiths; Hugh Owen; Thomas Fewster; Michael Young; T L Rutter; T B Smithies*; W Tweedie; J H Esterbrooke; G C Campbell.

Hon Secs- W Tweedie, John Phillips.

Secretary- Robert Rae

'British Workman' Relief Fund for Distress in Lancashire⁵

President. Shaftesbury

Treasurer. Samuel Gurney

Committee. A Kinnaird; Judge Payne; Francis Crossley; Henry Ford Barclay; T B Smithies.

Hon. Sec. R H Burdekin

⁵Source, *British Workman*, No. 93. September 1862: 371.

Appendix C. Endorsements for Smithies' *British Workman* as reprinted in 'Twenty Eight Suggestions' - Tweedie's Temperance Year Book 1863.⁶

The *British Workman* is admirably adapted to its purpose Archbishop of Canterbury.

I heartily wish you success with the *British Workman*. Earl of Shaftesbury.

The *British Workman*—well calculated to effect the laudable object you have in view, and I very sincerely wish you success. Earl of Aberdeen.

The *British Workman* appears to be admirably adapted to secure the object professed, viz., to procure at a low rate, instruction and amusement to those, who, from the nature of their daily occupations, have little time to devote to reading. Earl Granville.

Eminently calculated to produce an elevating and beneficial effect on the labouring classes of England. Earl of Albemarle,

I sincerely trust that it may receive, not only from the working classes, but from their employers, all the encouragement which such a publication merits. Lord Panmure.

The Editor of the *British Workman* has my full liberty to add my name to the list of those who have already given it their sanction. Earl of Kintore,

I consider the *British Workman* a most valuable publication. Lord Kinnaird,

The *British Workman* is well got up—interesting in matter, as well as sound in principle. Bishop of Lincoln.

I think it exceedingly well adapted to its object. Bishop of Ripon.

I think the work eminently calculated to do good. Bishop of Carlisle.

I am satisfied as to the benevolent character and beneficial tendency of the publication. Bishop of Lichfield

I rejoice to hear of its success, and heartily desire that its usefulness may continue to be augmented by a large increase of circulation. Bishop of Winchester.

I think the *British Workman* a very useful publication, and exceedingly well adapted to its object. I shall be glad to see it succeed. Lord John Russell, M.P.

The interest which you have long manifested in the prosperity of the working classes in England, has already obtained for you the cordial wishes of many of their best friends for the success of the *British Workman*. Hon. Arthur Kinnaird, M.P.

You have my best wishes for continued and increased success, and I hope you will receive the best reward of your philanthropic exertions by knowing that the *British Workman* is widely circulated amongst the labouring classes. Rt. Hon. J. S. Pakington, M.P.

It is well conceived, and has hitherto been wonderfully executed. Rev. Hugh McNeile, D.D., Liverpool.

⁶ Livesey Archive, University of Central Lancashire.

I think your *British Workman* perfectly admirable, alike in type, style, sentiment, and pictorial illustration. **Rev. J. B. Owen, M.A.**

It were well for society that it found its way into every workshop. In this enterprise you cannot fail to have the beat wishes of philanthropic and Christian men. **Rev. Dr. Guthrie.**

I have read with much interest the portion of the *British Workman* you have been good enough to send me. It appears to me to supply a long admitted want. **Rev. John Cumming, D.D.**

It is lively without being light, and solid without being dull. Manufacturers and employers generally would do well to diffuse it amongst their workpeople. **Rev. Hugh Stowell, M.A.**

I heartily wish well to your useful undertaking. **Hon. & Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A.**

Most heartily I wish success to the *British Workman*. **Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B.**

The *British Workman* is a publication filling, and that most efficiently, a niche in the periodical literature of the day, which no other serial of the kind does. **Rev. Octavius Winslow, D.D.**

With great and growing satisfaction I have watched and circulated your *British Workman*, and I do hope that your important, I may say, national enterprise, will be adequately supported. **Rev. W. Carus Wilson, M.A.**

Appendix D. Publications written, edited or compiled by T. B. Smithies.

- Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend, The*
Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend, The
Band of Mercy Advocate, The
British Workman, The
Children's Friend, The
Christian Monitor, The
Family Friend, The
Friendly Visitor, The
Infants Magazine, The
Servants Magazine, The
Weekly Welcome, The
Welcome, The
- Voices from the Penitentiaries*
Illustrated Sabbath Facts
Illustrated Tracts
Our Picture Book
Illustrated Temperance Anecdotes.
Coloured Temperance Tracts
Earlham Temperance Series Tracts
British Workman Series Tracts
British Workman Placards
Illustrated Temperance Wall-papers
British Workman Almanac
Band of Hope Almanac
Band of Hope Pledge Book
Band of Mercy Almanac
Animal's Friend Almanac
Stories About Horses
Church of England Temperance Tracts
Gleanings for the Drawing-room
Starlight Temperance Coloured Tracts
Illustrated Fly Leaves
A Mother's Alphabet
A Mother's Lessons on the Bible
- A Plea for the Dumb Creation*
Children's Picture Roll
Bible Picture Roll
My Text Roll
Ipswich Temperance Tracts (Nos. 138, 139, 148)
Illustrated Handbills
Portraits (with Broad Margins)
Morning Dew Drops. (Illustrated)
Illustrated Anecdotes and Pithy Pieces of Prose and Verse
- Foreign Language Editions *British Workman***
Malagasay, German, Dutch, Spanish
Italian, Russian, French, Polish
Norwegian, Portuguese
- Foreign Language Editions *Illustrated Wall-papers***
Malagasay, Maori, Italian, Welsh
Persian, Chinese, Spanish, French
Hawaiian, Fijian, Hebrew, Turkish
Urdu, Tamil, Hindi.
- Foreign Language Editions *Infant's Magazine***
French, Spanish, German, Italian.

Appendix E. Fund Subscribers.

Contributors to "British Workman" Lancashire Distress Fund

(Giving names, place of work or residence, and amount donated. Where identified)

Source- *British Workman* November 1862 – September 1863

F- Female, M- Male, O- Organisation, W- Workplace.

A Servant Girl,	F		£1.00
Ann Pierce,	F		£1
Ann R. Young,	F		£1
Annie B. Shilton,	F		£1
Miss Backhouse,	F		£1.00
Miss Bodkin,	F		£1
Miss C. Mudge,	F		£1
Miss F. Winnill,	F		£1
Miss M. C. Laird,	F	Glasgow.	£1.00
Miss R. Leavis	F		£1
Miss Reid,	F		£1
Miss S. Holmes,	F		£1.00
Misses M. and L. Smith,	F		£1
Mrs. A. Busteed,	F		£1
Mrs. A. R. Young,	F		£1
Mrs. Agnew,	F		£1
Mrs. B. and Family	F		£1
Mrs. Cash,	F		£1
Mrs. Cranford,	F		£1
Mrs. Darts, Collected by Four Children,	F		£1.00
Mrs. Day and Family,	F		£1.00
Mrs. E. Ilderton,	F		£1
Mrs. E. M. G. Mann,	F		£1
Mrs. Gellett,	F		£1
Mrs. Martha Bass,	F		£1
Mrs. R. Miller	F		£1
Mrs. W. H. Fuller,	F		£1
Mrs. Lewis	F		£1
Charlotte Ingleton	F		£2.00
Miss Hurst,	F		£2.00
Miss Lamplough.	F		£2.00
Miss M. A. Dewar	F		£2
Miss Ostler,	F	Grantham.	£2.00
Mrs. Kempson	F	Giggleswick	£2
Mrs. Mary Kempson.	F	Giggleswick,	£2.00
THE Hon. Mrs. C. Stuart,	F	Hubborne,	£2
Mrs. & Misses Smithies,	F		£3
Mrs. Castley,	F		£3.00
Mrs. Marian Hutchinson,	F	East Bergholt,	£3
Miss M. A. Dewar,	F		£5
Miss Paul	F		£5.00
Mrs. Turner,	F		£5
Miss Lydia Harris, ,	F	Peckham	£10.00
Miss Lydia Harris, Peckham,	F	Peckham	£10.00

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Eliz. Edwards,	F		£1 0s. 1d.
Miss E. Smith,	F		£1 10s.
Mrs. Brown,	F		£1 11s.
Mrs. Thos. Dawson,	F		£1 14s.
Miss Colls.	F		£1 14s. 2d.
Mrs. C. L. Balfour	F		£1 1s.
Miss J. A. Robson.	F	Morfa.	£1 1s. 3d.
Miss Kingdom	F		£1 2s.
Miss Rundle,	F		£1 2s. 1d.
Miss Elford, Bodmin,	F		£1 2s.,
Mrs. Ford,	F		£1 3s. 7d.
Miss S. E. Potts,	F	Ryde,	£1 5s.
Agnes Steggall,	F		£1. 8s.
Mrs. A. Ford, Bedford	F		£1. 17s.
Miss Pfeil.	F		£1. 5s. 6d.
Miss M. A. Walters	F		£1. 8s.
Miss Annie Clegg,	F		£1
Miss Bodkin,	F		£1
Miss Blair,	F		£12,
Julia French,	F		£2 0s. 5d
Miss L. L. Sturtevant,	F	Simon's Town, South Africa,	£2 0s. 6d.
Julia Rogers.	F		£2 13s.
Lady Burrell,	F		£2 2s.
Mrs. E. Bray,	F		£2 9s.
Miss Brightman,	F		£2, 10s.
Mrs. Buchan,	F		£2.
A Lady,	F		£20
Mrs. Clark,	F		£3. 10s
Mrs. H. Daniels, Servants &c.	F	Henley-on-Thames,	£4 1s.
Mrs. V. P. Davies,	F		£5 5s
Miss Statham,	F		£5.
Miss Smith,	F		£5.
Miss Dewar,	F		£5
Miss E. Cowmeadow, Cairnfield	F		£7. 7s. 6d.
Ellen Wood,	F		£1. 15s. 1d.
Miss Bathurst,	F		10s.
Miss M. A. Day,	F		10s.
Miss Stanford.	F		10s.
Miss Emma Morton,	F		5s.
A Working Woman	F	Scotland,	5s.
Mrs. Jones,	F		5s.
Miss Connor,	F		5s. 1d
Mrs. L. M.' Phial,	F		6s 9d.
Elizabeth Newbald,	F		7s 6d
Mrs. E. A. Harcourt,	F		8s.
Mrs. Blease,	F		10s. 6d
Mrs. Adams,	F		10s.
Mrs. Birch.	F	Kentish Town,	10s.
Mrs. Doggrell's Little Girls,	F		10s.
Miss Abbott,	F		£1 0s. 6d.
Miss G. Stephens,	F		£1 10s.
Mrs. M. A. Seale,	F		£1 12s
Mrs. Egleton,	F		£1 1s.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Mrs. Essington,	F		£1 1s.
Mrs. Webb,	F	Lea	£1 1s.
Miss S. C. Wiblin.	F	Clifton, Berks,	£1 1s. 8d.
Miss Jane Gibson,	F	Tasmania	£1 2s
Miss and Master Budd's Christmas Tree,	F		£1 2s. 11d.
Little Girl, ,	F	Southampton	£1 2s.
Miss B. Reed, Camden Road	F		£1 3s. 6d.
Miss Bodkin,	F		£1 4s. 6d.
Mrs. Carruthers,	F		£1 4s
Collected by Miss Elford,	F		£1 5s.
Miss C. Henry, Little Darenth Paper Mill,	F		£1 5s.
Mrs. Walker.	F		£1 5s.
Miss H. Bates, and Mr. H. D. Carr,	F		£1 5s. 7d.
Mrs. A. Young,	F		£1 6s.
Girls, St. Silas Sunday-school,	F	Liverpool	£1 6s.
Mrs. Mayer,	F		£1. 10s. 6d.
Lady Brown	F		£1. 14s. 8d.
Mrs. Carter, Erith,	F		£1. 2s.
Miss S. E. Potts,	F	Ryde,	£1. 3s. 8d.
Miss A. Church,	F	Abingdon	£1. 4s
Mrs. Chambers,	F	Stratford-on-Avon	£1. 5s.
Miss H. Blatchley.,	F	Felton	£1. 6s.
Miss Bird	F		£1. 10s.
Miss A. IH. Broomhall,	F		£1.
Miss A. M. Clarke,	F		£1.
Miss Newell, from members of the Household	F		£1.
Jane Kelly.	F		£1
Miss H. Funk,	F		£1
Miss L. Harris,	F		£10.
Miss L. Harris,	F		£10.
Miss L. Harris,	F		£10.
Mrs. Ind,	F		£10.
Mrs. F. Cotton	F		£2
Misses Nelson's "Beehive" Home, Meeting,	F	Paddington	£2 11s
Agnes Fisher,	F		£2 18s 4d
Mrs. Gaitskell and Miss Powley,	F		£2 18s.
Mrs. Robertson,	F		£2 2s.
Miss Bellamy's Sunday-school Class,	F		£2 3s. 10d.
Mrs. Lloyd Davies,	F		£2. 2s
Miss Elizabeth Herington,	F		£2.
Mrs. M. H. Jones,	F		£2.
Mrs. M. Kempson,	F		£2.
Mrs. Kempson,	F		£2.
Mrs. Kempson,	F		£2.
Miss Hales,	F		£2
Miss Richardson,	F		£4 18s.
Mrs. R. Godfrey	F	Greetham,	£4 18s. 7d
Two Sisters, ,	F	Powick	£5.
A Welshwoman,	F		£5
Mrs. C. B. Scott,	F		£5
Mrs. H. E. O'Brien,	F		£5
Miss Maria Brown,	F		£5
Mrs. W. G. Gibson,	F		£50

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Mrs. A. Rolls .	F		10s
Mrs. H. Rutherford, .	F		10s
Mrs. S. Waive, .	F		10s
Bessie Dodd,	F		10s 9d
Ethel,	F		10s.
Frances Brady,	F		10s.
Lizzie Heseltine,	F		10s.
Miss Burn.	F		10s.
Miss Davies	F		10s.
Miss Hazedon,	F		10s.
Miss M. A. Frankland,	F		10s.
Miss West	F		10s.
Mrs. K. Maish,	F		10s.
Mrs. M. Robertson,	F	Pentney,	10s.
Mrs. Simmons, .	F		10s.
Mrs.Boothby,	F		10s.
Two Little Girls,	F		10s.
Miss Lamb,	F		10s.
Priscilla Brand,	F		10s. 2d.
Mrs. Winstanley,	F		11s.
Mrs. McAusland,	F		13s. 6d.
Miss M. Patterson,	F		14s.
Miss Thompson, Collected by two Little Girls,	F		15s
Two little Girls, by Mrs. Doggrell,	F		18s.
Annie Glover,	F		1s. 1d.
Miss H. Funk	F		25s
Harriet Farley,	F		5s.
Mary,	F		5s.
Miss E. Downes,	F		5s.
Miss S. M. Creed,	F		5s.
Misses Taylor,	F		5s.
Mrs. A. Homer,	F		5s.
Mrs. Brewster,	F		5s.
Mrs. E. A. Harcourt	F		5s.
Mrs. M. A. Arnold,	F		5s.
Mrs. M. A. Thompson,	F		5s.
Mrs. M. D. C., "Hastings"	F		5s.
Mrs. Stone,	F		5s.
Mrs. Walker,	F		5s.
Mrs.E. Birch,	F		5s.
Mrs. A. H. Finch,	F		5s. 6d.
Mrs. M. Kirman,	F		5s. 6d.
Mrs. Cureton,	F		6s. 6d.
Mrs. E. Jacob,	F		6s. 9d.
Miss Emily Ellis,	F		6s.
Mrs. Lowe, from two little children,	F		6s.
Miss Roberts,	F		6s
Mrs. Penny and John King,	F		8s 6d
Mrs. Ommaney,	F		8s.
Mrs. M. Penfold,	F		8s. 3d
Clara A. Sayers,	F		9s 8d
Miss M. Cross,	F		9s.
Miss H. Funk, .	F/M	Gwern	£2 10s. 2d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Colour and Paymaster -sergeant H. N. Mitchell	M		£1
Mr. Edwin.	M		£1
Mr. Stanford.	M		£1
Mr. W. Fyfe,	M		£1
W. Hardwick, Esq.,	M		£1
A Cat's meat Man	M		£1.00
A Waiter.	M		£1
A Waiter.	M		£1
A. Bathgate, Esq.	M		£1
Dr. Bookey	M		£1
Geo. Savage, Esq.,	M		£1
George Smith,	M		£1
J. Chatterton, Esq.	M		£1
J.Beaven. E. Battery, 9th Brigade,	M	Shornecliffe	£1
Jno. Wilson,	M		£1
Mr, G. Wardle,	M		£1
Mr. Bennett,	M		£1
Mr. J. Boorman.	M		£1
Mr. A. Fernie,	M		£1
Mr. Ashby.	M		£1
Mr. E. Richardson,	M		£1
Mr. Engledew	M		£1
Mr. F. Reddicliffe,	M	Mottram.	£1
Mr. G. Biddle,	M		£1
Mr. G. Fuller,	M		£1
Mr. G. L. Aborn,	M		£1
Mr. G.R. Dixon,	M		£1.00
Mr. Giles.	M		£1
Mr. H. Tribe,	M		£1
Mr. Henry Scott,	M		£1
Mr. Henry Sykes and Friends,	M		£1
Mr. H. Giles,	M		£1
Mr. J. Ashby,	M		£1
Mr. J. C. Brigg,	M		£1
Mr. J. Clapham,	M		£1
Mr. J. Rooke,	M		£1
Mr. J. Tate,	M		£1
Mr. J.E. Saunders,	M		£1
Mr. John Holmes,	M	Rowsley,	£1
Mr. R. T. Lowe	M		£1
Mr. T. S. Truss, Bible-Class,	M		£1
Mr. Ulph Jn. Baptist Sunday School,	M	St. Ives, Hunts.	£1
Mr. W. G. Haydon,	M		£1
Mr. W. Owens,	M		£1
Mr. W. Stone,	M		£1
Rev. A. L. Winter, Faversham Church,	M	Faversham	£1
Rev. D. Davies	M		£1
Rev. Dr. Taylor,	M		£1
Rev. R. T. Burton , Soberton Church,	M	Soberton	£1
Rev. S. Frmaan, 'Junr. B.A.	M		£1
Ronald McLeod,	M		£1
Sergant Revell,	M		£1.00
Sergeant-Major T. H. Vickers,	M		£1

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

T. J. Thompson, Esq	M		£1
The Earl of Shaftesbury (weekly)	M		£1
Boys of Church Sunday-school,	M	Chepstow	£2.00
E. Heseltine, Esq	M		£2.00
E. Heseltine, Esq.,	M		£2.00
J. Myles, Esq.,	M		£2.00
John G. Rowley. Esq.,	M	Rockstows, nr Dursley,	£2.00
Master Cautley and Schoolfellows,	M		£2.00
Mr. H. Sykes, and Friends,	M		£2.00
Mr. J. G. Rowley,	M	Rochstowes.	£2.00
Mr. R. Biddle,	M		£2.00
Mr. Thos. Dannatt,	M		£2.00
Captain Hodgson's Servants' Beer Money,	M		£3.00
E. Heseltine, Esq.,	M	Godalming	£4.00
E. Heseltine, Esq.,	M		£4.00
E. Heseltine, Esq.,	M	Godalming	£4.00
Major-General Stuart,	M	Hubborne	£5
E. B. Gibson, Esq.,	M		£5.00
J.T. Edmonds Esq.	M	Pontypool,	£5.00
John, Sen., and W. H., Jr., Balls, Esqs.,	M		£5.00
Josiah Richards, Esq. .	M	Pontypool	£5.00
Mr. T. Manuel	M	Llanover	£5
Rev. V. S. C. Smith,	M	Husborne-Crawley,	£5
Rev. W. St. Ledger Aldworth,	M	Eardisley	£5
Son of a Factory Worker,	M		£5
Henry Ford Barclay, Esq.,	M	Walthamstow,	£10.00
Editor of the "British Workman "	M		£21.00
Editor of the "British Workman,"	M		£10. 10s
The Earl of Shaftesbury,	M		£4.
Mr. John Bramwell, Escomb School,	M		£1 10s.
Mr. Thos. Turner, Masbro Station,	M		£1 16s. 6d.
Master A. Turnell,	M	Brixworth Grange,	£1 1s. 6d.
John B. Gedge,	M		£1 1s. 9d.
Mr. Penrose,	M		£1 1s.
Mr. William Hughes,	M	Druid, North Wales,	£1 3s. 2d.
Mr. William Kent,	M	New South Wales,	£1 4s.
Geo. S. Holland,	M		£1 5s 9d
Rev. A.C. Rowley, Parish of St. Matthias. ,	M	Bristol	£1 6s. 6d.
Thomas Haines.	M		£1 6s. 6d.
Pawnbroker's shop, by Mr. T. Hollington,	M		£1 6s. 6d.
Alfred James Bale,	M		£1 8s.
A Cat's-meat Man,	M		£1. 00
Mr. J A. Beale & Servants,	M		£1. 10s.
Mr. Thos. Slater,	M		£1. 10s.
Mr. George Barlow,	M		£1. 11s
Mr. George Frost,	M		£1. 1s.
John Wilson,	M		£1. 3s. 2d.
Mr. Bywater,	M		£1
Mr. R. H. Burdekin	M		£1
E. Greene, Esq.,	M		£10. 10s.
S. Morley, Esq.,	M		£10. 18s. 5d
Mr. A.C. Hawes & Employes,	M		£2 10s. 3d.
J. H. Tilly, Esq.	M		£2 14s. 5d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

The Police in Pembroke Dockyard,	M	Pembroke	£2 1s.
Rev. R.T. Burton. Soberton Church.	M	Soberton	£2 4s. 10d.
James Gladwin	M		£2 6s. 6d.
James Cannell,	M		£2 9s. 6d.
Men of No. 3 Battery, 2nd Brigade Royal Artillery,	M	Alderney,	£2. 12s. 3d
John Trerise,	M		£2. 14s. 2d
Mr. J. Pattinson,	M		£2. 14s.
John Morgan, Esq., and Workpeople,	M	Alcester,	£2. 15s.
Henry Cook.	M		£2. 2s.
Mr. George Clarke, Hainton,	M		£2. 4s.
John Terrise,	M		£2. 7s. 9d.
Samuel Statham, Esq.,	M		£20
Mr.H.J. Dyer,	M		£3 14s.
Mr. John Hall,	M		£3 16s. 1d
Mr. Wrightson,	M	Minster Thanet,	£3 16s
James Brown,	M		£3 1s 9¼d
C. Williams, Esq.	M		£3 3s.
Mr. Jas. Hardins,	M		£3 4s.
John Birkett	M		£3 5s. 8d.
Result, Sale of a Picture, by T. B. S and Friends.	M		£3.
S. O. Rattenbury, Esq.,	M		£3.13s. 6d
Mr. W. G. Ellis,	M	Brighouse,	£3.16s.
Mr. John Dickinson,	M	Melton Mowbray,	£4 4s.
Mr. John Dixon,	M	Wellington, New Zealand.	£4 5s
Jos. L. Fairbrother,	M		£5 11s. 9d
Mr. John Sellers	M		£5 0s. 8¼d
Rev. John Williams, Wigginton Church,	M	Banbury,	£5. 2s
Earl of Shaftesbury 5 weeks subscription,	M		£5
Mr. Jos. Lingford,	M		£5
C. Gillot Esq.,	M		£5
Captain B. J.Sullivan R.N.	M		£5
Colonel Webb,	M	Godalming.	£5
Mr. J. Hall,	M		£5
Rev A. B. Murdock	M		£5
G. S. Gibson, Esq.,	M		£50
Rev. E. W. Burton, B.A.,	M	Barnton	£9. 1s. 3d
Rev. Jas. Dimont,	M		10s.
Mr. F. Rogers,	M		10s
Mr. Samuel William Partridge,	M		10s
Mr. Tressie,	M		11s.
Mr. Egleton and his hands,	M		20s
Rev. John Robertson,	M		5s.
Mr. E Adams,	M		5s.
Mr. Bennett,	M		5s.
Mr. E. Potter,	M		5s.
Mr. Edis,	M		5s.
Mr. G. Adam	M		5s.
Mr. J. Briggs,	M		5s.
Mr. J. N. Selman,	M		5s.
Mr. W- Pendden	M		5s.
Mr. W. Burnett,	M		5s.
Mr. Wm. Huggate,	M		5s.
Wm. Ayling,	M		5s.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Wm. J. Heath,	M		5s.
Mr. J. Jones,	M		5s. 2d
Mr. J.S. Cox,	M		6s.
Mr. Jeremiah Dore,	M		6s.
Jos. Foster,	M		6s. 3d.
A. G. Mine, Clerk,	M		6s
An Old Sailor,	M		6s
Mr. E. Capern,	M		6s
Mr. W. Barlow,	M		7s 6d
Inmates of Boy's Home,	M	Euston Road	7s. 3d.
Mr. C. Stannard,	M		7s. 6d.
Mr. Hugh Currell,	M	Cairnlough,	7s. 6d.
Mr. M. Johncock,	M	Chislett,	7s. 6d.
C of E Young Men's Society,	M	Cambridge,	7s. 6d
Captain Hodgson,	M		7s. 6d
Jos. Whittaker,	M		8s 8d
F. Battam, Esq.,	M		8s. 6d.
Mr. D. Critchton,	M		9s
Wm. Varvill Ju.	M		£1. 14s. 8d
W. F. Gifford. Esq	M		£3
Mr. Robert Gilderson,	M	Barking,	£1 0s 6d.
Mr. Park	M		£1 10s.
Mr. Pavey, Jn.,	M		£1 10s.
A Cat's-meat Man,	M		£1 10s.
David Herman	M		£1 11s. 1d.
Mr. Joseph Uren,	M	Illogan	£1 11s. 4d.
James Huic,	M		£1 12s 6d
Thomas Rose,	M		£1 12s 9d
Master Robert Wiper, Cradock,	M	South Africa,	£1 12s. 6d.
Mr J. W Armistead,	M		£1 14s 9d.
John Crook. Jn.,	M		£1 17s
Wm. Finch, Jn.	M		£1 18s 6d
Mr. Iles and Employes,	M		£1 18s. 9d.
Captain H. King, R.N.	M		£1 1s.
The Rev. W.H. Oliver, M.A.,	M		£1 1s.
Wm. Borton,	M		£1 1s.
Jas. Myles,	M		£1 1s. 10d.
Wm. Constable,	M		£1 1s. 6d.
Mr. Thos. Crawhall, Jn. & Mr. C. Ware.	M	Darlington.	£1 1s. 6d.
Mr. Thomas Willey,	M	Islington,	£1 1s. 6d.
J. Cooper, Esq.	M		£1 1s.
J. Cowherd, Esq.,	M		£1 1s.
Mr. C. Trego,	M		£1 1s
James Bland,	M		£1 2s. 3d.
E. Richmond,	M		£1 2s. 8d.
John Tearle,	M		£1 2s
Mr. W.B. Willey,	M	Cottishall,	£1 3s 2d.
Mr. S. Western,	M		£1 3s.
Master John W. Hepworth,	M	Morley.	£1 4s.
The Caergyndd Colliers,	M	Swansea,	£1 4s.
Seamen H.M.S. " Emerald"	M		£1 4s. 6d.
Mr. James Tree,	M	Stone House, Forest Row	£1 5s. 1d.
Mr. Brayley.	M		£1 5s. 4d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Mr. Edis.	M	9, Paternoster Row.	£1 5s.
The Dover Police.	M		£1 6s. 8d.
Peter Grant,	M		£1 6s.
Chas. Gomm,	M		£1 6s. 1d.
Rev. G. Hill's Children,	M		£1 9s 4d
Mr. C. Smyth,	M	Thorpe, near Aldborough	£1. 0s. 7d.
Thomas Tate,	M		£1. 10s.
Mr. J. Brockie.	M		£1. 10s
Mr. W. Barlow,	M		£1. 11s
Crew of H.M.S. "Foxhound,"	M	Malta,	£1. 12s.
Benj. Oriol,	M		£1. 12s. 7d.
John McDonald,	M		£1. 13s. 6d.
R.M. Allan, Esq.	M		£1. 1s.
Mr. G. H. Johnson	M		£1. 1s.
Mr. J. Crocker,	M	North Hill, nr. Launceston,	£1. 1s. 4d.
Edward Grubb, '	M		£1. 1s. 4d.
Mr. G. Beal, Jun.	M	Thornton, near Pickering.	£1. 1s.
Mr. W. Pettit and Pupils,	M	Brighton.	£1. 1s.
Mr. A. Penrose,	M		£1. 1s.
Mr. J. Gibbins' Children.	M		£1. 1s.
Thos. Scarlett, Esq.,	M		£1. 1s.
Mr. W,	M		£1. 5s. 6d.
Mr. G. Collier,	M		£1. 7s
The Rev. F. Connor,	M		£1. 15s
Rev. J.D. Palm, National Scotch Church,	M	Hurst,	£10 10s.
Charles Lever,	M		£10 12s. 2d.
Major Alex. Tod, Kamptee Relief Fund,	M	India,	£100.
William Small,	M		£1 12s 21/2d
F. Barlow Esq.	M		£15 15s
Rev. E. W. Burton, B A. .,	M	Barnton	£15 3s. 11d.
Judge Payne,	M		£2 10s.
Jos Notting	M		£2 10s
Mr. Watts and Employes.	M		£2 12s. 8d.
Mr. Wm. Dearn,	M	Monmouth,	£2 14s.
Mr. Watts, and Employes,	M		£2 1s.
S. C. Bosanquet, Esq.,	M		£2 2s
James Ormiston,	M		£2 3s 6d
Mr. Geo. Slatter,	M		£2 3s. 6d.
Mr. Watts and Employes,	M		£2 5s.
John Roberson,	M		£2 8s. 2d.
Mr. D. Waters and Mr. Lester,	M		£2 8s. 2d.
Mr. W. H. Moor, ,	M	Little Hay, Lichfield	£2. 12s. 8d.
Mr. A. Kemp,	M		£2. 17s. 6d
W. D. Pitt, Esq.	M	Rio-de-Janeiro,	£2.
J. G. Rowley, Esq.,	M		£2
T. C. Bell, Esq.,	M		£2. 2s.
F. Barlow, Esq.,	M		£26. 5s
Rev. E. W. Burton,	M	Barnton	£3 15s. 2d
W. Vaughan. Esq.,	M		£3 3s. 6d.
Wm. Wooding,	M		£3 4s
Mr. Bingham,	M	Forest Row,	£3 5s.
Rev. G. Wintour, Vicarage,	M	Rampton	£3 7s 6d
Mr. Bramwell & Colliers	M	Bishop Auckland,	£3. 3s. 4d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Rev. John Hughes, Ind. Church,	M	Olwennylnn,	£3. 8s. 2d.
Mr. W. Drewitt,	M	Lea Farm, Bramley,	£3. 10s
Master William Rabbeth Taylor,	M	South Africa,	£4 16s
Mr. John Sellers,	M	Islington,	£4 9s. 4d.
Mr. Bingham,	M	Forest Row,	£4. 18s. 8d.
Mr. W. Willis,	M	Rocheth,	£4
J. G. Gent, Esq.	M	Lorrimore Road,	£5 10s.
Rev. E. W. Burton, B.A.,	M	Barnton	£5 19s. 5d
Mr. John Sellers,	M		£5. 8s. 4d
Mr. John Knight,	M		£5.
H. H. Allen, Esq.,	M		£5.
S. R. Besanquet. Esq.,	M		£5
Peter Blackburn Esq.,	M	Liverpool	£5
Rev. BS. C. Villiers Smith, B.A	M	Musborne Crawley.	£5
W. B. Canning, Esq.,	M		£5
W. F. Tribe, Esq.,	M		£5
John Lyell, Esq., M.D.	M		£8 16s. 1d.
Mr. J. H. Tilley,	M		£6. 0s. 6d.
John Lighbody,	M		£7. 14s. 3d.
Rev. W. B. Marsh and Parishioners,	M	Stratton,	£8 13s.
Rev. T. W. Simpson,	M		£10.
Captain G. Pierce, R. N. .	M		10s
Ben. Maycock,	M		10s 3d
Mr. D. Meldrum,	M		10s.
Cat's-meat Man,"	M		10s.
A Workhouse-Boy,	M		10s.
A Working-man	M	Dunston,	10s.
A Working-man,	M		10s.
Frederick Stuck, Esq.,	M		10s.
Mr. A. Holton,	M		10s.
Mr. G. I. Storey,	M		10s.
Mr. J. Hayter,	M		10s.
Mr. J. Cruikshank,	M		10s.
Mr. J. Marsh,	M		10s.
Mr. James Brailsford,	M		10s.
Mr. Jas. Duncan,	M		10s.
Mr. W. Challis,	M		10s.
Owen Platt, Esq.,	M		10s.
Rev. K. G Walker,	M		10s.
Wm. Donaldson, Esq.,	M		10s.
Barrack-Sergeant Rankin, Barracks	M	Sheffield,	12s. 9d.
Mr. W. H. Judd,	M		12s
Mr. D. W. Palmer,	M		13s.
Mr. J. Figg	M		13s.
Geo. Mellor,	M		13s
Rev. T. R. Govett,	M		14s 8d
Mr. Bland,	M		14s.
Mr. Duncan, "First Fruits,"	M		14s
John Stubb,	M		15s 2d
Mr. B. Plaistow,	M		15s.
The Clerk, Atlas Tin Mine,	M	Ilslington, Newton Abbot,	16s 6d
Mr. J. Caborn	M		16s.
Jno. Pirie,	M		17s 4d

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Wm. Constable,	M		17s 4d
Master J. T. Orage,	M		17s 8d.
Wm. Eyles,	M		18s 6d.
Rev T. R. Govett,	M	Alby, Norfolk,	18s 7d.
Mr. Spyers	M		19s 9d.
Joseph Tucker,	M		5s
Robert Stabler,	M		5s 1d
Mr. Piper, Turkey Paper-Mill,	M	Maidstone,	5s 6d.
Mr. Alex. Gill,	M		5s.
Mr. Alfred King,	M		5s.
Mr. Morrell,	M	York	5s, 10d
Mr M. Reidie,	M		5s.
A Working Man,	M		5s.
Albert Field,	M		5s.
Master Wm. Hatley.	M		5s.
Mr. C. B. Robson,	M		5s.
Mr. C. B. Robson,	M		5s.
Mr. C. Powell	M		5s.
Mr. F. H. Bennett,	M		5s.
Mr. G. H. Lennard,	M		5s.
Mr. G. Redfearn,	M		5s.
Mr. H. W. Simpson.	M		5s.
Mr. Henry Edwards,	M		5s.
Mr. J. Brailsford,	M		5s.
Mr. J. Colerutt,	M		5s.
Mr. J. Orman,	M		5s.
Mr. James Gray,	M		5s.
Mr. Jas. Duncan,	M		5s.
Mr. Jones,	M		5s.
Mr. Kernshan.	M		5s.
Mr. Orr. Jn.	M		5s.
Mr. S. Sholl	M		5s.
Mr. T. Cowie,	M		5s.
Mr. Thos. Osgerby,	M		5s.
Sergeant Thos. Corbett,	M		5s.
Mr. E. H. Marshall,	M		5s 3d.
Mr. R. S. Clarke,	M		5s 6d.
Mr. Thos. Brown,	M		5s 6d.
John Hancock,	M		6s 1d
Mr. E. Beasley,	M		6s 2d.
Mr. R. Dart,	M		6s 6d
Mr. G. Barlow	M		7s 6d
A Footman,	M		7s.
Mr. W. G. L. Spyer,	M		7s 6d.
John Thos. Piper,	M		7s 9d.
Mr. Jas. Alex. Rouse,	M		7s.
David Bonthron,	M		8s 11d
Rev. H. Montgomery,	M		8s 2d
Alex. Cant,	M		8s 6d
Captain Waller,	M		8s 8d
Mr. John Tate,	M		8s.
Mr. W. B. Reed,	M		8s.
Cabmen in employ Messrs. D. & E. West,	M	Kennington Cross,	10s.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Charles Trego Esq.	M	East Stonchouse, Devon.	£10 12s. 2d.
R. Beck, Esq..	M		£1 00
Rev. Henry Duke Harrington,	M	South Newington	£1 16s.
Tower Hill Young Men's	M		£6 1s.
Band of Hope,	O	Innerey	£1
Mutual Improvement Society,	O	Glenluce	£1
Early Rising Association, per Mr. Watson,	O		£1
Ebenezer Auxiliary Sunday-school,	O	Southsea,	£1
Linton Place School, by W. Vere,	O		£1
Spittlegate Provident Club,	O	Grantham	£1
Temperance Society,	O	Snainton, near Pickering,	£1 00
Collection in Tintern Church,	O		£2
The U. P Congregation,	O	Shapinshaw, Orkney	£2
A Teetotaller."	O	New Plymouth, New Zealand	£3 00
Chatteris Lodge of Odd Fellows.	O		£3 00
Independent Chapel Door,	O	Therfield,	£3 00
A Teetotaller,	O	New Plymouth, New Zealand,	£5 00
Compton Street Chapel,	O	Plymouth.	£5 00
Primitive Methodist Chapel,	O	Burton Leonard,	£1 0s. 3d.
Lower Dover-court Sunday-.school,	O		£1 3s.
Band of Hope and National School Children,	O	Edgmond,	£1 4s.
Library, Lorrimore Road,	O		£1. 13s. 4d.
Pupils Of Mr. J. M. Horsley,	O		£1. 13s. 7d.
Junior Pupils, St. James's School,	O	Kings Lynn,	£1. 2s.
"Band of Hope"	O	Budock,	£1. 15s.
Baptist Chapel,	O	Barlestone	£2 1s. 6d.
Northampton Temperance Society,	O	Northampton	£2.
Officers and Men, Royal Laboratory,.,	O	Gosport	£3 4s. 6d.
Methodist New Connexion Chapel, ,	O	Worcester	£3
Baptist Chapel,	O	Arlington	£4. 5s
Open-Air Temperance Mission	O		£6 1s
Local Relief Committee,	O	Thorold Village, Canada West	£63 13s 10d
H. Walwyn, Esq West Dean Ind. Soc. Ltd,	O	Sydney	£9 9s. 6d.
Independent Sunday School.	O	Dunstable	6s. 1d.
Schoolroom Service,	O	Manningford Bruce	£1. 7s.
British School,	O	Carahalon,	£1 10s.
Pupils at West Hill House,	O	Hastings,	£1 10s. 6d.
Boys and Girls, St. Day United Mines,	O	Gwennap,	£1 11s. 1d.
Dentolme Industrial Society.	O	Queenaland	£1 14s 6d
Sabbath Class	O	East Lothian,	£1 14s.
Sunday and Day Schools, Christ Church,	O	Plymouth	£1 14s.
R. T. Burton, Soberton Church,	O	Soberton	£1 14s. 3d.
Congregational Chapel,	O	Stagsden,	£1 14s. 6d.
Trinity Schools,	O	Eastbourne,	£1 16s 6d.
Independent Sabbath-school,	O	Ty'nygwndwn	£1 17s. 3d.
Sir R.P. Glynn's School,	O	Fontnell Magna,	£1 18s. 4d.
Temperance Society	O	Chalvey and Slough	£1 1s.
Sabbath School,	O	Duston,	£1 1s.
Staff 2nd Derby Militia,	O	Derby	£1 1s.
Trinity Boys' School,	O	Eastbourne,	£1 2s. 2d.
Band of Hope, Oriel St. Sabbath-school. ,	O	Dublin	£1 2s. 6d.
Ragged Sunday-school,	O	Everton,	£1 2s. 6d.
Philadelphia Independent Chapel	O	Llanarmon,	£1 2s.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Teachers and Scholars, Duston Sabbath School	O	Duston	£1 3s.
Boys at Quarndon School,	O	Perby	£1 4s 5d
School-room,	O	Goldhanger	£1 5s. 8d.
E. C. Sabbath-schools,	O	Troon.	£1 5s.
Scholars. British School,	O	Dorking	£1 6s. 6d.
Mr. Ostler's School-room,	O	Grantham,	£1 7s. 11d.
Girls, St. Silas Sunday-school,	O	Liverpool,	£1. 10s. 10d
'Band of Hope'.	O	Larkfield	£1. 10s.
Tea Meeting,	O	Great Wigston,	£1. 10s
Ragged School, Neptune street,	O	Birkenhead,	£1. 1s. 5d.
Wesleyan Day-school, ,	O	New Leake	£1. 2s.
West Greenwich Infirmary,	O	West Greenwich	£1. 4s. 6d.
Warsash Infant School,	O	Warsash	£1. 5s.
Moiety Weekly Offerings at Millwall Chapel,	O		£1. 5s. 4d.
E. and C. Richards. and Pupils,	O	Bath,	£1. 5s.
Perry Hill Sunday-school,	O		£1. 5s.
Temperance Meeting,	O	Colnbrook,	£1. 8s.
St. Silas Boys' Sunday-school,	O	Liverpool,	£1
Proceeds of Amateur Concert,	O	Chatteris.	£11 11s.
Printing-Office of the <i>British Workman</i> ,	O	London	£2.13s. 7d.
Girls' British School,	O	Haydon Bridge	£2 0s 7d
Baptist Chapel,	O	Barton Fabia,	£2 19s.
Liverpool Road "Band of Hope,"	O	Islington,	£2 3s. 11d.
Soberton Church,	O	Soberton	£2 3s. 3d.
School-room Service	O	Manningford Bruce	£2 4s. 9d.
Printing-Office of the <i>British Workman</i> ,	O	London	£2 4s. 7d.
United Methodist Free Church,	O	Westbury-on-Trym	£2. 10s
Co-operative and Industrial Society,	O	Gloucester	£2. 12s.
St. Barnabas Day Schools, Kings Square,	O		£2. 4s. 0d.
United Presbyterian Sabbath Morning-class.	O	Glasgow	£2. 5s. 3¼d.
Wesleyan Model School,	O	Dublin,	£2. 5s.
Independent Sunday-school,	O	Melton Mowbray	£2. 7s.
Union Chapel,	O	Luppitt,	£2. 9s.
Soberton Church, Collection,	O	Soberton	£2. 1s. 9d.
Congregational Church, Pine Grove,	O	Canada West, Etobicoke,	£2.17s 3d.
Christian Soldiers and Sailors' Institute.	O	Malta	£20. 11s. 9d
Eastern Branch Wesleyan Sunday-School,	O	Portland,	£3 12s.
Scholars, Cranage School, ,	O	Holmes Chapel, Cheshire	£3 13s. 3d.
Boatmen's Chapel,	O	Paddington,	£3 16s 8½d
Printing-Office of the <i>British Workman</i> ,	O	London	£3 2s. 5d.
British School Children	O	Howsham	£3 2s. 10d.
Pupils Escombe School,	O	Bishop Auckland,	£3 5s. 6d.
"Band of Hope,"	O	Islington,	£3. 4s.
Scholars at National Schools,	O	Derby,	£3. 7s
North District, Sunday School,	O	St. Giles's-in the-Fields	£3.
Presbyterian Church	O	Caron Hall, Jamaica,	£4 0s. 8d.
Wesleyan Chapel	O	Tralee,	£4 12s. 6d.
Independent Sabbath-school,	O	Jedburgh	£4 17s.
Sabbath School,	O	Stapleton Iwerne	£4.
Mr. Ostler's Schoolroom,	O	Grantham,	£5 13s. 4d.
Pupils of Miss Clegg,	O	New Brighton	£5. 3s. 3d.
Temp. Lecture, Utd. Methodist Chapel,	O	Hartlepool,	£5. 3s
Officers and Men Royal Artillery,	O	Guernsey,	£5. 8s. 5d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Library, Lorrimore Road,	O		£6 5s.
Free Church,	O	Cromarty	£6
13th Brigade Royal Artillery,	O	Guernsey	£6 9s. 10d.
Salisbury Church, by the Rev. R. G Hindon,	O	Salisbury	£8
Scholars at Pen-y-Parke School, ,	O	Aberystwith	£1.
P. M.. Sabbath School,	O	Elsing	10s 6d.
Methodist Society, Fishpool,	O		10s.
Prayer Meeting,	O	Cambridge,	10s.
School Scholars,	O	South Warnborough	10s.
Prayer Meeting,	O		10s. 6d.
Tea-Meeting at the Mission Room, Shorts' Gardens,	O		10s. 6d.
British Schools.	O	Truro,	12s
Children of British School, George Street,	O	Lambeth,	12s.
Wesleyan Sunday School,	O	Londonderry,	12s.
Wesleyan Bible Class,	O	Oldbury	12s. 6d.
British School,	O	Crawley,	13s. 7d.
Sunday Scholars,	O	Preston, near Bedale,	13s.
British School,	O	Lea,	14s.
Boys' British School,	O	Haydon Bridge,	15s 7d
Baptist Chapel,	O	Market Bosworth	17s. 6d.
Children of British Schools,	O	Ripley,	17s. 9d
, Girls' British-School,'	O	Saffron Walden	5s.
Fines of an " Early Rising Association,"	O		5s.
Schoolboys per. A. W. H.	O		5s.
Coast-Guards	O	Teignmouth	5s. 10d.
Sunday-scholars	O	Weston-under-Lizard	5s. 7d
Langley street Infant School,	O	Luton,	6s.
Scholars Bocking	O		6s.
Sunday School	O	Market Bosworth	6s.
Victoria Wesleyan Sunday School,	O	Grimaby	6s. 3d.
The Pupils of Mr. I. Horsley,	O	Barnsley	6s. 8d.
Abbey Street-Infant Class, by Mr. Ferdnando,	O		6s.
Bible Class at 65, Ebury Street,	O	Pimlico,	6s.
Bishopsgate "Welcome" Temperance Society,	O		6s.
Teachers and Children, British School,	O	Truro,	7s 6d.
British School. Ringmer,	O		7s.
Literary Institution, ,	O	Buntingford	7s. 9d.
Slade's Sunday-school,	O	Plumstead,	7s.
Inmates & 3 Officers of Workhouse,	O	Kettering	8s. 2d.
Baptist Sunday School,	O	Berwick.	9s 1d.
Members of Mr Reynolds' Bible-Class,	O		9s.
Wesleyan Sunday Scholars,	O	Gainsborough	£5 14s. 8d.
Employes at Mr J.Warne's Works,	W	Penge,	£1
Employes Messrs. Meyer and Mortimer,	W		£1.00
Employes of Mr. Bacon, Tanner,	W	Southwark,	£1
Employes of Mr. J. Hazell,	W	Clerkenwell	£1
Employes of Mr. John Warne,	W		£1
Employes, Mr. Warne,	W	Penge,	£1
Employes, Mr. Warne,	W		£1
Messrs. R. Fern & Co. and Employes.	W		£1
Workmen, Messrs. Elmsie and Simpson,	W	Holborn	£1
Workmen, Mr. Wm. Jowzey, ,	W	Scarbro'	£1
Workmen, Stanton Iron Works	W	Nottingham,	£1.00

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Employes Paper Mill,	W	Little Darenth	£2
Employes, Lady Londonderry,	W	Sunderland,	£2.00
Messrs. Cox and Hussey and Employes,	W	High Wycombe	£2
Messrs. Cox and Hussey and Employes.	W	High Wycombe	£2.00
Workmen, Mr. James Green, ,	W	King's Lynn	£2.00
Employes of Messrs. Craggs and Sons.	W	Stockton-on-Tees	£4
Messrs. Cox & Hussey, & Employes,	W	High Wycombe	£5
Workpeople and friends of Mr. John Harding,	W		£5
Employes of Hayward, Tyler, and Co,	W		£1 0s. 9d.
Workmen, Bourne Valley Pottery,	W	Poole,	£1 11s. 8d.
Employes Messrs. Knight & Hawkes,	W	Clerkenwell,	£1 1s. 10d
Employes, Messrs. Anderson & Cattley's Soap Works	W		£1 2s. 10d.
Employes of Mr. E. Harris,	W	Marylebone,	£1 2s.
Workmen of Messrs. Tyzack and Sons,	W	Sheffield	£1 4s.
Employes of Mr. W. H. Buckingham,	W		£1 5s.
Employes, Taylor's Depository,	W	Pimlico,	£1 5s.
Employes, Messrs. Andersson and Cattley,	W		£1 8s 1d.
Employes, Messrs. Hayward, Tyler and Co.,	W		£1. 1s.
Employes at Messrs. Anderson and Cattleys,	W		£1. 6s. 11d.
Working-men,	W	Falkirk	£1. 7s. 5d.
J. B., Paper Mill,	W	Whitchurch,	£10 10s.
Employes, Metropolitan Gas Light and Coke Company,	W		£10. 4s. 2d.
Employes. Messrs. Saunders Brothers,	W		£11 3s. 2d.
Workmen of Lord Leconfield.	W		£2 12s.
Workmen, Messrs. Swaine & Adeney, 183, Piccadilly,	W		£2 5s.
Messrs. Cox & Hussey, & Employes,	W	High Wycombe	£2 5s. 2d.
Employes, Writhlington, Huish & Foxcote	W		£2 7s. 4d.
Messrs. Hadfield & Shipman, & Workpeople ,	W	Sheffield	£2.
Messrs. Hay and Phillips,	W		£2.
Workmen at High Park Colliery,	W		£3 0s 10d
Messrs. Howsnaill and Catchpool and their Employes,	W		£5. 6s. 6d.
Workmen, Hermatite Iron Company, ,	W	Cleator	£7
Workmen at Falcon Iron Works,	W		£1 7s.
Employes of Mr. Harrop,	W		12s. 2d.
Messrs. Jones and Hinton	W		£3.
Compositors" Lancet" Office,	W		£1 10.
Labourers, Lea Farm,	W	Bramley, Guildford	£1 10s.
Employes, Messrs. Field & Sons, Fore St,	W		£1 11s. 6d
Workpeople, Bethel Street Clothing Works,	W	Norwich,	£1 12s, 10d.
Employes at Bourne Valley Pottery, ,	W	Poole	£1 12s. 2d.
Workmen, Sunday. Scholars	W	Tregantle Fort, Devonport	£1 15s. 9d
Printing-Office of the " British workman,"	W		£1 1s.
Operatives, Turkey Paper Mill,	W	Maidstone,	£1 1s. 5d.
Employes Messrs. Balston	W		£1 2s. 3d.
Employes, Messrs. Hayward, Tyler & Co.	W		£1 3s. 2d.
Employes, Messrs. R. E. and C. Marshall,	W	Cheltenham,	£1 3s. 7d.
Employes, Messrs. Nightingale,	W		£1 3s.
Workmen at Bourne Valley Pottery,	W	Poole,	£1 4s. 1d.
Workpeople, Mr. John Harding,	W	Ashbourne	£1 5s.
Employes of Messrs. Wightman and Dennings,	W		£1 5s.
Employes, Mr. Harrop,	W		£1 5s. 10d.
Workpeople Bethel Street Clothing Works,	W	Norwich	£1 6s. 9d.
Messrs. Hay and Phillips. Leith,	W		£1 8s.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Employes Messrs. J. King and Co., Queen Street,	W	£1 9s. 5d.
The Printing Office of the "British Workman,"	W	£1 9s. 10d
Workmen Messrs. Swaine and Adeney, ,	W	Piccadilly £1. 10s. 1d.
Workmen Messrs. Jones and Son,	W	Leicester, £1. 10s
Finch Dean Iron Works,	W	£1. 11s. 8d.
Employes,"Messrs. John King and Co.,	W	£1. 13s. 2d.
Workmen, Messrs. Horsnail, Strood,	W	£1. 15s.
Workmen of Mr. Francis Hedges,	W	£1. 17s. 9d.
Workmen, Eston mines,	W	£1. 8s. 3d.
Employes, Standfast Colliery,	W	Dean Forest, £2 10s.
Paper Mill,	W	Little Darenth £2 10s.
Employes, Messrs. Knight and Hawkes,	W	£2 12s 7d
Taylor's Depository,	W	Pimlico, £2 13s. 6d.
Employes, .Messrs. Swaine and Adeney,	W	£2 4s. 5d.
Employes, Messrs. King and Co.,	W	£2 4s. 6d
Employes, Messrs. Knight & Hawkes,	W	Clerkenwell, £2 4s. 8d.
Employes at Taylor's Depository,	W	Pimlico, £2 7s. 5d.
Excavators. .	W	Tregantle Fort, Devonport £2 9s. 6d.
Working Men,	W	Potternewtown. Leeds, £2. 14s.
Employes, Messrs. Bonallack & Sons,	W	Whitechapel £2. 16s. 4d.
80 of Lord Leconsfield's Workmen,	W	£2. 2s. 4d.
Shipwrights of J. S. White, Esq.,	W	£2. 4s. 8d.
Operatives, Turkey Paper Mill,	W	Maidstone, £2. 6s. 11d.
Employees of Messrs. Sharpe, Esq.	W	Cheltenham £2. 16s.
Paper Mill,	W	Little Darenth £2
Fire Company,	W	Thorold Village, Canada West £22 10s.
Shipwrights of Samuel White and Co.,	W	East Cowes, £3 11s.
Employes, Mesars R.&W. Hawthorn,	W	Newcastle-on-Tyne, £3 13s 6d
Employes of Messrs. Knight and Hawkes,	W	£3 5s. 2d.
Employes of Mr. J. Hazell,	W	Clerkenwell £3 8s. 5d.
Employes of Mr. Axtell, Tanner,	W	Southwark, £3. 10s.
Employes at Waterloo Iron "Works,	W	Andover, £3. 3s. 3d.
Workpeople of J. H. Arkwright, Esq.	W	Hampton Park, £3. 5s. 3d
Employes, Messrs Field and Sons,	W	£3. 8s. 11d.
Employes at Mr. Hazell's'	W	Clerkenwell, £3. 8s. 2d.
Workmen and Servants	W	Castle Howard, £4 0s. 11d.
Employes, Mr. Hazell,	W	£4 10s. 7d
Employes, Messrs. Bonallack & Sons,	W	£4 13. 6d.
Employes, &c., Eston Mines,	W	£4 15s. 7d
Workmen of Lord Leconfield,	W	£4. 13s.
Messrs. Horsnail & Catchpool & Employes.	W	£4. 4s. 9d.
Employes, Messrs. Balston's Paper Mill,	W	Maidstone, £5 1s.
Workmen, Gas Light and Coke Co. ,	W	Old Kent Road £5 3s. 1d.
Workmen at Eastwood Colliery	W	£5.
Workmen at Watnall Colliery,	W	£5
Employes, Messrs. Craggs & Sons,	W	Stockton-on-Tees, £6 12s. 7d.
Messrs. Horsnail & Catchpool, & Workmen	W	£6. 15s. 9d.
Turkey Paper Mill,	W	Maidstone £7. 18s. 8d.
Messrs. E. and A. Glasson,	W	10s.
Workmen at Bourne Valley Pottery,	W	Poole, 10s. 3d.
Workpeople, Messrs. R.E. & C. Marshall,	W	10s. 5d.
Employes Mr. Thos. Whitehead. ,	W	Rickmansworth 10s. 6d.
Workpeople & Domestic, Sonning Mill,	W	Reading, 11s, 2d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

Messrs. Bayly and Newman	W		11s. 7d.
Farm-Labourers Manor Farm,	W	Colthorp	12s. 6d.
Workmen Mr. Ridda's Buildings,	W	Stoke Newington,	12s. 7d
X. L., Proceeds of Magic-Lantern Exhibition,	W		13s
Taylor's Depository,	W	Pimlico,	15s.
Workmen of Messrs. W. Harding and Son.	W		15s. 5d.
Workmen Messrs. Elmslie and Simpson, ,	W	Holborn	18s. 3d.
Workmen of Messrs Butler and Co, Kingsholm, .	W	Gloucester	18s. 6d
Messrs. Hart and Levy, Leicester,	W		19s
Workpeople of Mr. J. Witcombe,	W		5s. 9d.
Employes of Mr.D. Wilson,	W	Edinburgh,	7s.
Messrs. J. & W. Gubbins,	W	Newport, Isle of Wight,	7s.
Workmen of Mr. Wilson,	W	Edinburgh,	7s. 11d.
Employes of Mr. G. EIL,	W		8s. 71/2d.
Employes of Mr. C. Bonthron,	W	Edinburgh,	9s 6d
Employes, Messrs. Anderson and Cattley,	W		£1 2s. 10d.
Little Darenth Paper Mill,	W		£2.00
Working-Men's Association	W	Highgate	£11 3s. 2d.
Working-Men's Club. Duck Lane,	W	Westminster,	£1. 7s. 5d.
Workmen , Gutta Percha Company,	W		£24 19s. 3d.
Workpeople, Loudwater Mills,	W	Rickmansworth,	10s. 5d.
"Well-Wisher" ,		Thornton	£1.00
A. M. Clarke, .			£1
G.D.R. Thornton,		Pickering,	£1
" Anon.,"			£1
"A Friend In Distress,"			£1
A few Boys, Helmingham School,			£1.00
A Fireside Collection.			£1
A Servant,			£1
E. Baker			£1.00
F. C.,		Cork	£1
H. Howard,			£1.00
J. A.,			£1
M. H. Sanders,			£1.00
M. Ponsford,			£1.00
M. R. Harris,			£1.00
N. Mitchell		Bahamas	£1
S. Marshall,			£1.00
Servants and Labourers of Mr. Beby.			£1.00
Servants of Saml. Gurney, Esq., M.P.,			£1
Y. Z.			£1.00
Y. Z.			£1.00
J. Gainsford,			£2.00
A Subscriber			£2
C. and R. Pumphrey,			£2
C. G.			£2.00
Collected at Wellsworth Farm,			£2
Hay and Phillips,			£2.00
J. G.R.			£2.00
M. A. Lowton,			£2.00
Mr. and Misses Lea,			£3.00
Z. Peckett,			£3.00
Contribution,		Retford	£4

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

"A. 4."		£5.00
C. D.	Thrapston	£5
L. M.,		£5.00
Parish of Husborne	Crawley.	£5.00
F. Marconi,		£7.00
A Friend,	Rio-de-Janciro,	£10.00
Mr. & Mrs. Lloyd Edwards		£10
Woodbridge Relief Committee	Woodbridge	£10.00
Collected by J. Lyell Esq., M.D.	Newburgh	£20
F. Grays and others, ,	York	£1.
J. Deane,		£1 0s. 6d.
E. E. Field,		£1 0s. 6d.
L. E. Wollstein.		£1 11s.
J. Crook.		£1 13s.
Greville House Reading Rooms	Paddington,	£1 13s. 10d.
Four Children in St. Mary's Parish,,	Jersey	£1 1s.
G. Jones,		£1 1s.
E. P. Rogers		£1 1s. 6d.
E. Brockbank,		£1 1s
C. W. Leitch,		£1 3s. 3d.
Greville House Reading Rooms,	Paddington,	£1 4s. 8d.
H. C. Daniel.		£1 5s.
Frederic A. and Ernest Moore, & Sister Margaret,	Nayland	£1 5s. 6d.
J. Frazer,		£1. 0s. 2d.
H. Minshall		£1. 14s.
Gardeners of Saml. Gurney, Esq., M.P.,		£1.
H. B.,		£1
Dawley Literary Institute,		£10.
N. Belwood,		£2 0s. 7d.
E. Broad,		£2 10s. 1d.
F. Marconi,		£2 10s.
A.T. Burton,		£2 4s. 3d.
Anon	Iale of Alderney	£2 5s.
Mr. and Mrs. W. Tribe.		£2. 2s.
Mr and Mrs. G. Budd,"		£2. 2s
"Band of Hope"	Halsted	£3
H.W. Pimm.		£3
Collection,,	Elton	£4 2s. 6d.
H. N. Mitchell, ,	Nassau, Bahamas	£5 7s. 6d.
J.Wingfield,		£5 8s. 6d.,
Households, ,	Pariah of Monkstown. Dublin	£86 9s. 10d.
A Friend,		10s
A Friend.,		10s
C. Saunders,		10s 2d
J.A.Martin,		10s 6d
Miss Sarah and Master Henry Budd,		10s. 8½d.
For Poor of Lancashire		10s. 9d
E. S. K.,		10s.
F. W. H.	Norwich	10s.
L. Short.		10s.
L.B.		10s
E. Knowlden,		11s 1d
E. and J. Thomson,		11s. 6d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

G. K. Leatham,		14s 6d
E.D. Field,		14s.
Grenville House reading Rooms	Paddington,	17s. 8d.
A. Mayer.		5s 6d
Family Collecting Box,	Hastings	5s.
" An admirer of true nobility."		5s.
J. G.,		5s.
A Friend, .	Queenstown	5s.
Forfeits,		5s.
J. F.C.	Leeds,	5s.
M. Clarke		5s
M. Ann Rae,		6s 9d
E. Morcombe,		7s. 4d
Hy. Snowden and W. Gillary,		7s. 6d.
J.M.W. and Children,		8s.
G. Oldale and T. Hancox,		8s. 7½d.
E. T. Rollinson,		9s. 5d.
Collected	Pulham Mary	£1 12s
J. Edwards		£1 0s 3d.
Collected by Mr. A. J. Hurndall,		£1 0s 6d
A.M. Godbolt		£1 0s. 6d.
C.Croucker, Jr.		£1 0s.2d.
F. M. Bates,		£1 11s.
M. and S. A. Burton		£1 11s. 5d.
G. and C. Bisat.		£1 12s. 9d.
Collieries		£1 13s 3d.
Anon		£1 16s
A Family Collection, Fulneck,		£1 18s. 8d.
W. & E. Sargent,		£1 1s. 9d.
Servants, Great Northern Hotel, King's Cross,	London	£1 2s. 6d.
T. Bullock,		£1 3s.
S. Rothwell,		£1 3s.
"Small Change," .		£1 4s. 5d
S. B..	Abergavenny,	£1 4s. 1d.
Anon	Cheltenham	£1 5s
Collected by Mrs. Ann R. Young	Milverton	£1 5s.
Greville House Reading-rooms,	Paddington,	£1 5s. 8d.
Servants at Doddington Park Gardens	Nantwich	£1 6s.
J. H. Fowler		£1 6s. 6d.
L. H. Kaye		£1 6s
A.L. Field,		£1 8s..
A.T. B. Turner,		£1, 10s. 10d
L. L. Lane,		£1. 14s.
J. Trenerly,		£1. 15s.
Servants of Rev. Dr. Taylor,	Dedham,	£1. 17s. 6d.
The Servants	Fornham Park	£1. 18s. 6d.
Anon.	Co. Cavan	£1. 3s
Family Collection,		£1. 3s. 10d
S. Lewin,		£1. 4s.
Collected by Mr. W. Harding-Junior,		£1. 5s. 4d
Bazaar from a few little Girls,		£1. 5s
A.and E. Parker,		£1. 6s. 6d
Hy. H. Batt,		£1. 7s. 8d.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

C.C. Hine.	£1. 8s. 6d.
J. and H. A. Percy, .	£1. 9s. 7d
M. Webb.	£1. 10s
G.C.	£1.
G. C.	£1.
G. C.,	£1.
Heroes of the Loom.	£1.
W. G. G..	Rosaire. £1.
The Independents,	Milverton, £1. 10s.
Servants at Bishton Hall,	Rugeley £1
The Saloon, 9, Paternoster Row,	London £1
British Residents by Jas. B. Leach, Esq., .	Amiens £12 8s. 5d
Subscription	Shalden, £2 0s. 4d.
S. Beaton.	£2 10s. 3d.
E. Strugnell, .	£2 11s
C. Blake	£2 12s
Anon	Southwark, £2 13s. 8d.
The Servants	Hubborne £2 16s.
Young Friends,	Nailsea, £2 2s.
T. Clarke.	£2 3s. 6d.
Plainangwarry 'Band of Hope,'	Redruth £2 5s.
M. Cautle	£2 6s.
A. McFie,	£2 8s 3d
Working-classes.	Tottenham, £2. 11s. 6d.
S. E. Potts	£2. 10s.
Savings' Bank,	Plymouth, £2. 12s. 8d.
E. A., Huntington,	£2. 2s.
C. Mackenzie	£2. 2s.
T. W. and H.	Tetbury £2. 9s. 2d.
W. Kell, Esq., and Family,	Barbadoes, £2.
Mr and Mrs. Richard Taylor,	£2
Wharf Road,	£24 10s. 3d.
Britannia Theatre, per S. Morley, Esq., .	£25 6s. 1d
York Cabmen, by Mr. Murfin, City Missionary	York £3 0s. 10d.
S. Wagg,	£3 12s.
Friends, at .,	Guilfield £3 16s. 3d.
Mr. and Mrs. Clark, Jr.,	£3 16s. 6d.
Parish, of Monkton	Monkton £3. 2s. 6d.
G. W., and A. C. W. ,	Tetbury £4 19s 2d
T. W. and H.	Tetbury £4 2s. 7d.
M. J. Roberts £4 8s	£4 8s
Village Collection,	South Newington £4. 19s. 6d.
Juvenile Bazaar,	Grimsby £5. 6s
"1 John iii. 16. 17."	£50.
Services at Britannia Theatre, per S. Morley, Esq.,	£6 12s, 11d.
Public Reading Meeting,	Aldeburgh, £7 0s 6d
Parishioners	Aylmerton and Runton, £7 12s. 3d.
Saint Columb,	Cornwall, £7 16s.
Anon	Chester £8 10s
T. W. and H.	Tetbury £8. 16s. 3d.
R. A.,	£1.
A Friend	Rothesay 10s
A. and A. Best,	10s 1d

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

"A Widow's Mite"		10s.
"From two or three who love the Lord Jesus,"		10s.
"M.L.W." for the distress in Lancashire		10s.
A Debt of Gratitude.		10s.
A. Twibell,		10s.
A. Z. England,		10s.
A.R. S.,		10s.
Anon.		10s.
Collected by one of the Working Class,		10s.
For Poor in Lancashire,		10s.
M. and A. Lill.		10s.
M. C. P.,		10s.
M. E. J., 10s		10s.
M. T. B. Rigg,	Kendal,	10s.
M..J.,-" Torquay,"		10s.
Result of a Sixpenny Subscription,		10s.
S. F.		10s.
Thank-offering our another year's mercies,		10s.
W. W.		10s.
W.H.B.	Drogheda,	10s.
For Lancashire Distress Fund,		10s. 6d
A. Cromarty,		11s 10d
" For the Lancashire Distress,"		11s. 6d.
T. Baker,		12s 3d
L. Bennett,		12s 6d
E. Crocker,		12s 6d
Anon	Rosshire,	12s.
J. H. Troth,		12s.
J. Price,		12s.
Willie Burdekin and Alice Grimsby,		13s 3d
Collected by Percy W. Hurndall,		13s. 6d.
The Poor of Highgate.	Highgate.	13s. 7½d.
A Few Cork-Cutters, Westminster,		13s. 7d
H. J. Durrant,		14s 6d
Collection by the Rev. J. N. Cooper,		14s. 8d
Youths at Night-school,	Rugeley	15s
S. Priestman,		15s 2d
H. Morris.		16s. 3d.
" Little Dog Rover,"		17s 4d
Col. C. Pratt,		17s. 8d.
A Friend, .		5s
A Member the Band of Hope	Gretna	5s
A Mite,		5s
A Reader of the "Band of Hope Review,"	Mossley	5s
Mr. and Mrs. Adam,		5s
J. Coppin,		5s 8d.
" W. L. of W. C."		5s.
"Gilean,"		5s.
For Lancashire Operatives,		5s.
For Poor in Lancashire,		5s.
G. Y.		5s.
H. B.,		5s.
J. R.		5s.

Lancashire Distress Fund (cont).

L. G. H.		5s.
N. S. E. W..		5s.
Readers of " British Workman,"	Swainswick,	5s.
Three Domestics,		5s.
W. and A. Hudson,		5s. 6½d
6 Readers of the "BW," & 5 of the "BHR,"		5s. 6d
Collected by Mr. W. G. L. Spyer,		5s. 8d.
C. M.,		5s. 8d.
Collected by Mrs. M. J. Foster,		6s.
Collected by little girls		6s. 6d.
Six Little Girls, and a Sabbath School Teacher,		6s.
S. Houldey,		7s 7d
Friends at ,	Ventnor	7s.
One who Guides the Plough.		7s.
Readers of the " British Workman,"	Harbledown,	7s. 6d.
City Mission Room,	York	7s. 8d
Anonymous,		7s.
Wellington Baths,	Islington	8s 7d,
Collected by Master H. E. and M. A. Drew,		8s. 6d
E. Lacey,		8s
J. F. Hawkins,		9s 6d.
G. W. Sikes,		9s. 3d.
Supper-Table Collection,		9s. 6d
A Friend ,	Guernsey	9s. 7d.
F.W. K.,		9s. 9d.
H. Clarke,		£1
S. G. Virgin,		18s. 7½d

Appendix F. French Relief Fund.⁷

F- Female, M- Male, I- Institution

A Sailor's Sister	F		2s.
Eliza Divall	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	6s. 3d.
Elizabeth Morgan	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	6s. 3d.
Elizabeth Randall	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	2s. 6d.
Elizabeth Russell	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	4s.
Ellen Rawyard	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	4s. 6d.
Hon. Mrs. C. C. Boyle	F		10s.
Jane Lewis	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	2s. 6d.
Jayne Watling	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	8s. 9d.
Kate	F		6d.
M. A. (widow of a British Workman)	F		5s.
Miss A. M. Rutter	F		10s.
Miss Allen	F		5s.
Miss Burgess	F		5s.
Miss Davies	F		10s.
Miss Dougall	F		£1
Miss E. Black	F		17s. 6d.
Miss E. Farncomb	F		£1
Miss E. Robertson	F		1s.
Miss Endercy	F		10s.
Miss H. Sagar	F		10s.
Miss H. Watts	F		10s.
Miss Hunter	F		£2
Miss Jimpson	F		1s.
Miss Keal	F		£2
Miss L. Bernard	F		2s. 6d.
Miss Reeve	F		7s.
Miss Susan Montague	F		£4
Miss. Smithies	F		£1
Mr. I. Marriott	F		6d.
Mrs. Askew	F	Huntingdon	
Mrs. B. Bebbington	F		1s
Mrs. C. B.	F		1s.
Mrs. C. Sim	F		£2 2s.
Mrs. Davis	F		2s.
Mrs. Earnshaw	F		5s.
Mrs. Eliza H. Hill	F		10s.
Mrs. Elizabeth Baxter	F		£1
Mrs. Gibbons	F	Cheltenham	
Mrs. Gibson	F	Carrickmacroy	
Mrs. H. S. Bennett	F		10s.
Mrs. Hands	F		12s. 6d.
Mrs. J. Page	F		2s. 6d.
Mrs. L. Roper	F		£1
Mrs. Paley	F		£1
Mrs. Smithies	F	Earlham Grove, London	£1
Mrs. W. C. Mole	F		10s.
Prudence Andrews	F		1s.
Susan Howard	F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	£1
The Dowager Marchioness of Exeter	F		3s.
Three Sisters	F		3s.
Clara and Emma Brayne	F/F	North Goulburn N.S.W.	10s. 1d.
Mother's Meeting collection	F/F		1s. 1d.
Mrs. & Miss Robertson	F/F		£1 1s.

⁷ Source *British Workman* No. 193. January 1871: 51. & No. 201 September 1871: 82.

French Relief Fund. (cont.)

Wesleyan Sunday School Female Class	F/I	Haslingden	£14 12s.
Miss & Master Travis	F/M	Heaton-Norris (Stockport)	
Mr. & Mrs. O.L.H.	F/M		£3 3s.
Free Abbey Sabbath School	I	Dunfirmline	14s.
Spalding Foundry Bible Class	I		4s.
St. Nicholas' Sunday School	I	North Goulburn N.S.W.	£3 18s. 2d.
Sunday School	I	Newbridge	5s.
Sunday school	I	Fletcher's Bridge	7s. 6d.
Tipping Street Sunday School Scholars	I		16s.
A Boy	M		1s. 6d.
A working man	M		3s. 6d.
A Workman	M		2s.
An English Mechanic	M		1s.
Archer Thomas Upton, Esq.	M		£5
E. Cox, Esq. (Concert Proceeds)	M		£6 6s.
Ephraim Liggins	M	North Goulburn N.S.W.	2s.
Frederick Perkins, Esq.	M	Southampton	£1
G.J.A. Peake Esq	M		
George Budd, Esq.	M		£5
Gilbert Pickett, Esq. & Family	M	New Zealand	£3
J. H. (a British Workman)	M		10s.
J. Joseph Woodhouse, Esq.	M		£1
Jas. Douglas Esq.	M		10s.
Jas. Edmunds	M	HMS 'Growler'	£1
John Smith Esq.	M		10s.
Leon Pincet	M		1s.
Loseph Dalglish, Esq. Queensland	M		£1
Mr. Alfred Bell	M		£1
Mr. Archer	M	Birkenhead	
Mr. Bristow	M		2s. 6d.
Mr. Ducker	M		2s. 6d.
Mr. Egleton	M		£1
Mr. George Martin, sen.	M		£1
Mr. Gladden	M		5s.
Mr. H. M. Pipe	M		£2
Mr. J. D. Johnston	M	New Zealand	£1
Mr. J. D. Waymouth	M		5s.
Mr. J. Fiander	M		2s. 6d.
Mr. J. N. Bywater	M		5s.
Mr. James Cook	M		2s.
Mr. James Young	M		1s.
Mr. Jas Creighton, Esq.	M	New Zealand	£1
Mr. John Halbard	M		1s.
Mr. John J. Shallcross	M		4s. 6d.
Mr. John Nightingale	M		5s.
Mr. John Slater	M		5s.
Mr. John Williams	M	Coquimbo, Chili	£1
Mr. Joseph Ibbotson	M		£1 1s.
Mr. Joseph Trindon	M		6d.
Mr. R. Macpherson and Family	M		12s.
Mr. T. Chatterton	M		1s.
Mr. T. Summerfield	M		2s. 6d.
Mr. W. N. Southgate	M		1s.
Mr. William Ezra Shaw	M		£1
Mr. William Helm	M		5s.
Mr. William Morgan	M		1s.
Mr. William Walton	M		5s.
Oscar W. Roberts, Esq.	M		£2 2s.

French Relief Fund. (cont.)

Rev. B. Seifferth	M		£1
Rev. H. Ready	M		£2
Rev. S. W. Stagg	M		4s. 1d.
Rev. W. Wippell	M		£1
Robert Ockleston, Esq.	M		£5
Samuel Jarrold	M	Norwich	15s.
Samuel Jarrold, Esq. (Temperance Collection),	M	Norwich.	£4 11s. 3d.
Thos. Gorle, Esq.	M		10s.
Town Clerk	M	Hawick	9 19s. 4d.
William Bruce, Esq.	M		£2 10s.
Eddie & Tommie	M/M		1s.
A Friend			1s.
A Friend			2s. 6d.
A Friend			
A Friend		Darlington	
A friend to the poor			5s.
A Little Child			1s.
A Poor Servant			6d.
A Schoolroom		Ireland	£1 2s.
A.P.			2s.
A.V.G			
Anon		Hoddesdon	
Anonymous			5s.
Anonymous			2s. 6d.
Anonymous			2s. 6d.
Anonymous			1s. 3d
Anonymous			1s.
Anonymous			6s.
B.W. Readers, 'Adelaide'			12s.
Bradshaw			6d.
'British Workman' readers		E. C.	9s. 6d.
C.B.W.			10s.
C.E.L.			1s. 6d.
C.S			1s.
Charlesworth Children			£1
Constant Readers			5s.
'Cymroes'			2s. 6d.
E.			2s.
E.A.			2s. 6d.
E.M.			2s. 6d.
E.S.		Feltham	7s.
E.S.			2s.
F. & R. W.			3s.
F.D.			1s.
Four Constant Readers			2s.
Friends and Readers, British Workman		Sudborough,	
Friends at Puttenham			4s.
H.F.B			2s.
H.F.B.			2s.
H.F.G.		Sunderland	5s.
H.W.			10s.
Humanitas			£5
M.A.A.		Wangford	1s.
P. Lamond			1s.
'Pockets'			1s. 8d.
R.J. & S.P.			2s. 6d.

French Relief Fund. (cont.)

'Rivet'		2s.
S. S. Harvest		1s.
S.A.	Wangford	1s.
S.J.W.C.		2s. 6d.
S.M.		5s.
School Children	Alveston	£1 5s.
Steward	Drumfork	7s.
T.B. Lane	Cuckfield (Sussex)	
Tetsy & Joe		2s.
The Children's Mite		1s. 3d.
W.H.C.	Leeds	1s.
W.T.		1s.
Z.		1s.

Appendix G. The Gin-shop, Rev. J. W. Kirton.⁸

This is the *Gin-shop* all glittering and gay.

These are the *Drinks* that are sold night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

These are the *Customers*, youthful and old,
That drink the strong drinks which are sold night and day
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

This is the *Landlord* who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

This is the *lady*, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

This is the *drunkard*, in rags and disgrace,
Who is served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins the bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

This is the *woman*, with woebegone face,
The wife of the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who is served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

This is the *pastor*, so noble and kind,
Who pitied the woman, with woebegone face,
And the husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who is served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins the bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

This is the *paper*, the poor drunkard signed,
Which was brought by the pastor, so noble and kind,
Who pitied the woman, with woebegone face,
And the husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who was served by the woman, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the *Gin-shop* so glittering and gay.

⁸ Source: *The Band of Hope Review*, March 1868 – May 1868.

This is the *text* which the good pastor chose,
And the light on the soul of the drunkard arose,
As he sat in the church, to which one Sabbath-day,
Along with his wife he had taken his way,
Drawn there by the pastor, so loving and kind,
Who brought him the pledge which he joyfully signed;
The pastor who pitied the woman's sad case,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who was served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop so glittering and gay.

This is the *church*, to which, one Sabbath-day,
The once wretched drunkard and wife took their way,
Drawn there by the pastor, so loving and kind,
Who brought him the pledge which he joyfully signed;
The pastor who pitied the woman's sad case,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who was served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop so glittering and gay.

This is the *cottage*, the home of delight,
Whence prayer, like an incense ascends day and night,
Where joy and contentment sit smiling so bright-
Whence came this glad home where comforts unite!
From the heaven-blest text which the pastor chose,
When light on the soul of the drunkard arose,
As he sat in the church, to which each Sabbath-day,
His wife and he, happy at heart, take their way
Drawn there by the pastor, so loving and kind,
Who brought him the pledge which he joyfully signed;
The pastor who pitied the woman's sad case,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who was served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop so glittering and gay.

Appendix H. 'Our Type of British Workman'

OUR TYPE OF A BRITISH WORKMAN

"Very different is the reality from the ideal type of the British Workman, as some religious folks describe him," Such is the half taunting style in which some of the papers of the day speak of the descriptions that we and other friends of the industrious classes give of the working man, his home, and his household. Reading thus we were set upon thinking what really is our type of a working man. Certainly we should not go to the public-house, tap-room or the smoking-club for our type. The man who, having earned his money by hard toil, spends it in dangerous and simple luxuries, acts as if he had less reason than the beasts that perish. The man that, being called by his toil many hours of every day from his wife and children, returns to them at night with a frown upon his face, and grumbling words on his lips- making his dwelling a place of gloom and strife- must be his own worst enemy, he must be as stupid as he is sinful. We know that there are many men who are thus foolish and wicked, committing blunders as well as sins, but we rejoice to know that there are multitudes very, very different, who are and who deserve to be a favourite type of character. The man is a real and not an ideal workman who, rising early every morning, goes forth to his toil, having asked God's blessing on him through the day- he is one who never wilfully neglects his work or wastes either his own or his employer's time, he returns at the close of the day wearied indeed, but not murmuring, his heart fills with gladness as he draws near his dwelling. He has a look of kindness and a pleasant word as he enters for his wife and child. And they in return have a clean hearth, a ready meal, and a smiling welcome. Evening brings the sweet leisure hour which the good man knows how to employ wisely, some book or paper to improve and interest the mind, some plants to trim, some furniture to repair, some light ingenious work that gives pleasure in the doing, some cheerful conversation that refreshes the spirits; in this way night comes on, and there is the grateful prayer, and the lying down to the sound sleep that rests and renews the weary frame. This is a type of a working man's enjoyments even amid the duties and the cares of his every-day life, but his chief delight, that which gives him heart to bear up with a cheerful spirit day after day, is the rest and refreshment of the Sabbath. Mind, soul, and estate, have their weekly renewal then. In his decent Sunday suit of clothes he goes to the sanctuary and gets his spirits lifted up above the world and its trials. While his body is resting, his mind is soothed, for he that hears the sweet and precious promises repeated that are for the faithful in all time, His heavenly inheritance, his abiding home, seems to come nearer to him as he draws nearer to the Saviour. The son of earth and toil draws near in blessing. *Our type* of working men enjoys this hallowed meeting, perhaps, as only those can who know something of the harder toils of life. The traveller on a stony road, heated, foot-sore, and weary, delights, beyond all power of expression, when he comes to the soft green turf, and rests a while beside the still waters. Oh! These Sabbaths that bring him this sweet rest, how could he go on in the hard journey of life if it were not for such times of refreshing? Then home is never so homely as on the Sabbath day. Wife and children are all there together, eating their simple meal in peace, wearing their neatest garments, telling of their best thoughts, or recounting their records of the past and their hopes of the future. Our type of a British Workman may not earn great wages, yet he can and does realise all this. His neighbours take note of him that has been with Jesus and has learnt of Him, and so his example does good first in his own home and then to all around. What could the alehouse give him in exchange for this? What? Why it could and would give him an empty pocket, a bare cupboard, a weeping wife, starving children, a wretched home, a fever in his blood, a demon in his heart, a bad name, a blighted life, an awful eternity. If there are working men who prefer all this to the peace that passeth understanding, we can but mourn over them; Truly they are not *our* type of the British Workman.⁹

⁹ *BW* No. 154. October, (1867): 134.

Appendix J. TESTIMONY OF BLACKSMITHS.¹⁰

WE, the undersigned BLACKSMITHS, cheerfully testify that we have performed our labours during the years understated without the use of spirituous or malt liquors. We get through our work better without such beverages than with them, and we strongly recommend our brother Blacksmiths to follow our example. as we feel assured that they will thereby be, like ourselves, *better* in HEALTH, *heavier* in POCKET, and *happier* in MIND.

John Gerrard.	<i>Bolton, Lancashire</i>	22
C. Firby,	<i>Hull</i> ,	18
Peter Hunter,	<i>Darnick, Melrose</i>	15
Peter Finch,	<i>Norwich</i>	16
John Dean,	<i>Morley, near Leeds</i>	15
James Hendrie,	<i>Airdrie</i>	2
David Melvin,	<i>Alloa</i>	11
John Calder,	<i>Broxbourn</i>	16
John Delph,	<i>Norwich</i>	16
William Burn,	<i>Lilliesleaf, by Selkirk</i>	16
Charles McBryde,	<i>Port Glasgow</i>	18
Telford Martin,	<i>Airdrie</i>	17
James D. Hunter,	<i>Morningside, Edinburgh</i>	17
James Webster,	<i>Bolton, Lancashire</i>	18
Peter Narrower,	<i>Gifford, Haddington</i>	15
Thomas Denton,	<i>Featherstone, Pontefract</i>	12
John Campbell,	<i>Girthow, near Gatehouse</i>	18
William Stoker,	<i>Netherwittm</i>	3
Alexander Ferrier Cook,	<i>Dumbaron</i>	16
George Pringle,	<i>Prestonpans</i>	6
James Kennedy,	<i>Etrick Bridge</i>	5
James Davie,	<i>Tillicoultry</i>	6
William Milne,	<i>Keith</i>	3
Thomas Allan,	<i>Hawick</i>	17
James Ovens,	<i>do.</i>	13
WillamKirk,	<i>do.</i>	3
James Pow,	<i>do.</i>	1
Alexander Walker,	<i>do.</i>	4
James Wells,	<i>do.</i>	1
William Waugh,	<i>do.</i>	5
William Chisholm,	<i>do.</i>	1
Joseph Wilkinson,	<i>Selby</i>	5
Thomas Duncancon,	<i>Grangemouth</i>	5
James Macnab,	<i>do.</i>	2
Peter Buchan,	<i>Grangemouth</i>	5
George Murray,	<i>Gourock</i>	9
William Hutchinson,	<i>Galewood, near Alwrick</i>	3
Alexander Hutchinson,	<i>do.</i>	3
John Henderson,	<i>do.</i>	3½
William Lacy,	<i>Hessle, Hull</i>	8
Johnson Ramsey,	<i>do.</i>	3
George Mallison,	<i>do.</i>	8
William Kerr, Jun.,	<i>New Street, Beith</i>	2½
James Docherty,	<i>Ardrossian</i>	5
John Elliott,	<i>do.</i>	1
Joseph Parker,	<i>Accommodation Road, Leeds</i> ...	18
George Nelson,	<i>Duke Street, do.</i>	12
Walter Ward,	<i>Hill's Yard, do.</i>	3½
John Carreton,	<i>Meadow Lane, do.</i>	4
Alfred Channels,	<i>do.</i>	5

¹⁰ Source, *BW* No. 15. March 1856: 60.

William Blackburn,	<i>Bowman Lane, do.</i>	6
William Ward,	<i>Meadow Lane, do.</i>	6
Alexander Lawson,	<i>Low Valley Field, by Culross ..</i>	9
Thomas Robertson,	<i>Oakley, Dunfermline.....</i>	1½
Robert Campbell,	<i>Corrock.....</i>	1½
Samuel Crillay,	<i>Oakley</i>	1
James Parsell,	<i>Oakley.....</i>	9
John Parsell,	<i>Oakley</i>	5
Robert Fairbairn,	<i>St. Boswells</i>	2
James Lowrie,	<i>St. Boswells</i>	5
George Henderson,	<i>Manton</i>	2
Samuel Williams,	<i>do.</i>	6
John Hope,	<i>Kelso</i>	6
James Alcorn,	<i>Newtown</i>	2
Joseph Isherwood,	<i>Bolton, Lancashire</i>	21
Richard Tabbern,	<i>do.</i>	2
John Ridings,	<i>do.</i>	19
Henry Lancaster,	<i>do.</i>	14
William Ridings,	<i>do.</i>	14
William Blackburn,	<i>do.</i>	13
Edward Wilson	<i>do.</i>	11
George Peacock,	<i>do.</i>	7
George Owen,	<i>Craigs, Stirling</i>	16
Matthew Firby,	<i>High St., Hull</i>	19
Samuel Williams,	<i>Hull.....</i>	5
T. Williams,	<i>do.</i>	6
James Alston,	<i>West Calder</i>	12
William Gardner,	<i>Linlithgow</i>	14
William Dempster,	<i>Kirkbean, Dumfries</i>	13
Douglas Dempster,	<i>do,</i>	5
William Foote,	<i>Hilltown, Dundee</i>	8
James Wight,	<i>Queen St. do.</i>	18
James Nicoll,	<i>do.</i>	2
Alexander Low,	<i>do.</i>	2
David Melville,	<i>do.</i>	2
David Linclsay,	<i>do.</i>	6
Robert Scouler,	<i>Cowlairs, near Glasgow</i>	4
David Scouler,	<i>Finnicston, Glasgow</i>	2
David Rutherford,	<i>Braco</i>	4
James Kutherford,	<i>do.</i>	4
William Hall,	<i>Eaglesham</i>	1½
William Andrew,	<i>College, Crossgates</i>	4
William Andrew, jun.,	<i>do.</i>	1
Matthew Gray,	<i>Travent</i>	2
William Swift,	<i>Blackburn</i>	12
Edward Quinton,	<i>Leiston, Suffolk:</i>	3½
George Johnson,	<i>do.</i>	4
John Holt,	<i>Rochdale</i>	12
Benjamin Richardson,	<i>Boston</i>	19
George McGregor,	<i>Glasgow</i>	6

Appendix K. Twenty-eight Suggestions for increasing the Circulation of the "British Workman."

The "British Workman" was not commenced as a business enterprise, but from a desire to promote the HEALTH, WEALTH, and HAPPINESS of the Industrial Classes, It has hitherto been attended with a heavy pecuniary loss (in addition to time and labour, and the Editor, therefore, solicits an extended circulation. The following "SUGGESTIONS" have been compiled with the hope of promoting this object.*

**The "British Workman" is published on the 1st of each month at the Office, 9, Paternoster Row, London. E. C. Price One Penny.*

SUGGESTIONS.

1. District Canvassing Committees. In no way can our friends so effectually promote a more extensive circulation of the "British Workman" amongst the working-classes, than by forming DISTRICT CANVASSING COMMITTEES.

A gentleman, in Belfast, who organized a Committee of WORKING-MEN in that city, writes as follows:—"One member of the Committee tells me, what I know myself to be the fact, that where a copy of the 'British Workman,' or even a hand-bill* is shewn, it almost invariably secures a subscriber."

A gentleman writes from Bolton, in Lancashire:—"We have made great efforts to circulate the 'British Workman,' so that now more than 2,000 copies are disposed of in Bolton alone."

) The Burslem Committee of WORKING-MEN have done nobly. After meeting to discuss their plans of operation, they went out not only into the streets of Burslem, but to the surrounding villages, calling by house-row, to solicit for new subscribers. This band of earnest-hearted and philanthropic workers have upwards of ONE THOUSAND NAMES on their list of subscribers! In several other towns somewhat similar results have been secured.

2. The circulation may also be increased by City Missionaries and Tract Distributors (who have sufficient leisure at their command on the week-days) canvassing their districts for subscribers. These have peculiar opportunities on their side.

3. By Ladies and Gentlemen canvassing, or influencing others to canvass their neighbourhoods for subscribers. An old lady (between seventy and eighty years of age), in a market-town in the West Riding of Yorkshire, may, as soon as the "British Workman" arrives at the bookseller's, be seen wending her way through the courts and alleys, to promote its circulation. She disposes of about 300 copies monthly.

A few months ago, some ladies in Middlesex gave away a copy to each cottager in their village, promising to call again for the names of subscribers. About 100 offered to take copies monthly, and the ladies cheerfully undertook to deliver the numbers. These monthly visits have afforded many opportunities for profitable conversation. One of these ladies observes:—"We have now the pleasure of supplying about 200 copies monthly. Moreover, we have met with an interesting case of a reformed drunkard whose change of life is owing to his perusal of the 'British Workman.'"

In Newcastle-on-Tyne, two gentlemen of influence waited upon, or corresponded with the principal Employers in the town and neighbourhood, and in the course of a few days procured upwards of 2000 Subscribers!

4. By posting large illustrated bills in workshops, Hair Dressers' shops, and other conspicuous places. Copies may be had on application to the Editor.

There is reason to believe that these Posting-bills have not only extended the circulation of the "British Workman," but that the verses in one of them, entitled "Dip your roll in your own pot at home," have, by God's blessing, led to the reformation of some who were intemperate.

5. By Invalids, Boys, Girls, &c., canvassing as they are best able.

A cripple, who suffers much pain by walking, has canvassed the town where he resides, and has succeeded in "securing a large number of subscribers, who are now supplied by the bookseller in the town."

A young lady writes as follows:—"My dear sister, whose suffering state precludes much active employment, takes a lively interest in your work, and I often, find her busily occupied in enclosing

for the post, numbers of the 'British Workman,' which she dispatches [sic] wherever she has a hope of introducing them to good purpose."

It has been found that Boys and Girls are, generally speaking, successful canvassers.

6. By Commercial Travellers following the example of one who thus writes:—"Not content with good wishes for the success of the 'British Workman,' I have bought a "considerable number of copies and given them away, and have likewise tried to obtain regular subscribers. I am now in my travels, endeavouring to introduce it amongst bodies of working-men."

7. By Ministers recommending it to their people, and by encouraging their Scripture Readers, District Visitors, and Tract Distributors to canvass their districts for subscribers. Also, by directing the attention of the gentry connected with their churches, to *Suggestion 3*.

8. By Schoolmasters or Superintendents and Teachers in Day, Sabbath, and Bagged-schools introducing the publication to the notice of the scholars, by exposing a number, and by distributing bills.* In many instances this practice is adopted so far as the *elder* scholars are concerned, while the 'Band of Hope Review' is recommended to the *younger* ones. Also, by forming the children into Canvassing Committees — [*The latter plan is found to be a most effective one.*]

9. By Tract Societies circulating it as a tract. The 'British Workman,' by being folded up like a Map, may be readily sewed or gummed into an ordinary sized Tract cover, so as to be circulated and used with convenience as a Loan Tract.

The Rector of Neath writes to the Editor as follows: — " My Scripture Reader finds the 'British Workman' a most useful and valuable addition to the tracts which he circulates. It is received, when at first it is difficult to secure the reception of tracts, and in almost every instance, a welcome for himself and his mission, follows the perusal of your interesting little work."

In the "Manchester City Mission Magazine," it is stated, that no work is so well adapted as the 'British Workman' for gaining access to families where before it had been difficult. "The 'British Workman-' (says the London City Mission Report for 1860), "is often taken where a tract is refused."

A number of specimen copies have been done up in the above manner hi Tract covers: and any Minister, Tract Secretary, Superintendent, District Visitor or Distributor, may have a copy by forwarding his or her name and address, and two postage' stamps to the Editor.

10. By Railway Passengers taking a few copies with them for distribution in the trains. The presentation of copies to Railway Porters, has been found, in many instances, to afford a pleasant opportunity for a few words of friendly conversation and advice.

11. By presenting copies to the Crews of Ships, emigrant vessels, &c.

A sailor, from Hamburg, who had been presented with a few copies by a friend, writes to the Editor as follows:—

"While reading the account of ' Jack and his Hard Lump,' I thought that I would *try* for myself, and abstain altogether from strong drink. I feel much pleasure in saying that I have been the whole of the voyage without; visiting the Falkland Islands, Valparaiso, and Callao, and performing all the labour of loading our vessel with guano, much better than if I had taken strong drink. The best of all is, I received my wages, and can now with pleasure go and see my widowed mother, and brother, and sister, a day's journey from Hamburg, and I shall be able to go home sober and happy."

12. By Ladies and Gentlemen presenting copies to the working-classes in their neighbourhoods for *two or three months*, with the view of inducing them to purchase the future numbers. We have been informed on reliable authority, that our gracious Queen and the Royal Princesses, when at Balmoral, have distributed copies of the 'British Workman' and 'Band of Hope Review' amongst the cottagers on the royal estate.

13. By Medical Gentlemen introducing the publication into hospitals, infirmaries, &c. The following communication has been received from one of the faculty in Leicester.

"It is very popular with the patients, and it reaches them at a time when, through the chastening influence of sickness, their minds are best prepared to appreciate its lessons. A hint on this head might probably induce other officers of hospitals throughout the country to do the same."

14. Steam-Boats and Watering-Places. By encouraging active boys during the summer, to attend the steam-boats on our rivers, and the public promenades at the watering-places, and expose the "British Workman" for sale. Several ladies and gentlemen have done so with encouraging results. They have made arrangements with local booksellers to supply boys at a reduced price, thereby giving them an opportunity of making a profit by the sale.

15. By Ministers and Lecturers recommending it in lectures, and on public occasions. "In a lecture on 'George Stephenson,' by the Rev. 'W. B. Mackenzie, M.A., of London, he said—'I believe, that were George Stephenson among us at the present time, he would glory in having a bundle of the 'British Workman' to read himself, and to distribute among his men.'"

16. Secretaries of Temperance Societies recommending the use of the House-to-House Canvassing Bills, the circulation of which it is believed will forward the cause of Temperance; and by having copies of the "British Workman" for sale at the close of public meetings, &c. A temperance lecturer writes:—"I often give a striking fact or Illustration of truth from the 'British Workman,' and I generally towards the close of my address *exhibit* one or two numbers."

17. By requesting Chairmen or Speakers at Public Gatherings on behalf of the working classes, to introduce it to notice. A working man in Lancashire writes as follows:—"The other day, I requested a magistrate, who presided at the Annual Meeting of our Mechanics' Institute, to recommend the 'British Workman,' to the Meeting, and he did so to the satisfaction of many present."

18. By inducing Booksellers to expose copies for sale in their windows, and to canvass their localities for subscribers. Several booksellers who have commenced the plan of exposing copies of the 'British Workman' in their windows, or, pasted on boards, hung outside their shops, state that they have within the last few months *doubled* their sale!

19. By News-Agents, &c., sending their Boys to Factories, &c., on pay-nights, in order to sell copies as the men are leaving for their homes.

20. By inducing Shopkeepers in small towns or villages (where there are no booksellers), to commence the sale of the publication. A lady writes as follows:—"For more than a year I have sent 18 copies of the 'British Workman' and 18 of the 'Band of Hope Review' to a small village shop of 'all sorts' for sale. I allow the shopkeeper one penny for every dozen she gets off her hands. These numbers are *always sold*, and now and then a yearly part is ordered as well."

21. By parties who reside in the neighbourhood of barracks distributing copies to the Soldiers. The publication is well received in the army.

22. By Employers presenting copies to their men for two or three months, with the view of inducing them to purchase the future numbers.

23. By sending out specimen copies to friends in the Colonies, and requesting them to promote the circulation.

24. By presenting volumes to the Directors of Railway Companies, for the various Railway Waiting-Booms, and by getting the publication introduced on the Railway Bookstalls.

25. By leaving copies every month with Hairdressers, Coffee-House Keepers, &c.

26. By enclosing a copy of these "Suggestions," or "Opinions of the Press," the "Circular with Testimonials," or the "Illustrated Bill," with specimen article, in letters to friends. A supply of any of these, may be had on application to the Editor, gratis and post free.

27. By every Reader procuring at least four new subscribers. This is within the power of all:—
Try!

28. Last, but not least, by devoutly imploring the Divine blessing upon the publication, and upon the efforts made to increase its circulation.

*House-to-house canvassing bills will be supplied to Committees, or individual canvassers, gratis and post free, on application to the Editor, 9, Paternoster How, London. E.C.

CHEAP POSTAGE.

Those who cannot conveniently give their orders through a local Bookseller, can have packets sent, as under, *post free*, to any part of the United Kingdom, the Channel Islands, the Shetland and Orkney Isles; the amount *being paid in advance*, by post-office order, or postage stamps.

BRITISH WORKMAN. A packet sent, *post free*, for 12 months, viz.,

4 copies for	£0 4 0
8 "	£0 8 0
12 "	£0 12 0
24 "	£1 4 0
50 "	£2 10 0

Less than four *copies* cannot be sent at this rate.

BAND OF HOPE REVIEW. A packet sent, *post free*, for 12 months, viz.,

8 copies for	£0 4 0
16 "	£0 8 0
24 "	£0 12 0
48 "	£1 4 0
100 "	£2 10 0

Less than *eight* copies cannot be sent at this rate.

ORDERS to be addressed to Mr. 8. W. PARTRIDGE, No. 9, Paternoster Row, London. (E.C.)

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God Lifting Men, London, Oliphants, 1968.

Thomas Bywater Smithies and the *British Workman*: Temperance Education and Mass-Circulation Graphic Imagery for the Working Classes, 1855-1883.

Volume Two

Illustrations, Maps & Graphs.

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Volume 2: Illustrations, Maps, and Graphs.

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"PARTIES" FOR THE GALLOWES.



Fig. 1. 'Parties for the Gallows', 9.2 x 9 cms.
Punch January – June, 1845: 147.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: Unknown.



Fig 2. 'Useful Sunday Literature for the Masses', 8 x 9 cms.
Punch, January – June, 1849: 89.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: Unknown.

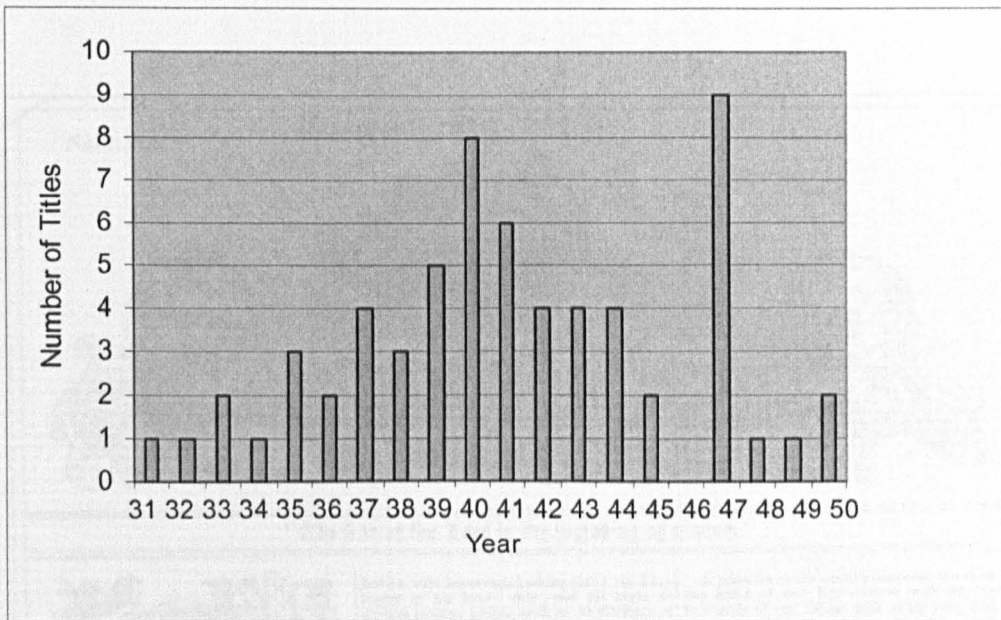


Fig. 3. Bar Graph to Show the Number of Temperance Periodicals Established Annually, London, 1831-50.

(extracted from Harrison and Waterloo)

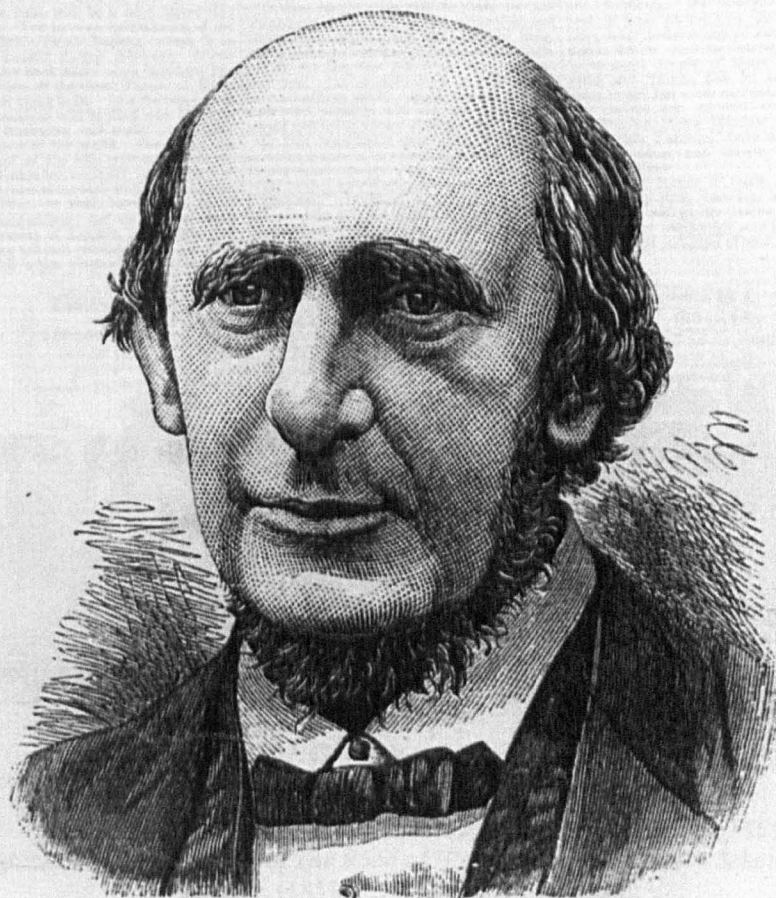


Fig. 4. The Late Mr T. B. Smithies, 12 x 15.5 cms.
The Band of Hope Chronicle, September, 1883: 133.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: Unknown.

Requests for Copy



"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom."



TO THE BOYS AND GIRLS OF ALL NATIONS.

DEAR YOUNG FRIENDS.
HAPPY New Year to you all! The year 1851 will be a very memorable one. You have no doubt heard of the Great Exhibition for all Nations, which is to be held in London during this year. If you look into the booksellers' shop windows, you will see pictures of the Great Palace of Glass which is now being built. In a few weeks this wonderful building will be filled with all kinds of curious machinery and costly productions from all parts of the world. The sight will afford a proof of the rich provision which our Heavenly Father has made for his creatures of every clime, and of the skill which he has given to man. Then we shall have people of all kingdoms, and nations, and tongues, walking about the streets of London. The Chinaman with his long tail and wooden shoes; the Hindoo with his white clothes and turban; the

Indian with his savage looking face; the Laplander in his bear's skin; and all kinds of curious looking people, such as the Children of England have never yet seen. Oh, what a strange sight, what a great gathering there will be! We hope it will be the means of doing much good, and that it will show to all the world, "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity;" for the world is but one family, although a divided one by seas and mountains, &c.; but which should not divide our hearts one from another, nor prevent us from being kind one to another, and dwelling together in peace.

Sometimes a cloud steals over our minds, lest we should not turn this great opportunity of doing good to the best account. We fear that with more people there will be more sin and wickedness committed; but we must pray and labour that much good may also be done. Many will turn into our Churches and Chapels, and for the first time join in the service of the true God. Let us daily pray that they may hear something which, when carried back to their own country, will sow the seed of the gospel and bring forth a rich harvest.

In this remarkable year then, which will never be forgotten by any of us, we are anxious to commence another "Great Gathering," not of old people, not of fathers and mothers, but of "Children." We shall not be able to bring you all into one large building, but we want the Children of all nations to unite with their hearts, voices, and hands, in forming a "WORLD'S TEMPERANCE BAND OF HOPE."

A great foe to the world's happiness is now in the midst of us. Not content with slaying thousands of our fellow men every year, and consigning them to a premature grave, he is continually gaining new victims within his grasp. In Great Britain he has placed about 20,000 persons in prisons, and filled the asylums and poorhouses with lunatics and paupers, whom he has robbed of their reason and property. Like a wily serpent he has entwined himself around every family circle in the land, for there is not a household to be found into which he has entered where he has not left a sting behind. The name of this Great Destroyer is INTemperance. There are now in London alone not less than 20,000 poor ragged children whom this monster has robbed of home, of food, and of clothing. We wish you (with the consent of your parents) to promise, by God's help, never to drink any of those intoxicating drinks which lead to Intemperance. Form Temperance Bands of Hope in every city, town, and village, and let us unite in one great army, and never rest until Intemperance falls before our onward march. Let the "BAND OF HOPE REVIEW AND SUNDAY SCHOLAR'S FRIEND," have a place in every Sunday school and family throughout the three Kingdoms. We shall labour to assist the Parent and Teacher in their laborious and responsible duties, and shall gladly receive any suggestions whereby our publication may be promotive of glory to God and good to men.

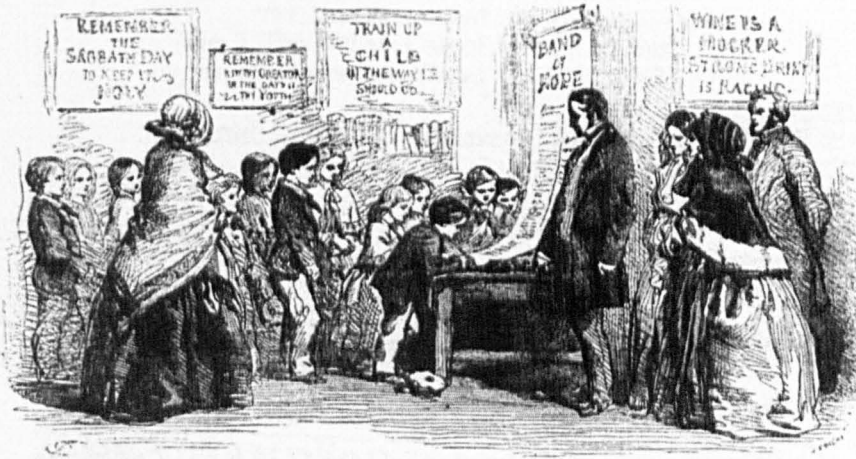


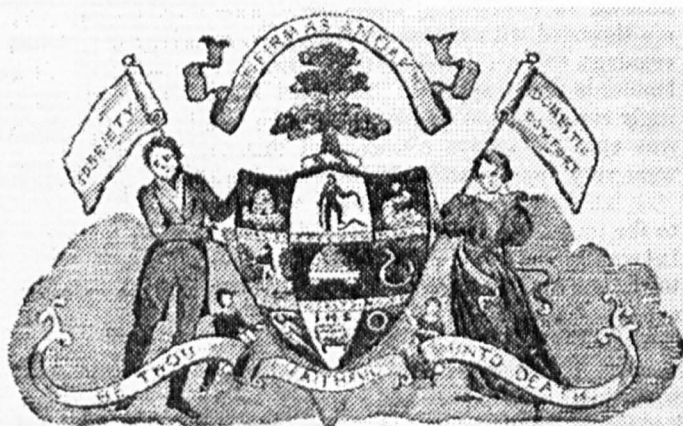
Fig. 5. Title Page, main engraving, 18.5 x 9.5 cms
The Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend, No. 1. January 1851.
This a reprint of the first number of The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend, January, (1851), under the new masthead.

Artist: John Gilbert?. Engraver: John Knight.



Fig. 6. 'Look on this picture and on that',
The Juvenile Temperance Messenger and Monthly Instructor, No. 1. January 1846.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: Unknown.



THE TEETOTAL COAT OF ARMS.
 Fig. 7. The Teetotal Coat of Arms, 8 x 7 cms.
Ipswich Temperance Series No. 102. c1847.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 8. Masthead, 18.5 x 7.5 cms
The Band of Hope Review and Children's Friend, January 1851.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: John Knight.

BRITISH WORKMAN



AND FRIEND OF THE
SONS OF TOIL

No. 1, 1855. PUBLISHED FOR THE EDITOR BY S. W. PATRICKS; AT THE OFFICE OF THE "BRITISH WORKMAN," No. 9, FETTER LANE, LONDON. [PRICE ONE PENNY.]

The "British Workman" has been commenced with an earnest desire to promote the **Health, Wealth, and Happiness** of the **Working Classes.**

We solicit the support of both employers and employed, believing that the interests of both are firmly linked together, and that whatever injures one, affects the other.

Instead of making many promises we shall leave these and future pages to speak for themselves.

"OUR OWN COTTAGE"

A BRICKWARRER who said he had "hard work to do," has who found both time and money for the purchase every night, was induced by his master to deposit a few shillings weekly in the savings' bank. The shillings soon became pounds, and at the end of about ten years the working man's back had secured a lease in his favour of 4000! "Now, Andrew," said the master, "you have made bricks for other folk's houses, make some for your own." A plot of land was soon purchased, and a neat cottage was built.

It was a joyous occasion when Andrew's family took their first meal in "Our Own Cottage." Andrew has now a vote for the county of York! Are there not thousands of the working men of our country, who, like Andrew, might live **THEY YET IN THEIR OWN COTTAGE IF THEY WOULD?**

A TREAT FOR THE WORKING CLASSES.

WE propose to open, that the Friends of the Poor, Patrons, Trustees have arranged to send weavers, and all their families on Monday and Saturday evening, at half the usual charge, to the exhibition of the Great Exhibition, and to the exhibition of a general school, and to the exhibition of a general school.

On Monday evening, in addition to the exhibition, tickets will be distributed for the working classes. On Saturday the entertainment is confined to the following: Views, and Music.

Check Books for employers may be had gratis on application to the Secretary of the Institution, August Street, London.

THE TWO WEAVERS.

BY THE LATE G. HENNING, Esq.

AWAY with discontent, for it is mean, cowardly, and ungrateful. Wage was agreed to, for it is an irrevocable money to mankind. Hence it is, in the person of, banish it. Away with it from the world.

If men complained only when they had none, it would not signify, but, alas! it is not so. While manhood sees 'till all the thousand eyes that shine, power, and honour are better. Enforce one point of unrepented pain, on one one doing things unrepented. They gather round 'till that has given. And so that into his, or unrepented. Hang down their heads, and sorrow and regret. William Howe was a weaver, and having at the bottom of the same, and grumbling at the bottom of his wages. No wonder that he was had by possessed an atom of thankfulness, have been very comfortable, though his gets were small. William had never been married, and no wonder, for how any woman, young or old, handsome or ugly, with good feeling in her heart, or a grain of tenderness in her heart, could consent to live with such a whining, pining, discontented fellow is difficult to imagine. There is a secret worth knowing to all working men, especially if their wages are low; it is this—Charitableness and thankfulness turn shillings into half-crowns, while discontent and repining change them into emergency pennies.

William Howe could only get work when it was really wanted, for no master would willingly have to do with so discontented a servant. From morning to night he was pulling a long face, growling at the bottom of the same, and grumbling at the bottom of his wages. No wonder that he was had by the name of William Howe.



Fig. 9. Title Page. 28 x 37.6 cms. (excluding gutter)
The British Workman and Friend of the Sons of Toil, No. 1, February, 1855.

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No. 793

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Fig. 10. Front Wrapper, 19.8 x 27 cms (excluding gutter)
The British Workman, No. 793. January, 1921.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 11. 'Masthead' (Detail Fig. 9), 28 x 12 cms
British Workman, No. 1, February, 1855: 1.

Artist: Henry Anelay (centre)

Engraver: John Knight (centre)

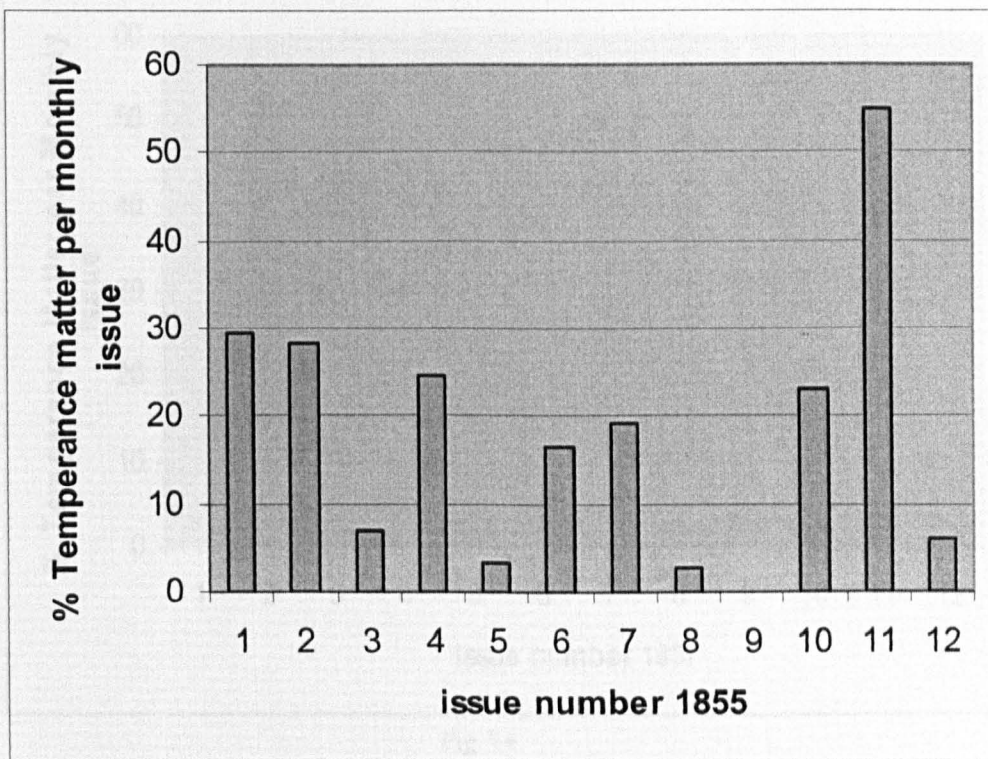


Fig. 12.

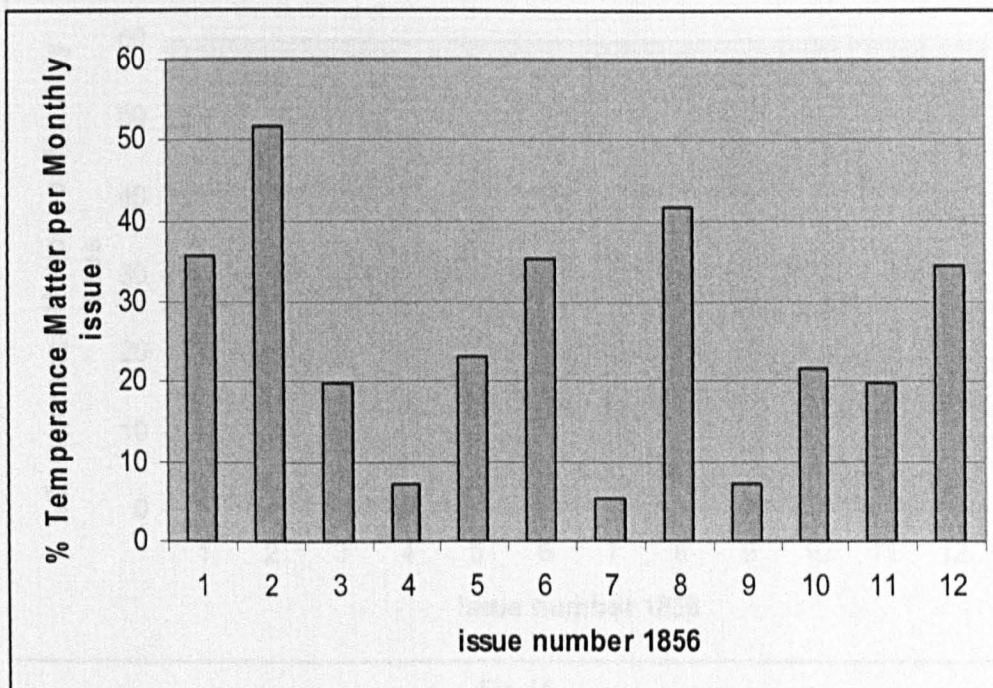


Fig. 13.

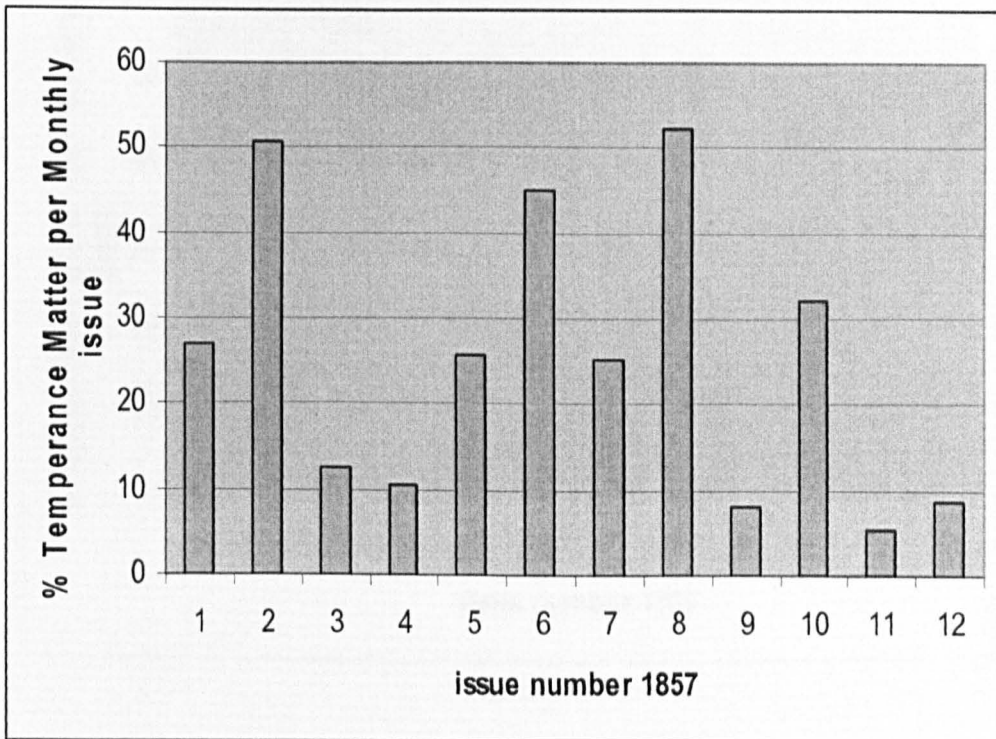


Fig. 14.

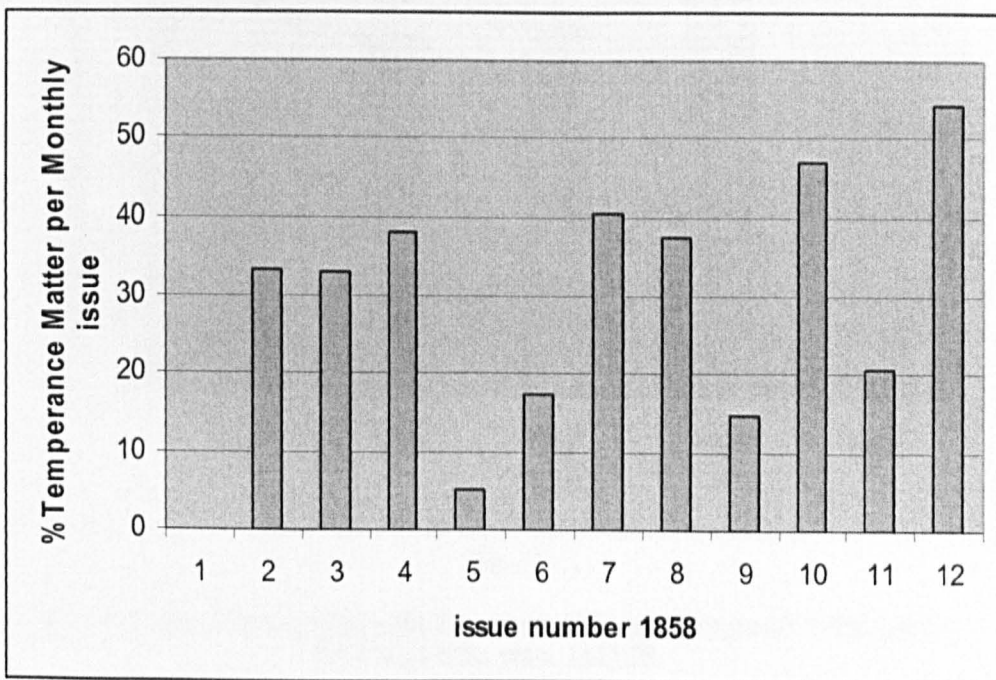


Fig. 15

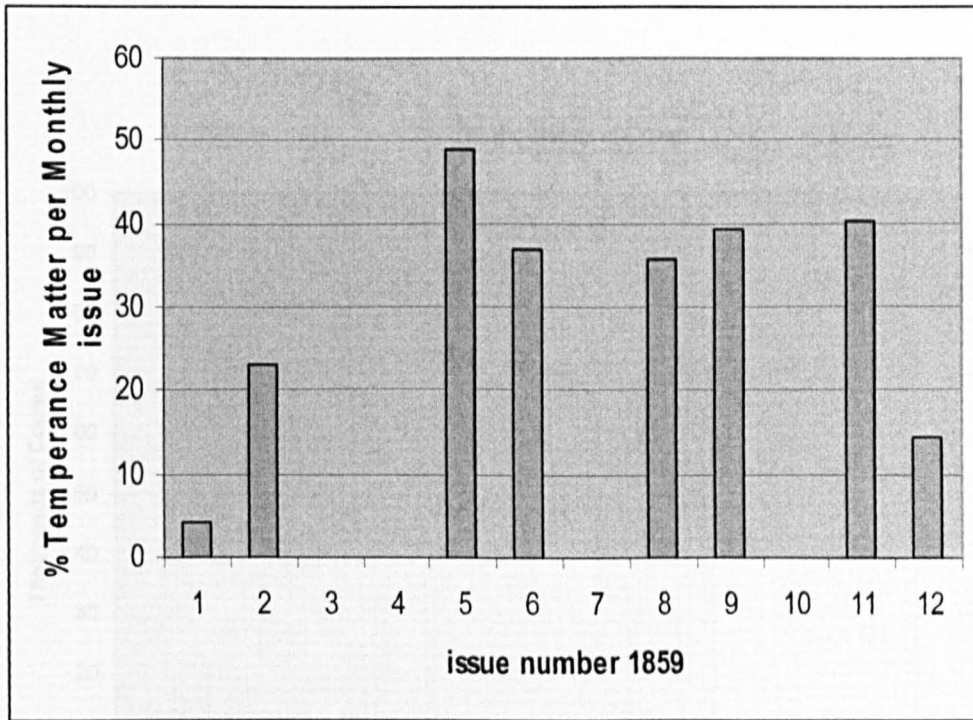


Fig. 16.

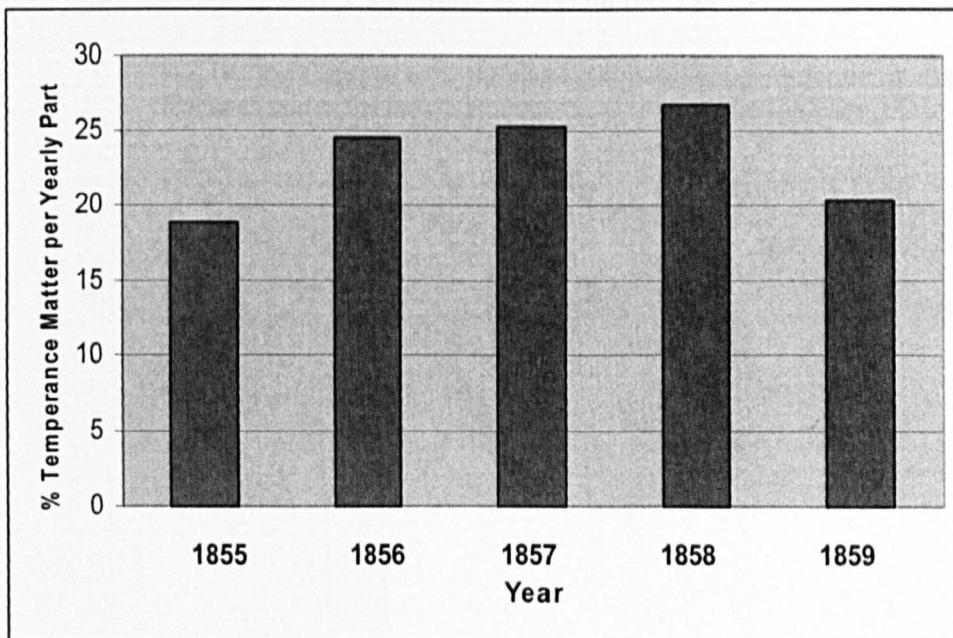


Fig. 17.

Figs. 12-17. Bar Graphs To Show the Percentage of Temperance matter in the *British Workman*.for the years 1855-59.

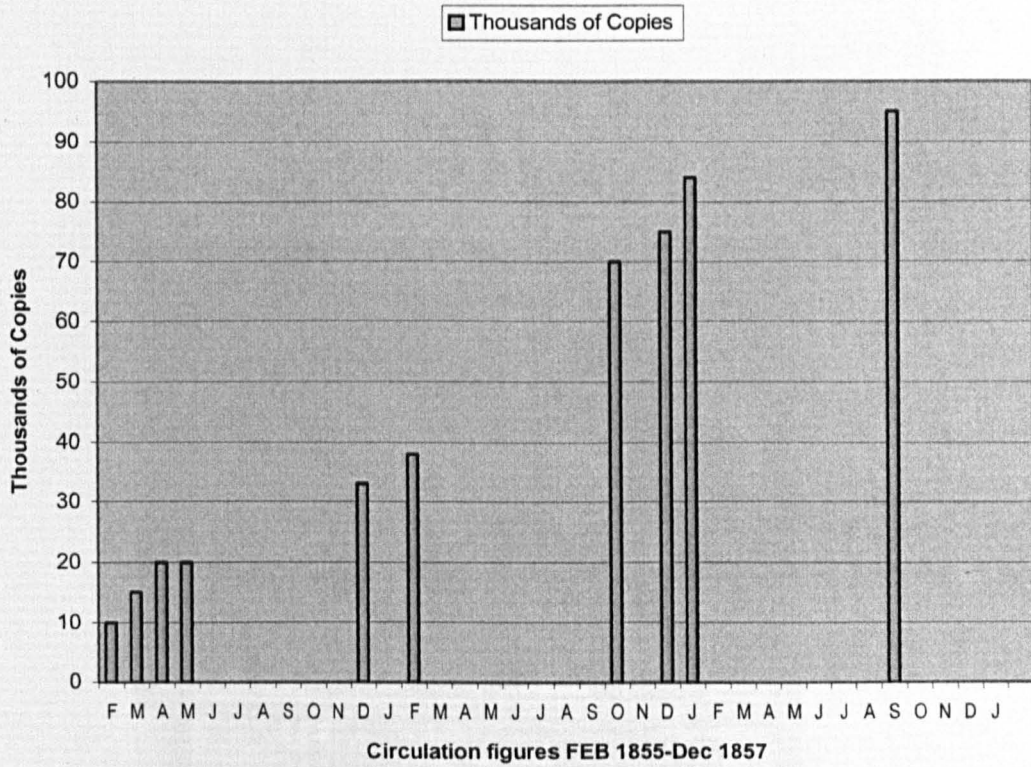


Fig. 18. Bar Graph to show the claimed circulation figures for the *British Workman* during the first three years of publication Feb 1855-Dec 1857.

Fig. 19. Distributing a Copy of the *British Workman* to a Workingman's Club. *The British Workman*, No. 4, 1855, p. 10.

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Fig. 19 'Displaying a Copy of the British Workman in a Bookseller's Window' 6 x 6 cms
British Workman, No. 4. May, 1855: 16.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 20. 3.5 x 6.5 cms



Fig. 21. 3.7 x 6.5 cms.



Fig. 22. 6.2 x 8.5 cms.



Fig. 23. 7.6 x 8.5 cms.

Figs. 1-4 Stages of Development of the 'Delivering the British Workman' motif.

Fig. 20. *British Workman* No. 2. March, 1855: 7.

Fig. 21. *British Workman* No. 9. October, 1855: 36.

Fig. 22. *British Workman* No. 10. November, 1855: 40.

Fig. 23. *British Workman* No. 26 February, 1857: 104.

Artist: Henry Anelay.

Engraver: John Knight.



Fig. 24. 'Hints from Helpers, No. 1'. 6 x 5 cms.
British Workman No. 37. January, 1858: 148.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 25. 'Hints from Helpers, No. 4'. 6 cms. diameter
British Workman No. 40. April, 1858: 160.

Artist: Unknown. Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 26. 'Hints from Helpers, No. 6'. 5.5 x 6.5 cms.
British Workman No. 42. June, 1858: 167.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 27. 'To Schoolmasters'. 5.5 x 6 cms.
British Workman No. 41. May, 1858: 163.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: John Knight

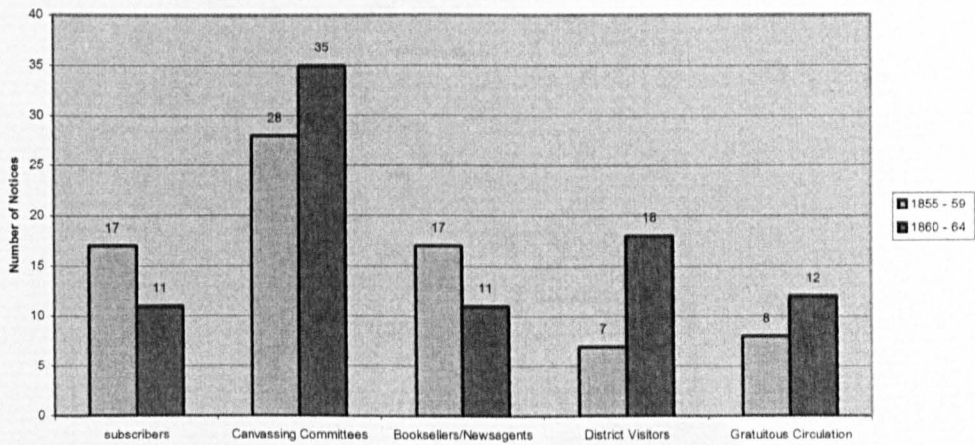


Fig. 28. Bar Graph to show the comparative number of notices regarding the means of circulating the *British Workman*, 1855-59 and 1860-1864.

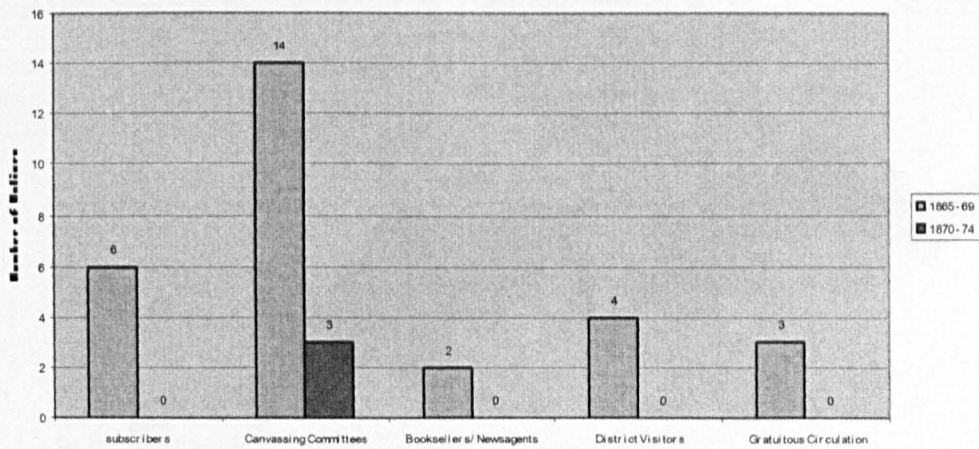


Fig., 29. Bar Graph To show the comparative number of notices regarding the different agencies promoting the circulation of the *British Workman*, 1865-69 and 1870-1874.

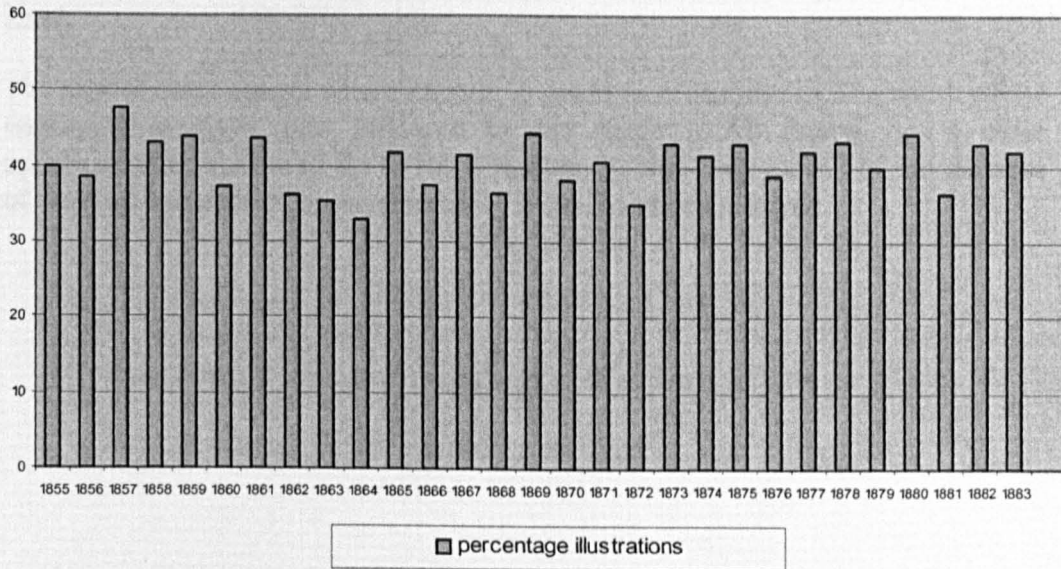


Fig. 31. Bar Graph to show the illustrative matter as a percentage of the total printed page area in each January number of the *British Workman*, 1855-83 inclusive.

The January numbers were selected for this statistical analysis because of the emphasis that Smithies himself placed on the New Year as being the time for increased efforts on the part of his readers to canvass for more subscriptions to the periodical.



Horrible and Bar-bari-ous Murder of Poor
J A E L D E N N Y,
 THE ILL-FATED VICTIM OF THOMAS DRORY.

Fig. 32. 'Horrible and Bar-bari-ous Murder of Poor Jael Denny' 14 x 11.5
In Mayhew H. London Labour and the London Poor. Vol. 1.(1861 Edn), New York, Dover
 Publications, (Facsimile reprint), 1968: 225.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Murder of Captain Lawson.
 (A "COCK.")

Fig. 33. 'Murder of Captain Lawson' 16 x 10 cms
In Mayhew H. London Labour and the London Poor. Vol. 1. (1861 Edn), New York, Dover
 Publications, (Facsimile reprint), 1968: 239.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

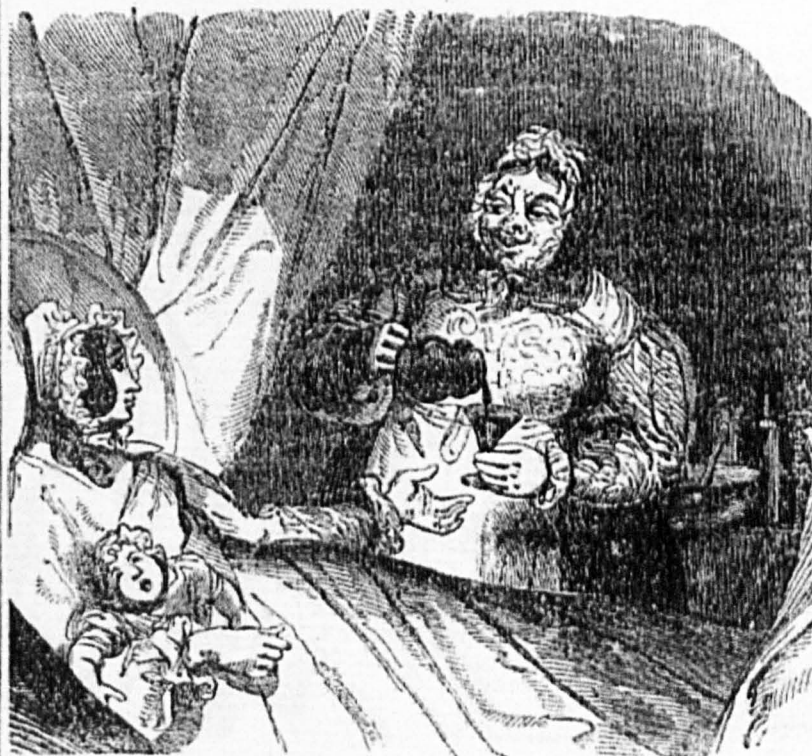


Fig. 34. 'Lesson the First- The Nursery' 12.2 x 9.5 cms

(For details see Figs. 48-52.)

MANCHESTER 'GO-A-HEADS.'

BY T. B. SMITHIES.



[Thus is the young Mother made a drunkard.]

At the close of the Manchester Temperance Love-Feast, on the 25th March, 1848, the proceedings of which I reported in the "Ipswich Temperance Tract," No. 139, the President announced "The 'FEMALE GO-A-HEAD SOCIETY' will hold a meeting this evening at eight o'clock, in the large room under Tonman Street Chapel." I felt half disposed to ridicule the announcement, never having previously heard of a society with such an out-of-the-way name. In addition to which, not being then very favourable to "female speakers," I experienced a feeling of *mortification* that the good cause of temperance should be thus injured. On second thoughts, it occurred to me, "Doth

Fig. 35 'Manchester Go-a-Heads' .T. B. Smithies. 9 x 17 cms. Image 8.4 x 8 cms.
Ipswich Temperance Tracts No. 148. c1849.

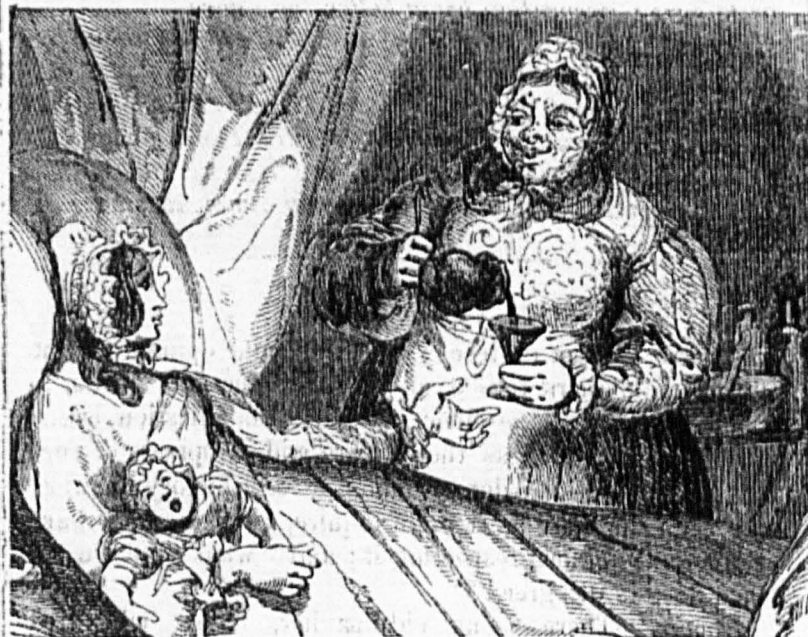
Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

IPSWICH TEMPERANCE TRACTS, No. 149.

MOTHERS, DOCTORS, AND NURSES:

BY JOHN HIGGINBOTTOM, F.R.C.S.



A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN

A MEDICAL MAN AND HIS FRIEND,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

TAKING ALCOHOLIC DRINKS DURING SUCKLING.

Societies may receive 24 Sixpenny Packets of Tracts and Hand Bills, in any part of London, by a post-office order for 10s. 6d., or 50 packets for 21s., being sent to Richard Dykes Alexander, Ipswich. All country Booksellers may obtain Tracts through William Tweedie, 337, Strand, London.

Stereotyped and Printed by J. M. Burton and Co., Ipswich.

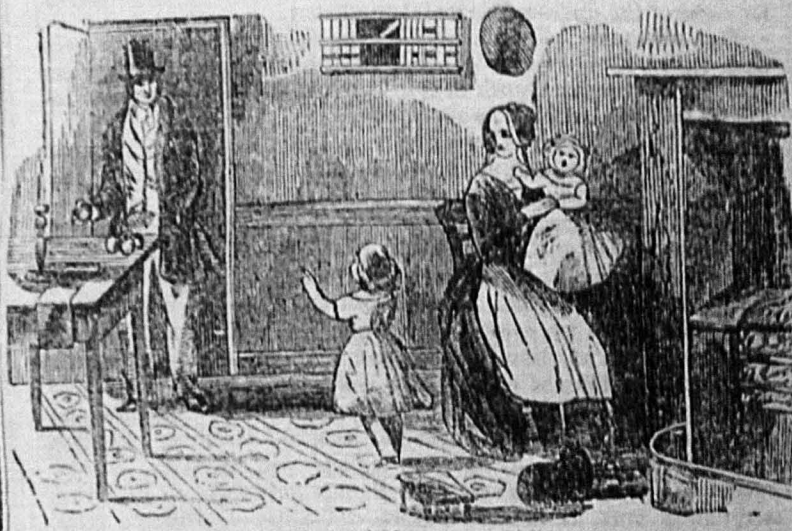
Fig. 36. 'Mothers, Doctors and Nurses,' John Higginbottom. F.R.C.S. 9 x 17 cms. Image 8.4 x 6 cms.

Ipswich Temperance Tracts No. 149. c.1849.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

THE MOTHER'S TRACT.



The Teetotal Mother and Child.

How great an affliction to a loving mother is the loss of her darling infant! and what pangs are affectionate parents often called to endure, while they behold the sufferings of an afflicted child, whom they have no power to relieve!

When we reflect upon the awful mortality of infants during their earliest years,* and the sufferings through which even those whose lives are spared, almost invariably have to pass, who can doubt that there is something radically wrong in the management of these little innocents, who thus come into the world only to suffer and to die.

Many a mother in the bloom of health and loveliness has been prompted by friends and relatives, the doctors too aiding and abetting, to take porter and ale for nourishment whilst nursing her children, to take of that ale and porter which does not contain more than a *penny's-worth* of nutriment in a whole gallon. She has acquired the habit of taking stimulants; she has lost her personal beauty, become gross in appearance, and unsound in constitution; consequently she has given unwholesome food to her babes, and she has become a source of grief and disquietude in her family. Oh, the number of female inebriates that are created by this means, none but medical men, who know the secrets of domestic families, can tell. It ought to be borne in mind also that Delevan, the great American temperance reformer, remarked when at Exeter Hall that he knew of ten thousand reformed male drunkards, but he did not know of one female

* Of all children born, one-fourth part die during the first year of life, and during the first five years nearly one-half.

Fig. 37. 'The Mother's Tract' (page size) 9 x 17 cms. Image 8.5 x 6.5 cms.
Ipswich Temperance Tracts No. 60 c.1846.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

IPSWICH TEMPERANCE TRACTS, No. 74.

THE DRUNKARD'S WIFE.



THE HAPPY WIFE SHE ONCE WAS.

The husband coming in with an orange in his hand for his little boy.



THE MISERABLE WIFE SHE NOW IS,

sitting up at midnight awaiting her husband's return.

Fig. 38. 'The Drunkard's Wife' Top 8.4 x 5.5 cms; Bottom 8.4 x 5.5 cms
Ipswich Temperance Tracts No. 74 c.1846.

Artist: Unknown

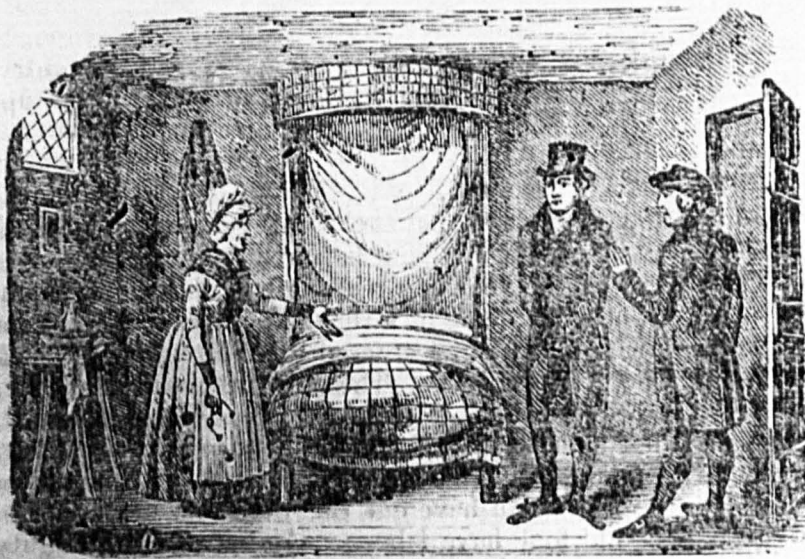
Engraver: Unknown

British and Foreign Temperance Society.
OFFICE, ALDINE CHAMBERS, PATERNOSTER ROW.

IS I NOT HAPPY?

AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF
A VERY POOR OLD WOMAN,

FROM A SPEECH OF THE
REV. HUGH STOWELL, M. A., OF MANCHESTER.



THERE was an aged woman who lived not far from my own residence, and whose daughter, through whom I became acquainted with her, was a teacher in my own Sunday school. She had been led at an early period to fall into habits of drunkenness. These grew up with her, till for 13 years she had not known what it was to be perfectly sober. She repeatedly passed nights on the pavement; and so abandoned was she, that she once attempted her daughter's life; and on my advice the daughter forsook her home. A little boy who remained with her was found shivering in a state of nudity in the cellar, stripped even of his shirt, to gratify the craving of the mother for drink. O mothers! see what this sin can do! It can destroy the overflowings of maternal love.

No. 62.

Fig. 39. 'Is I Not Happy'

British and Foreign Temperance Society, Tract No 62. c1834

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

British and Foreign Temperance Society.

OFFICE ALDINE CHAMBERS, PATERNOSTER ROW.

THE
FISHERMEN OF CREEKIE.



THE ancient burgh of Creekie, styled royal, was celebrated for little beyond its fisheries, and its privilege, or rather its misfortune, of being obliged to return the fifth part of a member of parliament on the occasion of a general election, or when the intervention of something better or worse than the Chiltern Hundreds happened to deprive it of its sitting member. It is situated in a delightful spot, on the eastern coast of Scotland: immediately before it is a little bay, hemmed in on either side by huge projecting rocks; and its beautiful sandy beach strewn with myriads of cockle-shells, appears, at the ebbing tide, like a sea of silver in the bright sunshine of a summer day. Beyond the bay is the vast expanse of the German ocean; behind, and on the right, is a rich and fertile country, with a scattered population of mechanics, manufacturers, and rustic labourers.

During the summer seasons, scarcely any thing ever occurred to break in upon the monotonous stillness of Creekie, except occasionally the arrival or departure of a few valetudinarian sea-bathers from the inland counties, who, while

No. 66.

Fig. 40. 'The Fishermen of Creekie'

British and Foreign Temperance Society Tract No 66. c1834

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

THE
London Temperance Intelligencer.

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE NEW BRITISH AND FOREIGN SOCIETY FOR
THE SUPPRESSION OF INTEMPERANCE.

No. 1.]

FOR SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1836.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]

"Drunkenness debases and brutifies the intellect so much, that neither moral nor religious considerations have any great effect upon it."—MACARTHUR.



GRIFFITHS AS HE WAS,

With a bundle of matches in his hand, on his way to burn his employer's dwelling, when denied the means of gratifying his brutal propensity."—(See page 4.)

To address ourselves to the investigation of Intemperance, its cause, its nature, and its remedy, is the paramount object of the *Intelligencer* and its conductors. That this is no visionary disease of the body politic, is alike confessed by the pulpit and the press, by all who lay any claim to humanity or religion, who love the past glory of the queen of nations, or are anxious for her future political and moral prosperity; all deplore the rapid increase of this desolating evil, and its fearful attendants, disease, crime, and pauperism. Yet, in defiance of the woes of suffering humanity, they remain almost entirely silent as to the only antidote which can arrest the progress of the pestilence, and the only barrier which can stay the march of the spoiler.

To dispel this apathy, to rouse indifference, we have taken the field; let us hope not in vain, let us cherish the blessed anticipation, that the chilling incubus of negligence will give way to the warmer energies of love, love for the souls and bodies of those who are perishing in the midst of Christian professors. Why should this apathy exist on this subject? whence its anomalous origin? that

alike from the legislator to the subject, those evils are perpetuated, over which they affect to lament. Alas, its origin requires very little skill to detect, or ability to expose; it is explained by that fearful dominion of the mammon of lucre, which rules from the chambers of the treasury to the parlours of the gin-bar. This it is which daily influences thousands to speculate in the accursed traffic in intoxicating drinks, whilst the millions support and patronise this system of immoral merchandise, under the great delusion that these liquors are essential to the health and strength of the community. To attack the strong holds of error, to enlighten the ignorant, to awaken conscience from its lethargy on these subjects, the *Intelligencer* is published. In the spirit of love we address the head and heart of all; and we trust that every portion of the empire—every denomination of the Christian church—every section of civilized man—will feel the effect, and reap the benefit of our searching and impartial criticisms, of our varied and condensed store of information on the subject of the Temperance Reformation. To heal, and not to wound, is our object; let the good cheer us with their support and their prayers.

Fig. 41. Title Page, Image 8 x 6 cms.

The London Temperance Intelligencer Vol. 1. No. 1. 8. October, 1836.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

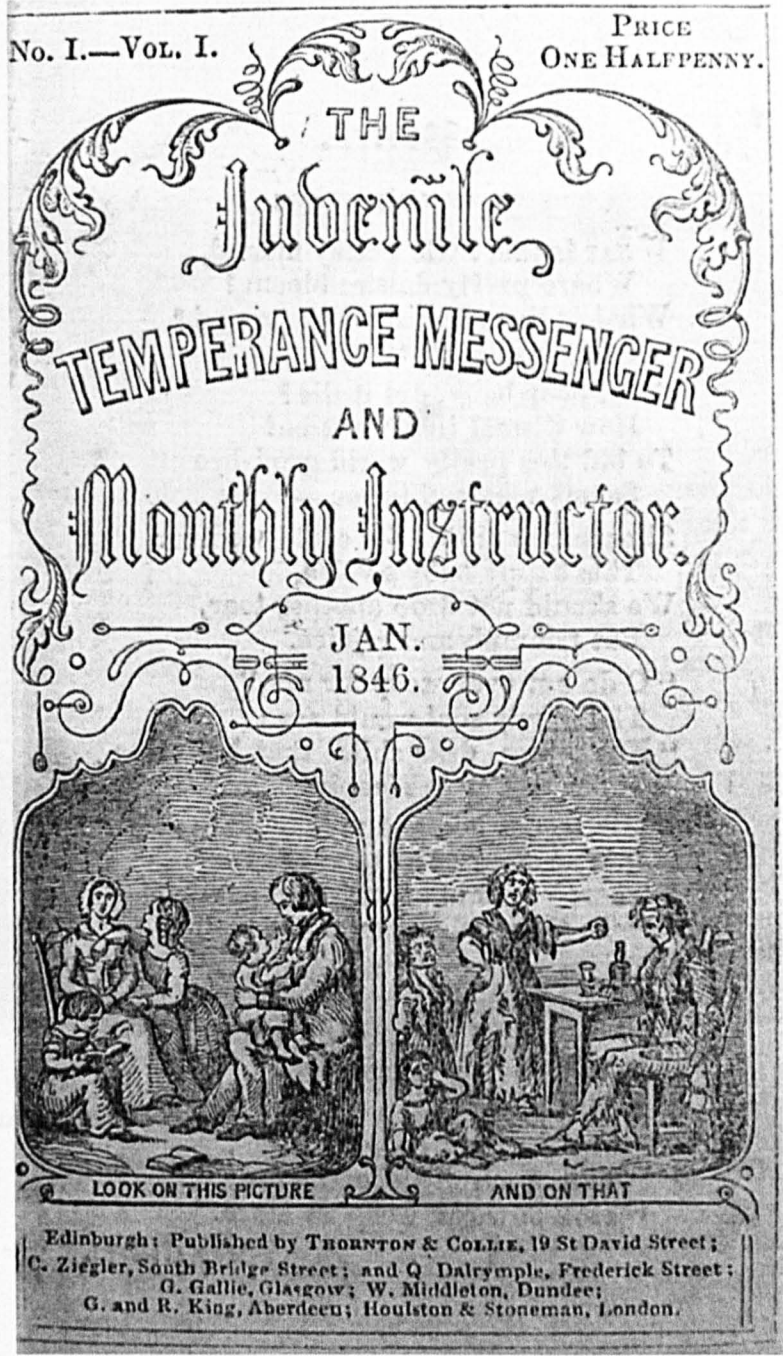


Fig. 42. Title Page, *The Juvenile Temperance Messenger*, Vol. 1. No. 1. January, 1846.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

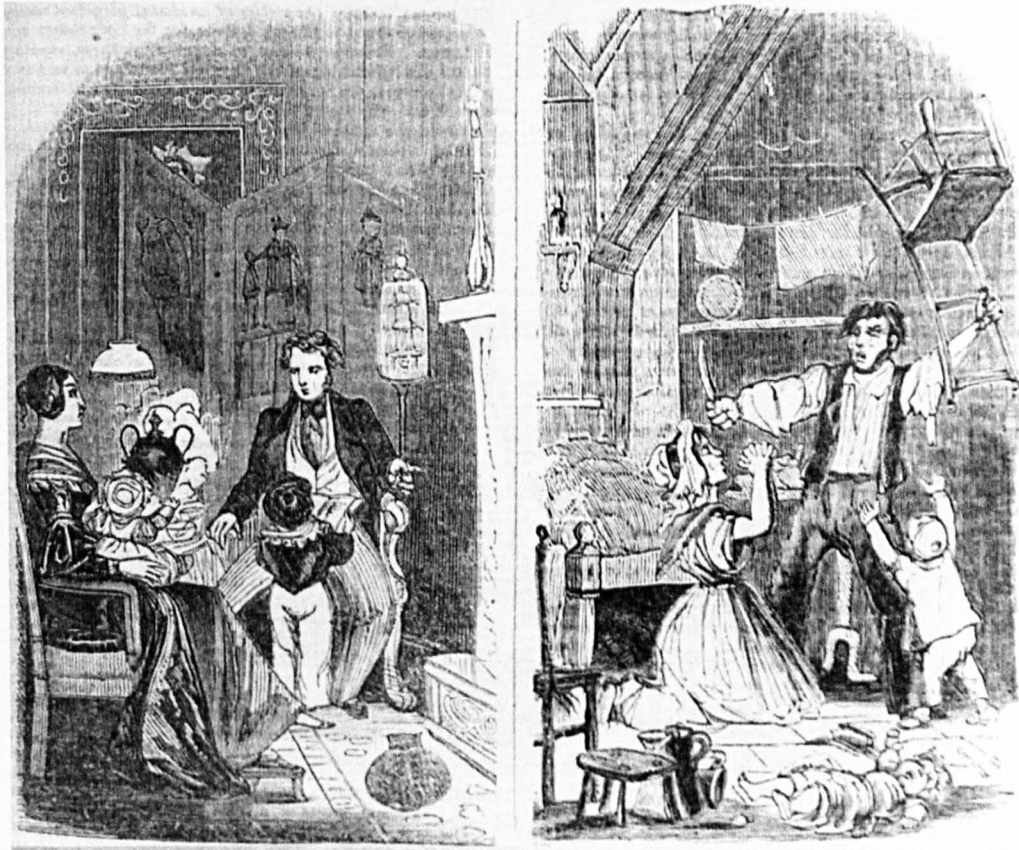


Fig. 43. 'Temperance and Intemperance' 14.5 x 12.9 cms
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. IV. No. 176. 12. March, 1840: 97.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

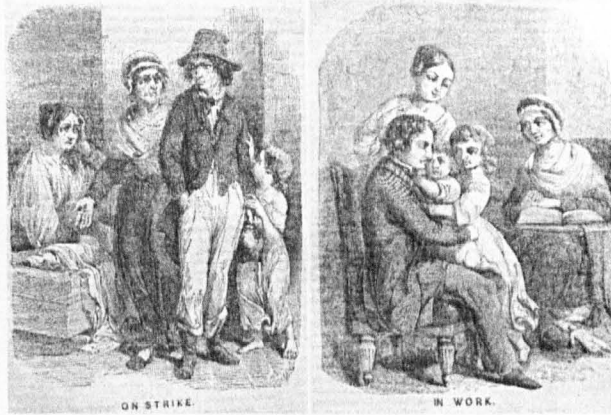


Fig. 44. 'On Strike – In Work' 10.5 x 12.8 cms (each image)
British Workman No. 1. February, 1855: 4.

Artist: Bookhout?

Engraver: Unknown

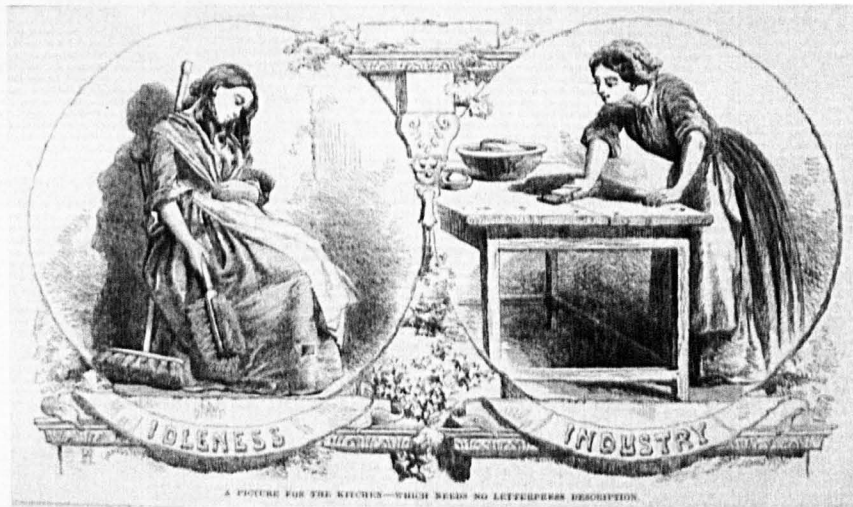


Fig. 45. 'Idleness – Industry: A Picture for the Kitchen'.
British Workman, No. 77. May, 1861: 308.

Artist: Henry Anelay.

Engraver: James Johnston



Fig. 46. 'Cleanliness is Next to Godliness' 27.7 x 13 cms
British Workman No. 34. October, 1857: 135.

Artist: Henry Anelay.

Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 47. (Fig. 34). 'Lesson the First- The Nursery', 12.2 x 9.5 cms



Fig. 48 'Lesson the Second- The Parlour', 12.5 x 9.5 cms.



Fig. 49. 'Lesson the Third- The Dining Room', 12.5 x 9 cms

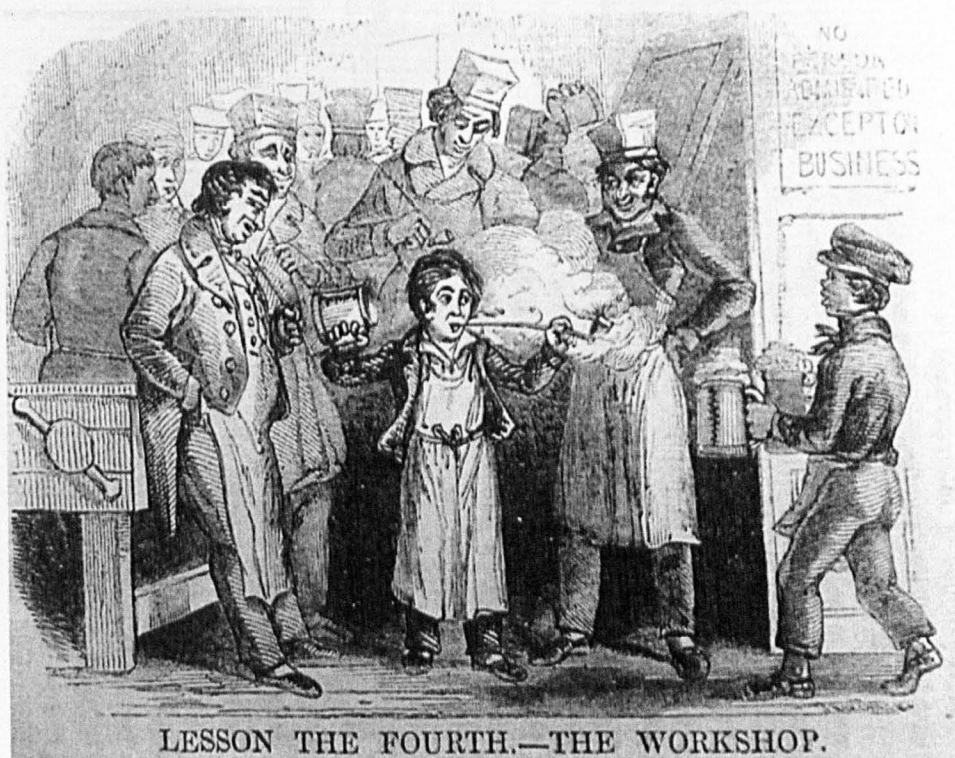


Fig. 50. 'Lesson the Fourth- The Workshop', 12.5 x 9

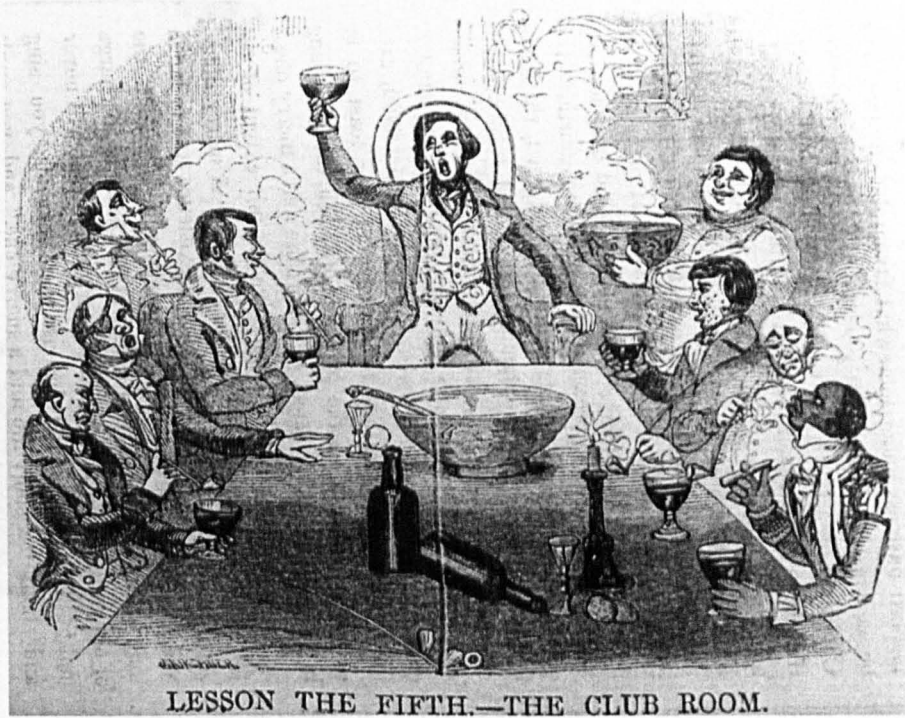


Fig. 51. 'Lesson the Fifth- The Club Room', 12.8 x 9 cms

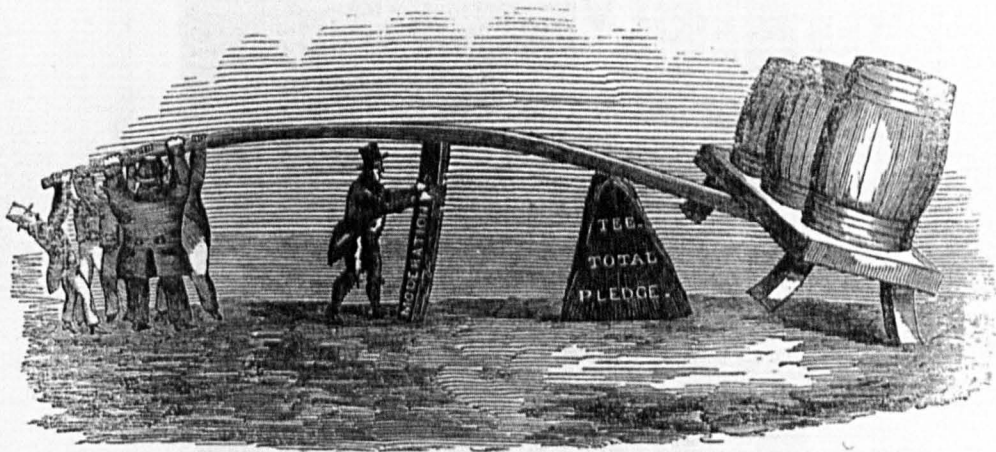


Fig. 52. 'Lesson the Sixth- The Chamber', 12.5 x 9 cms

Figs. 34 & 48 – 52. 'A Drinking Education'.
Ipswich Temperance Series No. 86. c1848.

Artist: J. Kirchner

Engraver: Unknown



IS NOT THIS A STRIKING FIGURE OF THE OBSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER OF MODERATION?

Fig. 53. 'Is Not This A Striking Figure Of The Obstructive Character Of Moderation?' 15.5 x 8.1 cms
The Progressionist No 2 February, 1852: 8.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



THE MOUSE TRAP.

Fig. 54. 'The Mouse Trap', 15.5 x 12.6 cms
The Progressionist No. 4. April, 1852: 4.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 55. 'A Looking-glass For Legislators', 16.5 x 14.7 cms
The Progressionist No. 5. May, 1852: 73.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

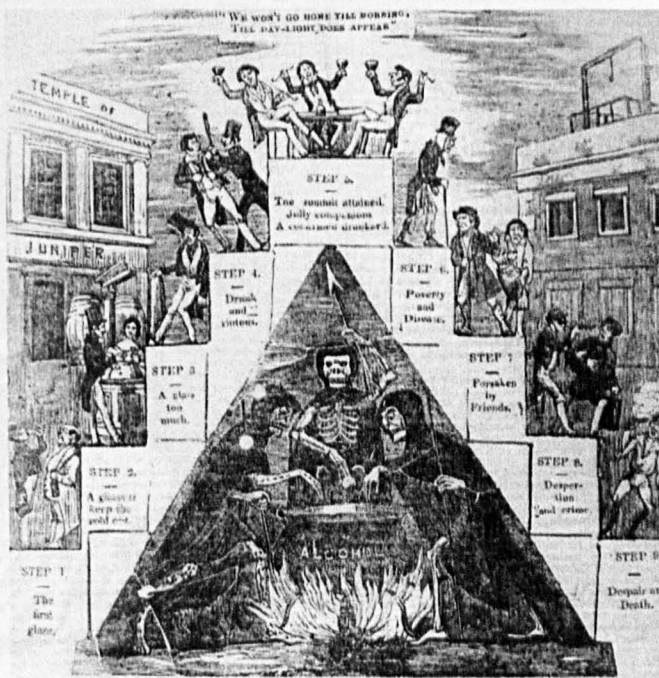


Fig. 56. 'The Gradual But Certain Road To Ruin', 14.9 x 18.4 cms
The Progressionist No. 10. October, 1852: 152.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

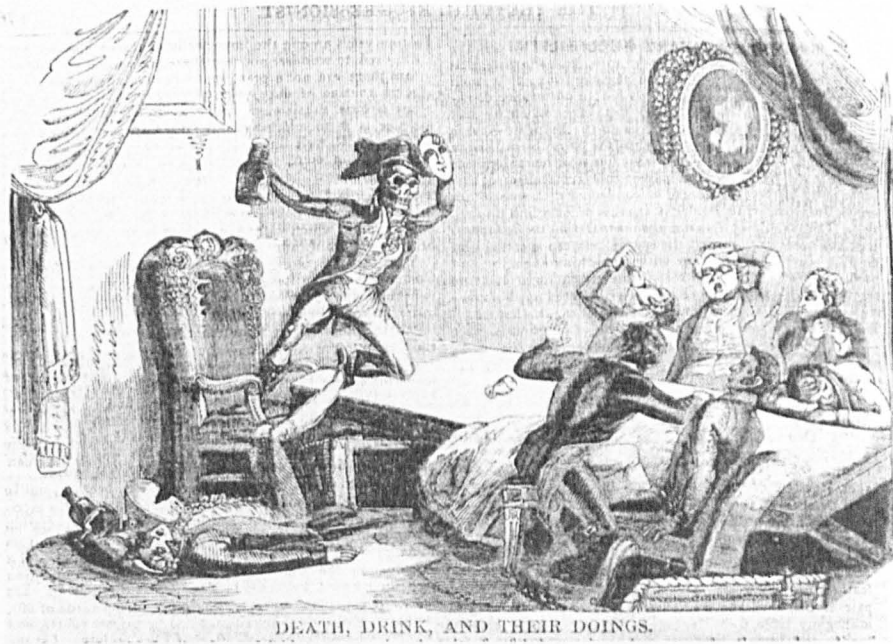


Fig. 57. 'Death, Drink, and Their Doings', 15.5 x 11.2 cms
The Progressionist No. 11. November, 1853: 168.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



A BEAUTIFUL GIRL KILLS HER FATHER, AND GOES MAD.
 (The above Engraving is the Property of Mr. Tisdall, by whose Permission it appears.)

Fig. 58. 'A Beautiful Girl Kills Her Father And Goes Mad', 16 x 12.4 cms
The Progressionist No. 12. December, 1853: 365.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



"THE BLOW WAS WELL AIMED," (See p. 26.)

Fig 59. 'The blow was well aimed', 14 x 16 cms.
Wagner the Wehr-Wolf, 1846/47: 33.

Artist: Henry Anelay

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 60. 'Independence: or, "What's that to me?'" 28 x 38 cms.
British Workman, No. 13.8 June, 1866: 69.

Artist: after Fitzgerald. Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 61. *The Bottle*, Plate 1. 1847.

Artist: George Cruikshank

Engraver: Unknown



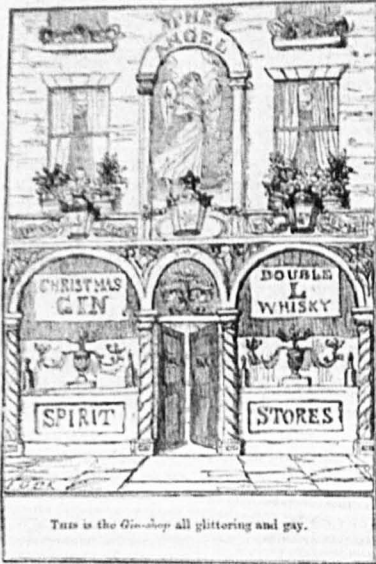
Fig. 62. 'The Loaf Lecture' 18 x 27.4 cms.
British Workman No. 1. February, 1855: 1.

Artist: George Cruikshank, Engraver: James Johnston

THE GIN-SHOP.

WITH TWELVE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS BY GEORGE CRUIKSHANK.

No. 1.



This is the Gin-shop all glittering and gay.

No. 2.



These are the Drinks that are sold night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 3.



These are the Customers, youthful and old,
That drink the strong drinks which are sold night and day
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 4.



This is the Landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

The remaining eight illustrations will be continued in our two following numbers.

Fig. 63. 'The Gin-Shop' Scenes 1-4 21.5 x 31 cms (page).
The Band of Hope Review March, 1868: 348.

Artist: George Cruikshank.

Engraver: Unknown

THE GIN-SHOP.

WITH TWELVE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS BY GEORGE CRUIKSHANK.

No. 5.



This is the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 6.



This is the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who is served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins the bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 7.



This is the woman, with wobegone face,
The wife of the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who is served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 8.



This is the pater, so noble and kind,
Who pated the woman, with wobegone face,
And the husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace,
Who is served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins the bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

The remaining four illustrations will be continued in our next number.

Fig. 64. 'The Gin-Shop' Scenes 5-8 21.5 x 31 cms (page).
The Band of Hope Review April, 1868: 352.

Artist: George Cruikshank.

Engraver: Unknown

THE GIN-SHOP.

WITH TWELVE ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS BY GEORGE CRUIKSHANK.

No. 10.

No. 9.



This is the paper, the poor drunkard signed,
Which was brought by the pastor, so noble and kind,
Who pitied the woman, with woe-begone face,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace;
Who was served by the woman, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.



This is the church, to which, one Sabbath-day,
The once wretched drunkard and wife took their way,
Drawn there by the pastor, so loving and kind,
Who brought him the pledge which he joyfully signed;
The pastor who pitied the woman's sad case,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace;
Who was served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 11.



This is the text which the good pastor chose,
And the light on the soul of the drunkard arose,
As he sat in the church, to which one Sabbath-day,
Along with his wife he had taken his way,
Drawn there by the pastor, so loving and kind,
Who brought him the pledge which he joyfully signed;
The pastor who pitied the woman's sad case,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace;
Who was served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

No. 12.



This is the cottage, the home of delight,
Whence prayer, like an incense, ascends day and night,
Where joy and contentment sit smiling so bright—
Whence came this glad home where such comforts unite!
From the heaven-bless'd text which the pastor chose,
When light on the soul of the drunkard arose,
As he sat in the church, to which each Sabbath-day,
His wife and he, happy at heart, take their way,
Drawn there by the pastor, so noble and kind,
Who brought him the pledge which he joyfully signed;
The pastor who pitied the woman's sad case,
And her husband, the drunkard, in rags and disgrace;
Who was served by the lady, all jewels and lace,
The wife of the landlord who coins his bright gold,
Out of the ruin of youthful and old,
Who drink the strong liquors he sells night and day,
At the bar of the Gin-shop, so glittering and gay.

Fig. 65. 'The Gin-Shop' Scenes 9-12 21.5 x 31 cms (page).
The Band of Hope Review May, 1868: 356.

Artist: George Cruikshank.

Engraver: Unknown.

This series of illustrations and accompanying verse was also issued as a broadsheet for the walls of schools and workshops and in book form c1870. (See *BHR* May 1868:356).



Fig. 66. 'The Fool's Pence' 9 x 10 cms
Ipswich Temperance Series No. 22 1844.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 67. 'The Gin Shop' 8.5 x 12 cm
Sketches by Boz (n.d.): 159.

Artist: George Cruikshank

Engraver: Unknown

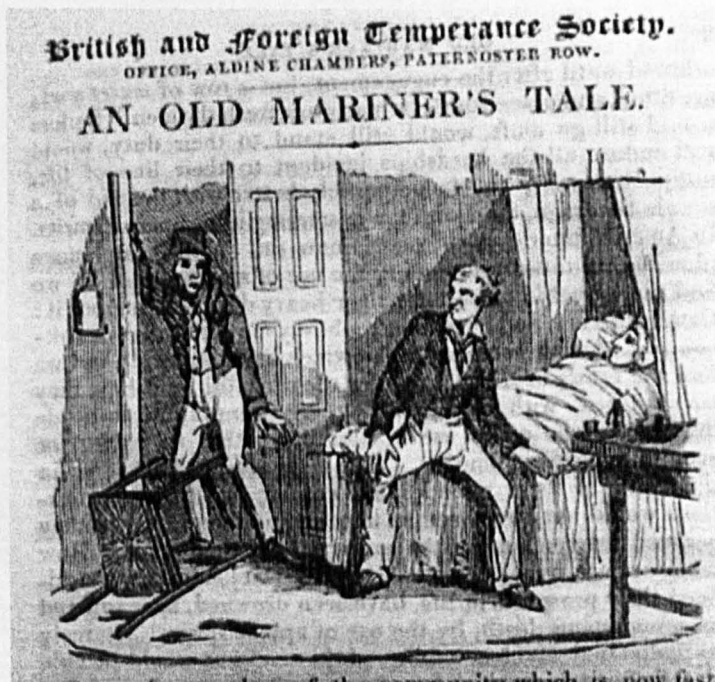


Fig. 68. 'An Old Mariner's Tale', 9 x 7 cms
British and Foreign Temperance Society Tract c1834.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 69. 'The Fifteen Friends', 9 x 6 cms
Ipswich Temperance Series Tracts No. 48. c1846.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: Unknown



THE BRITISH WORKMAN. OIL THE ARTIST'S OWN LIVERY AND HIS MASTERS.

Fig. 70. 'The Fool's Pence', 28 x 38 cms.
British Workman No. 140. August, 1866: 77.

Artist: Louis Huard.

Engraver: John Knight.



Fig. 71. *Work* 1852-63. 137 x 197.3 cms.
Oil on Canvas, Manchester City Art Galleries
Artist: Ford Madox Brown. Engraver N/a

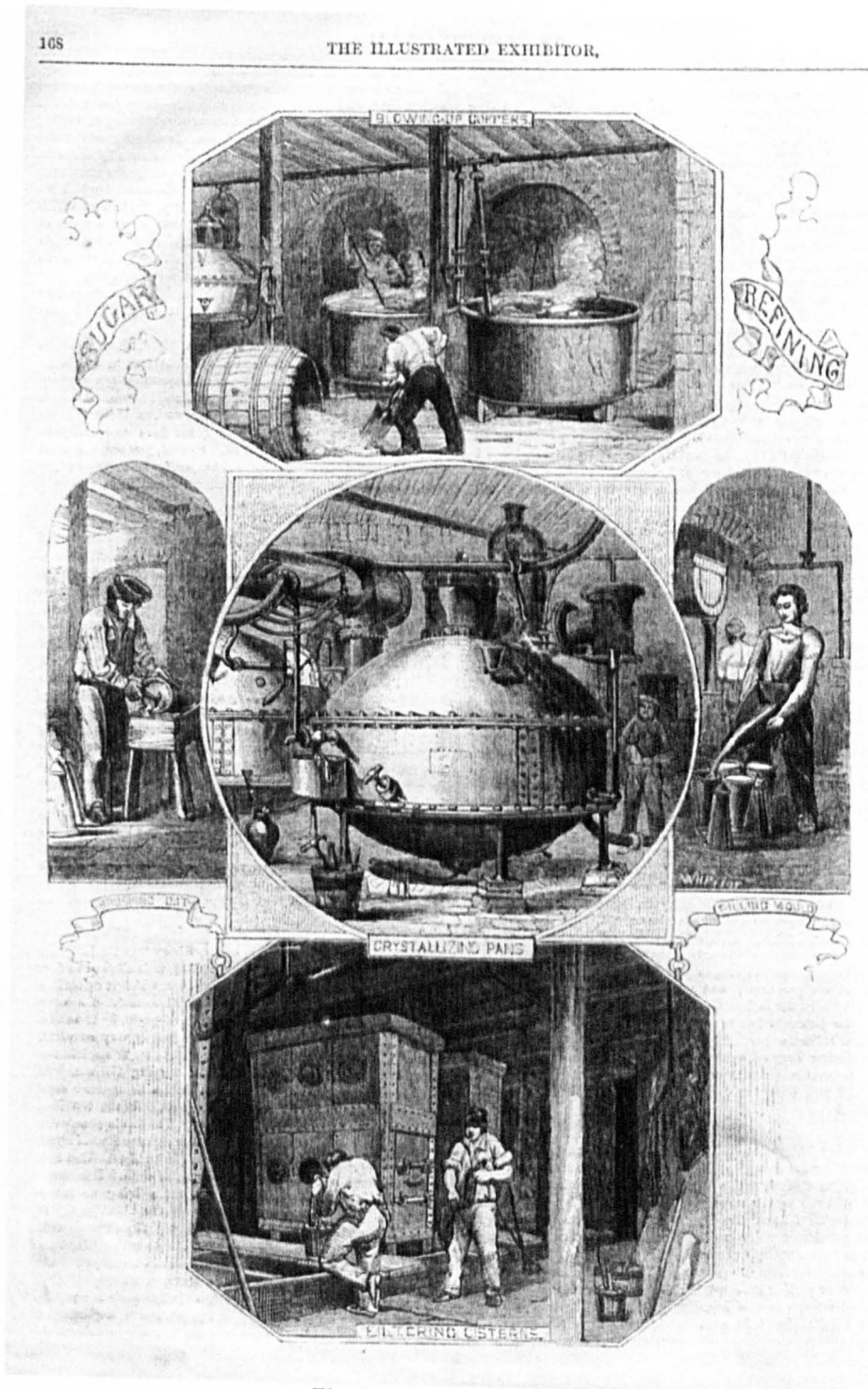


Fig. 72. 'Sugar Refining'
Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art 1852: 168.

Artist: W. H. Prior. Engraver: E. Jewitt.

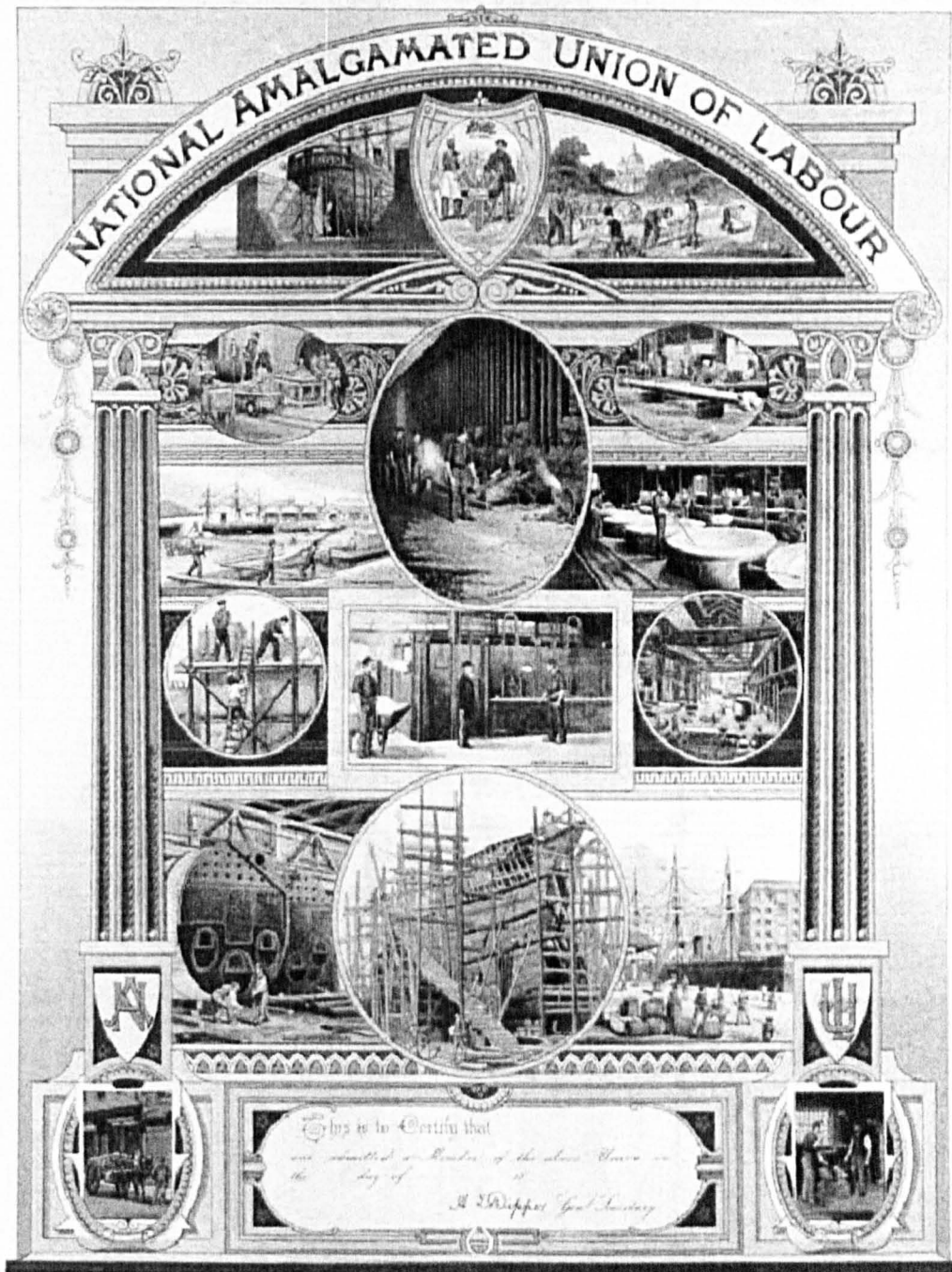


Fig. 73 National Amalgamated Union of Labour Membership Certificate.
TUC Library Collection

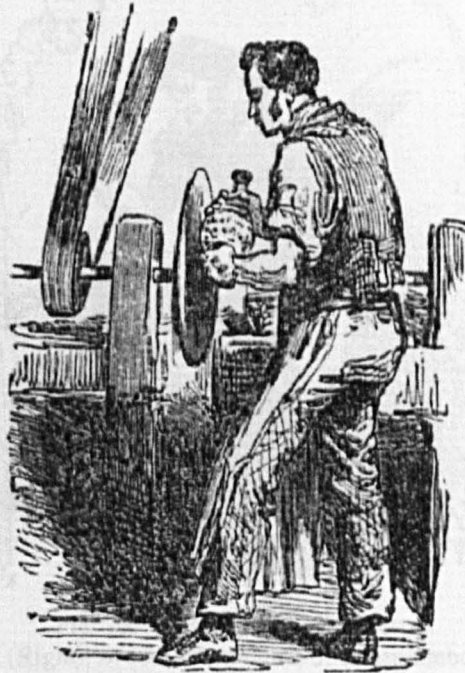


Fig. 74 'A Polisher' 4.5 x 7 cms.
Masthead, (Left), *British Workman* No. 3. April, 1855: 9.

Artist: Unknown (Henry Anelay) Engraver: Unknown (John Knight).



Fig. 75 'A Stonemason' 4.5 x 7 cms.
Masthead, (Right), *British Workman* No. 6. July, 1855: 21.

Artist: Unknown (Henry Anelay) Engraver: Unknown (John Knight).



Fig. 76. 'A Blacksmith' 5 x 7 cms.
Masthead, (Right), *British Workman* No. 8. September, 1855: 29.

Artist: Unknown (Henry Anelay) Engraver: Unknown (John Knight).

(Many of these wood engravings were first used to illustrate *The Band of Hope Review*. See, for example *BHR* No. 42. June, 1854: 69)



Fig. 77. 'Workmen Reading', 7.1 x 6 cms
British Workman No. 49. January, 1859: 196.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: John Knight.



Fig. 78. 'Labourer' 5.5 x 7.5 cms
British Workman No. 14. February, 1856: 185.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 79. 'Workmen Reading', 20 x 18 cms
British Workman No. 6. July, 1855: 21.

Artist: Unknown (John Gilbert), Engraver: Unknown

Yearly Part, No. 3.

THE

BRITISH WORKMAN

Opinions of the Press.

"We congratulate our noble the Working Classes, the numerous who, having first a general idea of the 'British Workman'."

"We hope all the benevolent who were called to assist in the 'working man's cause' will be glad to see the 'British Workman' and that it will be a blessing to the Working Classes of England, and especially to the Working Classes of the 'poor' who are so often so much neglected and who are so often so much neglected."

"The 'British Workman' is a wonderful paper, and we hope it will be a blessing to the Working Classes of England, and especially to the Working Classes of the 'poor' who are so often so much neglected and who are so often so much neglected."

"The 'British Workman' is a wonderful paper, and we hope it will be a blessing to the Working Classes of England, and especially to the Working Classes of the 'poor' who are so often so much neglected and who are so often so much neglected."



Opinions of the Press.

"It has of the best friends of the working man the first appeared in the form of a great social reform, and we are glad to see it."

"The 'British Workman' is a paper which we hope will be a blessing to the Working Classes of England, and especially to the Working Classes of the 'poor' who are so often so much neglected and who are so often so much neglected."

"The 'British Workman' is a wonderful paper, and we hope it will be a blessing to the Working Classes of England, and especially to the Working Classes of the 'poor' who are so often so much neglected and who are so often so much neglected."

AND

FRIEND OF THE SONS OF TOIL.

1857.

London:

PUBLISHED FOR THE EDITOR, BY
 MESSRS. PARTRIDGE & CO., 34, PATERNOSTER ROW;
 A. W. BENNETT, 5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT;
 WILLIAM TWEEDIE, 337, STRAND;
 NEW YORK: DUNN & BROTHER, 201, THIRD AVENUE.

PRICE EIGHTEENPENCE.

Fig. 80. Front Cover
British Workman Yearly Part No. 3. 1857.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: Unknown

THE
**BRITISH
WORKMAN.**



DEDICATED TO
The Industrial Classes,
By their sincere Friend,
THE EDITOR.

Fig. 81. 'Title Page'
British Workman Ten Year Volume 1855-1864.

Artist: Unknown Engraver: Unknown



THE POUND AND THE SHILLING.

“Whoever Thought of Meeting You Here!”

Fig. 82. 'The Pound and the Shilling'

Punch, 14 June 1851.

Reproduced in Barringer T. *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain*, London, Yale University Press, (2005): 4.

Artist: John Leech.

Engraver: Unknown.



BOARDING IN FRONT OF ST BENET'S MISSION HALL AND SCHOOLS, STEBBY.

Fig. 83. 'Hoarding in Front of St Benet's Mission Hall' 13.8 x 26.5 cms
British Workman No. 272. August, 1877: 128.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 84. 'The Literary Dustman', anonymous Wood engraving from W. T. Moncrief's *Songbook* n.d. reproduced in, Maidment, B. E. 'Penny Wise', 'Penny' Foolish?': Popular Periodicals and the 'March of Intellect, in the 1820s and 1830s', in Bell, Brake and Finkelstein (eds). *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identity*, Palgrave, 2000: 116.



Fig. 85. 'A Literary Dustman', *Sketches by Seymour*, No. 16 Vol. 3. wood engraving reproduced in James, L. *Print and the People*, London, Allen Lane, 1976: 21.

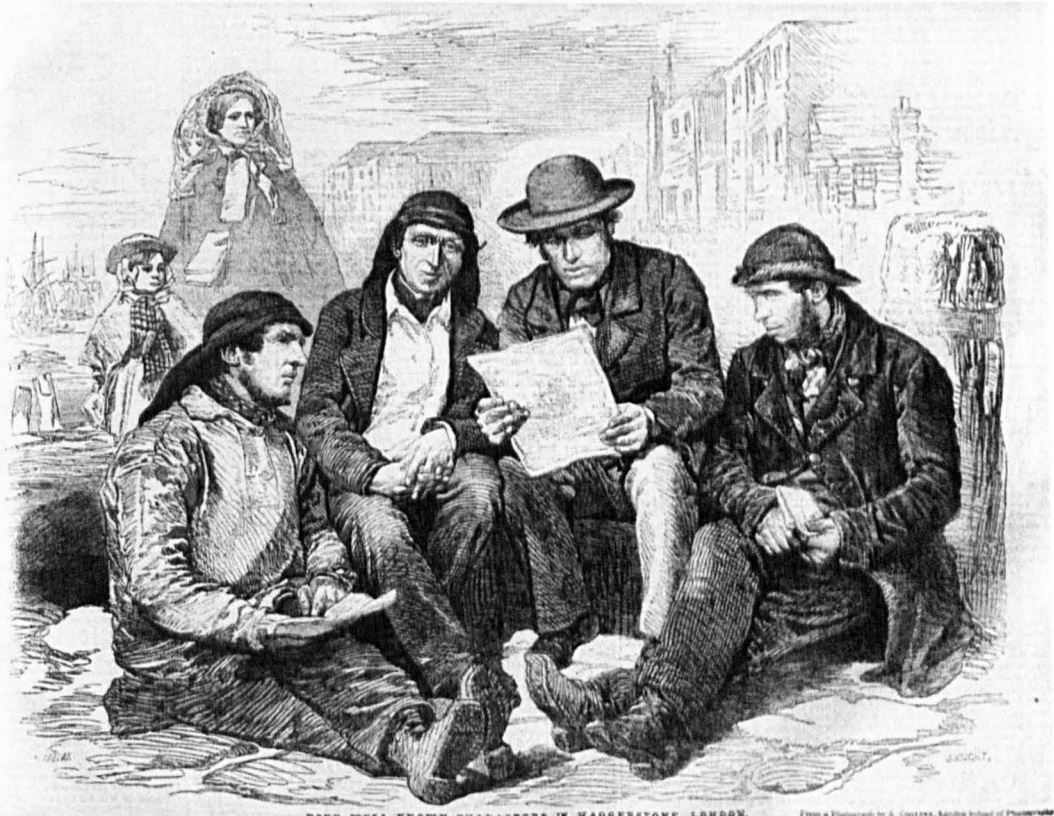


Fig. 86. 'Four Well Known Characters in Haggerstone, London', 27.6 x 21.5 cms.
British Workman No. 19. July, 1856: 73.

Artist: Henry Anelay (from photo by A. Collins)

Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 87. 'Dust Oh!' 258 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 195. March, 1871: 57.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 88. 'Story of a Flower' 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 153. September, 1867: 129.

Artist: R. Huttala

Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 89. 'The Costermonger' 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 238, October, 1874: 229.

Artist: Harrison Weir

Engraver: Unknown



THE LONDON COSTERMONGER.

"Here Pertaters! Kearots and Turnups! fine Brockello-o-o!"

[From a Daguerreotype by BEARD.]

Fig. 90. 'The London Costermonger' 13 9.7 x 15 cms
London Labour Vol 1. 1861: 13.

Artist: H. G. Hine (from daguerreotype by Beard)

Engraver: E. W. Whimper.



Fig. 91. 'Black Jack' 17.5 x 15 cms
Victorian London Street Life in Pictures, 1877: 74.

Photographer: John Thompson



THE LONDON DUSTMAN.

Dust Hoi! Dust Hoi!

[From a Daguerreotype by BEARD.]

Fig. 92. 'The London Dustman' 11 x 16 cms
London Labour, Vol. 2. 1861: 173.

Artist: Henning (from daguerreotype by Beard)

Engraver: W. Measom



Fig. 93. 'A Hackney Coachman'
London Characters, 1829.

Artist: George Cruikshank Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 94. 'Joseph Powell, well known London Cabman' 13.5 x 16 cms
British Workman No. 29. May, 1857: 116.

Artist: Henry Anelay? Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 95. 'Frank's Sunday Coat' 13.7 x 12.5 cms
British Workman No. 73. January, 1861: 292.

Artist: Henry Anelay

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 96. 'The Drunkard's Bible' 27.5 x 21.5 cms
British Workman No. 113. May, 1864: 452.

Artist: George Cruikshank

Engraver: James Johnston



Fig. 97. 'John Morton's New Harmonium 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 193. January, 1871: 49.

Artist: Robert Barnes

Engraver: Unknown

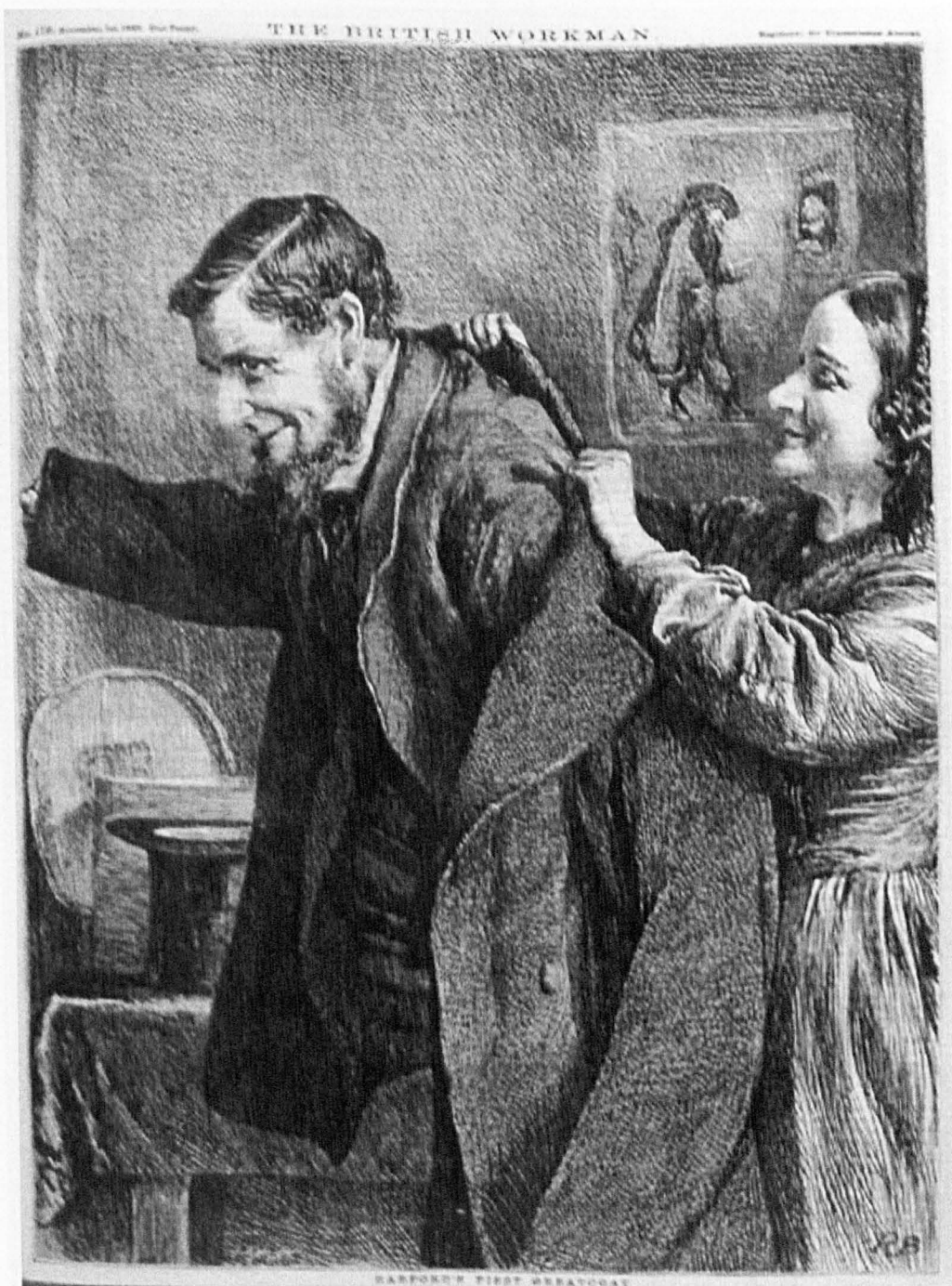


Fig. 98. 'Harford's First Greatcoat' 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 179. January, 1869: 233.

Artist: Robert Barnes

Engraver: John Knight

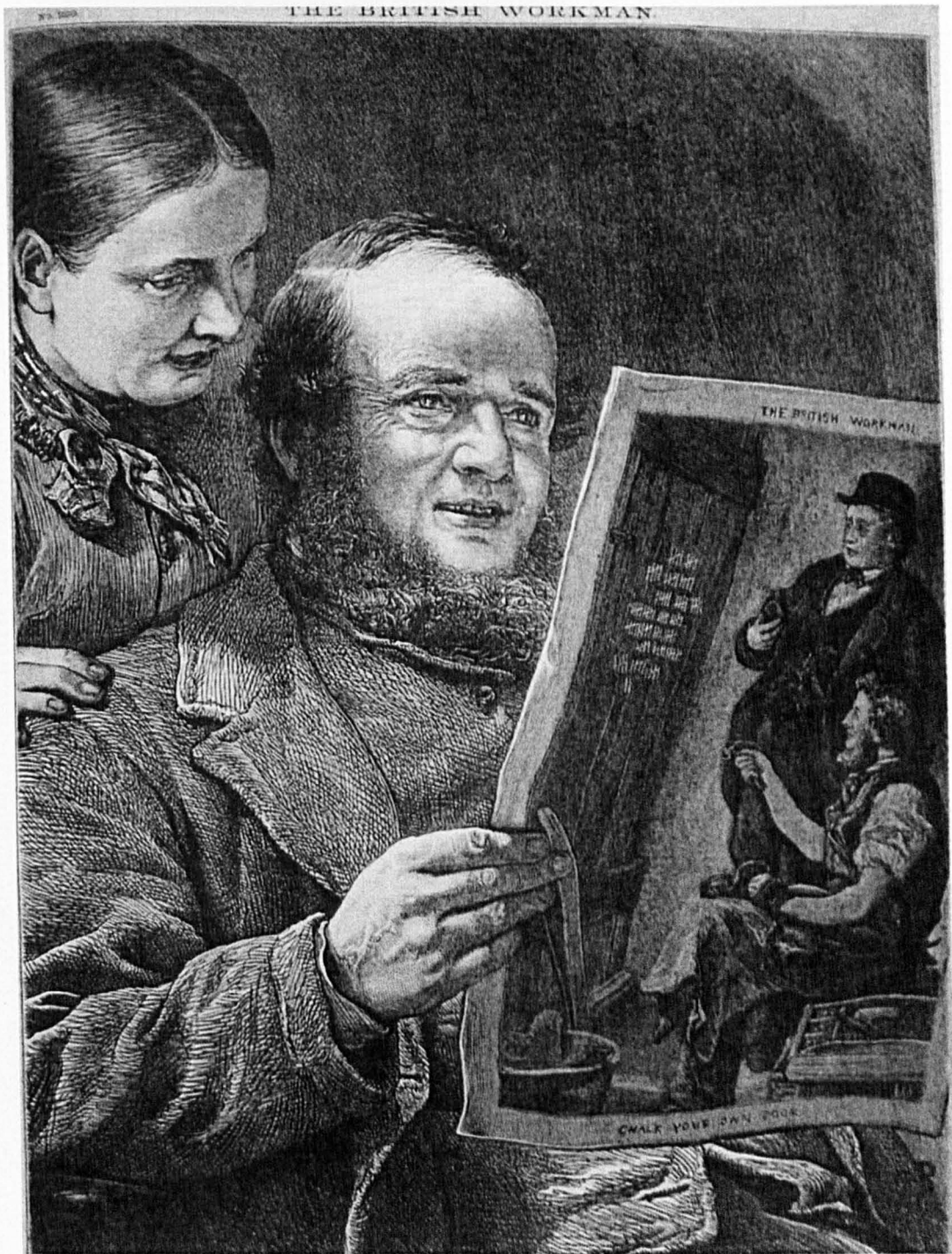


Fig. 99. 'Rough Will' 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 289. January, 1879: 193.

Artist: Robert Barnes

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 100. 'The Preaching Rose' 27.8 x 37.5 cms
British Workman No. 246. June, 1875: 21.

Artist: Robert Barnes Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 101. 'The British Workman', 27.3 x 21.1 cms
British Workman, No. 213. September, 1872: 132.

Artist: W. H. Midwood

Engraver: Unknown



A Clerkenwell Interior.
Fig. 102. 'A Clerkenwell Interior'.
London Shadows, 1854: iiv.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 103. 'A Cellar Dwelling'.
Punch. n.d.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 104. 'The Last Penny' 27.3 x 20.7 cms
British Workman No. 117. June, 1857: 21.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: James Johnston



THE ENLIGHTENED HUSBAND HANDING THE RECEIPTS TO HIS ASTONISHED WIFE.

Fig. 105. 'Good for Trade' 27.7 x 21 cms
British Workman No. 34. October, 1857: 133.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: James Johnston.



Fig. 106. 'The Poor Man's House Repaired' 1. 27.3 x 20.4 cms
British Workman No. 40. April, 1858: 157.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 107. 'The Poor Man's House Repaired' 2. 8 x 7 cms
British Workman No. 40. April, 1858: 158.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown'



Fig. 108. 'A Lancashire Working-man' 28 x 20.9 cms
British Workman No. 73. January, 1861: 292.

Artist: Henry Anelay

Engraver: James Johnston



Fig. 109. 'My Account With Her Majesty', 27.7 x 37.5 cms.
British Workman No. 116. August, 1864: 461.

Artist: John Dawson Watson.

Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 110. 'The Working Man's Home Concert', 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 243. March, 1875: 9.

Artist: Robert Barnes.

Engraver: Unknown



TED EVERETT'S "MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT"

Fig. 111. 'Ted Everett's "Marriage Settlement"', 27.5 x 38 cms.
British Workman No. 333. September, 1882: 129.

Artist: Robert Barnes.

Engraver: Unknown

TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

DEAR FRIENDS,

During our leisure hours, we have compiled the following pages, with the hope of promoting your "health, wealth, and happiness."

To increase your *home comforts* has been our peculiar object, and we feel grateful for the testimonies received, assuring us that the *British Workman* has been the means (by God's blessing) of leading several fathers to respond to the entreaty of their children, "Please, father, come home *early*."

Hitherto, our labour has not merely been honorary, but has been accompanied by considerable pecuniary loss; we shall therefore feel *thankful* if you will do what you can to *increase the circulation*, until the paper is, at least, self-supporting.

Health and strength being permitted us, we hope, in dependence upon Divine help, to go on in our work. That it may further your best interests, both for time and eternity, is the earnest desire of, your friend,
THE EDITOR.



"PLEASE, FATHER, COME HOME EARLY." We heard a bright-eyed and affectionate-looking boy say these words to his father, as the latter was leaving the door of his home early in the morning, to attend to his daily duties in the workshop.

And why was this dear boy so anxious to secure from his father the promise of an early return in the evening? We happen to know the reason. It was because this kind father is in the habit of devoting as many evenings in the week as he can spare from other claims, to the society and improvement of his children. And he has such a clever and pleasing way of imparting instruction to his boys and girls, that they never seem tired of listening to him, and never feel that what he says is dry and uninteresting. In this industrious working and fragrant man's home, there are books of travel, of biography, history, geography, natural science, &c. There are maps and pictures, and games of different kinds, purchased by the *pence* which so many spend at the alehouse.

Sometimes this father tells what he has seen, and heard, and read, and draws useful lessons from everything, so that the children find it both pleasant and profitable, when "Father has come home." And whilst the children learn, and love to learn, useful lessons in this way, they also learn to love home as the dearest spot on earth, and are seldom anxious to spend an evening at any place but home. And what a happy father our friend is! We saw his eyes sparkle with delight and love as the little boy requested so eagerly that he would come home *early*. There was no need of urging him, for his heart turns to that home wherever he is, as the needle to the pole. It is a home where God is honoured, and His blessing rests upon it. Would that all working men felt as our friend feels, that all fathers loved as he loves, and made home, with its delightful duties the chosen resort, the earthly Eden of the heart.—See *BRITISH WORKMAN*, No 20.

Fig. 112. 'Please Father Come Home Early'. 27.5 x 25 cms. (page).
British Workman Yearly Part No. 3. 1857. front end paper.

Artist: George Cruikshank. Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 113. Returning Artisan, (Detail Fig. 110.)



Fig. 114. 'Please Father Come Home Early' 27.5 x 25 cms.
British Workman No. 14. February, 1856: 55.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: George Measom



JOHN DOWNING'S RENOVATED HOME.

Fig. 115. 'John Downing's Renovated Home' 27.7 x 21.3 cms
British Workman No. 57. September, 1859: 225.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: James Johnston.



"Father's come!" or, Home! Sweet! Home!

Fig. 116. "'Father's Come!' or, Home! Sweet! Home'". 11 x 10 cms
British Workman No. 137. May, 1866: 68.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Dalziel.



Fig. 117.

"PLEASE, FATHER, COME HOME EARLY"

See Page.

Fig. 117. 'Please Father, Come Home Early' 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 326. February, 1882: 101.

Artist: A W Cooper

Engraver: Unknown



"I'll show you the way, sir. The favourite boarding-house for all jolly, noble-spirited tars."

Fig. 118. 'I'll Show You The Way Sir' 27.5x 21.5 cms
British Workman No. 26. February, 1857: 101.

Artist: PW?

Engraver: John Knight





THE EARL'S BARROW.

"Let my barrow be used in helping my brother costers."

Fig. 120. 'The Earl's Barrow', 12.5 x 16.6
British Workman No. 250. October, 1875: 40.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 121. Missionary Distributing *BW* in Public Houses. 10 x 9.4 cms
British Workman No. 63. March, 1860: 252.

Artist: H. Anelay

Engraver: James Johnson



Fig. 122. 'Evening Prayer', 37.5 x 28 cms
British Workman No. 337. January, 1883: 146.

Artist: Robert Barnes

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 123. *The Stolen Child*.

Private Collection.

Reproduced in, *Every Picture Tells a Story*, London, Facts on File Publications, 1985: 24-25.

Artist: Charles Hunt.

Engraver: N/a



Fig. 124. *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* 1874. 137.1 x 243.7 cms.

Oil on Canvas. Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, London

Artist: S. Luke Fildes.

Engraver: N/a



Fig. 125. *Hard Times*, 1885. 214.6 x 144.7 cms
Oil on Canvas, Manchester City Art Galleries.

Artist: Hubert von Herkomer.

Engraver: N/a



Fig. 126. *On Strike* 1891. 126 x 228 cms
Oil on Canvas, Royal Academy, London
Artist: Hubert von Herkomer. Engraver: N/a



TOM PRINGLE BRINGING HOME THE PRIZE MEDAL
Fig. 127. 'Tom Pringle Bringing Home the Prize Medal'. 21.8 x 24.5 cms
The British Workwoman May, 1866: 241.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: John Knight



Fig. 128. 'Father is Coming', 11.5 x 15.8 cms.
The Mother's Treasury, April, 1879: 52.

Artist: J King Engraver: Swain.
(previously issued as 'Turning Homeward' in *The Quiver* No. 678. 1878: 785.)



Fig. 129. 'Colporteur', 21 x 28.5 cms.
The Cottager and Artisan, No. 225. March, 1882: 25.

Artist: H. F.

Engraver: Sheeres & Symmons



"I brings up little dogs for fancy men, and takes in sick uns to nurse."

Fig. 130. 'I brings up little dogs for fancy men, and takes in sick uns to nurse'. 9.2 x 14 cms.
The Man with The Book. 1906: 11.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: R. & E. Taylor.



Fig. 131 'The Feathered Builders and Their Homes', 28.7 x 38 cms
British Workman, No. 102. June, 1863: 405.

Artist: Harrison Weir

Engraver: John Knight.



Fig. 132. Mother's Flowers', 22.5 x 30.5 cms. (page).
The British Workwoman No. 42. April, 1867: 329.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: G. Bonner.

THE
BRITISH WORKWOMAN
OUT AND AT HOME.

"A Woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.—Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her own works praise her."—Prov. xxxi.



"THE HAPPY HOME—READING THE EVENING CHAPTER"

Fig. 133. 'The Happy Home- Reading the Evening Chapter', 22.5 x 25 cms. (page)
The British Workwoman No. 22, August, 1865: 169.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.



A MOTHER'S TEACHING.

Fig. 134. 'A Mother's Teaching', 11.3 x 15 cms.
The British Workwoman, No. 268. January, 1886: 29.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.

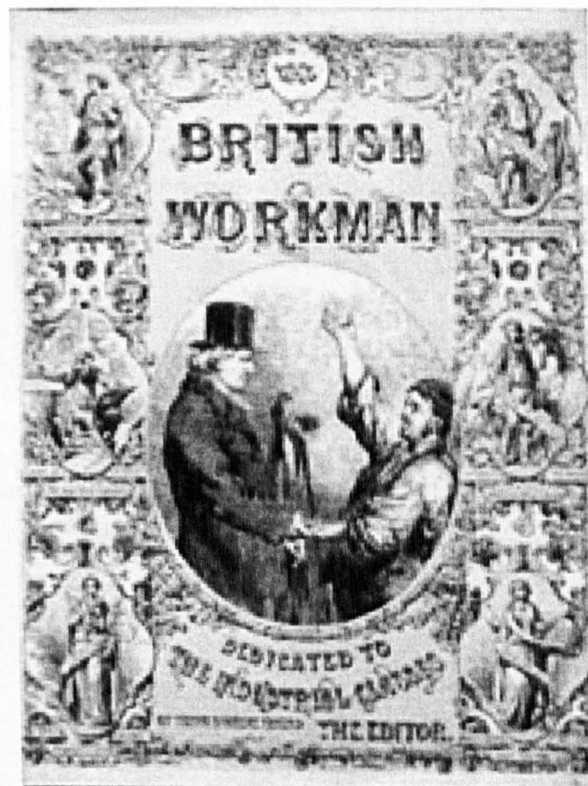


Fig. 135. Title Page, 29 x 39 cms.
British Workman Yearly Part, 1879.

Artist: Henry

Anelay Engraver:



Fig. 136. Title Page, 21 x 30 cms.
The Cottager and Artisan, Yearly Part, 1879.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: C. P. Nicholls



Fig. 137. 'The Colporteur', 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 269. May, 1877: 112.

Artist: Robert Barnes

Engraver: Unknown



WITH SMILING LIPS AND EYES THEY LEFT THE GATE BEHIND THEM.

Fig. 138. 'With Smiling Lips And Eyes They Left The Gate Behind Them', 22.2 x 30.5 cms
The Cottager and Artisan, January, 1879: 1.

Artist: Robert Barnes.

Engraver: P. & E. Taylor



Fig. 139. Title Page. 12 x 18 cms. (page).
The Children's Prize, Vol. 1. 1870.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 140. 'Title Page' 13.5 x 17 cms.
The Children's Friend No. 49. January, 1865: 1.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: John Knight.



Fig. 141. 'The Sheet Almanac' 7 x 7 cms.
British Workman, No. 109. January, 1864: 436.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 142. 'The New Almanack' 12 x 17 cms.
The Children's Prize No. 1. January, 1870: 8.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 143. 'Title Page' 22 x 22 cms.
The Youth's Temperance Banner, Vol. 11. No. 2. February, 1976.

Artist: after E. Douglas

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 144. 'Mr. Edwin Douglas's Favourite Spaniel' 21.5 x 30.5 cms.
The Band of Hope Review February, 1876.

Artist: after Edwin Douglas.

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 145. 'Title Page'

The Youth's Temperance Banner, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1879.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 146. 'The Working Man's Picture Gallery' 13.7 x 18 cms.
British Workman No. 226, October, 1872: 184.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.

Den norske Arbeider.

Maanedligt Tillægsblad til „Fædrelandet“.

No. 5.

Mai 1872.

11. Marg.

Tilskikkets Tænkelse.

Middelalderen (d. e. Tiden eller Reformationen) var en lærerig og vigtig Tid. Mange store og smaa Kunstnere og Forfattere kom til Verden i denne Tid. De skrev og malede mange smaa og store Billeder, som vi nu ser i Museer og i Kirker. Disse Billeder var meget smukke og interessante. De viste os, hvordan de gamle Mennesker levede og tænkte. De var ogsaa meget nyttige til at lære os om den gamle Tid og om de gamle Mennesker. De var ogsaa meget smukke og interessante. De viste os, hvordan de gamle Mennesker levede og tænkte. De var ogsaa meget nyttige til at lære os om den gamle Tid og om de gamle Mennesker.

Men i disse Tidens Begyndelse var der ogsaa mange smaa og store Kunstnere og Forfattere, som var meget smukke og interessante. De viste os, hvordan de gamle Mennesker levede og tænkte. De var ogsaa meget nyttige til at lære os om den gamle Tid og om de gamle Mennesker. De var ogsaa meget smukke og interessante. De viste os, hvordan de gamle Mennesker levede og tænkte. De var ogsaa meget nyttige til at lære os om den gamle Tid og om de gamle Mennesker.

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Tilskikkets Tænkelse.

er det naturligt nok, at der er mange, som ser paa det som en almindelig Ting. Men det er ogsaa meget interessant at se, hvordan de gamle Mennesker levede og tænkte. De var ogsaa meget nyttige til at lære os om den gamle Tid og om de gamle Mennesker. De var ogsaa meget smukke og interessante. De viste os, hvordan de gamle Mennesker levede og tænkte. De var ogsaa meget nyttige til at lære os om den gamle Tid og om de gamle Mennesker.

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Fig. 147. 'Title Page' 26.5 x 37 cms. (page).
Den Norske Arbeider No. 5, May, 1872.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.

GRAHAM'S
POPULAR
TEMPERANCE

1d.

DIALOGUES
AND
RECITATIONS

No. 51.

Declared by active workers all over the country to be

→ The Best Dialogues and Recitations. ←

SWALLOWING A YARD OF LAND.

WE hear a good deal about working men becoming owners of land, having houses and gardens of their own, and wonder how many of them who thus talk ever think that every time they order three pennyworth of beer or other intoxicating liquors or buy three pennyworth of tobacco, that they are swallowing down a yard of good land. The following short dialogue appeared in No. 2 of the *British Workman*, February, 1855, and conveys a convincing important lesson which young men and those who love the pot and pipe will be wise to learn.



Jack: "Dick, let's have a pint of beer," said a railway navvy to his mate.
Dick: "Nay, Jack, I can't afford to drink a square yard of good land, worth £60 10s. an acre."
Jack: "What's that you're saying, Dick?"
Dick: "Why, every time you spend threepence in beer, you spend what would buy a square yard of land. Look here:—
[*Dick takes a piece of chalk out of his pocket, and begins to make figures on his spade.*]

Fig. 148. 'Swallowing a Yard of Land'
Graham's Popular Temperance Dialogues and Recitations, c1869.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND Temperance Chronicle.

THE JOURNAL OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

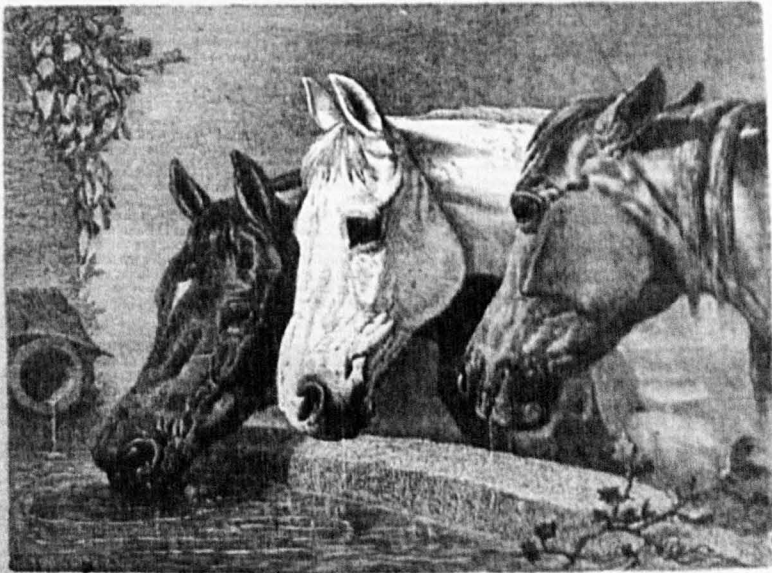
Registered for Transmission Abroad.

Edited by FREDK. SHERLOCK, Author of "More Than Conquerors," etc.

No. CCCXXVII.
Volume XVI.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1887.

WEEKLY
ONE PENNY.



A TALE OF THREE TAILS.

I WAS coming in from Blackheath by the Old Kent Road on Christmas Eve, when the break-down of a train necessitated a general clearance of the car.

Alighting directly opposite a well-known tavern, I espied a familiar face taking three horses to one of the drinking troughs erected by the Metropolitan Drinking Fountain and Cattle Trough Association.

"Yes, you may look again, Mr. S., you may look again, but its me sure enough, and I looks a bit different to what I did the last time you saw me."

"Well, Brasley" (which isn't the real name though), "I'm right glad to see you, and what are you doing now?"

"Doing now." Well I like that, I do live that. And you can't see that I am doing these 'ere three nags o' mine to have a taste o' Adam's ale? Now I do like that," and Brasley fairly chuckled with glee.

Then it became my turn to express astonishment, so I retorted,

"Three nags of yours! Now I do like that. Three nags of yours? Well, I like that."

"And you don't like it more than me, sir. Look 'ere. These three nags have all been bought with my own savings, since that time Master Wyatt had some of my brother whips to speak to his George-the-Martyr School. I was never very much of a drinking man, nor never very much of a saving man, but what Brother Howard and Brother Ryan, and Brother Death and so on in between that night set me a-thinking. I 'swore off' the drink. Terribly, and somehow or other I soon began to have a bit put by, and when Brasley was sold up I bought 'Black Jane' cheap, and since then I have got Clinker—she's the white beauty—and Brown Boy. Yes, sir, the three nags, and three dromedary camels are mine, and I'm very well convinced that there's no drink, equal water either for man or beast."

I am free to confess that I heartily agree with Bro. Brasley's opinion.

Fig. 149. 'A Tale of Three Tails'

The Church of England Temperance Chronicle, No. 407. Vol. 16. 1. January, 1887.

Artist: after J. F. Herring. Engraver: Unknown.

A NEW YEAR'S TRACT,

By REV. ALEX. WALLACE, D.D., GLASGOW.



LIFE IN DEATH.

LITTLE WILLIE'S death made a deep impression upon all his youthful comrades who were greatly attached to him. As the saying goes, he had an old head upon young shoulders. His large speaking eyes, his high and finely arched forehead, his pale face "sicklied o'er," not so much by any special disease, or by long-continued delicate health, as by a secret grief that gnawed his young heart, made him at once an object of peculiar interest to any observer. The first thing the child saw, so as to remember it in after years, and the memory of which became for ever a part of his very being, were the bitter tears which fell from his mother's eyes on his face as she folded him to her breast, and wept

125

Fig. 150. 'Life in Death' 9.7 x 10.9 cms (engraving)
Scottish Temperance League, New Year Tract. No. 125. n.d.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.

BRITISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE'S
MONTHLY
PICTORIAL TRACT.

no 20



The Midnight Summons; or, The Fool's End.

By A. M. FAWCETT,

Author of "Little Boy Johnnie," "Ellen Morley's Secret," "Fool Money," &c., &c.

THE word "fool" is always painful to speak, and is certainly one that may not be used indiscriminately. Scripture even is chary of its use; and when it is, as it were, forced into the fore-ground, it is as a startling description of a Godless man, or an embodying

No. 184.—FEBRUARY, 1881.

Fig. 151. 'The Midnight Summons; or, The Fool's End'. 9.7 x 10.9 cms (engraving)
British Temperance League, New Year Tract No. 184. February, 1881.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.

BRITISH TEMPERANCE LEAGUE'S
PICTORIAL TRACT,



"LOAVES AND LOAFERS."

IN my daily walks I pass a large number of public houses. Some of them are in the suburbs of London—on the verge of green fields and shining streams. Others are in Central London—in the midst of busy traffic, warehouses, shops, markets, wharves, and police stations.

Loafers! Why, every public house seems to have its set, and, every gin-shop its gang. You may count five, eight, ten, and twelve of them at any time: on Saturday and Sunday nights they swarm round every door, and lounge against every wall. Loafers! Let us look closely at them.

No. 294.

Fig. 152. 'Loaves and Loafers'. 9.7 x 10.9 cms (engraving)
British Temperance League, New Year Tract. No. 294.

Artist: J. M. Corner

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 153 'Is It Right', 28 x 38 cms
British Workman No. 295. July, 1879: 217.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

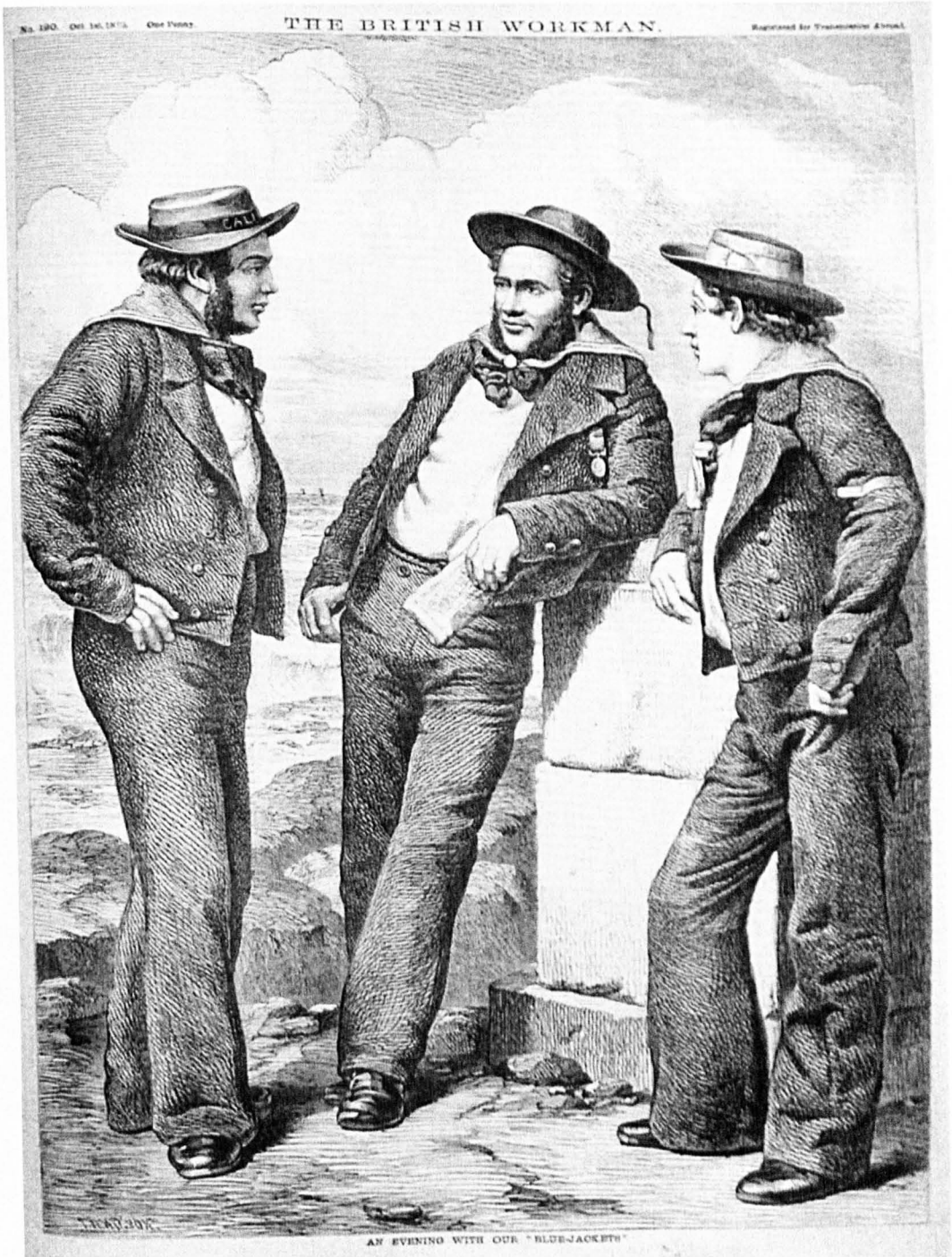


Fig. 154. 'An Evening with our 'Blue Jackets'' 28 x 38 cms.
British Workman No. 190. October, 1870: 37.

Artist: T. H. Wilson

Engraver: Unknown

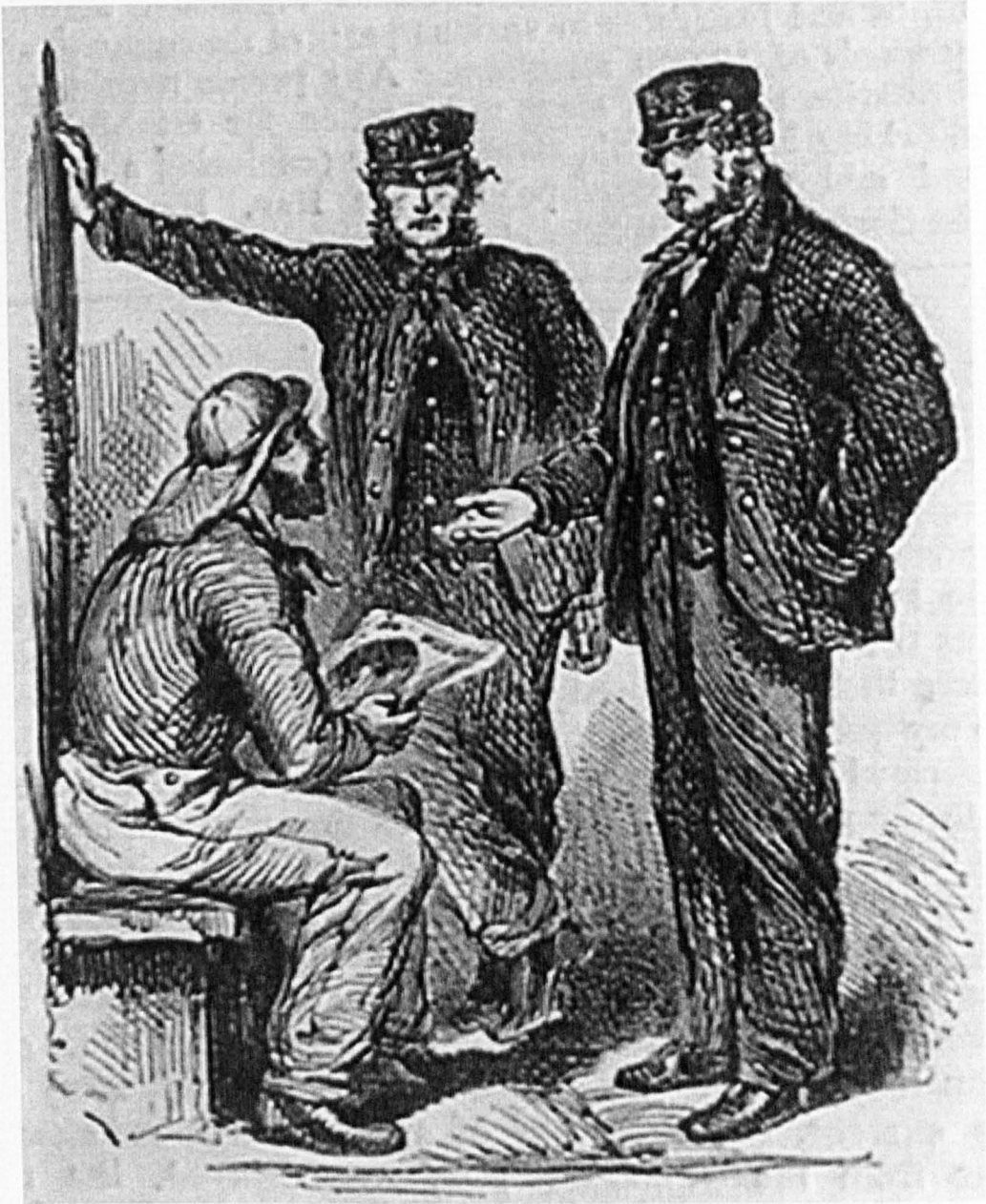


Fig. 155. 'My "Tis Buts" Box', 6.8 x 7.8 cms.
British Workman No. 117. September, 1864: 37.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown



MARIA FRY, THE SOLDIER'S FRIEND.

Fig. 156. 'Maria Fry, The Soldier's Friend', 13.3 x 16.8 cms.
British Workman No. 230. February, 1874: 196.

Artist: T. H. Wilson

Engraver: Unknown

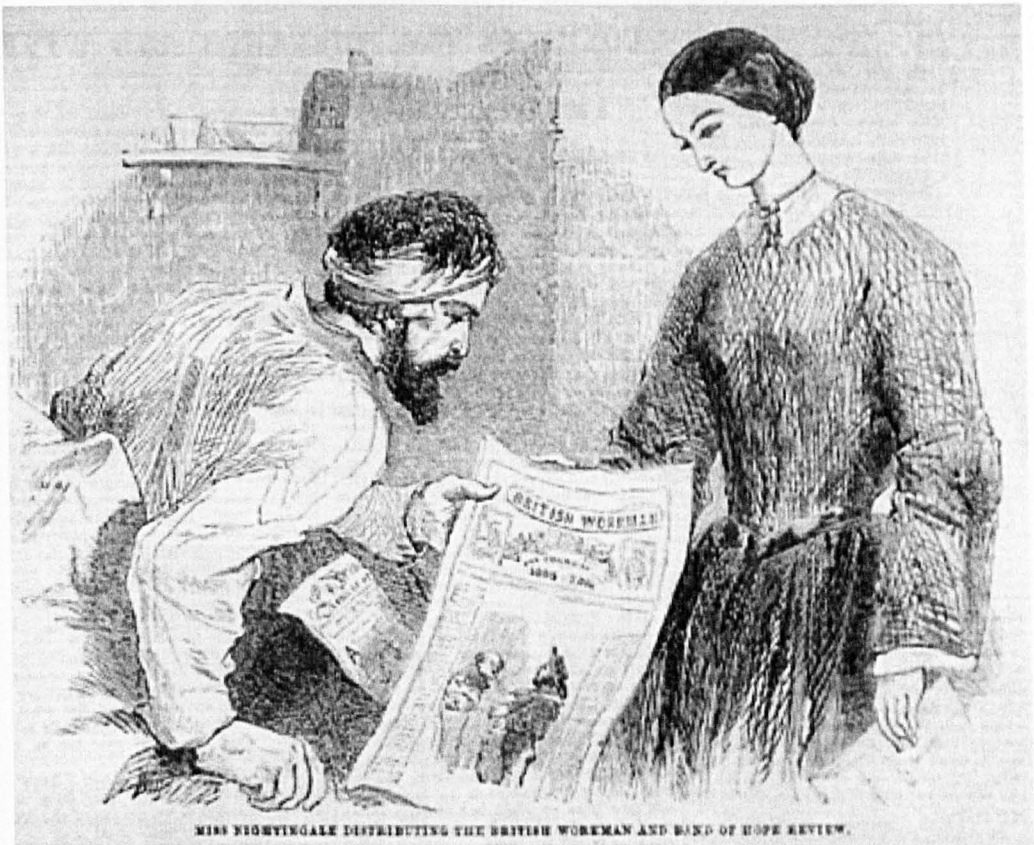


Fig. 157. ' Miss Nightingale Distributing The British Workman And Band Of Hope Review',
16.5 x 13.7 cms.

British Workman No. 15. March, 1856: 60.

Artist: Unknown

Engraver: Unknown

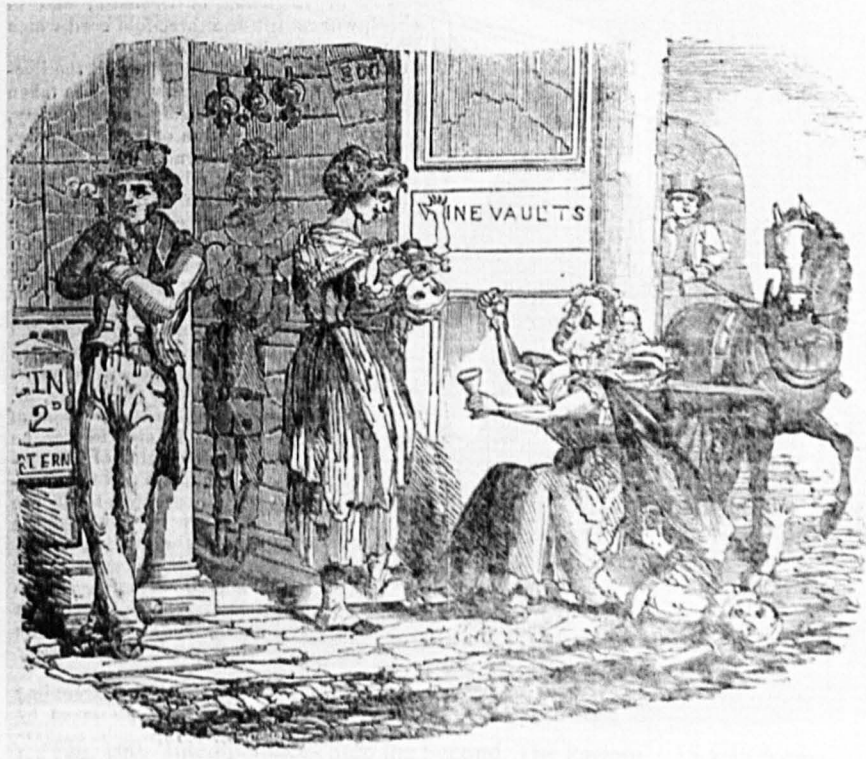


Fig. 158. 'Untitled' 12.2 x 11 cms
The Temperance Penny Magazine, No. 7. June, 1836: 97.

Artist: Unknown.

Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 159. 'Intemperance- Step the First, The Nursery', 15 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 152. 1839: 393.

Artist: W. N.

Engraver: Unknown



Fig. 160. 'Intemperance- Step the Second, The Parlour', 15 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 153. 1839: 401.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown



INTEMPERANCE.—STEP THE THIRD.

Fig. 161. 'Intemperance- Step the Third, The Dining Room', 15 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 154. 1839: 409.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown



INTEMPERANCE.—STEP THE FOURTH.

The Workshop.

Fig. 162. 'Intemperance- Step the Fourth, The Workshop', 15 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 155. 1839: 417.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown



INTEMPERANCE.—STEP THE FIFTH.

Fig. 163. 'Intemperance- Step the Fifth, The Club Room', 14.5 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 157. 1839: 433.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown.



Fig. 164. 'Intemperance- Step the Sixth, The Chamber', 15 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 158. 1839: 441.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
Temperance Intelligence.

"All things considered, whether in reference to the physical or moral condition of mankind; whether as regards social or national character; nothing is so eminently needed in this country as a *total abandonment of all ALCOHOLIC drinks.*"
T. BRAUMONT, Esq.

Vol. III.]
No. 159.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1839.

[PUBLISHED WEEKLY.
PRICE ONE PENNY.



ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTEMPERANCE..

Illustration the First, WINE.

These are specimens of the mad pranks which are often performed by the well-educated, polished, talented, benevolent portions of the upper classes of society, when under the influence of WINE. Reckless alike of *decency*, of *property*, and even of *life*, one party is seen whitewashing the black door of a respectable housekeeper! Another knocking down a poor old apple-woman and scattering her little property! A third ejecting one of their companions from the first-floor window of the tavern in which they had celebrated their midnight orgies! the sign of which tavern "The world turned upside down," one of the party is diligently employed in cutting asunder!—So much for the *generous* inspiration effected by Wine!

vol. 3.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. PASCO, 90, BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, LONDON.

Fig. 165. 'Illustrations of Intemperance, Illustration the First, Wine', 14.5 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 159. 23. November, 1839: 449.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN
Temperance Intelligencer.

"All things considered, whether in reference to the physical or moral condition of mankind; whether as regards social national character; nothing is so eminently needed in this country as a *total abstinence of all ALCOHOLIC drinks.*"
 T. BEAUMONT, Esq.

Vol. III.]
 No. 163.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1839.

[PUBLISHED WEEKLY
 PRICE ONE PENNY.



ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTEMPERANCE.

Illustration the Fifth, GIN.

GIN is at this time absolute monarch of Britain. Parliament stands bare headed before it, as if waiting to know its pleasure; and although it plainly tells them, they appear not to understand its language. The rabble, in pure stupidity, worship it. Not Oxford nor Cambridge can argue with it. There is nothing at Woolwich that can hurt it; the army cannot conquer, the navy sink, the law bind, nor the gospel tame it. It is fire to the head, ice to the heart, corruption to the flesh, poison to the blood, rottenness to the bones. It is a Pandora's box, but without HOPE at the bottom of it. Gin has dethroned Satan, and has usurped the supremacy of evil. The old tempter used to put on disguises: he could sometimes give alms, look demure, and go to churches and meeting: but GIN, in derision of him, has erected temples for his own worship in all parts of the town, surmounted by flaming clocks to mock those that are blind, and to reproach those that can see.—*School of Reform.*

VOL. 3.

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PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY T. PARSONS, 93, BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE, LONDON.

Fig. 166. 'Illustrations of Intemperance, Illustration the Fifth, Gin', 14.5 x 12.5 cms.
The British and Foreign Temperance Intelligencer, Vol. 3. No. 163. 21. December, 1839: 481.

Artist: W. N. Engraver: Unknown.

JOHN ROSE AND HIS LITTLE FREEHOLD.



SWALLOWING A YARD OF LAND.—“ Dick, let’s have a pint of beer,” said a railway navvie to his mate. “ Nay, Jack, I can’t afford to drink a square yard of good land, worth £60 10s. an acre.” “ What’s that you are saying, Dick ? ” “ Why, every time you spend 3d. in beer, you spend what would buy a square yard of land. Look here :—[Dick takes a piece of chalk out of his pocket and begins to make figures on his spade.] “ There are 4840 square yards in an acre ; threepence is one fourth of a shilling ; divide 4840 by 4, that gives 1210 shillings. Now divide that by 20 (there being twenty shillings to £1), and there you have £60 10s. which is the cost of an acre of good land, at threepence a square yard ! ” — *British Workman*.

Fig.167. ‘John Rose and His Little Freehold’, (Image) 9 x 10.5 cms.
Ipswich Temperance Tracts, No. 227. c1862.

Artist: E. Bidwell Engraver: Unknown.

This tract, originally issued under the title ‘Swallowing a Yard of Land’, (No. 230), was first published in the *British Workman* No. 2. March 1855: 5.