

Raising Fathers, Raising Boys:

Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914

Stéphanie Olsen

**Department of History
McGill University, Montréal**

September 2008

**A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

© Stéphanie Inge Désirée Olsen, 2008

Abstract

Raising Fathers, Raising Boys: Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914 is primarily focused on popular preoccupations surrounding masculinity (manliness), boyhood, adolescence, and fatherhood, in the context of widespread concerns about national efficiency, public vice, and private morals at the *fin de siècle*. This thesis reveals the growing consensus amongst the publishers of juvenile literature that children (especially boys) of all areas and social backgrounds were being failed by the various institutions of formal education (be they the elite public schools or the new schools springing up since the Education Act of 1870), and that certain moral imperatives were being inadequately met by the nation's parents. Stressing the continuity of religious influence in the everyday experience of children throughout the late-Victorian and Edwardian period (and thereby challenging the secularization thesis put forward by some scholars), this study charts the agreement established between disparate groups on the importance of disseminating Christian values for the task of raising the nation's boys into manly, domesticated men and good fathers. This emphasis on family life is crucial, since it broadens the current historiographical focus on the imperial connotations of elite education and the supposed middle-class "flight from domesticity." By showing that masculinity was not only about patriarchal or imperial outlooks, the work explicates the meaning of fatherhood in the period, stressing the continuing importance and validation of men as fathers and of the boy "as father to the man." The major sources for the thesis arise out of a variety of religious organizations that focused on the temperate and manly upbringing of boys, from the Religious Tract Society, to the Church of England Temperance Society, and the Band of Hope. The thesis also establishes ideological

similarities between these groups and for-profit publishers such as the Amalgamated Press. These groups strategized to ensure the informal character training of boys was carried out. The principal method of informal education for these groups was, however, the cheap periodical paper, and it is in the pages of these that the thesis makes its most wide-reaching explorations.

Résumé

Raising Fathers, Raising Boys: Informal Education and Enculturation in Britain, 1880-1914 est une étude des préoccupations populaires vis-à-vis la masculinité [*manliness*], de l'enfance et l'adolescence masculines et de la paternité, situés dans un contexte contemporain caractérisé par une inquiétude régnante face à l'efficacité nationale, le vice public et la moralité privée. Cette thèse démontre l'existence d'un consensus de plus en plus marqué parmi les éditeurs de la littérature populaire pour les enfants, (particulièrement pour garçons) sur le fait que l'éducation formelle que recevaient leurs jeunes lecteurs (que ce soit dans des écoles élite, ou, après la loi de 1870, dans les nouvelles institutions d'éducation de masse) leur faisait défaut, et, de plus, que les parents de la nation étaient inaptes à leur transmettre certains impératifs moraux, et ce, peu importe leurs origines géographiques ou sociales. En insistant sur la continuité de l'influence religieuse dans la vie quotidienne des enfants de l'époque (contestant donc la thèse de sécularisation défendue par plusieurs historiens), cette thèse met en évidence la mise en accord de groupes hétéroclites sur l'importance d'une dissémination des valeurs chrétiennes au sein d'une éducation visant à créer des hommes à la fois domestiques et véritablement mâles, et de bons pères. L'accent mis ici sur la vie familiale est crucial, car il permet d'élargir les courants historiographiques focalisant sur les implications impérialistes de l'éducation des élites et la tendance des classes moyennes à « fuir la sphère domestique » qu'on a appelé « *flight from domesticity* ». En montrant que les valeurs de masculinité ne s'appliquaient pas seulement au patriarcat ou à l'empire, ce travail permet de mieux comprendre ce que signifiait la paternité à l'époque, insistant sur l'importance et la mise en valeur soutenues des hommes en tant que pères, et sur le

concept du garçon « comme père de l’homme ». Les principales sources archivistiques utilisées proviennent de groupes religieux, tels que la *Religious Tract Society*, la *Church of England Temperance Society* et la *Band of Hope*, dont un des buts était d’éduquer les garçons selon les valeurs de la masculinité et de la sobriété. Une telle idéologie était aussi partagée par certaines maisons d’édition à but lucratif, dont l’*Amalgamated Press*. Ces groupes avaient comme objectif commun la formation du caractère des garçons, dont la stratégie principale était une éducation informelle par le biais de publications périodiques populaires, dont les pages sont le terrain principal d’une exploration analytique de grande envergure présentée dans cette thèse.

Acknowledgements

During the course of this dissertation, I have accrued many debts. My supervisors, Elizabeth Elbourne and Brian Lewis and Michèle Cohen (Richmond, the American International University), have given me superb direction, both in the writing of this thesis and as mentors. Many thanks to Joy Dixon (University of British Columbia), whose guidance and advice were invaluable throughout my M.A. work and since and Ian Gentles (Glendon College, York University) who provided me with my first wonderful experiences in British history courses. I am grateful to my defence committee, Carman Miller, Kevin McDonough, Jarrett Rudy, and the external examiner, Stephen Heathorn, for providing me with excellent comments with which to continue this project.

I was fortunate to receive a Canadian Graduate Scholarship, bourse de la fondation Ricard and support from McGill University during my doctoral program. I also received travel grants from McGill (SSHRC) and the Department of History, allowing me to present my work at conferences in Cambridge and Auckland. I am thankful to the Friends of the Princeton University Library Research Grant Program, which made it possible for me to conduct research at Princeton's Cotsen Children's Library. Lastly, I am grateful to the SSHRC postdoctoral fellowship program for giving me the opportunity further to pursue my research.

Many thanks to the helpful staff at the British Library, SOAS, York Minster Library, Lambeth Palace Library, the Bodleian Library, the West Yorkshire Archive Service at Bradford and Leeds, the National Archives of Canada, the Osborne Collection, Fischer Rare Books at the University of Toronto and of course the McGill libraries, and especially Judith Crowe at the Institute of Alcohol Studies (London) who could not have

been more helpful. At McGill I must also thank Colleen Parish, Celine Coutinho, Karen Connors, Sylvia Crawford and Jody Anderson for their help and support over the years.

Thank you to Michèle Cohen, Harriet Atkinson and Valerian Freyberg and Michele Haapamaki for providing me with much needed accommodation and companionship in London. Thank you also to my friends who shared sympathetically the long, sometimes frustrating, road of the Ph.D. student with me: Harriet Atkinson, Justin Bengry, Dan Rueck, Cheryl Smeall, David Maren, Greg Fisher, Cynthia Belaskie, Dan Horner, Jodi Burkett and Matthew Roberts; and especially Jane Hamlett, Michele Haapamaki, and Noémi Tousignant for their help with my work.

Sir Brian Harrison and Natalie Zemon Davis are inspirational, both in conversation and by example. Receptive and interested participants at conferences in Montreal, Berkeley, Toronto, Auckland, York, London, Cambridge and Oxford have provided me with much good advice during the course of this project. To all those who have saved me from typographical and factual errors, I offer my sincere thanks. Any errors that remain are, of course, entirely my own.

My parents, Inge Rumler Olsen and G.W. Olsen, have always been supportive and encouraging, and provided me with a nurturing intellectual environment. Many thanks for all your help, your faith in me and your positive example. Elizabeth and David Boddice, my new parents-in-law, have listened with interest and care to their son's and my academic vagaries. My husband, Rob Boddice, has patiently read every draft I produced and listened to every worry I had, providing me with keen insights. He is a constant source of intellectual and emotional sustenance and an accomplished historian in his own right.

I must thankfully acknowledge Men's Studies Press and Palgrave Macmillan for granting me permission to reproduce material from: "*Daddy's Come Home: Evangelicalism, Fatherhood and Lessons for Boys in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain*," *Fathering* 5, 3 (2007), 174-196 and Adrienne Gavin and Andrew Humphries, eds, *Childhood in Edwardian Fiction: Worlds Enough and Time*, 2009, Palgrave Macmillan (not to be copied or reproduced without permission from Palgrave Macmillan).

Table of Contents

List of Figures	x
List of Abbreviations and Commonly Referenced Periodicals	xi
1 Introduction	1
<i>Scope, Sources, Overview</i>	
<i>Historiographical Review</i>	
<i>Manliness as a Useful Category of Analysis?</i>	
<i>Fatherhood</i>	
<i>Gender and Religion</i>	
<i>Boys' and Family Literature & The History of Childhood, Youth and Adolescence</i>	
2 Informal Education and Enculturation for Boys in Fin-de-siècle Britain	44
<i>Education</i>	
<i>Juvenile Vices</i>	
<i>Alcohol</i>	
<i>Smoking</i>	
<i>The Juvenile Publishing Industry</i>	
<i>The Religious Tract Society</i>	
<i>Lord Northcliffe and the Amalgamated Press</i>	
<i>Temperance Organizations & Their Publications</i>	
<i>The Band of Hope</i>	
<i>Church of England Temperance Society and its Juvenile Division</i>	
3 Professionalization, the “Invention” of Adolescence & the Question of Parental Authority and Responsibility	85
<i>Legislation for Children & Parental Authority</i>	
<i>The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children</i>	
<i>Fears of Physical Deterioration</i>	
<i>Adolescence and Professionalization</i>	
<i>G. Stanley Hall and his Impact on British Thought</i>	
4 “Very Real Dangers:” A Moral Consensus	117
<i>Truth, Fiction and Morality</i>	
<i>Home Politeness</i>	
<i>Defining the Path</i>	
<i>Fatherly Answers</i>	
<i>Consensus and Association</i>	
<i>Masturbation: A Delicate Touch</i>	
<i>Socialist Messages for the Young</i>	
<i>Conclusion</i>	
5 Gentlemanly Boys Make Manly Men	169

Success in Being: Teaching Manliness
Manliness in Action: Teaching Practical Skills
Manliness in Spirit: Teaching in a Christian Context
Teaching Strategies and Reception
The Band of Hope Movement as a Case Study
Summary

6	Playing House: Images of Marriage, Husbands and Wives for Children	224
	<i>The Moral Man is the Family Man</i>	
	<i>The Heavenly Father</i>	
	<i>The Surrogate Father as Replacement for the Absent Father</i>	
	<i>The Earthly Father</i>	
	<i>Fathers' Influence</i>	
	<i>Showing the Way: Boys as Fathers to their Fathers</i>	
	<i>The New Woman and the Ideal Husband and Father</i>	
	<i>Conclusion</i>	
7	Conclusion	275
	Appendices	282
	Appendix I Band of Hope Programmes	
	Appendix II Table: Estimated Strength of Juvenile Temperance Movement (1913-14)	
	Appendix III Poem: "The Coming Men"	
	Appendix IV Table: NSPCC Literature Distributed, 1889-95.	
	Appendix V Table: RTS Scholars and Teachers Examined for Prizes, 1881-2.	
	Bibliography	289

List of Figures

- Figure 1 Advertisement for UK Band of Hope Union Medals and Badges, at the back of *The Band of Hope Manual*. London: UK Band of Hope Union, 1894.
- Figure 2 “Which Path Will You Take,” *Seed Time and Harvest*, March (1908): 17.
- Figure 3 “The Influence of Morality or Immorality on the Countenance,” *Cassell’s Popular Educator*, 1852.
- Figure 4 “The Child: How Will She Develop?” *Girl’s Own Paper*, 16, no. 6 (1894): 12.
- Figure 5 Frontispiece, *The Leisure Hour*.

List of Abbreviations and of Commonly Referenced Periodicals

AP	Amalgamated Press (led by Alfred Harmsworth, Lord Northcliffe)
B of H R	<i>Band of Hope Review</i> (S.W. Partridge & Co./UK Band of Hope Union)
BF	<i>Boys' Friend</i> (Amalgamated Press)
BH	<i>Boys' Herald</i> (Amalgamated Press)
BR	<i>Boys' Realm</i> (Amalgamated Press)
BOP	<i>Boy's Own Paper</i> (Religious Tract Society)
BL	British Library
CETS	Church of England Temperance Society
GOP	<i>Girl's Own Paper</i> (Religious Tract Society)
ITM	<i>Illustrated Temperance Magazine</i> (Church of England Temperance Society)
	<i>Leisure Hour</i> (Religious Tract Society)
NSPCC	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
	<i>Onward</i> (Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union)
RTS	Religious Tract Society
RTS ECM	Religious Tact Society Executive Committee Minutes
	<i>Sunday at Home</i> (Religious Tract Society)
WYAS	West Yorkshire Archive Service
YC	<i>Young Crusader</i> (Church of England Temperance Society)
YSB	<i>Young Standard Bearer</i> (Church of England Temperance Society)

Introduction

In September 2005, a three-part “observational documentary series” aired on BBC2 called “No Sex Please, We’re Teenagers.”¹ The show introduced twelve teenagers, aged 15 to 17, from Harrow, in north-west London. These teenagers attended weekly “Romance Academy” sessions with Christian youth workers. The group was filmed as they tried to adhere to their pledge of staying celibate for five months, with varying degrees of success. The group leaders tried to get the participants to swap “casual sex for old-fashioned courting rituals.” They were told that they would get far more respect by saying “No” than by trying to act like “adults” and having sex. They also agreed to abstain from alcohol. By the end of the pledge time, the teenagers’ entire characters seemed reformed. They seemed more respectful of their parents and other authority figures, more attentive in their studies and more responsible about their futures. They then set out to try to recruit more members to take the pledge.

This experiment, thoroughly contemporary in its reality-television format, is remarkably reminiscent of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century campaigns against juvenile drinking, smoking, sexual, and other “vices.” Weekly and monthly papers and magazines, pamphlets, posters, magic lantern shows and ephemera took the place of television. The message, however, was the same: abstinence and self-restraint led to better lives and futures for young people, their families, their communities and their country. The proselytising drive was also similar; the message, often Christian in origin,

¹ “No Sex Please, We’re Teenagers,” http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/4185498.stm, accessed on April 29, 2008.

needed to be spread and spread quickly as it was a matter of the utmost importance for all. Character formation (or reformation) was key to success on the individual and societal levels, producing productive and responsible citizens. The popular periodical was thought to be crucially formative in this regard, and the imperative of disseminating the “right” message was summed up by George Orwell, in a passage on the boys’ weeklies, written as late as 1940:

Personally I believe that most people are influenced far more than they would care to admit by novels, serial stories, films and so forth, and that from this point of view the worst books are often the most important, because they are usually the ones that are read earliest in life. It is probable that many people who would consider themselves extremely sophisticated and “advanced” are actually carrying through life an imaginative background which they acquired in childhood... If that is so, the boys’ twopenny weeklies are of the deepest importance. Here is the stuff that is read somewhere between the ages of twelve and eighteen by a very large proportion, perhaps an actual majority, of English boys, including many who will never read anything else except newspapers... All the better because it is done indirectly, there is being pumped into them the conviction that the major problems of our time do not exist...²

Scope, Sources and Outline

Scope

Through a focused study of the juvenile publishing industry, this thesis will explore more broadly ideas regarding boyhood in *fin-de-siècle* Britain, in relation to fatherhood and parenthood in general, and in the context of both the history of the family, and of the boy’s important role in the context of the nation. It is a study of the methods and strategies involved in boys’ informal education, and in their enculturation as future citizens. The goals are manifold. It will show that in this era there was, in the juvenile

² George Orwell, “Boy’s Weeklies,” in *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1940) 124.

periodical press, a convergence of discourses, a developing consensus of how boys should be, and what was to be expected of them as young men.

This is not an argument for a broad societal consensus as no doubt there were widely divergent extant ideas. The general contextual framework for thinking about boys in the period, established in chapters 2 and 3, demonstrates the wide variety of approaches to – and conceptualizations of – the “problem.” The consensus argument is only concerned with what might be called the “improving media,” which was marketed quite specifically as an informal form of education. Other forms of media, most importantly the “penny dreadfuls,” did not share this educative goal, but undoubtedly offered a significant alternative model or ideal of boyhood/manhood to the “improving media.” Also, it cannot be forgotten that large numbers of boys did not (or could not) read and were unquestionably subject to other influential forces. One important point here is that I view the Amalgamated Press (one of the main producers of juvenile literature from 1893 onward) not as a purveyor of “penny dreadfuls” but as a contributor to the culture of “improving media.” Though in tone the Amalgamated Press has been ambiguously situated between “penny dreadfuls” and more expensive forms of media, its secular message was often consistent with religiously-motivated publishers.³ Harmsworth’s papers were hardly univocally moralizing in tone, but the regularity of the improving message, especially in the editorial sections, combined with the sheer volume of Amalgamated Press publications distributed makes them a significant part of the central argument of the dissertation.

³ Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys’ Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) 35-8.

At the intersection of the histories of gender (especially masculinities), family, religion, education, juvenile fiction, boys' organizations, and popular culture (or popular intellectual history), this study will provide some of the necessary foundations for a comprehensive understanding of turn-of-the-century Britons. It examines some of the ways their ideas were shaped in popular culture, through the instruments of widely distributed periodicals. The main focus is on reading material for boys, a group for whom it was deemed essential by moralists, reformers and capitalists alike, that they be reached while still young enough to shape. This thesis is not an attempt to present an institutional history of the various organizations that will be discussed. Nor is it an attempt to compile a comprehensive history of boys' education and institutions of the era. The focus will not be on formal education, whether working-class elementary schools or universities for the elite, as these topics have already been treated in interesting and innovative ways.⁴ There are also numerous studies of the boys' organizations that were springing up at this time, such as the Boy Scouts and the Boys' Brigade.⁵ Although these works render it unnecessary to include any further in-depth attention here, I refer to them, and to the motivations of their founders (e.g. Robert Baden-Powell) as and when they connect directly to the primary focus of the thesis. This

⁴ Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country and Race: Constructing Gender, Class and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Gretchen R. Galbraith, *Reading Lives: Reconstructing Childhood, Books, and Schools in Britain, 1870-1920* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997) and Paul Deslandes, *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005).

⁵ Allen Warren, "Citizens of Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Idea, 1900-1940," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920," *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986): 376-98; John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); John Springhall, Brian Fraser and Michael Edward Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (London: Collins, 1983). By 1914, an estimated over 40% of British boys belonged to a youth organization. Gerald de Groot, cited in George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002) 33.

falls on the informal education of boys through the juvenile press, and through the organizations that orchestrated it. This informal education obviously took place between the school and the home. The organizations included here were largely chosen not only for their popularity, but also for their prolific publication distributions and for the ways in which they represented various religious, political and class orientations. Each had weekly or monthly publications for boys which were distributed widely.

Idealized notions of masculinity were inculcated not only through formal education and training in the home, but also through reading and leisure activities. According to Claudia Nelson, in the late Victorian period editors envisioned “the child consumer as a powerful agent requiring cajoling rather than homilies. An excessively authoritarian text, like an excessively authoritarian parent, would prove counterproductive. Rather, boy and text are constructed almost as equals; they change each other [...] in mutually beneficial ways.”⁶ The thesis addresses this interplay between texts and boys and their families, while acknowledging multiple levels of authorship and audience. Though reception is far more challenging to access than prescription, it remains an essential area of inquiry.

This dissertation assumes that late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britons’ beliefs and understandings were sometimes at odds with their outward behaviour. A few examples might serve as cases in point: we know that church attendance was predominantly female in this period, but the ideal in the press was certainly male; women were often central to their families’ wellbeing, yet in terms of popular belief, men ideally were supposed to serve this role. Social historians have carefully shown the reality of

⁶ Claudia Nelson, “Mixed Messages: Authoring and Authority in British Boys’ Magazines,” *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 21, no. 1 (1997): 14.

behaviour, but the weight of majority opinion on the level of popular ideas has been ignored in favour of dissenting groups and ways of life in, for example, religion or gender relations. Most people were opposed to such ways of thinking, and if not actively opposed, then indifferent. Emphasis on ideas around the new woman in this era, for example, has taken the focus away from the majority of women and men who participated in more traditional ways of life, centered on marriage and family. The search for indicators of “secularization” at this time has led historians to ignore that most Britons were strongly culturally Christian at least until well into the twentieth century. Studies of imperial masculinity have downplayed the more traditional domesticated manliness with which many men still identified. Robert Roberts described the importance of home life to boys:

Home, however poor, was the focus of all his love and interests, a sure fortress against a hostile world. Songs about its beauties were ever on people’s lips. ‘Home, sweet home,’ first heard in the 1870’s, had become ‘almost a second national anthem.’ Few walls in lower-working-class houses lacked ‘mottos’ – coloured strips of paper, about nine inches wide and eighteen inches in length, attesting to domestic joys: EAST, WEST, HOME’S BEST; BLESS OUR HOME; GOD IS THE MASTER OF THIS HOUSE (although Father made an able deputy); HOME IS THE NEST WHERE ALL IS BEST.”⁷

This serves as a reminder that male domesticity was still a desired ideal in the Edwardian period. It will be shown in this thesis that this was not only true of the slum child, but was a prevalent theme throughout popular sources for boys and for families of all classes. This reflected a continued cultural theme of home and ideals of boyhood conduct, which, as Roberts’ example shows, were often tinged with nominally religious

⁷ R. Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971) 35.

messages. These themes in popular fictional and non-fictional literature had far greater significance than simply conveying a cozy ideal of domesticity. They also had substantial national import. As Stephen Heathorn has noted in the context of formal education for working-class children in this period, “the home was held to be not merely an oasis from the pressures of the public realm, but also an important symbol for the nurturing of national values and for any understanding of the duties and rights of national citizenship.”⁸

A major focus of the thesis is the network of the important and influential groups, the evangelical Religious Tract Society (RTS), the reform-focused Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) and the Band of Hope. They increasingly attacked the dominant view of secular, muscular and imperial masculinity which emerged at the turn of the century, stressing instead the continuing importance of the role of the father in the home. At the same time, the thesis will equally explore the seemingly opposite forces of secular educational publications for boys. It will discuss Alfred Harmsworth’s (1865–1922)⁹ endeavours to address the perceived new secular and educational needs of boys in his Amalgamated Press publications and his often similar constructions of masculinity and the importance of family and home. Surprisingly little work has been done on the Amalgamated Press’s boys’ papers, while a scholarly focus on the sensational serial story has given the impression that the moral messages contained within the papers (especially in the editorial sections) were insignificant or even disingenuous. Yet within the context

⁸ Heathorn, *For Home, Country and Race*, 158.

⁹ Harmsworth was made a baronet on 23 June 1904 and accepted a peerage the following December, taking as his title Baron Northcliffe of the Isle of Thanet. He accepted a viscountcy in 1917. In this thesis he will be referred to variously as Lord Northcliffe and Harmsworth throughout. D. George Boyce, ‘Harmsworth, Alfred Charles William, Viscount Northcliffe (1865–1922)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33717>, accessed 27 Aug 2008].

of the Amalgamated Press's own declaration of an "adherence to the policy of doing all in its power in all its publications to build up the security and stability of family, home and Empire," its boys' papers reveal much about a consensus in the juvenile publishing market.¹⁰ In the period of the 1890s to the First World War, the Amalgamated Press dominated in the publishing industry for boys. Harmsworth's constructions of masculinity were not so secular, muscular and imperially directed as they have been characterised to be, and in fact they were similar in message (at least in the editorial sections) to the periodicals of the major religious organizations.

RTS, CETS and Band of Hope publications for boys and for families reveal Christian efforts to counter the "subversive" influences of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: sexuality and feminism, secularization, worldliness and pleasure-seeking. RTS publications displayed three linked types of fatherhood, a new trinity: the heavenly, the earthly and the surrogate father, a powerful prescriptive weapon in maintaining religious adherence and societal and familial continuity. In contrast, Harmsworth's publications embraced a new Edwardian reality, and yet still saw fathers as central to the family and boys as future fathers. If the history of fatherhood is still undeveloped, the study of boys and the ways that they were "taught" fathering and "manliness" - the focus of my work - is new to historiography, in its exploration of popular constructions of masculinity and fatherhood aimed at boys and their families. For Harmsworth, the RTS, the CETS and the Band of Hope, the formation of masculinity for working and middle-class boys was intended to develop them as independent, self-

¹⁰ Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. Souvenir of Banquet – held at the Fleetway House, The Amalgamated Press LTD., Thursday, November 7, 1912. For Private Circulation Only (G. Pulman, the Cranford Press, 1912). duff f 00130.

sufficient, physically strong and sober men. But for the last three organizations, this also included the ability to manifest and strengthen traditional Christian values.

In a larger context this dissertation will add to existing literature a gendered history of religion and secularism through the lens of masculinity, a crucial, new historiographical project, for a more complete understanding of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century culture. The study exposes an important nexus between boyhood and fatherhood which has been generally ignored internationally by cultural and social historians. It will substantially redress the current imbalance in our understanding of the history of the family, by analyzing fathers as amply as mothers. Fathers were products of their boyhood environment and conflicting contemporary discourses—a history that also needs to be known.

As John Tosh has suggested, to learn how to be men, boys were pressed to break with their mothers' influence.¹¹ At the same time, at least for the middle classes, fathers' moral guidance, previously assumed to have moulded sons, was often replaced by boarding schools or organizations such as the new Boy Scout groups¹² where ideals of imperial manhood were taught, denigrating domestic values and the importance of family. New publications, the *Boy's Own Paper* (1879) and Harmsworth's juvenile papers, as well as temperance works and older periodicals for families, provided a traditional domestic alternative model of masculinity for boys, which contrasted with the more dominant and secular view historians have usually described. My study traces the

¹¹ John Tosh, "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England," *Gender & History*, 8, no. 1 (1996): 48-64.

¹² Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1910* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

contours of this increasingly contested sphere of influence, crucial in modelling the next generation of familial and societal leaders.

A number of large, preliminary questions and areas of investigation therefore arise. They relate, on the one hand, to informal education, and on the other, to enculturation. First, what part did education (outside of school) play in the cultural formation of boys into (manly) men? To what extent was there consensus on what being “manly” meant? It has been widely understood that manly ideals were generated from within the elite, and it is worth pursuing the question of whether, as Kelly Boyd has stated, these “elite ideas [were] repackaged for a youthful audience,” or whether manliness did not only flow from the top down.¹³ One of the major arguments of this thesis will centre on the society-wide and pan-class consensus about what manliness meant, and about how it should be taught to boys. Second, to what degree were there conflicting ideas on boyhood (informal) education in this period? How did secular and religious tendencies differ in efforts to raise boys and change the attitudes of fathers? Third, what were the connections between working-class and middle-class attempts to train and educate boys and their fathers, and to what extent did they result from autonomous working-class movements? Similarly, it is important to draw out the connections among labour, temperance and education reformers and reforms for boys.

“Enculturation” perhaps merits a word or two of explanation. It refers to the process by which the values and norms of a society are passed on to or acquired by its members and is more precise for our purposes than either “socialization”¹⁴ or

¹³ Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper*, 2. A commonly repeated observation by historians.

¹⁴ Defined as “the process of forming associations or of adapting oneself to them; esp. the process whereby an individual acquires the modifications of behaviour and the values necessary for the stability of the social group of which he is or becomes a member.” Oxford English Dictionary Online,

“acculturation.”¹⁵ In his *Childhood and Society*, Erik Erikson, the psychoanalyst-historian, recognized that:

Every society consists of men in the process of developing from children into parents. To assure continuity of tradition, society must early prepare for parenthood in its children; and it must take care of the unavoidable remnants of infantility in its adults. This is a large order, especially since a society needs many beings who can follow, a few who can lead, and some who can do both, alternately or in different areas of life.¹⁶

Though the psychoanalytic approach is of limited value to my topic, a few keen insights can be drawn out of Erikson’s work. On the simplest level, the idea that childhood has a definite impact on later, adult life cannot be overlooked. Enculturation was the process by which boys learned what was expected of them later in life as responsible citizens, and, critically, as effective heads of families. It is this process, complicated by a multitude of divergent interests and the dynamics of the juvenile publishing industry organizations, which this dissertation sets out to elucidate. Stephen Heathorn’s insightful intervention in linking masculinity and citizenship is important to keep in mind. In our period, he wrote, “the good ‘citizen’ was presumed to be male, and in large part ‘good citizenship’ was the civic code of an approved form of masculinity.”¹⁷ To examine the historical forces at work in connecting these notions of masculinity, civic

[http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50229739?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=socialization&first=1&max_to_show=10 accessed Aug. 27 2008].

¹⁵ Defined as the “adoption of or adaptation to an alien culture.” Oxford English Dictionary Online, [http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50001433?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=acculturation&first=1&max_to_show=10 accessed on Aug. 27 2008].

¹⁶ Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (1950; New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985) 405.

¹⁷ Heathorn, *For Home, Country and Race*, 25.

code, and good citizen – the process of enculturating young men to recognize the “natural” affinity of this grouping – is one of this work’s overarching aims.

Sources

The influential organizations discussed in this dissertation had clear, and perhaps contradictory motivations, shaped by “real” historical contingencies and also by the perceptions of their readers, who themselves had varied individual and group dynamics. Michael Roper and John Tosh, in *Manful Assertions*, argue that “one of the most precarious moments in the reproduction of masculinity is the transfer of power to the succeeding generation... The key question is whether the ‘sons’ take on the older generation’s gender identity without question, or whether they mount a challenge, and if so how.”¹⁸ For evangelicals, an important part of male identity was piety and proper religious adherence. The RTS, for example, thus saw one of its crucial roles as educating boys to be the future moral and spiritual leaders of their families. The temperance movement also placed great emphasis on reaching boys while they were still young enough to adhere to the lessons taught within its periodicals and before they developed bad habits, which were said to be falsely regarded by boys as making them “manly.” It was important for these papers to teach boys and their families of all classes their version of “manliness,” one based on familial responsibility and piety. This was in no way a certain goal in an age where many men were feared to be increasingly neglecting their duties toward their families.

¹⁸ Michael Roper and John Tosh (eds), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. (London: Routledge, 1991) p. 17.

Yet the extent of male piety could best be judged in the familial context. There were no morally improving, religiously-based popular journals solely for men; explorations of male piety were only to be found in the context of magazines for families or for children. According to Callum Brown, these were “truly exploratory of male religiosity, for it was in men’s relations to the family that the key to issues of their piety and impiety lay.”¹⁹ In the case of the family magazine, its form of multiple readership promoted men’s piety in a familial context. Its form, therefore, was as important in promoting evangelical values as its content.

In framing the main research foci for this project, periodicals were deliberately chosen which were directed primarily at different classes. In this way, class is treated as essential because it shapes the contours of the periodicals, but in terms of the argument of consensus, it appears not to be a significant factor. Perhaps the subject matter and plot lines varied among the different publications, but the ideals for boyhood behaviour were essentially the same. Throughout this dissertation, I do not use these periodicals and other sources to uncover individual writers’ beliefs or attitudes. Many of these were anonymous, which means that for contemporary readers the pieces could not tell their readers anything about individual writers’ views because in a very immediate sense the only “author” was the organization or publishing house. Even when writers’ names are known, we would still need to remain careful about what can be deduced about their personal views from particular published works as they were primarily mouthpieces for their respective organizations.

¹⁹ Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001) 113.

This selection of sources initially had a different goal in view to the argument put forward by this thesis. My first instinct had been to examine a diverse range of the most prevalent literary sources for boys, representing a broad spectrum of opinion. I had expected to find disparate and irreconcilable approaches to boyhood according to different religious, political and ideological orientations. My findings, however, continually contradicted my expectations, and instead of difference in content and message, I discovered similarity and consensus.

It is clear that, for the most part, the publications analysed here had conservative messages, often evangelical or temperance, or both. This was certainly not the avant-garde of publishing in the late nineteenth century. The editors and writers of these publications did respond, however, to more modern ideas about families, gender relations and new opportunities for women. The reaction was not universally negative. It is also important to note that conservative elements in the late nineteenth-century British press were not simply repeating stale messages from earlier decades: they adapted their publications to current realities, while reinforcing traditional gender relations (albeit with some important modifications). This is visible both in their non-fictional and fictional accounts. Studies that take for granted men's desires to define themselves solely outside of the home, and women's necessity to define themselves within it, lack important nuance. Many British men and women were enculturated (in part by the publications considered here) at an early age to understand their roles as adults as centered upon family life: first that of their parents, and later on their own. In this context it is easier to understand the content of publications for boys. While these contained little direct discussion of family life, they contained many lessons that would be useful to boys in

their future roles as husbands and fathers. These lessons were both practical and moral, involving their relations with men and women, and of course with God.

In order to put the juvenile periodical press sources into context, and to establish the implications and import of what they had to say, my research has included a broad range of other primary and archival material: annual reports and other institutional material of the organizations (including the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children's annual reports and monthly magazine); local archival material relating to specific institutional affairs; private correspondence; contemporary scientific, psychological and medical writings; advice manuals; government documents; and ephemera. The context provided by these sources is crucially important. The content of the periodicals was not entirely fictional, as it was a product of wider societal preoccupations and change, as demonstrated by these other sources. Thus, this thesis will display a mixture of content analysis and of more material analysis of events and organizations. In a circular way, institutional data, e.g. publishing sales statistics and strategies, crucially mattered as organizations promoted ideas as well as papers; the success of papers themselves was important in order effectively to promote their associated organizations. Though the main focus of this study is on the content of boys' papers, the literary, the material and the ideational merge in discovering how writers and publishers were influenced by larger organizational and societal trends and how real contingencies shaped the impact on readers of the papers' messages.

Overview

The period of the *fin de siècle* is understood quite broadly in this dissertation, from 1880-1914, with references to earlier and later periods where required. These years, taken as a whole, share defining and distinctive characteristics about ideas concerning boyhood and methods to address the “problem” of boyhood. Many of the problems and concerns about boys contained within the periodicals studied here were certainly not novel, nor was their discussion new at this time. The Rev. J. Tunnicliff, founder of the Band of Hope movement, wrote as early as 1865 that “The boy is father of the man. And what you are while young, if you persevere in that way, you are likely enough to be all through your life.”²⁰ This sort of statement could have been made decades earlier or later. Yet this study marks change as well as continuity. At the beginning of our period, a great boom in publishing for boys started, in a market which was continually changing to be appealing to its readership. This period also represented the first time the term adolescence was used to describe the problematic period between boyhood and manhood. Problems and concerns over adolescents were not new, but the convergence of political and organizational foci was specific to this era. This is therefore a history in which the tensions of diachronicity and synchronicity in this period are the central dynamic. George Behlmer has recently referred to the “curiously elastic nature of British national cultural continuity.”²¹ This is a fitting observation for this study. Continuity is not necessarily determined by invariable cultural forms but instead by persistent concerns which still remain adaptable in terms of focus, medium and message.

²⁰ J. Tunnicliff, *The Band of Hope Annual* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1865) 25.

²¹ George K. Behlmer, “Character Building and the English Family: Continuities in Social Casework, ca. 1870-1930,” in *Singular Continuities: Tradition, Nostalgia, and Identity in Modern British Culture*. Eds. George K. Behlmer and Fred M. Leventhal (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000) 10.

The thesis is structured in such a way as to create a contextual foundation onto which the particulars and finer details of the enculturation and informal education of boys can be constructed. Chapter two briefly summarises the history of various important contextual themes that recur throughout the thesis, locating the work within a framework of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century concerns. These include the influential ideas surrounding eugenics, preoccupations with “national efficiency” and the increasing regulation of formal education. Each of these was a reaction to the perceived problems of the age, and a significant portion of this chapter is given over to a broad-brush discussion of the chief vices which aroused concern among those thinking about the present generation of children, and their transition into the future generation of adults. The second half of the chapter outlines the institutional and organizational histories of the many juvenile publishing companies and juvenile temperance groups which feature throughout the thesis. This is essential background material, since it is through an examination of the structure, motives and chief personnel of these institutions that the argument for a moral consensus about the importance of a moral, Christian, domesticated manliness is built.

Several important corollaries to this background material are unpacked in chapter three, in which the major categories of analysis in the thesis are explored in further depth. In an era of increasing professionalization children became subject to newly focussed and regulated ideas and practices which were implemented through legislation and an array of workers dedicated to ensuring their present health and character and their future usefulness as good citizens. The emergence in popular culture of a positivist

psychological “science” was filtered through to the public via many of the publications with which this thesis deals, and strongly influenced their editors and publishers. Similarly, the appearance of the professional social worker cast the notion of a normative childhood into relief, seemingly placing limits on what might before have been considered the boundless and arbitrary authority of parents. The right way and wrong way to raise children was becoming increasingly codified and schematised, through legislative innovation and professional intervention. Under the pressure of these forces childhood itself became a more distinct category, as did the crucial liminal phase between childhood and adulthood, which to all intents and purposes had not been categorized until the *fin de siècle*. Chapter three therefore makes some crucial insights into the “invention” of adolescence.

Having firmly established the contextual forces at work in this period with regard to childhood and parenthood, chapters four, five and six contain an in-depth analysis of the massive body of sources at the heart of this thesis. Chapter four takes the study of the perceived moral dangers of the age into greater depth, arguing that the principal organizations involved in informally educating boys had reached a consensus about the vices to be avoided and the character of the “correct path,” regardless of their political, religious, or capital motivations.

Chapter five takes the leitmotiv of this “correct path,” manliness, and uses it to make a detailed study of what boys’ moral and improving literature deemed this to be. Exactly how one was meant to be “manly” is discussed in the historiography far less than the notion of manliness is invoked. This chapter, in establishing that the pan-class manly ideal was still largely moral, Christian, domesticated and fatherly (as opposed to

muscular, imperial, homosocial or secular) makes a double contribution to the current historiography. On the one hand, it establishes that “manliness” has been too readily cast aside as a feasible category of analysis for histories of the period from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through to the First World War. The increased focus on “masculinities,” a conceptual neologism, has obscured the importance of manliness at this time and neatly conformed with secularization theses and an historiographical fascination with the British Empire. This bifocal approach, while adding much, has nevertheless obscured the extent to which religious, domesticated ideals of the manly man prevailed in the metropole. By focusing on literature for boys, one sees the degree to which this ideal was still being projected for the *next* generation, even into the early twentieth century. The second major contribution is to examine the strategies put forward to make sure that the messages in the juvenile press were actually received and implemented. Focusing on the Band of Hope, the chapter concludes with a sketch of the ways in which the moral education being disseminated in periodicals had a real effect with regards to turning boys into “manly” men.

The final chapter builds on the ground laid in chapter five, exploring the ways in which the drive to make good future fathers out of boys was based upon a presumed failure of present parents in raising their children. It lends weight to a recent observation that the temperance movement, “perhaps more than any other, was responsible for the promotion of two dichotomous father figures: one sober, industrious and affectionate who spent his leisure time predominantly with his family; the other drunken, negligent and brutal who wasted his time in the alehouse, returning only to wreck his home.”²² The

²² Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers, “Introduction: The Empire of the Father,” *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) 10.

chapter details the ways in which the periodical press often assumed a surrogate father role in the raising of its boy readers, insisting that another Father, the heavenly kind, would lead them to the right path. A significant contribution here is in the exploration of the notion of the boy as moral beacon. Raised according to the “correct” moral precepts, boys themselves were thought to be able to remedy the failing morals of their fathers through example. Not only does this invert the assumed direction of moral relations in the domestic realm, but, by virtue of its exclusively masculine dynamic, it also throws the absolute moral authority of mothers into question. Challenging the historiographical orthodoxy of the “angel in the house,” this chapter concludes by suggesting that throughout this period moral authority was shared, and that fatherly moral authority was highly significant and not so absent as is sometimes thought.

Historiographical Review

Manliness as a Useful Category of Analysis?

Histories of British masculinities have greatly expanded in recent years, revising the former insistence on a separate spheres model for the sexes, with the public, political sphere identified solely with men and masculinity. These assumptions are only beginning to be fully interrogated. Matthew McCormack’s new edited collection endeavours to do this, examining the connections among masculinity, politics and “the public.”²³ Paul R. Deslandes has pointed out that:

²³ Matthew McCormack, ed., *Public men : masculinity and politics in modern Britain* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

While initial work in the field explored how discourses of masculinity operated in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain and how the dominant ideals of manliness permeated religious literature, the educational ideas of Thomas Arnold or the adventure stories of G. A. Henty and H. Rider Haggard, more recent scholarship has emphasised how sexuality, race, ethnicity, religion, and social class have inflected gender identities for British men.²⁴

My work seeks self-consciously to re-address the concept of manliness, whilst focusing on how this ideal permeated popular culture, coloured by issues surrounding age, class, place and religion.

Manliness as an ideal way of conceptualizing men and their place in society predominated in our period. According to Michael Roper, in mid-twentieth century memoirs of public schooling, men were increasingly viewed as “the emotional victims of a training in manliness.”²⁵ Recently, historians of masculinities have pushed manliness aside as an analytical concept. John Tosh has argued that “Manliness presents a convenient target for gender historians, but a fundamentally misleading one. It certainly isn’t the master concept which will unlock the puzzle of Victorian masculinity.”²⁶ This sentiment has been echoed by others, notably Martin Francis, who notes the historiographical “concern” that “studies of ‘manliness’ inevitably privileged elite over popular conceptions of masculinity.”²⁷

For Tosh, manliness, by and large, is a distinctly limited category referring to the character of mind, not to masculinity related to the body, nor to masculinity related to

²⁴ Paul R. Deslandes, “The Boundaries of Manhood in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain,” *Gender & History*, 19, no.2 (2007): 376.

²⁵ Michael Roper, “Between Manliness and Masculinity: The ‘War Generation’ and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950,” *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005): 361.

²⁶ John Tosh, “What Should Historians Do With Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain,” *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994): 183.

²⁷ Martin Francis, “The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth-century British Masculinity,” *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002): 639.

sex.²⁸ It was confined initially to the elite, and thereafter to the middle classes, who used it as a point of distinction in their class relations with those they deemed below themselves. He notes that:

The dominant code of Victorian manliness, with its emphasis on self-control, hard work and independence, was that of the professional and business classes, and manly behaviour was what (among other things) established a man's class credentials vis-à-vis his peers and his subordinates.²⁹

Throughout, and especially in chapter 5, *Raising Fathers, Raising Boys* rather complicates this description of manliness, since it demonstrates the difficulty of locating 'manliness' in one class rather than another, as well as its constant allusions to the physical *and* moral states of incipient men. Admittedly, Tosh does note that "... by the end of the nineteenth century, ... there was a growing tension between the moral and physical criteria of manliness," which suggests an ongoing analytical usefulness for the term.³⁰ Nevertheless, his overall drift is in a direction away from manliness, toward the sociological tools related to masculinity, and the potential for critical histories of manliness has therefore been left impotent.

This thesis, in its detailed investigation of the richness of the meaning of manliness, demonstrates that if "manliness" has hitherto been seen as a "convenient target" then this was only because it was not taken seriously enough as a meaningful, complex, and pan-class category worthy of historical investigation. The label's sheer ubiquity makes it easily understood, when actually what lay beneath that label was quite to the contrary. Moreover, this thesis reveals that there is nothing "inevitable" about

²⁸ Tosh, "What Should Historians Do," 182.

²⁹ Tosh, "What Should Historians Do," 183.

³⁰ Tosh, "What Should Historians Do," 182.

studies of manliness privileging the elite. While the added value that studies of “masculinities” have brought to the field cannot be denied, it is hard not to agree with Rob Boddice:

Unless the analytical insights of masculinity theory are balanced by an awareness of historical cultural specificity, there will always be a risk of anachronism. The historian may well claim that she or he is better positioned to make sense of macro-gender relations in the past from the vantage point of the present (with the help of all the concomitant analytical language), but it does not seem right to do so at the expense of how past actors viewed their own gender relations. “Manliness” may not serve the purposes of gender historians, but that does not render it unuseful. On the contrary, it should serve as a reminder that we are perhaps not asking the right questions.³¹

Manliness, morality and character were closely associated concepts. Character is now seen as an essential cultural concept for understanding the late Victorian and Edwardian periods.³² Yet character is too often dismissed as a quality only understood in elite athletic or imperial terms.³³ I agree with Nathan Roberts in his badly-needed revision of this interpretation, demonstrating that the cultivation of character reached far beyond the elite culture.³⁴ Rather it was seen as a goal for *all* young Britons to be “instilled with those qualities of citizenship that would guarantee the vitality and

³¹ Rob Boddice, “Manliness and the ‘Morality of Field Sports’: E.A. Freeman and Anthony Trollope, 1869-71,” *The Historian*, 70, no. 1 (2008): 3.

³² Jose Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914* (London: Penguin, 1994) 248-9.

³³ J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); John Springhall, “Building Character in the British Boy: the Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914,” in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.

³⁴ Nathan Roberts, “Character in the mind: citizenship, education and psychology in Britain, 1880–1914,” *History of Education*, 33, no. 2 (2004): 177–197.

efficiency of the social organism.”³⁵ This statement, if pushed, has important implications for the study of manliness in this era.

The focus of this study is on the period of 1880-1914 when, historians generally agree, there was a refashioning of what it meant to be a man. This has been a remarkably consistent idea, marking a shift from domesticated, spiritual and intellectual manliness, to imperial, secular, bodily “muscularity.” The thesis was developed by David Newsome and the idea propagated chiefly by J.A. Mangan.³⁶ For many late-Victorian men, the lure of the Empire or the club became stronger than that of leading their own families. John Tosh, in his *A Man's Place*,³⁷ provides us with the most comprehensive study of male middle-class domesticity in nineteenth-century Britain. He points to a “flight from domesticity” for middle-class men in the 1880s. He refines this argument in a later article,³⁸ showing that with the “New Imperialism” beginning in the 1880s, a complex relationship developed between the imperial and the masculine whereby British men were being molded to fit the demands of the Empire and in turn the Empire would “make” men.³⁹ Thus, according to this argument, the Empire along with the public

³⁵ Roberts, “Character in the mind,” 178.

³⁶ David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London: John Murray, 1961); J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1985); J.A. Mangan, “Noble Specimens of Manhood: Schoolboy Literature and the Creation of a Colonial Chivalric Code,” in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Jeffery Richards. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989); J.A. Mangan *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) Donald Hall, ed., *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

³⁷ John Tosh, in his *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

³⁸ John Tosh, “Manliness, masculinities and the New Imperialism,” in *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005).

³⁹ Tosh, “Manliness, masculinities and the New Imperialism,” 209.

schools would fashion men who preferred to eschew or to delay the choice of starting a home with a wife and children.

Historians (like Tosh) who study the social history of men in this era have been influenced by the idea that there was a general rhetorical shift toward imperial masculinity.⁴⁰ A. J. Hammerton has already nuanced this argument, shifting “the key site of discussion of lower-middle-class masculinity away from imperial enthusiasms, which originated with other classes, toward men’s own preoccupations centered in the domestic sphere.”⁴¹ He points to a lower-middle-class commitment to marital partnership, meaning that these men did not participate in the “flight from domesticity.”⁴² My work demonstrates that, at least rhetorically, the shift away from domesticity was in no way complete. In fact, influential organizations continued to promote domesticated masculinity and men’s spiritual primacy in the home. Thus, studies that describe a *real* “flight from domesticity,” based on the idea that large numbers of men were inspired by the rhetoric of imperial masculinity are incorrectly grounded. Relatedly, studies that explore the idea of the “Angel in the House,” (a popular phrase to describe the prevalent rhetoric of woman’s supreme influence in the home, first used by Coventry Patmore in his poem of the same name in 1854) and conclude that women were the central figures of the home, rhetorically if not also in real terms, would

⁴⁰ For a range of approaches to “imperial masculinities,” see Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*; J. Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997); J.M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); P. Dunae, “Boys’ Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914,” *Victorian Studies*, 24 (1980): 105-21.

⁴¹ A. James Hammerton, “Pooterism or Partnership? Marriage and Masculine Identity in the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1920,” *Journal of British Studies*, 38 (1999): 295.

⁴² Hammerton, “Pooterism or Partnership?” 320.

benefit from an examination of the importance in numerous texts of men in the home.⁴³

While this study does not propose to assess men's behaviour, it does provide a picture of an important competing articulation of what it meant to be a man at the turn of the century in Britain, one which has been ignored by concentrating on imperial masculinity in popular culture.

Though the "flight from domesticity," even among middle-class men, has been exaggerated (as Tosh himself acknowledges), many contemporaries were apprehensive about such a shift. Historians widely agree that marriage and fatherhood were the benchmarks of manliness for much of the late eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth centuries.⁴⁴ Was it not still true then, as it had been throughout the century, that a man only obtained full manhood in marrying and in becoming a father? By concentrating on the mother, a more prominent historiographical category than that of the father⁴⁵ and on imperial masculinity, we are left with the impression that the late nineteenth-century father is mainly absent, if not physically then at least emotionally or figuratively. Many late nineteenth-century commentators would have agreed that men were shirking their familial duties and that mothers' dominance in the home would have disastrous consequences for their sons' manhood.

⁴³ Carol Christ, "Victorian Masculinity and the Angel in the House," in M. Vicinus (Ed) *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977); Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

⁴⁴ (G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 98-103; Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001); Anna Clark, "The Rhetoric of Chartist Domesticity: Gender, Language, and Class in the 1830s and 1840s," *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992): 62-88; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987) chap.7; John Tosh, "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England," *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 48-64.

⁴⁵For example, Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, chap. 7; P. Jalland, *Marriage and Politics, 1860-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

It is a challenge in studies of gender to show shifting rhetorical trends in a meaningful way, without reverting to problematic generalizations about, say, the rise of imperial masculinity, and the downfall of domesticated masculinity. This would be far too simplistic an account of a very complex issue. Though scholars would not want to show such a stark and decisive shift, the tendency of this scholarship when taken as a whole is to leave that impression.⁴⁶ John Tosh is clear that though he points to a general “flight from domesticity” for middle-class men in this era, the situation of individual men varied greatly and that many still embraced domesticity. In fact, as Martin Francis has pointed out, men could simultaneously embrace and reject domestic manliness.⁴⁷ Men could have all the trappings of a traditional family life, while maintaining an escape in the homosocial environment of the club or even in an adventurous imperial fantasy life through reading.

This should lead us to rethink women’s roles in relation to men and masculinity in the domestic sphere. Sean Gill’s entreaty that “we need to go beyond the oversimplified generalizations implied by such labels as ‘The Angel in the House’ or ‘Muscular Christianity’ as if they represent a straightforward mirroring of Victorian Christian understandings of gender,”⁴⁸ is critical. It is important to see them as part of a complex and often contradictory pattern of cultural discourse. The focus on women’s centrality in the home has made difficult a nuanced understanding of men and of women.

⁴⁶ Roper & Tosh, *Manful Assertions*; Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 166-206.

⁴⁷ Francis, “Domestication of the Male,” 643.

⁴⁸ S. Gill, “How Muscular Was Victorian Christianity? Thomas Hughes and the Cult of Christian Manliness Reconsidered,” in *Gender and Christian Religion*. Ed. R.N. Swanson (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998).

Fatherhood

Although serious historiographical studies of women and of the family are only a generation old, historical knowledge about fatherhood and domesticated manhood in Western society has developed considerably over the past ten years, in response both to new interest in fathers in our own time and to immense strides in the study of changing family life. The influence of women's and family history has greatly contributed to the study of fatherhood and male domesticity. The belief in separate, gendered, spheres was not universal, but it did dominate ideas about gender. As women's history altered older historical narratives by adding the experience of women, scholars are now transforming the story of gender by adding men to the picture. Fatherhood, as an independent topic of inquiry, is rather novel, although it has been tangentially examined in studies of the history of the family. An important example of this is Davidoff and Hall's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*.⁴⁹ Davidoff and Hall showed that middle-class formation took place through gendered experiences related to an increasing separation of the domestic and public spheres, whereby "private" was defined in antithesis to "public," and "femininity" in antithesis to "masculinity." According to this model, this domestic ideology and Evangelicalism mutually defined the middle class.

American scholarship on fatherhood has been greatly increasing in recent years. Robert Griswold's *Fatherhood in America* and Steven Frank's *Life with Father* present more nuanced views of fatherhood than previous studies, yet they are still influenced by fatherly constructions based on the separate spheres model. Griswold relies almost

⁴⁹ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*.

entirely on secondary sources for his view of nineteenth-century fathers; thus, not surprisingly, his work emphasises the loss of fathering power and duties.⁵⁰ Frank tries to combine cultural ideals found in the advice literature with fathering behaviours described in letters, diaries and autobiographies into a unified history. At times, he succeeds in providing a nuanced picture of men, for whom fatherhood was an important part of their lives. He demonstrates that, contrary to many historians' suggestions, some nineteenth-century moralists and family "experts" advocated an ideal of "paternal manhood" that encouraged men to assist women in raising children.⁵¹ Yet, he allows these prescriptive writers to shape his own, and the readers', understanding of fatherhood. Both historians use the language and model of separate spheres to structure their perceptions and limit their conclusions. Their works, then, can be included with earlier studies that emphasised a limited and undermined role for nineteenth-century middle-class fathers.

Shawn Johansen steps beyond the constraints of advice literature's view of fathers. His *Family Men: Middle-Class Fatherhood in Early-Industrializing America* reveals that the standard interpretation of fatherhood for this period, asserting its decline, is overly simplified and fallacious. Examining the letters and diaries of many antebellum men, he demonstrates that men in the first half of the nineteenth century had much interaction with their children. Fathers routinely engaged in numerous domestic chores, cared for children, and took a far more active role in parenting than previously thought. Using a rich selection of personal writings, Johansen attempts to bring out the voices of nineteenth-century fathers, uncovering their feelings during childbirth, their views on

⁵⁰ Robert L. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History* (New York: BasicBooks, 1993).

⁵¹ Steven M. Frank, *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998) 24.

education and religion, the ways their relationship to their children changed as they both grew older, and their attitudes toward many other domestic matters.⁵²

In British history, the field still suffers from a scarcity of secondary sources. Some important exceptions are the Martin Francis review essay, a new edited collection entitled *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*, and especially the work of John Tosh.⁵³ Domesticity has generally been treated as a dimension of women's and family history. Not because of a lack of sources but rather simply due to a lack of concentrated inquiry, men were viewed as having very little interest or influence in daily domestic life. To that end, historians have described mothers as the most powerful guides to piety and to morality.⁵⁴ Fathers, by contrast, have been given secondary roles at best, after the high point in male domesticity in the 1840s.⁵⁵ As Judith Rowbotham states, “the nineteenth century invented the tradition that it was the women who were the ‘natural’ guardians of morality and standards, and the teachers of these to the next generation.”⁵⁶ This was based on a rather unbending understanding of the idea of separate spheres for men and women. Martin Francis has employed a slightly more complex assessment:

the nineteenth-century cult of motherhood invested moral authority in the female, untainted as she was by sexual desire and the beastliness of public life. As women usurped the moral and religious instruction of children, men now foregrounded practical education, sharing with (especially male) children their

⁵² Shawn Johansen, *Family Men: Middle-Class Fatherhood in Early Industrializing America* (New York: Routledge, 2001).

⁵³ Francis, “Domestication of the Male”; Broughton and Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood*; Tosh, *A Man's Place*, et al.

⁵⁴ For example, P. J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 10.

⁵⁵ Clark, “Rhetoric of Chartist Domesticity,” and Tosh, *A Man's Place*, chapters 1-6.

⁵⁶ J. Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989) 6.

thoughts on business or politics. In a significant linguistic displacement, fathers' responsibility for their children was recorded as 'influence' instead of authority.⁵⁷

Megan Doolittle's article, "Religious Belief and the Protection of Children in Nineteenth-century English Families," in the *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* collection, provides us with a way to access tensions between conventional fatherhood and its critics. Her three case studies of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Annie Besant and Chester Armstrong were chosen "to show fathers who faced particularly acute difficulties in managing their role in the moral education of their children, each one resulting in conflict which emerged into public discourse."⁵⁸

In his *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*, John Tosh provides a revised image of the Victorian father, showing how profoundly men's lives were conditioned by the Victorian ideal and how they negotiated its many contradictions. According to Tosh, "the nineteenth century witnessed both the climax of masculine domesticity and the first major reaction against it."⁵⁹ Challenging the familiar definition of fatherhood in his examination of the British middle class, Tosh maintains that "fatherhood encompassed every variant from the almost invisible breadwinner to the accessible and attentive playmate."⁶⁰ Tosh acknowledges that a substantial number of fathers followed the dictates of male domesticity, but he maintains that the late Victorian period, marked by contested masculinities in social, economic and

⁵⁷ Francis, "The Domestication of the Male," 639.

⁵⁸ Megan Doolittle, "Religious Belief and the Protection of Children in Nineteenth-century English Families," in *Gender and Fatherhood*, eds. Broughton and Rogers, 33.

⁵⁹ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 196.

⁶⁰ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 195.

sexual arenas, triggered in many men at least a temporary “flight from domesticity.”⁶¹ By stressing the “flight from domesticity” at the end of the nineteenth century, Tosh largely neglects the significant emphasis on domesticated masculinity during this period. This study will highlight this older version of domesticated masculinity, largely ignored by historians in the face of numerous studies of imperial masculinity.

Successful male parents represented authority, guidance and discipline to their children. As both Tosh and John Gillis have observed, however, fathers acted as both paterfamilias and playmate, allowing themselves the periodic therapeutic opportunity to escape from their public lives into the juvenile world of innocence and play. Fathers were no longer a habitual presence in a working home; they returned only at certain times and on certain days. Since these appearances were predictable and well spaced, they were marked by ritual.⁶² In *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*, Gillis maintains that all domestic rituals were responding to the threat posed by the individualistic, competitive ethic of bourgeois males. They were the inventors and chief beneficiaries of the new domestic rituals, as a substitution for their former, more central, role within the family.⁶³ As breadwinners, Gillis argues, middle-class men became distant figures, strangers even to their children. Tosh and Gillis agree that, in the minds of Victorian boys and girls, the father’s function as provider was symbolized less by his unseen labours than by his newly enhanced position as giver of gifts.⁶⁴ Gillis’ potentially helpful approach is undermined in his chapter on fatherhood.

⁶¹ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, 170.

⁶² Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, 83.

⁶³ John R. Gillis, *A World of their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values* (New York: BasicBooks, 1996) 190-193.

⁶⁴ Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, 82; Gillis, *World of their Own Making*, 193.

Drawing from the limited secondary sources on fatherhood, he is heavily influenced by the constructions of separate spheres and domesticity.

Studies of the ways boys were trained (or not) to be parents in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain are required in order to form a more complete picture of fatherhood. Their boyhood education, both formal and informal, and their upbringing in relation to their manly, familial responsibilities have as yet received little study. Fathers pass on their notions of manhood to their male heirs, in ways which oblige them consciously to accept or reject these parental prescriptions. Boys' literature also must have had a part in instilling masculine and fatherly characteristics. Fathers were products of their boyhood environment and contemporary discourse. That history also needs to be known and is the focus of my own work.

Some scholars have seen the necessity of studying ideas around the domesticity of men and women in tandem. In Martha Vicinus's *A Widening Sphere*, Carol Christ shows, through an examination of Victorian literature, that men must be studied alongside the ideal of the female angel of the house.⁶⁵ Much more work has been done on the implications of male domesticity in the imperial context than in the metropole. Scholars have shown how British domesticity and adequate manliness have been contrasted with the effeminacy of imperial subjects.⁶⁶ This "superior" British model of domesticity was used to justify violent rule over "aboriginal peoples" in the white settler

⁶⁵ Christ, "Victorian Masculinity," 147. She argues that men's sexual aggressiveness was dangerous and distasteful and that this explains much about women's passivity and asexuality in the ideal of the angel in the house.

⁶⁶ For a seminal discussion of this issue, see Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: the Manly Englishman and the Effeminate Bengali in the Late Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995).

empire.⁶⁷ In these studies, the dynamic relationship between imperial masculinity and male domesticity is explored to a far greater extent than in the literature on Britain, which forms the main historiographical basis of this thesis. Exclusively British histories have tended to establish a dichotomy between imperial and domestic masculinity which obfuscates their interconnectedness.

Gender and Religion

One formative area for nineteenth-century men was most certainly either religion, or the explicit rejection of it. Studies focusing on gender and religion in Britain are rare. Again, the intertwined themes of gender and religion are much more developed in the literature on colonialism and Christianity, though many of these studies focus primarily on women, neglecting male religiosity.⁶⁸ The most important work to date, which focuses on Britain, is Callum Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*. Brown provides a model for how gender analysis can be utilized in the history of British religion. Yet his analysis embraces the common, but incomplete, historiographical view that women were upheld as the moral centres of the home, and that men's domestic and familial roles became secondary. "Once separated

⁶⁷ On this issue, see Elizabeth Elbourne's interesting discussion of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cape in "Domesticity and Dispossession: The Ideology of 'Home' and the British Construction of the 'Primitive' from the Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Deep Histories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa*. Eds. Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002) 27-54. For a discussion of similar dynamics in our period, see, for example, Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997) esp. ch. 5.

⁶⁸ Eliza F. Kent, *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Dorothy L. Hodgson, *The Church of Women: Gendered Encounters between Maasai and Missionaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005). For discussions of gender, religion and empire see Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) and Patricia Grimshaw and Peter Sherlock, "Women and Cultural Exchanges," in *Missions and Empire*, ed. Norman Etherington (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

from the world, women were the moral heart of a family constantly endangered by unpious men,” he wrote.⁶⁹ If gender and religion has been little studied, the topic of domesticated manhood, fatherhood and religion has received virtually no concentrated attention.

Yet recently nineteenth-century Christianity and its ties to constructions of masculinity have received some more focused attention. Meredith Veldman’s “Dutiful Daughter Versus All-Boy: Jesus, Gender, and the Secularization of Victorian Society” utilises nineteenth-century descriptions of Jesus to access constructions of masculinity.⁷⁰ Peter Gay’s “The Manliness of Christ,” his study of Thomas Hughes’ 1879 work of the same name, also argues that at the end of the nineteenth century, Christ became the model of a variety of masculinity which was both gentle and strong, demonstrating that the two characteristics were not incompatible. For Gay, Hughes saw Christ as the “incarnation of perfect manliness.”⁷¹ “Manliness” had broader significance than “courage.” “Tenderness and thoughtfulness for others” were also included.⁷² In this way, muscular Christianity which united public school athleticism with Christian morality as a formula for the future rulers of a nation and an empire was wrong, as prowess in sports was a most unsatisfactory criterion for discovering manliness. Gay deems Hughes’ work to give “unexpected scope to the positive value of what is usually called the “feminine”

⁶⁹ Callum Brown. *Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001) 62.

⁷⁰ Meredith Veldman, “Dutiful Daughter Versus All-Boy: Jesus, Gender, and the Secularization of Victorian Society,” *Nineteenth Century Studies*, 11 (1997): 1-24.

⁷¹ Peter Gay, “The Manliness of Christ,” *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society*, eds. R.W. Davis and R.J. Helmstadter. (London: Routledge, 1992) 104.

⁷² Gay, “The Manliness of Christ,” 105.

element in a manly man's character."⁷³ Gay argues for the identification of tenderness with manliness in both Hughes and Charles Kingsley and concludes that "no doubt, manliness was a quality far richer than we have long thought."⁷⁴ This insight is essential for this study, as it recognizes that muscular Christianity and imperial masculinity did not completely dominate in this era, nor for many Christians, like Hughes and Kingsley, was it deemed desirable. The influence of the Broad-church Christian Socialists, Hughes and Kingsley, and other Christians, at least osmotically penetrated factional boundaries and influenced even evangelicals. Ann Braude has argued in "*Women's History Is American Religious History*" that for American men ideals of masculinity conflicted with Christian values. She affirms that "whether exemplifying manhood by competing in the marketplace, the battlefield, or the playing field, the goal for men was to win, not to offer examples of self-sacrificial love."⁷⁵ In contrast, I would argue that the evidence presented here demonstrates that, at least discursively, this assertion is far from universally applicable. Rather, in contrast to dominant secular understandings of masculinity, this study demonstrates that a religious ideal of manliness persists alongside and often in opposition to "imperial" and muscular varieties.

For some historians, the whole religious history of the Victorian era is dominated by the theme of secularization. Alan Gilbert, who makes the clearest case for this interpretation, argues that the "religious boom" belonged essentially to the first half of the nineteenth century, when membership of Nonconformist chapels saw spectacular

⁷³ Gay, "The Manliness of Christ," 109.

⁷⁴ Gay, "The Manliness of Christ," 115.

⁷⁵ Ann Braude, "Women's History Is American Religious History," *Retelling U.S. Religious History*, ed. Thomas A. Tweed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) 104.

growth, and that by 1850 the peak of religious influence in English society had already been passed.⁷⁶ Among the chief critics of this view is Jeffrey Cox, who believes that the Victorian religious crisis came later, during the period 1890 to 1914.⁷⁷ For the purposes of this study, this decline is important, since many contemporaries equated decreasing church attendance with the waning religiosity and morality symptomatic of the modernization of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Cox rejects the connection between secularization and “modernization,” as does Callum Brown in the most recent study on this subject. Brown sees a high level of religiosity, which he argues was primarily dependent on women, as lasting until the 1960s.

Hugh McLeod concurs with those historians who have identified the period 1890-1914 as the one in which there was a “general *consciousness* of religious crisis,” but he also agrees with those who have argued that the roots of the crisis lay in an earlier period, and that in looking at the various causes of the crisis it is not possible to concentrate on this period alone. This crisis had at least three partly independent dimensions: the growth of unbelief or doubt, mainly after about 1860; the decline in church membership and attendance, mainly after about 1890; and a weakening of the social role of religion, which was a much more gradual and long-drawn-out process, affecting different areas of life at different times.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Alan D. Gilbert, *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A History of the Secularization of Modern Society* (London: Longman, 1980).

⁷⁷ Cox does see the beginning of a real decline in churchgoing and piety starting in the 1880s. Jeffrey Cox, *English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982) 272-273.

⁷⁸ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (London: MacMillan, 1996) 223.

Boys' and Family Literature & The History of Childhood, Youth and Adolescence

Despite Callum Brown's overarching claim about the centrality of women as moral guardians, he does make some important observations with regard to juvenile literature and masculinity, remarking on what he calls "the evangelical code." "It was this code," he said, "that established the appetite for the literary boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which almost universally used that code, providing Britons with the primary format in which they learned, explored and negotiated their own individual life destinies." The kind of stories to which he refers were the crucial element in juvenile constructions of their own idealized lives. "The published story," according to Brown, "was no mere invitation to self-conception; it was an injunction to do so. The life story [...] was a guide to behaviour." Moreover, and *a fortiori*, "Stories were vitally important to the conception of religiosity in Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."⁷⁹

Where Brown errs is in his explicit notion that religiosity and masculinity were increasingly opposed categories. The militarized youth movements which epitomized muscular Christianity, and which have received far more in the way of historiographical attention, were, as far as Brown is concerned, "not changes to masculinity as such, but rather 'sub-discursive' struggles going on in the shadow of an overarching opposition between the conceptions of piety and masculinity."⁸⁰ This thesis, in drawing focus back to moral movements, and in particular the literature which drove them, sweeping boys along in numbers as great as in the militarized groups, aims to re-connect piety and masculinity and to show this connection in the positive light in which it was generally seen in *fin-de-siècle* Britain.

⁷⁹ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 72, see also 77.

⁸⁰ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 88-89.

There has been much historical work on children's periodicals and fiction.⁸¹ The studies which concentrate on girls provide us with a good insight into how women were trained to be good wives and mothers, and to feel that their home duties should predominate. Studies have also focused on the connections between girls' literature, religion and enculturation.⁸²

Historians have given a significant amount of attention in recent years to the subject of boys' literature and popular imperialism. Those who have looked at the literature have found that boys' books and periodicals in general, and the *Boy's Own Paper* more specifically, are without exception dedicated to the imperial idea.⁸³ John Springhall, a prolific writer on this topic, observes a basic shift in the concept of manliness in the second half of the nineteenth century. Based on his examination of juvenile literature, Springhall finds a definite transition from "strenuous moral earnestness" and religion in the earlier part of the century to a greater emphasis on

⁸¹ Laura C. Berry, *The Child, the State, and the Victorian Novel* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999); Catherine Robson, *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Valerie Sanders, *The Brother-Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature: From Austen to Woolf* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Valerie Sanders, ed., *Records of Girlhood: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Women's Childhoods* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Don Randall, *Kipling's Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000); Wendy S. Jacobson, ed., *Dickens and the Children of Empire* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000).

⁸² Gorham, *Victorian Girl*; Margaret Nancy Cutt, *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Writing for Children* (Wormley, Herts.: Five Owls Press, 1979); J.S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).

⁸³ See Dunae, "Boys' Literature and the Idea of Empire," 105-21 and Robert H. MacDonald, "Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (1989): 519-39. Stories for boys throughout the period were generally concerned with reinforcing the established and little-questioned manly virtues and discouraging vice (such as sexual indulgence with either sex, cowardice, cheating and gambling). As Judith Rowbotham argues, they also contained little philosophical thought about the position in which these boys might find themselves as adult men. Consequently, according to Rowbotham, stories "concentrated on tales of adventure and the sound results of patriotism and quick-thinking".⁸³ (Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives* 7).

athleticism and patriotism starting at mid-century.⁸⁴ The secondary sources on boys' stories focus primarily on imperial and public school tales, to the exclusion of more home-centered themes.⁸⁵ Adding some important new insights to a well-trodden field, Kelly Boyd's interesting monograph, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Papers in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940*, makes the study of masculinities central to her project. Boyd marks the transition from late-Victorian aristocratic heroes, to working-class, more family-focused Edwardian figures. She makes the insightful observation that, around the turn of the century, with a change in the predominant type of periodical, there came a concomitant change in the type of manliness contained within its pages. For Boyd, this represented a democratization of manliness.⁸⁶ She also contributes much-needed interventions on race and women/girls to the field of boys' popular literature.

As late as 2003, at a conference on "Childhood: A World History," at the University of California, Berkeley, the organizers described the history of childhood as a new subject.⁸⁷ Age is beginning to be addressed as a serious historical category. The inaugural issue of the *Journal of Childhood and Youth* (2008) called for age to be seen as an important category of historical analysis: "as a universal, yet fluid category that illuminates the historical contingencies of agency and power as well as the subjectivity of

⁸⁴ Springhall, "Building Character," 61.

⁸⁵ One important exception is Claudia Nelson's work, *Boys Will be Girls; Invisible Men: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991) on gender and fatherhood in popular periodicals.

⁸⁶ Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper*, see chapters 4 & 5.

⁸⁷ "Roundtable, Victorian Children and Childhood," *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 9, no. 1 (2004): 90-113.

childhood experience.”⁸⁸ Parallels can be drawn here with the category of gender, as both are constructed and subject to a system of power relationships.⁸⁹

Inquiries into the histories of childhood, youth and adolescence have accelerated in recent years, but there is still important work to be done in this field. Very broadly, the field can be roughly divided into two sections: histories of ideas of childhood, and a more social-history approach, focused on the lived experiences of children and attempts to access children’s “voices.”⁹⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the range of official sources available to historians, there are many more studies of the second type on working-class children than on the middle and upper classes. Autobiographies are another important source in this field, but historical studies that rely on personal reminiscences must be wary of childhood accounts written by adults.

Serious study of the history of childhood began with Philippe Ariès’s *Centuries of Childhood* (1960 [trans. 1962]), showing that attitudes to children evolved over time and that the category of childhood itself was historically contingent. More recent historians have sought to revise Ariès’s argument, but his book remains an important source in the field. John Gillis made an important early intervention on the separate categories of youth and adolescence. Gillis has suggested that the “discovery” of adolescence for youth of all classes, and the associated period of dependency in

⁸⁸ Laura L. Lovett, “Age: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *Journal of Childhood and Youth*, 1, no. 1 (2008): 89-90.

⁸⁹ Steven Mintz, “Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis,” *Journal of Childhood and Youth*, 1, no. 1 (2008): 92-93.

⁹⁰ Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and the Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram, 1996).

education, leisure and care, was brought about by late-nineteenth-century social reformers' concern over the recklessness of youth.⁹¹

Subsequent work on childhood, youth or adolescence relating to the post-1850 period in Britain has dealt with schools and childhood (see above), the emergence of new social constructions of childhood, parent-child relationships, social policies directed at children, and children and leisure.⁹² The history of children's voyages between colony and metropole has also been explored.⁹³ Of particular note are a few excellent studies on the "problem" of working-class boys in our period.⁹⁴ Many histories of children and childhood are very broad, intended as overviews with little geographical or temporal specificity,⁹⁵ or quite narrow, with little possibility of generalization. This study seeks to contribute to this growing field of the history of childhood, youth and adolescence, while providing a gendered analysis of popular cultural ideas about boys and families.

⁹¹ Gillis, *Youth and History* (New York: Academic Press, 1974) 13-17, 33-57.

⁹² Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined orphans : poor families, child welfare, and contested citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006); Welshman, John. "Child Health, National Fitness, and Physical Education in Britain, 1900-1940." in *Cultures of child health in Britain and the Netherlands in the twentieth century*. Eds., Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland, (Amsterdam (NY): Rodopi, 2003) 61-84; Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood, and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); George K. Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982); George K. Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁹³ See, for example, Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and Fiona Paisley, "Childhood and Race: Growing up in the Empire," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁹⁴ See, for example, Hendrick, *Images of Youth*. Eileen Janes Yeo, "'The Boy is the Father of the Man': Moral Panic over Working-Class Youth, 1850 to the Present," *Labour History Review*, 69, no. 2 (2004): 185-99; Matthew Hilton, "'Tabs,' 'Fags' and the 'Boy Labour Problem' in Late Victorian and Edwardian England," *Journal of Social History*, 28 (1995): 587-607.

⁹⁵ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (Harlow: Longman, 1995).

The four areas surveyed here coalesce in this thesis in complex ways. While the study is indebted to the various historiographical traditions upon which it draws, it also suggests new ways in which links between them can be established. Understanding gender relations, for example, must be viewed in the light of a rich comprehension of domestic piety on the one hand, and on its relationship to age (the parent/child dynamic) on the other. Similarly, literary interpretations of juvenile reading matter must be subjected to empirical contextualization in which the real lives of children and families can be shown to be variously in sympathy or in tension with the representational lives on the printed page. Perhaps most importantly for this work, notions of manliness can only be fully appreciated as part of a wider examination of the boy, the father and the home; and of the increasing public concern with the “problem” of youth.

Informal Education and Enculturation for Boys in Fin-de-siècle Britain

Hark! To the children's voices,
 Hark to their mighty strain;
 They cry to you for justice,
 And shall they cry in vain?
 They ask you to protect them
 From that which works such ill;
 They plead, with hands uplifted –
 "Oh, pass 'The Children's Bill'!"

Remember, Britain's Statesmen,
 Remember, proud M.P.,
 Each boy that now is pleading,
 The future man will be;
 And ev'ry little maiden
 Some place in life will fill;
 On you the sacred duty,
 To pass "The Children's Bill."¹

These stanzas are part of a poem published in *Every Band of Hope Boy's Reciter* called "The Children's Bill: An Appeal." This appeal refers to the Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 1901, commonly known as the Child Messenger Act. The bill had already been passed at the time of publication, but the editor notes that "the act is so mutilated that further efforts will be needed to safeguard the children."² This poem could, however, have been about the Children's Bill of 1908, or any number of other contemporary acts of legislation for children about which similar rhetoric was utilized. The period of 1880-1914 was pivotal in creating awareness for children's issues, as parental authority, which

¹ S. Knowles, *Every Band of Hope Boy's Reciter: Containing Original Recitations, Dialogues, &C., Written Expressly for Bands of Hope* (Manchester: J. Brook and Co., No. 81, c.1902), 134.

² Knowles, *Every Band of Hope Boy's Reciter*, 134.

had earlier predominated, became subsumed in the priorities associated with children's rights.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the context for the analysis presented in the rest of the dissertation. It will provide a brief history of pertinent aspects of *fin-de-siècle* Britain, with a focus on childhood, education, family and religion. Within this context, it will also present the organizations discussed throughout the dissertation.

According to one juvenile temperance advocate, the twentieth century was heralded as the century of the child.³ Throughout our period childhood (and later, adolescence) were ideally distinct times of life, free from adult responsibilities during which young people should rightly cultivate knowledge, ability and moral understanding for their future adult lives. This was a response to philosophical ideas, in large part Rousseauian, about the nature of the child and his or her unique and desirable qualities. This *fin-de-siècle* preoccupation with childhood and its protection also had more pragmatic foundations. Britain was concerned about the encroachment of European rivals and sought to maintain its preeminence as much (if not more) through its future adult population than through its current one. An educated future workforce would ensure Britain's economic position vis-à-vis its competitors; a healthy population would combat fears of racial decline. New attention was paid to children of both sexes, and all social classes. Girls were primarily seen as future mothers who thus should be physically healthy and morally equipped to take on their future roles of raising young Britons and of taking care of their physical, educational and spiritual needs. While a broad definition of citizenship embraced female

³ R. Hercod, "La protection de l'enfant dans la lutte contre l'alcoolisme," *The Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism* (London: National Temperance League, 1909) 130.

Britons as moral guides and educators of “Britishness,” a more narrow definition only really focused on males. Boys were of the utmost concern as, unlike girls, they were to be Britain’s future citizens, leaders, workers and heads of families. Attention was paid to boys of all social classes for whom it was necessary to instill the correct kind of conduct and values, perhaps already absent from men of their fathers’ generation.

The years between around 1880 and the beginning of the First World War were a period of enormous change in Britain. The *fin de siècle* saw a growing awareness of the challenges that Britain had failed to meet: in the 1880s the extent of poverty was revealed, and political reform had failed to heal the rifts among different parts of society. Worries over recruitment during the South African War (1899-1902) led to a “quest for national efficiency,” a flirtation with eugenics, and the establishment of organizations, like the Boy Scouts, in order to create a more virile population and thus a stronger country. In the years immediately before the war this flirtation intensified into a perceived imperative as labour activism, Irish protest, and suffragette militancy threatened major social upheaval, exacerbated by aristocratic inflexibility.

Many factors promoted this increased interest in boyhood and the new, age-specific strategies designed to address it. These came from manifold origins on the local, national and international levels. The coming of adult male democracy in 1885 and the politics of class interest created a growing concern that Britain’s male citizens be educated to exercise their vote with diligence. Furthermore, the spread of industrial and technological modernization in Britain required an increasingly specifically-trained workforce. From the 1870s and with accelerating speed during our period, the spread of these modernizations beyond Britain fostered the rise of pressures for ‘national

efficiency' and market consolidation within Britain. There was also a worry about the rise of juvenile delinquency which had emerged in the Victorian era, but had not subsided by the turn of the century when the paucity of jobs for boys became a topic of debate. M.J.D. Roberts argues that in later nineteenth-century culture there was a "decay of assumptions about the capacity of individuals to 'master their own destiny' by exercise of 'character'."⁴ Though perhaps there was less belief in the power of the Smilesian good character and self-improvement in the formation of successful men than hitherto, this rhetoric continued to be widely used in publications for boys which addressed the "modern" concerns enumerated above. Boys were the hope of the nation and much interest was focused on them, their development and their reading.

Eugenic concerns, prevalent in our period, influenced the importance and the force of the messages to boys and their families. Influenced by Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, Francis Galton coined the word eugenics in 1883.⁵ Darwinian thought had become widely accepted in the scientific community, but more importantly for our purposes, in popular understandings of the human race and its place in the natural world. Though this view of evolution largely replaced the earlier theories on the topic put forward by the French biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, who argued that it was possible for organisms to pass on characteristics acquired during their lifetime to their offspring, these earlier views were still prevalent in popular culture and the popular press. The press used the heritability of acquired characteristics as a strong warning to parents who morally or physically transgressed, or who suffered from

⁴ M.J.D. Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 282.

⁵ Francis Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (London: Macmillan, 1883) 199.

alcohol or drug addictions. The message was that they should cease their reprehensible ways now, or else their children and their descendants would suffer the moral and physical consequences.⁶ The other half of this pseudo-scientific equation was that parents who were morally upstanding and physically pure would surely produce children without hereditary stain, ones who would become strong Britons, capable of bolstering the race.

Darwinian evolution also provided a sense of optimism about the human race for many, yet, according to Daniel Pick, “There *was* sustained and growing pessimism in the 1870s and 1880s about the ramifications of evolution, the efficacy of liberalism, the life in and of the metropolis, the future of society in a perceived world of mass democracy and socialism.”⁷ The fear that the human race, and specifically the British race, could degenerate, intensified after the first South African War and was examined by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. As we shall see below, the committee was established after a widely-reported scandal over the abysmal physique of potential South African War recruits. Though it refused to use the word “degeneration” in the report’s title, and did not support the idea that the entire race was “unfit or degenerate,” its recommendations were partly based on ideas surrounding degeneration.⁸

⁶ See Thomas E. Jordan, *The Degeneracy Crisis and Victorian Youth*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993) 252 for a discussion on the moral impact of degeneration.

⁷ Daniel Pick, *Faces of Degeneration, A European Disorder, c. 1848- c. 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 180.

⁸ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 185.

Though the committee found that the problem of degeneration “was not pervasive,”⁹ some of its recommendations were picked up in subsequent legislation, and arguably had an even larger impact in popular culture. The 1880s represented an intensification of the discursive impact of degeneration, as the term was no longer simply of academic significance but was also related to perceived British social crises of the time.¹⁰ These crises were manifold. Many of these will be discussed later: alcohol, tobacco, irreligion, imprudent early marriage, laziness, thriftlessness and the political demonstrations of the 1880s were all newly blamed on “urban degeneration.” This discursive tool was used until the First World War.¹¹ It is important to note that for at least some writers, degeneration did not begin with the poorest and work its way to the better classes, but rather could begin at the top and work its way downwards in society.¹²

Education

During our period, non-elite children were increasingly literate, creating a large new market for the publishing industry. Forster’s Education Act of 1870 provided a framework for the education of children over five years old and under thirteen years old. It was designed to ensure that there was a school in every neighbourhood, but it was only in 1880 that attendance was made compulsory for those aged five to ten, followed in

⁹ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 185.

¹⁰ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 201.

¹¹ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 202.

¹² Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 210.

1891 by the abolition of fees.¹³ In England and Wales the proportion of children aged 5-14 who were in school rose from 24 per cent in 1870 to 48 per cent in 1880 to 70 per cent in 1900.¹⁴ The state's purpose in making schooling compulsory went beyond a desire to ensure that every child was taught to read, to write and to do simple calculations. Morality, patriotism, and good conduct were key goals.¹⁵

The same was true for the British public-school boy, about whom much has already been written. The distinguishing feature of elite education was its tailoring to cater for an elite group – the cultivation of leaders, *esprit de corps*, and empire builders and safeguarders. So much is well known.¹⁶ Nathan Roberts has suggested that both elite and mass education emphasized “the construction of an environment in which young citizens were guided towards the achievement of character through indirect, though pervasive, disciplinary influences.”¹⁷ The principal goal, through a discourse of character, was to transform pupils “into citizens of their community and nation.”¹⁸ We shall see that the informal education in the publications studied throughout this dissertation complemented these goals. The correction of juvenile vices, which had

¹³ Elementary Education Act, 1870, 33 & 34 Vict. cap. 75; Elementary Education Act, 1880, 43 & 44 Vict. cap. 23; Elementary Education Act, 1891, 54 & 55 Vict. cap. 56.

¹⁴ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (Harlow: Longman, 1995) 157.

¹⁵ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 157; Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country and Race: Constructing Gender, Class and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2000).

¹⁶ See, for example, J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: the Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1985); J.R. de S. Honey, *Tom Brown's Universe: the Development of the Victorian Public School* (London: Millington, 1977).

¹⁷ Nathan Roberts, “Character in the mind: citizenship, education and psychology in Britain, 1880-1914,” *History of Education*, 33, no. 2 (March, 2004): 196.

¹⁸ Roberts, “Character in the mind,” 197.

become more tempting and more dangerous under modernization and urbanization, became a focus of the informal education provided by papers for boys and their families, plugging potential gaps left by schools and homes at all social levels. Morality, good citizenship and the avoidance of these vices became intertwined.

Juvenile Vices

Increasing urbanization was seen as nefarious for boys. Not only were they pulled away from the view and control of local communities, but they were also much closer to temptation. There was wide social debate in the 1880s and 1890s about the morbidity and degeneracy of the urban populace in general.¹⁹ According to Daniel Pick, “what we begin to see is an insistent cross-referencing of social preoccupations about the city with the specifically physical description of an impoverished nervous system and circulation.”²⁰ Urban problems like poor housing and diet were mixed with problems resulting from a lack of self-restraint with regard to alcohol, tobacco and sex. As we have seen, the resulting decline was believed not only to affect the guilty, but the innocent future generation as well:

though originating in the vicious course of individuals, [degenerations] are not confined in their consequences to the guilty sufferers, but are passed on to the offspring, and thus become year by year more generally diffused among the great mass of the people.²¹

¹⁹ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 174.

²⁰ Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 191.

²¹ *The Lancet*, 1 (June 1866): 691, quoted in Pick, *Faces of Degeneration*, 191.

This physical degeneration among individuals was then conflated with conclusions about national moral, social and urban decline.²² It was thus vital to the future of the race, not just to individual boys, that they receive clear education on the dangers of juvenile vices, notably drinking, smoking and masturbation,²³ and the ways to avoid them. A brief study of two of these vices in particular will provide a view of the perceived dangers involved in their juvenile indulgence. It will also explore the legislative impulses to safeguard against the youthful acquisition of such vices.

Alcohol

Studying the relationship of children to drink and temperance is an exceptional indicator of their progress toward a special, sober time for education and development, free from earning a living. In 1872, John Locke, M.P., argued in the House of Commons that ‘children worked at a very early age – certainly before 14 – and they must have their luncheons or dinners. Why should they not be allowed to have beer with their meals?’²⁴ Growing public opinion, however, shied away from both children’s employment and their public drinking. Yet childhood drinking did not end immediately. An 1886 survey showed that in about three hours 7,019 children passed in and out of 200 London pubs. It

²² See, for example, “Degeneration amongst Londoners,” *The Lancet*, 1 (February 1885): 264.

²³ Much more has already been written on childhood and masturbation than has been written about the relation of drinking and smoking to childhood in this period. See Lesley A. Hall, “Birds, bees and general embarrassment: sex education in Britain, from social purity to Section 28,” in *Public or private education?: Lessons from history*, ed., Richard Aldrich (Woburn education series; London: Woburn, 2004) 98-115; Lesley A. Hall, *Hidden anxieties: male sexuality, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991); Alan Hunt, “The great masturbation panic and the discourses of moral regulation in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 8, no. 4 (1998): 575-615; Sam Pryke, “The control of sexuality in the early British Boy Scouts movement,” *Sex Education*, 5, no. 1 (2005): 15-28; Arthur N. Gilbert, “Masturbation and insanity: Henry Maudsley and the ideology of sexual repression,” *Albion*, 12, no. 3 (1980): 268-82; Angus McLaren, *Impotence: A Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

²⁴ *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., vol. 204 (1872), col. 1681.

was estimated that 250,000 children frequented the capital's 10,000 pubs and that there was similar behaviour in the rest of the country. Statistics in 1899, showing only seventeen arrests of children for drunkenness in London, suggest that many of the children were probably only fetching the supper beer or that the rest were well controlled by their parents.²⁵ The number of children in pubs shrank in the period before World War I, due not only to the effects of legislation, but also to changing attitudes. By 1901, the prohibition of children's drinking in pubs met little resistance, perhaps indicating that public opinion was ahead of legislation.

Consensus grew among all classes that children should neither have paid employment nor visit pubs. Legislation reducing child labour and providing education was reinforced with laws which slowly prohibited children drinking in pubs – first the consumption of spirits for those under sixteen in London in 1839, and the rest of the country in 1872, and then the consumption of all alcohol for everyone under thirteen in 1886.²⁶ As late as 1900, however, children from five to eight years old still bought beer in pubs, presumably for their parents.²⁷ Even the 1901 Act did not prevent children from purchasing the family supper beer, from which some probably sipped a little on the way home.²⁸ Supported by enormous bipartisan national opposition to youthful drinking, legislators nevertheless acted conservatively. Advocating the 1901 Act, the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS, about which more below) officer, William Houldsworth, M.P., told the House of Commons that 5,627 petitions had been sent out in

²⁵ Home Secretary C.T. Ritchie, 19 March 1901, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 91 (1901), col. 407.

²⁶ 2 & 3 Vict., c. 47, cl. 42 (1839); 35 & 36 Vict., c. 94, cl. 7 (1872); 49 & 50 Vict., c. 56, cl. 1 (1886).

²⁷ William Houldsworth, 20 March, 1901, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 91 (1901), cols. 574, 576.

²⁸ 1 Edward VII, c. 27, cl. 2 (1901).

1900, most by school boards and boards of guardians; the CETS *Temperance Chronicle* reported that few took advantage of the “fetching” provision, showing that public opinion surpassed legislation.²⁹ The attractiveness of the CETS for young Britons continued after it had greatly dimmed among adults, demonstrating a barely-questioned consensus that children should not drink.³⁰

In keeping with the universal education which was gradually made available after 1870, the CETS provided both Anglican and other schools instructional material on all dimensions of the drink question – social, economic, cultural, political, religious, medical and even historical; sponsored countless competitions and fêtes and helped redefine child abuse to include administering alcohol to minors, which sometimes led drunken parents to leave their children on the streets outside pubs to listen to a concertina player or to find whatever amusement they could.³¹ In 1904 the CETS introduced the semi-teetotal pledge, allowing drinking with meals, which demonstrated not only that teetotalism was no longer controversial, but that neither was moderate drinking.³² Nor did home drinking for juveniles entirely end, as UK law permits it even today among children aged five and older.³³

²⁹ William Houldsworth, 20 March, 1901, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 91 (1901), col. 574; *Temperance Chronicle* (CETS), 30 (9 August 1901): 393.

³⁰ For statistics see CETS, *Annual Report[s]*, 30 (1891): 49-76; 40 (1901): 59-92; 50 (1911): 46-83.

³¹ For activities see CETS, *CET Chronicle*, 5 (May 1877): 69-70; *Executive Minutes*, 6 January, 1880: n.p.; *Annual Report[s]*, 19 (1881): 14; 20 (1882): 14; 26 (1887): 14; 30 (1891): 200; *Juvenile Union Outline, Addresses and Readings*, 1 (January 1887): 1-7; *Easy Outlines of the Historical Syllabus* (1906): 11; CETS, *Temperance Chronicle* 39 (14 January 1910): 15.

³² G.W. Olsen, *Drink and the British Establishment – the Church of England Temperance Society, 1873-1919* (Unpublished manuscript) 200.

³³ This permissiveness remains controversial. The charity Alcohol Concern deemed it responsible for binge drinking in pre-teens and teens, and recommended that the government prosecute parents who give alcohol to children under 15 years of age. See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6596515.stm>, Accessed April 11, 2008.

Smoking

According to Matthew Hilton, tobacco consumption was understood to be “not only a symptom of racial decline but a cause of it.”³⁴ Juvenile cigarette smoking attracted much professional and popular attention during our period, but has received little attention from historians.³⁵ Cigarettes were first widely introduced at the start of our period, in the 1880s, greatly increasing the rate of juvenile smoking as cigarettes were less cumbersome and cheaper than other forms of tobacco. Smoking was believed to make boys appear older and more manly. Though some women did smoke, attention was focused on the problem of male youth. It was reported in 1891 that eighty percent of boys in Lancashire smoked cigarettes.³⁶ Although moderate smoking was accepted for adults, there was general agreement that it was harmful for youth as it stunted growth and weakened the growing body, with devastating consequences in adulthood. Fears surrounding this issue were distinctly linked to worries about physical deterioration after the South African War and to increasing urbanization. In fact, the 1904 *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration* addressed the problem of juvenile smoking, recommending that children under sixteen should not be allowed to

³⁴ Matthew Hilton, “‘Tabs,’ ‘fags’ and the ‘boy labour problem’ in late Victorian and Edwardian England.” *Journal of Social History*, 28 (1995): 599.

³⁵ One important exception is John Welshman, “Images of youth: the issue of juvenile smoking, 1880-1914,” *Addiction*, 91, no. 9 (1996): 1379-1386. See also Matthew Hilton’s work: “Leisure, Politics, and the Consumption of Tobacco in Britain since the Nineteenth Century,” in *Histories of leisure*, ed., Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002) 319-36; Hilton, “‘Tabs,’ ‘fags,’” 587-607; Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800-2000: Perfect Pleasures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) and Jarrett Rudy, *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).

³⁶ Welshman, “Images of youth,” 1379-80.

smoke.³⁷ Its recommendations, in addition to those of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (1903) and the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Juvenile Smoking Bill (1906), were taken up as part of the Children Act of 1908. As part of this much larger act (see discussion in chapter 3), clauses 39 to 48 made it illegal to sell tobacco to any person “apparently under the age of sixteen.”³⁸ The anti-tobacco groups had little impact,³⁹ but in addition to health concerns for boys, worries that smoking encouraged bad moral and physical habits influenced the anti-smoking stance of all of the juvenile papers studied here, as well as their associated youth groups.

It will be shown in chapter 4 that Hamilton Edwards transformed this issue into his personal crusade as editor of the Amalgamated Press boys’ papers. Edwards rejoiced at the provision in the Children’s Act to prevent children under sixteen years old from smoking. In fact, he took credit for raising awareness on the importance of this issue in his long-standing and prescient campaign in the *Boys’ Herald*. Since the creation of the *Boys’ Herald* and its companion papers, Edwards put forward that smoking was “the peril to the boy life of this country.” Having witnessed little boys as young as twelve “puffing away at deadly cigarettes,” Edwards held a firm belief that strong legislation against smoking would bring about greater positive change for youth. “Stop the cigarette habit, and you will not only make the rising generation a healthier one, but you will put a check on other vicious habits which follow in its train.” He appealed to cigarette-makers not to “make money out of wrecking the constitutions of young boys,” but was confident

³⁷ *Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Degeneration*, Cd. 2175, [Parliamentary Papers 32] vol. 1 (1904), 76.

³⁸ 8 Edw. VII, c. 67 (1908).

³⁹ Hilton, “‘Tabs,’ ‘fags,’” 602.

that most manufacturers supported the provisions against juvenile smoking in the Children's Act.⁴⁰

The Juvenile Publishing Industry

Encouraged by increasing literacy after the 1870 Education Act, in the early 1880s over 900 new juvenile books were issued annually and 15 secular boys' periodicals competed for boys' attention.⁴¹ There was a big boom in the number of juvenile periodicals beginning at the end of the 1870s. Patrick Dunae approximates that there were only 59 such periodicals in 1874 (none was recorded in 1863); with numbers increasing substantially to 100 in 1884 and continuing to accelerate to 218 in 1910.⁴² According to M.J.D. Roberts, in the 1870s the moral status of self-denial in middle-class culture began to be questioned. The result encouraged religious and voluntary leaders to reconsider their ways of functioning.⁴³ One result of this was the increased attention by diversely-motivated groups on juvenile publishing. In addition, advances in printing technology, railway distribution, the penny post, the repeal of "taxes on knowledge" and increased government spending all had a material impact on the great profusion of newspapers and periodicals in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ According to John Springhall, "Fortunes were certainly made and lost by London's publishers of cheap juvenile fiction,

⁴⁰ Hamilton Edwards, "At Last," *Boys' Herald*, 5, no. 243 (1908): 561.

⁴¹ John Springhall, "'Disseminating impure literature': the 'penny dreadful' publishing business since 1860," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 47 (1994): 568.

⁴² Patrick A. Dunae. *British Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire: 1880-1914*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Victoria University of Manchester, 1975) 12.

⁴³ Roberts, *Making English Morals*, 286.

⁴⁴ Springhall, "'Disseminating impure literature,'" 567.

suggesting the scale and significance of a business catering specifically to the popular end of the juvenile market.”⁴⁵ All of the papers discussed in this dissertation were the product of this business atmosphere. The major publishers represented will now be discussed.

The Religious Tract Society⁴⁶

Though historians disagree about secularization theory, it is clear that many Britons at the *fin-de-siècle* were concerned about declines in religious adherence, especially in church attendance and piety, and the consequent effect on morality and on the family. The Religious Tract Society was a prime location for these kinds of concerns. The RTS was a product of the Evangelical Revival which had begun in the mid eighteenth century. Evangelicalism was a social as well as a religious movement, concerned with ensuring real rather than formal Christianity through individual conversion. Like the other major organizations of the evangelical movement, the RTS, a widespread nondenominational society throughout Britain and in missions around the world, was created to disseminate spiritually improving literature to an expanding audience of Christians and the “unconverted.” The Society’s founder, The Rev. George Burder of Coventry, had written several tracts of a practical, evangelical tone. At the London Missionary Society’s Anniversary meeting in 1799, Burder proposed the establishment of a non-sectarian society for the preparation and circulation of evangelical tract literature. To that end, the

⁴⁵ Springhall, “Disseminating impure literature,” 582.

⁴⁶ Since 1935, the Society has been known as the United Society for Christian Literature (USCL). The main repository for the archives of the United Society for Christian Literature is the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. The Society’s archives contain the surviving records of the Religious Tract Society and the Christian Literature Society for India and Africa, founded in 1858 as the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. Very little original correspondence survives and there are many gaps in publications held. (A fire at the RTS’s headquarters in Paternoster Row destroyed most of the Society’s archives).

Religious Tract Society committee was formed, consisting of twelve members, both clerical and lay. According to the RTS's own official history, published at the end of the nineteenth century, good tracts contained "pure truth," "some account of the way of a sinner's salvation," and plain, striking, entertaining and idea-driven content. They should be adapted to various situations and conditions, "for the young and for the aged, for the children of prosperity and of affliction, for careless and for awakened sinners, and for entering into the reasonings, excuses, temptations, and duties of each, and pointing to the way of the Lord."⁴⁷ In its first year, 1799-1800, the Religious Tract Society sold 200,000 tracts, a number which rose to 800,000 in the Society's second year.⁴⁸ The RTS quickly expanded, publishing increasing numbers of books and periodicals, all with the same high moral tone.

Throughout the 1850s, several cheap religious periodicals were established in an attempt to benefit from the growing family-reading market for weeklies.⁴⁹ Improving magazines, many of them published by the Religious Tract Society, dominated this market.⁵⁰ At mid-century, the RTS began publishing two penny weeklies, the *Leisure Hour* (1852-1908), and the *Sunday at Home* (1854-1940) both edited for many years by James Macaulay, with his colleague and successor, W. Stevens. According to the Society's late nineteenth-century chronicler, Samuel G. Green, the most important step in the provision of popular literature was the introduction of the *Leisure Hour*, a new weekly magazine which aimed to treat all topics of human interest "in the light of

⁴⁷ Samuel G. Green, *The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1899) 7.

⁴⁸ *An Account of the Origin and Progress of the London Religious Tract Society* (London, 1803) 9, in *Death of Christian Britain*, Brown, 49.

⁴⁹ Josef Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989) 39.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 54.

Christian truth.”⁵¹ Both magazines, as competitively-priced cheap weeklies, sought to reach the widest audience possible, including most of the working class. The magazines were also issued in monthly parts for five pence each. With these two periodicals, the Society began to publish cheap religious periodicals for the popular, family weekly market, although a distinction between weekly and Sunday reading was maintained.⁵² These publications were cheaper than their biggest secular competitors for readership. At twopence, Charles Dickens’ weekly, *All the Year Round*, was double the price of the RTS family publications.⁵³

By 1850 the fires of Evangelical enthusiasm burned less fiercely, but the cultural legacy of the movement remained powerful, particularly in the intertwining of Christian values and middle-class mores. Though less-improving magazines grew in number, especially from the 1890s, the bulk of the domestic literature of the British family remained strongly evangelical in origin at least until the 1910s.⁵⁴ Also, as late as 1890, the *Boy’s Own Paper* continued to provide strongly evangelical messages of Christian purity.

The *Leisure Hour*, and even more the *Sunday at Home*, reflected the much larger sabbatarian movement, devoted to preserving Sunday as a day of rest and of religious observance. This movement was important for members of the RTS who wished to set aside Sunday as a day when fathers could abstain from work outside the home and spend time with their families, to combat the contemporary perception that fathers were

⁵¹ Green, *Story of the Religious Tract Society*, 73.

⁵² Mark W. Turner, *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain* (London: MacMillan, 2000) 66.

⁵³ *All the Year Round: A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens*, 24 (1880) frontispiece.

⁵⁴ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, 54.

increasingly becoming “strangers” in the home. The Religious Tract Society clearly targeted the family circle, as is indicated in its magazines’ subtitles: the *Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation*, and *Sunday at Home: The Illustrated Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading*. Both periodicals often led with fiction, and included at least one large illustration in each issue. As a sabbath magazine, *Sunday at Home* was more sober in its presentation and contents than the weekly *Leisure Hour*, providing appropriate reading for all ages on the day of rest. This periodical was more overtly religious, but was still intended to be non-denominational.

Most aristocrats resisted militant sabbatarianism, and many members of the working class could not strictly adhere to it. But for the middle class, Sunday tended to be quiet, and at least an external observance of Sunday was regarded as a normal requirement of respectability.⁵⁵ By the 1880s, this was beginning to change. Gradually the taboos on Sunday recreation were being lifted. In London “Society,” Sunday dinner parties were becoming fashionable, and wealthy families with their own tennis courts and croquet lawns were beginning to ignore the ban on Sunday amusement.⁵⁶ Yet by providing entertaining family reading, the RTS encouraged men to remain at home on Sunday with their families, instead of the often morally dubious activities of pub-going or the increasingly popular homo-social environment of the club. The *Sunday at Home* continued to be published even as middle-class interest in sabbatarianism waned since RTS members wished to preserve Sunday as a day of rest and family time in which the father could be an active participant. According to one article in the *Sunday at Home*,

⁵⁵ John Wigley, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980) *passim*.

⁵⁶ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914* (London: MacMillan, 1996)199.

“There can be no doubt that there is a wave of unbelief and ungodliness passing over this country. According to reports from the clergy the Archdeacon declares that it is more difficult to get men to church on Sundays, in town and country.”⁵⁷ The remedy to increasing ungodliness was for fathers to lead family prayers every day.

Though historians like Callum Brown now see late-nineteenth century fears about secularization as exaggerated,⁵⁸ it is clear that many Britons at the time were concerned about declines in religious adherence, especially in church attendance and piety, and the consequent effect on morality and on the family. The Religious Tract Society was a prime location for these kinds of concerns. In a history of the RTS published by its current incarnation, the Lutterworth Press, in 1949, author Gordon Hewitt described the new challenge the RTS faced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

The secularization of English society which had begun in the closing decades of the nineteenth century became more marked in the early years of the twentieth. Church attendance fell away, Sunday Schools declined; the Christian religion was not openly repudiated or aggressively attacked, but it came to be commonly assumed that a man's religion was his own affair, and that he was a competent judge of it without making reference to the specialists and without making any practical experiments.⁵⁹

This secular trend, though perhaps overestimated in significance, created serious problems for a society which had been founded primarily to promote Christian evangelism at home. As Hewitt concluded, “The old tracts appealed to the Bible as an ultimate authority accepted alike by writer and reader, but acceptance on the reader's part

⁵⁷ “Family Prayer,” *Sunday at Home* (1901-02) 15.

⁵⁸ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*.

⁵⁹ Gordon Hewitt, *Let the People Read: A Short History of the United Society for Christian Literature* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949) 73.

could no longer be assumed.”⁶⁰ In our period, because of these external societal pressures and increasing competition from “secular” publishers, the RTS focused less on tracts (its former mainstay) and more on its periodicals for families and girls and boys. It also attracted children by giving away many prizes awarded for proficiency in Bible studies classes (see appendix V). As it realized that the acceptance of religious messages could no longer be taken for granted, the Society adapted the content of its periodicals to suit the tastes of a more “modern” reading public.

The RTS claimed to have an enormous influence in this domain. In the autumn of 1900, for example, the society sold more than 100,000 copies of the annual volumes of its leading magazines. It was estimated that each of these actually exerted “some influence upon the mental and spiritual development of from ten to fifteen readers,” as the magazines were placed in libraries and reading-rooms, given away as presents or sold second-hand. Thus, the estimated readership was from a million to one-and-a-half million. “And when it is born in mind,” according to one *Sunday at Home* article, “that the ultimate purpose of all this reading matter is not only to amuse and instruct, but, if possible, to benefit directly, both morally and spiritually, all who read its pages, the tremendous power of this agency becomes at once apparent.”⁶¹ Sales income peaked in 1885 at over £180,000 a year.⁶² Such a massive increase in sales was made possible by the new publishing program, with its broader appeal particularly among the middle and lower-middle classes with spending power. The high point of the programme was

⁶⁰ Hewitt. *Let the People Read*, 73-74. Between 1903 and 1938 the annual circulation of the RTS’s tracts decreased from fourteen million to slightly less than a million.

⁶¹ “The Open Door for Christian Literature,” *Sunday at Home* (1900-01) 194.

⁶² Aileen Fyfe, “Industrialised Conversion: the Religious Tract Society and Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain” (Ph.D. Dissertation, History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, 2000) 233.

arguably the *Boy's Own* and *Girl's Own Papers*, launched in 1879 and 1880, which were voted the most popular periodicals among adolescents in 1888, and which greatly boosted sales income.⁶³

By the end of the 1870s, The RTS committee was convinced of the need to provide improving literature for both boys and girls. In the 1879 Report, the committee expressed the urgency of creating a periodical specifically directed at boys:

The urgent need of such a periodical had been long and deeply felt. Juvenile crime was being largely stimulated by the pernicious literature circulated among our lads. Judges, magistrates, schoolmasters, prison chaplains, and others were deploring the existence of the evil, and calling loudly for a remedy, but none seemed to be forthcoming. The Committee, fully admitting the terrible necessity of a publication which might to some extent supplant those of a mischievous tendency, yet hesitated to enter upon the task.⁶⁴

The Society believed that it was outside its scope of operations to produce a paper that was not largely religious in its teachings, yet acknowledged that an overtly religious periodical would do little to challenge the profusion of “penny dreadfuls” that emerged after the 1870 Education Act provided universal schooling.⁶⁵ “It was thus forced upon the Committee to attempt an enterprise from which others shrank” and the first edition of the *Boy's Own Paper*—a sixteen page and one-penny weekly—appeared in 1879.⁶⁶ Its founder and editor was G.A. Hutchison, who had an interest in the Sunday School movement and other juvenile educational activities; James Macaulay acted as

⁶³ E. Salmon, *Juvenile Literature as It Is* (London, 1888) 15, 23. The stories of the papers are told in J. Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!: the story of the Boy's Own Paper* (Guildford, 1982), and W. Forrester, *Grandmama's Weekly: a celebration of the 'Girl's Own Paper', 1880-1901* (Guildford, 1980).

⁶⁴ Green, *Story of the Religious Tract Society*, 127.

⁶⁵ Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) 123.

⁶⁶ Green, *Story of the Religious Tract Society*, 127.

supervising editor. In its first two years, the *BOP* estimated a readership of 600,000. The RTS was printing over 500,000 weekly copies by the late 1880s. Patrick Dunae estimates that this actually indicates a readership of one and a quarter million, as on average two to three boys read each copy. He points out that total circulation might have been even higher as the RTS later printed closer to 665,000 weekly copies.⁶⁷ In fact, the *BOP* had the largest circulation of any boys' paper, also surpassing many popular adult magazines and newspapers of the era.⁶⁸

Most of the *BOP*'s competitors had been sensational in tone and poor in quality, e.g. E.J. Brett's *Boys of England*. By 1900, however, most of the old rivals had disappeared and were replaced by Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe)'s Amalgamated Press boys' papers, the *Boys' Friend*, the *Boys' Herald*, and the *Boys' Realm* (see discussion below). These papers were more robust and seemingly more appealing to working-class boys. This new and aggressive competition may have accounted for some of the *BOP*'s difficulties. Whereas since its creation the *BOP* had been profitable for the RTS, after 1900 it relied on the Society's financial subsidy.⁶⁹ Since the RTS believed that the paper made a valuable contribution to the moral welfare of boys, it continued its support of the *BOP* for altruistic rather than for financial reasons. This was a unique situation – the boys' periodical market was generally competitive and capricious. Though potentially lucrative, most publishers faced financial ruin if they did not accord with the changing interests of potential juvenile readers.

⁶⁷ Patrick Dunae, "The Boy's Own Paper: Origins and Editorial Policies," *The Private Library*, second series, 9, no. 4 (1976): 134.

⁶⁸ Dunae. *British Juvenile Literature*, xiii.

⁶⁹ Dunae, "The Boy's Own Paper," 151.

Yet the RTS did concern itself with the business side, as in 1912, when the *BOP* showed substantial loss, the RTS appointed a new sub-committee to scrutinize the paper's affairs. One of the suggestions of the sub-committee was to appoint a less elderly vice-editor, a competent man who would eventually become editor.⁷⁰ Hutchison then became consulting editor until his death in 1913, and Arthur Lincoln Haydon took over the editorship until 1924. RTS editorial control over content was strong, especially over the *Boy's* and *Girl's Own*. The minutes of the RTS Executive Committee frequently record questions over the moral appropriateness of content of the juvenile papers.⁷¹ Where there was a dispute between the editor of the *Boy's* and *Girl's Own* and the Executive Committee, the Committee asserted its authority. In the most extreme instance still on record, the Committee expressed its "displeasure" that the editor of the *Girl's Own Paper* permitted morally objectionable replies in the "Answers to Correspondents – Medical" section, culminating in one article which apparently referred "to a criminal operation" (probably abortion). The editor was instructed to decline further contributions from the writer in question and to discontinue entirely the section.⁷²

Lord Northcliffe and the Amalgamated Press

According to Robert Roberts, school stories had more impact on working-class youth than anything else (including the Boy Scouts). They internalized the public-school ethos better through these stories than by the teachings of their secular and religious leaders.

Older boys graduated to reading Amalgamated Press papers like the *Gem*, the *Magnet*

⁷⁰ Dunaev, "The Boy's Own Paper," 151.

⁷¹ See, for example, RTS ECM, Jan. 3, 1882 and RTS ECM, Feb. 6, 1900 on the inappropriateness of certain illustrations in the *Boy's Own Paper*.

⁷² RTS ECM, Nov 20, 1900, referring to a section in the *Girl's Own Paper*, Nov. 17, 1900.

and the *Boys' Friend*.⁷³ Roberts opined that AP founder, Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, was successful because he simplified the style of written English to make it appealing to working-class readers.⁷⁴ The papers were also cheap enough for most boys to afford, yet the wholesomeness of their content was often called into question. Starting in the early 1890s, Harmsworth's papers were called the "halfpenny dreadful," implying that they were simply a cheaper and nastier version of the infamous "penny dreadful."⁷⁵ The Amalgamated Press published many papers of interest to boys. In 1912, for example, its papers, all for 1d each, could keep boys busy all week long, with the luxury of choice on some days: *Boys' Friend* (Tuesday); *Magnet* (Tuesday); *Marvel* (Wednesday); *Cheer Boys Cheer* (Wednesday); *Gem* (Thursday); *Boys' Herald* (Thursday); *Sports Library* (Thursday); *Union Jack* (Friday); *Pluck* (Saturday); *Boys' Realm* (Saturday). The AP also produced other publications, such as the *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*, which were directed at youth.

In contrast to the other organizations discussed here, Alfred Harmsworth's publications eschewed discussions of religion. For example, an insert in the first volume of *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*,⁷⁶ depicting Holman Hunt's "The Light of the World," an illustration of Christ, is discussed merely as an example of symbolism in art. Harmsworth believed that popularizing secular education was going "to change the whole face of journalism."⁷⁷ He recognized a great need at the turn of the century for

⁷³ Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971) 128.

⁷⁴ Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, 128-9.

⁷⁵ Springhall, "Disseminating impure literature," 568.

⁷⁶ *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*, 1 (1905): 403.

⁷⁷ Alfred Harmsworth, letter to Max Pemberton, 1884, quoted in Max Pemberton, *Lord Northcliffe: A Memoir* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922) 30.

improved education as a means to personal betterment, a need that was not being met at home or at school. As he wrote in 1884, “The Board Schools are turning out hundreds of thousands of boys and girls annually who are anxious to read. They do not care for the ordinary newspaper. They have no interest in society, but they will read anything which is simple and is sufficiently interesting.”⁷⁸

The Amalgamated Press became the dominant publisher of boys’ papers in the period from the 1890s to the First World War. In her book on boys’ papers, Kelly Boyd maintains that at this time,

a new type of hero emerged as well. No longer were the heroes aristocratic or even from a broader elite. Now skilled male workers were often the heroes and the manly virtues they exemplified were not just about leadership, but about concern for the group and responsibility to family and employer.⁷⁹

This focus on working-class heroes manifested itself in Harmsworth’s more utilitarian and educational publications as well. The *Self-Educator* (1906), as we shall see, aimed to equip the lower middle and upper working classes with precise fortnightly instructions for negotiating the needs of modern life.

The Controlling and actual Editor for all of the Amalgamated Press papers discussed here (except the *Self-Educator*) was Robert Hamilton Edwards. He was also a director of the AP. Hamilton Edwards and Northcliffe had a close, if rocky, relationship. Their correspondence varied from the affectionate to the openly hostile and mistrustful. Hamilton Edwards left the Amalgamated Press in 1912, apparently to make boots.⁸⁰ The

⁷⁸ Alfred Harmsworth, letter to Max Pemberton, 1884, quoted in Pemberton, *Lord Northcliffe*, 30.

⁷⁹ Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys’ Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 9.

⁸⁰ Edwards to Northcliffe, Dec 17, 1913, BL, Add. MSS 62182A.

end of their saved correspondence occurred in December 1920, when Hamilton Edwards wrote in affectionate terms, from a hospital prison in Dublin, describing prison and trial conditions.⁸¹ He had taken control of the *Freeman's Journal* and moved to Dublin in 1919.⁸² Robert Hamilton Edwards' wife Madge later sent Northcliffe two letters requesting money, with a postscript: "I do not know his reason for leaving me or the Amalgamated Press [...] but it was hard for me."⁸³ While he was in charge of the Amalgamated Press papers, his influence on the boys' papers was huge. By far their longest serving editor, his tenure lasted for the majority of the papers' run.⁸⁴ Though he hired acting editor, W.H. Back, for the *Boys' Friend*, *Boys' Herald* and *Boys' Realm* in 1907, Hamilton Edwards wrote serial stories for these papers and, most significantly for our purposes here, his authorship is attributed to the editorial sections of all the boys' papers. Whether Hamilton Edwards actually wrote these editorial replies to readers remains in doubt,⁸⁵ but what is clear is that the tone of the editorial section certainly changed after he left the Amalgamated Press, indicating that at least he played a large role in the tone of its content. During Hamilton Edwards' time at the papers, the letters

⁸¹ Edwards to Northcliffe, Dec. 12, 1920, BL, Add. MSS 62182A.

⁸² Northcliffe to Edwards, Nov. 28, 1919, BL, Add. MSS 62182A.

⁸³ Edwards to Northcliffe, May 13, 1921 and May 26, 1921, BL, Add. MSS 62182A. Indeed, Edwards' life is most mysterious, and it has been only with good fortune that his first name, Robert, has been discovered, in the context of a "Joint Select Committee of Enquiry on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements," Twentieth Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1908, vol. 9, 478-80 (paper no. 275). His movements after leaving the AP are difficult to ascertain, although it seems he had industrial investments in Ireland and purchased the mansion, park and mineral rights on the Tehidy Estate in Cornwall from A.F. Basset (*Mining Magazine* (1915): 181). According to the scanty biography provided by Scoop, Edwards was "court-martialed in Nov. 1920 for publishing statements 'likely to cause disaffection' viz. reporting the flogging of a youth in Portobello Barracks and the killing of two RIC men by Black & Tans near Tullow" (http://www.scoop-database.com/bio/edwards_robert_hamilton, accessed Aug. 27, 2008). He died in 1932.

⁸⁴ Edwards was editor of the AP boys' papers from 1895, when the *Boys' Friend* was introduced. In 1912 Edwards was replaced as editor by Lewis Carlton, who in turn was replaced by seven editors in the next fifteen years.

⁸⁵ For the sake of simplicity, editorial pieces signed by Edwards will be referred to as Edwards', whether or not he actually wrote them.

selected to be answered within the papers were personal and moral in nature. The replies took on a paternal voice. Though the Amalgamated Press papers are usually characterized as secular, Hamilton Edwards repeatedly called himself a Christian; the writing attributed to him reflected this stance. After 1912, both the questions and answers were almost exclusively related to the content of the papers, and could be categorized as promotional in nature. It also cannot be confirmed whether the letters printed in the Amalgamated Press boys' papers were indeed genuine. In many issues, Hamilton Edwards maintained that they were (see chapter 5).

If the Amalgamated Press can be trusted in reporting its own numbers, the reach of its publications was enormous:

The combined net sale per issue of those only of the Amalgamated Press journals which accept advertisements is nearer six million than five. They reach every corner of these islands. In ninety-eight per cent. of the homes of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, some one or more of them is read regularly. In the extent and variety of their appeal they stand quite unrivalled. There is no class of public, and there are very few interests, not covered by one, or two, or three, or by a large group of Amalgamated Press publications. More than that, from the point of view of the advertiser, their circulation is an effective one. Each copy is read sometimes many times. It reaches the home of the millionaire, the professional man, the typist, the artisan, and the working woman. It passes from hand to hand throughout the family and sometimes outside.⁸⁶

These estimates do seem reasonable for 1925, as for the years 1909-1910, a chart slipped in with the Northcliffe/Edwards correspondence records the sales at more than 3 million for the papers controlled by Hamilton Edwards alone.⁸⁷ The combined sales per issue

⁸⁶ George Dilnot (compiler), *Romance of the Amalgamated Press* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1925).

⁸⁷ Northcliffe Papers, BL, Add. MSS 62182A

for the *Boys' Friend*, *Boys' Herald* and *Boys' Realm* were substantial at 133,628, having overtaken the *Boy's Own* around the turn of the century.

Temperance Organizations & Their Publications

The Band of Hope

The story of the creation of the Band of Hope has become almost mythical. The founders, Mrs. Ann Jane Carlile and Rev. Jabez Tunnicliff, each had something resembling an evangelical conversion story. Both personally encountered the devastating effects of children's drinking and decided that they would dedicate their energies to juvenile teetotalism. In Carlile's case it was a little girl named Mary whom she met doing voluntary work at Newgate Prison. She took Mary home and witnessed her lapping up spilt whiskey off the floor, after having been influenced by her imprisoned mother's drinking.⁸⁸ Tunnicliff was a young Baptist minister when he visited a former Sunday School teacher who was dying of an illness related to drunkenness. He asked the minister to "warn young people about the danger of the first glass."⁸⁹

The Band of Hope was founded in Leeds in 1847, with the aim of instructing boys and girls as to the properties of alcohol and the consequences of its consumption. Bands organized midweek meetings with music, slides, competitions and addresses on the importance of total abstinence. By 1855, there were so many local bands that a London Union was formed and in 1864, this was expanded to become the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. Important regional unions were also formed, such as the Lancashire and Cheshire and the Yorkshire Band of Hope Unions (see chapter 4). Like

⁸⁸ R. Tayler, *Hope of the Race* (London: Hope Press, 1946) 20-21.

⁸⁹ Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 22-23.

the rest of the temperance movement, the Band of Hope experienced great growth in the last three decades of the century. The increased support for temperance by churches and chapels of all denominations gave the children's organization a great impetus to expand, particularly starting in the 1880s. By the end of the century the movement claimed a total of 26,355 societies and over three million members in the United Kingdom.⁹⁰ In the estimation of Lilian Shiman, the only historian to give this important movement any sustained attention, "In terms of numbers, no one could deny the success of the Band of Hope."⁹¹ Its success in shaping future citizens, specifically the success of its publications in this regard, is a more open question.

The Jubilee year, 1897, was an important time for the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. It secured the patronage of the Queen. It also created a Jubilee programme, which it submitted to its workers in the UK and in the dominions, with three main components: 1. a commitment to securing greater public recognition for the movement through sermons (in every denomination), addresses in Sunday Schools and public demonstrations and meetings; 2. the "Million More Jubilee Scheme;" and 3. the raising of funds, both on the national and local levels, for the building of a new national headquarters. On three Sundays, Jubilee Sermons were estimated to have been preached in ten thousand Church-of-England and Nonconformist churches and chapels throughout the UK. The Official Jubilee Sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cathedral by Frederick Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁹² Thousands of Band of Hope addresses were also given at Sunday Schools and Bible classes (for older pupils). "The Million More

⁹⁰ Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 55.

⁹¹ Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England* (London: MacMillan, 1988) 153.

⁹² Frederic Smith, ed., *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1897) 8-9.

Scheme” was the most ambitious of the Jubilee endeavours. A commitment was made to add a million new members to the Bands of Hope, by the visiting of more than a million homes by volunteers. This was a huge undertaking which required much organization and coordination. On Saturday, October 16, for example, more than 53,000 mostly female volunteers visited more than 1,500,000 homes in every part of the UK. They encouraged the parents they visited to allow their children to join Bands of Hope, or at least to permit them to sign the temperance pledge on the provided forms. Each visitor left a letter by the President, and made a second visit during the week.⁹³

In 1897, not including the results from the “Million More Jubilee Scheme,” the total estimated membership of the Bands of Hope was around 3 million, with almost 22,000 societies throughout the Kingdom. This was based on an estimation of an average of 145 for each individual society. With other juvenile temperance organizations added on, this number was over 3.2 million.⁹⁴ The UK Band of Hope Union reported that at the end of our period, in 1913-14, Bands of Hope and other organizations of a similar kind numbered 34,045, with an estimated membership of 3,788,969⁹⁵ (see appendix II).

There were many publications associated with the Band of Hope movement. The best in terms of quality and content and the most widely distributed during our period were the *Band of Hope Review* (1851- c.1936), published in London by S.W. Partridge & Co. and connected with the UK Band of Hope Union and *Onward* (1865- c.1964),

⁹³ Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 10-11.

⁹⁴ Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 222-3.

⁹⁵ United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *Annual Reports* (London: UK Band of Hope, 1914) 5.

published in Manchester by the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union.⁹⁶ Brian Harrison estimates that in 1861 the *Band of Hope Review* had a circulation of over 250,000.⁹⁷ Although it is difficult to measure the success of these papers, the impressive time span of their publication is an indication of their usefulness in the Band of Hope movement. Many of these publications were distributed to current and future Band of Hope members. If not an indication of the appeal of these papers to the young members themselves, then it certainly is to Band of Hope workers who welcomed the stories and lessons contained within as a supplement to, and sometimes a replacement for Band of Hope meetings. Various local bands and unions also had their own monthly or quarterly papers, containing stories borrowed from larger Band of Hope or temperance papers, often with more local news and reports.

Fundraising at the national, regional and local levels was an important part of the movement. For example, the National Band of Hope Bazaar, held in Exeter Hall by the Band of Hope Union in 1890, proved “a great success,” adding £4,200 to the funds of the Society. The event proved so popular that it was extended by a day over its planned run and the proceeds on that day largely exceeded the previous days.⁹⁸ A popular annual event, the Band of Hope Choirs performed at the Crystal Palace. In 1886 there were 15,000 singers divided into three choirs appearing on the same day on the same stage.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ The founder and first editor of the *Band of Hope Review* was T. B. Smithies (1815-1883), followed by F.T. Gammon (1849-1888). In our period, *Onward* was edited by W.C. Wilson, secretary of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope & Temperance Union. The paper was renamed *The Workers Onward* in 1910.

⁹⁷ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971) 317.

⁹⁸ “The Band of Hope Bazaar,” *CETS Illustrated*, Aug (1890): 85.

⁹⁹ Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 99.

Activities like these not only raised much needed money; they also served to increase awareness of the organization among the mostly working-class target audience and among the elite, from whom the movement drew its honorific leaders. As mentioned, Queen Victoria was the patron of the UK Band of Hope Union, along with an impressive range of aristocratic and other elite supporters and benefactors. Prestigious support was also to be found at the more local level. For example, the Earl of Carlisle of Castle Howard was the president of the Yorkshire Band of Hope Union.¹⁰⁰

The various Band of Hope organizations also raised money to pay for temperance speakers in schools. The UK Band of Hope Union raised £10,000 in 1889 to pay for seven scientific and medical lecturers to give talks wherever schools would permit them. The speakers had to attest to their own “personal fitness, abstinence, and moral character,” the same qualities the Band of Hope sought to instill in its child members.¹⁰¹ By 1893 this London-based union had 29 agents and lecturers, though not all were qualified to visit schools. Other Band of Hope unions in the provinces hired their own school lecturers to work within the locality.¹⁰² Speakers’ plans were also drawn up by the unions as an aid to the local groups. The unions introduced new ideas and broader visions into the narrow environment of many areas by providing outside lecturers to speak to

¹⁰⁰ George James Howard, ninth earl of Carlisle (1843–1911) was married to Rosalind Frances Stanley (1845–1921), herself a strong promoter of temperance reform as vice-president of the United Kingdom Alliance and president of the National British Women's Temperance Association. Their daughter Lady Cecilia Roberts (*d.* 1947) succeeded her as president of the NBWTA. See Christopher Ridgway, ‘Howard, George James, ninth earl of Carlisle (1843–1911)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34019>, accessed 6 Aug 2008] and David M. Fahey, ‘Howard, Rosalind Frances, countess of Carlisle (1845–1921)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34022>, accessed 6 Aug 2008].

¹⁰¹ Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 115-7.

¹⁰² Frederic Smith, “The Juvenile Temperance Organisations in Great Britain and Ireland,” *Temperance in All Nations*, ed. J.N. Stearns (New York, 1893) vol. I, 216.

local Band of Hope children. This part of union work so increased in importance that, by 1895, the Bradford union claimed to have 137 names on its speakers' list and to have made an average of thirty appointments a week for speakers to talk to various organizations in the area.¹⁰³ The unions took seriously the task of hiring and appointing temperance lecturers and Band of Hope workers. While most school lecturers were male and had some educational and/or scientific credentials, many Band of Hope meeting leaders were female, sometimes drawn from the ranks of the older membership. All were required to uphold high standards of conduct, as can be evinced by the questions on this application form for new workers at the Yorkshire Band of Hope Union:

Application form of Agency: Name in full, Address, How long an abstainer?; Married or single?; What experience have you had in the advocacy of the movement?; Are you a member of any Church?, What Denomination?; What are your qualifications for Day School work?; Can you give effective Blackboard lessons?; Can you give Scientific Demonstrations on Alcohol? Can you take Open-Air appointments? When could you enter upon the duties, if appointed? Give three references.¹⁰⁴

Skill and knowledge at imparting scientific lessons became increasingly important but the religious and moral qualities of these workers was always paramount.

Church of England Temperance Society and its Juvenile Division

The Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) helped persuade Anglican and other educators to introduce temperance lessons for which the CETS often provided

¹⁰³ Bradford Band of Hope Union, Annual Report, 1895, in *Crusade against Drink*, Shiman, 137.

¹⁰⁴ WYAS Leeds, Minute Book, Yorkshire Band of Hope Union, 1904-05, WYL770.

classroom materials.¹⁰⁵ It sponsored annual prizes for students most knowledgeable about the glories of temperance and the dangers of alcohol, and formed its own Bands of Hope.¹⁰⁶ CETS publications for youth included special newspapers, handbooks for workers in juvenile branches, and extensive textbooks extolling the physiological, genetic, moral, social, economic and even historical benefits of abstinence.

Founded at Lambeth Palace in 1873, the CETS was “the most far-reaching, prestigious, and influential temperance society in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, and one of its most extensive voluntary societies.”¹⁰⁷ It replaced the Church of England Total Abstinence Society (founded in 1862) which had been largely unsuccessful. By 1877 the CETS was financially strong and was represented throughout the country.¹⁰⁸ By 1898 there were 451,446 known juvenile teetotalers in parish societies, about four and a half times the number of abstaining adults.¹⁰⁹ More than half of English bishops abstained.¹¹⁰ This success can be at least partially explained by the CETS’s “dual basis” policy, teetotalism mainly for the working-classes and for those who wanted to provide them with an impeccable example, and moderation for the rest of the supporters of the movement. This policy was not, however, entirely class-based. As Mr. H.T. James of the St. John’s (Middleton) Band of Hope explained during an entertainment for family and friends of that band’s members, “total abstinence was the only means of saving the

¹⁰⁵ *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, 5 (May 1877): 69-70; CETS, *Annual Report*, 20 (1882) 14; CETS, *Annual Report*, 30 (1891) 200.

¹⁰⁶ CETS, *Annual Report*, 16 (1887) 14; CETS, *Annual Report*, 19 (1881) 14.

¹⁰⁷ G.W. Olsen, “Church of England Temperance Society,” *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003) eds., J.S. Blocker, et al., vol. 1, 155.

¹⁰⁸ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 183.

¹⁰⁹ CETS, *Annual Report*, 37 (1898), 49.

¹¹⁰ Olsen, “Church of England Temperance Society,” vol. 1, 156.

drunkard, but moderate users of wholesome alcoholic drinks could also be earnest workers.”¹¹¹

The justification for this principle was explained thus:

Inasmuch as God’s Word does not lay down any positive rule of conduct on this point, it is assuredly one of those matters in which each Christian man and woman, having due regard to the scriptural rule of conduct, must decide for themselves, and exercise their Christian liberty, either in abstinence, or in strict moderation. The personal habit of total abstinence is not necessarily preached for universal acceptance, but is a question between the individual conscience and God.¹¹²

There was general agreement, however, that this principle should not be extended to children and that they should be taught teetotal principles early in life. The CETS aimed to accomplish this in two main ways: through its periodicals and through the establishment of branches of its Juvenile Division and Band of Hope societies at the parish level.

The CETS Juvenile Union had the following objectives:

- A. To promote and maintain Church Temperance Work amongst the children of the poor.
- B. To organize the same for children of the richer and more highly educated, by means of drawings-room meetings, special addresses in schools, and the circulation of suitable literature.
A monthly letter is provided, especially for members of this section.
A Branch can be affiliated for 1d. per member.
- C. The association of all engaged in Tuition, and Voluntary Juvenile Temperance workers for the purposes of intercession and mutual intercourse, by means of quarterly meetings, correspondence, etc. The subscription is 1s. per annum, for which a card of membership and invitations to take part in all the Associate’s Meetings will be sent. The clergy and all lay workers will be

¹¹¹ “A letter to our Young Friends – An Industrial Band of Hope,” *CETS Illustrated*, 1, n.s. (1890) 41.

¹¹² *CETS Illustrated*, no. 29, (March 1893): 84-85.

heartily welcomed as Associates. Day school teachers are also earnestly invited to join.¹¹³

After 1908, the Cradle Roll even enlisted infants in the movement. The 1910 CETS manual stipulated eight as the entry age for the Band of Hope. Young graduates of the CETS Junior Division passed into the Intermediate Division at fifteen, moving to the Adult Division at nineteen years of age. Many passed directly from the Band of Hope to the Adult Division between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. The age of passage from youth to adult was sometimes considered to be sixteen, the legal age of drinking after 1872. Similar to other Band of Hope organizations, The CETS developed a full set of presentations to mark various stages of membership in the parish branches.¹¹⁴ A new member was presented with an illuminated card. After six months, the child earned a white metal badge and annually, for the first four years, a bar which could be turned in at the end of five years for a bronze badge or long-service star, to be supplemented by bars until a silver badge was earned for the tenth year, after which, silver bars marked each year (see examples of Band of Hope medals and badges, figure 1). This sort of visible reward system for good membership was common in youth organizations of the period. From the founding of the Boy Scouts in 1907, badges were awarded to members for attendance, good behaviour and the accomplishment of tasks and would have already been familiar to children and their parents who had been involved in the juvenile temperance movement.

¹¹³ *CETS Standard Bearer, Special supplement for Conductors, Members and Supporters of the Juvenile Branches of the CETS*, 8, no 5 (1888).

¹¹⁴ *CETS Short Manual for the Formation and Guidance of Branches* (London: CETS, 1910) 7.



Figure 1, Advertisement for UK Band of Hope Union Medals and Badges, at the back of *The Band of Hope Manual*. London: UK Band of Hope Union, 1894.

The Band of Hope movement was far more successful with working-class children than with those of other classes. This was not through want of trying. CETS Women's Union organizers worked hard to convert privileged children to teetotalism. In 1881 they founded the Juvenile Union to alert "better-class" youth to drink's evils with

special events in parishes, public schools and other educational institutions.¹¹⁵ The Juvenile Union and its twentieth-century successor, the Young Crusaders' Union, were, however, the least successful CETS youth efforts. The Juvenile Union was established probably in no more than 150 parishes.¹¹⁶ The failure to attract "better-class" youths to teetotalism was blamed on "the prejudices and opposition on the part of many parents" to a movement which might make "little prigs" of their children.¹¹⁷ After twenty-two years of work among middle- and upper-class juveniles, the Women's Union admitted in 1903 that "the children of the working classes receive far more definite instruction in elementary scientific temperance than any others," a confession made less disappointing by the special CETS mission to reach Britain's working-class majority while they were young enough to be influenced.¹¹⁸ In 1891 Walter M. Gee asked Archbishop E.W. Benson of Canterbury to patronise the new CETS Church Lads Brigade, a paramilitary teetotal organization for "some of the poorest boys in London" and elsewhere.¹¹⁹

The CETS had numerous publications, but the salient ones for the purposes of this dissertation are the *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, the *Illustrated Temperance Monthly*, the *Young Crusader* and the *Young Standard Bearer*, as well as other occasional pamphlets and Band of Hope material produced for children and young adults. At one halfpenny monthly, the *Young Crusader* and the *Young Standard Bearer*'s lack of success cannot be blamed on the price. The second paper had by far the worse quality of artwork, printing and paper. The *Chronicle* also contained many entries

¹¹⁵ CETS, *Annual Report*, 19 (1881) 22-27.

¹¹⁶ CETS, *Annual Report*, 26 (1887) 57.

¹¹⁷ CETS, *Annual Report*, 42 (1903) 31.

¹¹⁸ CETS, *Annual Report*, 42 (1903) 31.

¹¹⁹ Lambeth Palace Library, Benson Papers, 94, 29-36 (11 September, 1891)

for the Band of Hope and Juvenile Union and *The Illustrated Temperance Monthly*, directed at all classes, had a section on the Juvenile Division as well. Reports of progress from the Juvenile Division and comparative results of inter-diocesan Band of Hope examinations were also contained in every CETS *Annual Report*.

The CETS *Annual Reports* also provided updates on the organization's magazines, publications and juvenile sections. The magazines department section tells of the uncertain progress of the *Young Crusader*, *Illustrated Temperance Monthly* and *Temperance Chronicle*. The *Young Crusader* suffered losses of £126 during its first year, explained by the advertising required to promote a new paper, and the copies used for free circulation, as well as by the increasing cost of printing.¹²⁰ By the following year, the annual report announced a large advance in circulation, as the publication was adopted as the localised Juvenile Organ in the Dioceses of London and Manchester and in the Rural Deanery of Croydon. Increased sales were expected in 1894.¹²¹ In that year, improvement in the circulation of the *ITM* did not take place as expected,¹²² but the *YC* fared better, at least temporarily. Its circulation increased rapidly and it was then also localised by the Liverpool Diocesan Society. The Council hoped that many other Dioceses would adopt the *YC* and that it would "become a profitable property to the Society. There has been a considerable margin of profit on this year's work, and there is no reason why the circulation should not continue to increase."¹²³ Yet in 1903, the *Young Crusader* was still not selling as well as the Council wished and it entered into new

¹²⁰ CETS, *Annual Report* (1892) 14.

¹²¹ CETS, *Annual Report* (1893) 13.

¹²² CETS, *Annual Report* (1894) 12-13.

¹²³ CETS, *Annual Report* (1894) 13.

arrangements with the London Diocesan Board for its localization, hoping that this would finally lead to an improvement in the circulation of that magazine.¹²⁴ In 1907, the *YC* was “remodeled to some extent” to suit the needs of the Bands of Hope and circulation increased.¹²⁵ In 1912, the Council complained that the circulation of the *ITM* was still not satisfactory, although the paper received much praise. That year they also made an appeal to their branches:

In the *YC* the Society has a halfpenny monthly for Band of Hope children, which deserves far greater appreciation than it receives. Beautifully illustrated, and consisting of pretty Temperance tales, *The Crusader* – which is sold for 3s a hundred – should, in the judgment of the Council – be taken in some considerable quantity by every Band of Hope. The Council cannot but fear that the fact of the magazine not being more widely circulated is due to apathy. When a recent circular, urging the support of the *Crusader*, was sent to the Bands of Hope from the Central office, one branch of some standing wrote: “Please send us a specimen of the *YC*... We have never heard of it.”¹²⁶

By 1913, the CETS Council was complaining of “general neglect” of both the *Young Crusader* and the *Illustrated Temperance Monthly* by the branches.¹²⁷ Because of this “neglect” and because of added wartime publishing and distribution difficulties, the *YC* ceased publication in 1915. Yet in that same year, the Junior Division was continuing to administer Band of Hope examinations. There were 11,184 candidates in 778 parishes, which was considered a good number in wartime.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ CETS, *Annual Report* (1903) 11-12.

¹²⁵ CETS, *Annual Report* (1907) 18.

¹²⁶ CETS, *Annual Report* (1912) 21.

¹²⁷ CETS, *Annual Report* (1913) 15-16.

¹²⁸ CETS, *Annual Report* (1915) 13.

The CETS was plagued by increasing financial difficulties. According to G.W. Olsen, “The CETS’ tendency to expand its operations more quickly than its income eventually forced a curtailment of activities for monetary reasons, especially after 1891 when increasing CETS identification with the British Establishment demanded more business-like practices.”¹²⁹ The conviction of the Publications Department manager for keeping a bawdy house demonstrated the challenge of insuring morally-upright staff in a time of declining funds.¹³⁰

The juvenile publishing industry and the temperance organizations for the young worked to eliminate what they considered to be the most dangerous vices, which were seemingly untouched by a system of formal education and which, if left unchecked, placed the future of the nation in jeopardy. The tenor of their approach in implementing their informal education on the nation’s boys was heavily influenced by the context in which they worked. Alongside their own particular moral or religious stamp, these organizations drew heavily on new notions of childhood, and particularly of adolescence, as distinct times of life with their own sets of peculiar problems. Moreover, they employed to their advantage material and discourses gleaned from sociological, psychological and State-driven initiatives to investigate the causes and consequences of, and solutions to, what was perceived to be a growing tide of parental neglect, widespread immorality and physical degeneracy. The next chapter will address these phenomena, which were contextually crucial to the messages the various organizations wished to disseminate.

¹²⁹ G.W. Olsen, *Drink and the British Establishment*, 197

¹³⁰ CETS, *Executive Minutes* (November 1912) 22-23.

Professionalization, the “Invention” of Adolescence & the Question of Parental Authority and Responsibility

As the child is the central figure in religion, the moving force in the home, so it should be the main hope of the nation, and when the national mind is concentrated on this ideal, the nation’s responsibility will begin to be fulfilled.¹

Sir Robert Parr (1862–1931), the second director of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (NSPCC), wrote the above observations on the centrality of children to religion, to the home and to the nation in 1910, when his Society was already on solid ground. It had weathered investigations into its financial management; it had become incorporated; it had largely been responsible for the first child cruelty legislation in the United Kingdom; and it had been granted “authorized status,” enabling its inspectors to remove children from abusive or neglectful homes without police involvement.² Yet all of these successes mask slower changes in public opinion, which Parr tried to address. Regarding the child as a future citizen, with all the rights and protection of the State associated with that status, was novel. The child was increasingly understood in his or her own terms, not merely as property of the father. Thomas Barnardo (1845–1905), philanthropist and founder of Dr Barnardo's Homes, referred to the great progress in children’s rights at the end of the nineteenth century: “Sixty years ago the child was a mere chattel. Enlightened popular sentiment is now on

¹ Robert J. Parr, *Wilful Waste: The Nation’s Responsibility for its Children* (London: NSPCC, 1910) 70.

² Nicholas Malton, ‘Parr, Sir Robert John (1862–1931)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69002>, accessed 26 Aug 2008]

the side of those who affirm that childhood has a right to innocence and decency, and kindly care and education.”³

Childhood was increasingly seen as separate from adulthood, requiring special interventions and care. This special attention was clearly associated with citizenship, in addition to ideals of individual character and morality. As Nathan Roberts has observed about formal education in this era, “If a child was to grow into a useful citizen, his will had to be ‘fashioned’ or he would become ‘vacillating, untrustworthy, and ineffective’: the negative image of the ideal liberal subject.”⁴ The recognition of boyhood and youth as distinct categories from manhood necessitated a moral education specific to boys. After 1870, in terms of childhood, this period could be named the “Age of Education,” both formal and informal, encouraging the interior moral reform of the young and those around them. The period beginning in 1879 with the *Boy’s Own Paper* followed by a great boom in publishing for boys and in youth organizations could flippantly be called the “Age of the Pledge Form,” for every one of these publications and groups had numerous forms for boys to fill in, pledging to do good, maintain upright and manly characters and steer clear of vice. This section will deal with three distinct, yet clearly intertwined categories in the history of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century British childhood, and will provide the context for the analysis of the content of the publications in the following chapters.

The augmentation of legislation and the increase in professionalization in the treatment of children’s issues were related in this period, and depended upon a novel

³ Quoted in Harriet M. Johnson, *Our Future Citizens* (London: CETS 1899) 9.

⁴ J. Welton, *The Psychology of Education* (1911), 475 in Nathan Roberts, “Character in the mind: citizenship, education and psychology in Britain, 1880–1914,” *History of Education* 33, no. 2 (March, 2004): 189.

understanding of childhood and of parental responsibility. Using diverse material and examples, the three main arguments in this chapter will be the following. Firstly, that increasing inquiries and legislation related to childhood and youth required a repositioning of parental rights and responsibilities. Secondly, these inquiries into child life also began increasingly to be fashioned by professionals dedicated to the scientific study of children, whether in the fields of child rescue or child improvement. Where professionals were absent, the language used to discuss childhood issues and advice was still intended to convey a sense of professionalism. Thirdly, this increasingly scientific or pseudo-scientific study of children required a more specific categorization of the different phases of childhood. The most problematic of these phases, adolescence, thus became a period of acute concern, and the focus of much writing for boys.

Throughout the following chapters we shall see that boys of a certain age were singled out as problematic. The group of boys, between (very roughly) the ages of eight and eighteen (or even older), who were classified as adolescents late in our period, were of more concern than younger boys or girls of any age. Conventionally, girls, it was assumed, had to be prepared for marriage whereas male youth had to be instructed for their more complex and important roles. The American psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, cautioned that increasingly urban environments put male adolescents at risk. This observation, though present even at the start of our period, was popularized by Hall and encouraged campaigns against drinking, smoking, dancing, gambling, and “pernicious” literature.

Legislation for Children & Parental Authority

In addition to all the Education Acts, beginning with the 1870 Act, there were many inquiries into child life and consequently much legislation was enacted throughout our period. There was therefore an increasing codification of childhood as a distinct and crucial time of life. The concept of state responsibility was fairly new. As late as 1881 Lord Shaftesbury, a champion of children's causes, had declared the evils of child abuse "enormous and indisputable" but that it was "of so private, internal and domestic a character as to be beyond the reach of legislation."⁵ In 1889 the first Act of Parliament for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, "The Children's Charter," was passed, after five years of lobbying by the predecessor of the NSPCC and its supporters. It enabled English law to intervene, for the first time, in the domestic relationship between parents and children. The police could now arrest anyone found ill-treating a child and obtain a warrant to enter a home if a child was thought to be in danger. The Act also included guidelines on the employment of children and outlawed begging. After five years' implementation it was evaluated and in 1894 was amended and extended with the help of the NSPCC. Children were now allowed to give evidence in court, mental cruelty was recognised and it became an offence to deny a sick child medical attention.⁶ The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, amended the law relating to the Prevention of Cruelty to Children by enlarging the category of child to include boys under the age of sixteen.

⁵ Quoted in George K. Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England 1870-1908* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982) 52.

⁶ NSPCC. *A History of the NSPCC* (London: NSPCC, 2000) 3.

These new child-centered laws had important consequences for parental rights and obligations. For example, the Youthful Offenders Act of 1901 made it possible for a summons to be issued against the parent or guardian of the child or young person charging him or her with contributing to the commission of the offence if he or she had “conducted to the commission of the alleged offence by wilful default or by habitually neglecting to exercise due care” of the child.⁷ The Children Act of 1908 strengthened this law, whereby parents could be punished for their children’s crimes. The Bill’s framer, Liberal MP Herbert Samuel, stated that “penalising the parent, in proper cases, for the misconduct of the child, would strengthen the sense of parental responsibility, and conduce to a more careful and effective exercise of parental control.”⁸ Supported by the NSPCC, in 1907 the Probation Offenders Act was passed, enabling petty offenders to serve probation rather than imprisonment. The Act aimed to prevent the economic deprivation of dependents following the imprisonment of a family’s wage-earner and encouraged parental responsibility. NSPCC Inspectors were responsible for supervising probations relating to child abuse or neglect offences.

The Children Act of 1908 (also named the “Children's Charter”) extended state responsibility to all children, ended child imprisonment, restricted corporal punishment, and instituted the first national system of juvenile courts. The Children Act began as nominally a consolidation bill. It repealed 21 whole Acts and part of seventeen others, besides codifying, consolidating, extending, and amending legislation generally concerning children. Children, however, working under the Factory and Workshop Act were untouched, and street vendors and those employed between school hours were also

⁷ 1 Edw. VII, c. 20 (1901).

⁸ Bernard Wasserstein, *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 104.

omitted. Also, as a late addition from a failed Licensing Bill,⁹ children were excluded from Public House Bars (section 120). The act was more important for what it represented than for establishing novel laws. It came into force on the 1st of April 1909 (Sec. 134), with the exception of the restriction of imprisonment (Secs. 108: 10 and 112) – ie. providing “places of detention” – which did not become obligatory until the following year. There were six main parts to the act: Infant Life Protection; Prevention of Cruelty to Children and Young Persons; Juvenile Smoking; Reformatory and Industrial Schools; Juvenile Offenders; and Miscellaneous and General.¹⁰

The Children Act was attacked as a usurpation of parental rights, tending to weaken home life and the independence of the individual and increasing “officialism” and the use of Government Inspectors.¹¹ The Liberal MP for Sleaford, Lincolnshire, Arnold Lupton, thought the Children Bill “simply absurd.” His objections are worthy of study, since they demonstrate much of the resistance in popular opinion to governmental and other “professional” interference in what were considered parental rights.

Already children had been taught by law to think that there were other people in the country superior to their parents. The father might think it a good thing for his son to smoke, and why should the boy not say he was smoking because his father thought he should? The law in future would forbid a boy to smoke a cigarette, but it would permit him to drink a glass of rum, and the boy would say the law did not forbid him to drink a glass of rum, but only his father, and that if the Government thought it wrong to drink rum they would have passed a law to that effect.¹²

⁹ Wasserstein, *Herbert Samuel*, 98-100.

¹⁰ M.K. Inglis, *The Children's Charter: A Sketch of the Scope and Main Provisions of the Children Act, 1908* (London: T. Nelson, 1909) 13.

¹¹ Inglis, *Children's Charter*, 9.

¹² *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 194 (1908), col. 48.

Apart from the quite predictable resistance to State interference in what were considered private, familial concerns, Lupton's objections reflect wider assumptions about the relationship between father and son. It is also interesting to note the ridicule that boyhood drinking of strong liquor provoked at this time. This widespread recognition that childhood drinking was unacceptable was rather novel. Despite objections, the origins of the Children's Bill were seen by H.J. Tennant, Scottish Liberal MP for Berwickshire and brother-in-law to Asquith, to be a change in opinion: "the livening and quickening sense of responsibility which has been gradually growing toward the potential citizens of this country."¹³

Potential citizens required even more protection than adults. Liberal MP Sir Donald Maclean judged that this widely reflected popular opinion: "The people of the country at least appreciated the fact that the protection of the State was due to the child from the day of its birth as well as to adult citizens."¹⁴ Herbert Samuel, the Bill's framer, who was influenced by Fabian socialism,¹⁵ insisted that children's rights did *not* lessen parental authority. Instead, the Bill served to "strengthen and guide parental authority, only to punish it where evil, where possible to reform and conserve the child's home even when temporary removal is advisable, and instead of increased officialism, to rely upon the aid of voluntary men and women."¹⁶ To its supporters, the Children Act was merely "a splendid guide, with the power of the law behind it." The real work was to come from citizens, parents and guardians of the citizens of the future.

¹³ *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 186 (1908), col. 1286.

¹⁴ *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 4th ser., vol. 183 (1908), col. 181.

¹⁵ Bernard Wasserstein, 'Samuel, Herbert Louis, first Viscount Samuel (1870–1963)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35928>, accessed 26 April 2008]

¹⁶ Inglis, *Children's Charter*, 10.

There was clear tension in this era between ideas of state intervention and parental rights. One female author and social worker, M. Inglis, who campaigned for the Children Act, still accorded parents primary God-given rights over their children: “Family and household rights do not arise from the existence of the State, but are antecedent to it. They belong to the law of nature, a law that no nation can overthrow or annul with impunity; that great immutable pre-existent law by which we are connected in the eternal flame of the universe.”¹⁷ Inglis insisted that the Act reinforced the truth that “*the great factor in the training of a child is home and parent*” and asserted that the State still recognizes that “the Trinity of *Home, Parent, and Child* is the only safe and lasting foundation on which to build up the future greatness of a nation.”¹⁸

In his memoirs Samuel credited Inglis, whom he describes as a Scottish lady “keenly interested in social work” with the inspiration to create the Children’s Bill.¹⁹ Inglis herself wrote a book after the Act was passed, directed toward the growing field of social work. It demonstrates that professionalization of children’s advocates had become crucial by this period. It was directed at social workers, who “can aid in carrying out its provisions, and how all may co-operate to rescue the children, guide the parents, and conserve and reform, if possible, the homes.”²⁰ These new professionals had detailed knowledge of the Act and could aid most effectively in its implementation, where previous voluntary interventions had failed.

¹⁷ Inglis, *Children’s Charter*, 52.

¹⁸ Inglis, *Children’s Charter*, 11 and 51.

¹⁹ Herbert Samuel. *Memoirs* (London: The Cresset Press, 1945) 54.

²⁰ Inglis, *Children’s Charter*, 9.

Sometimes legislation which was intended to promote children's rights had unfortunate and ironic consequences, demonstrating the problems associated with the novelty of these kinds of law and the difficulty in interpreting their intended goals.²¹ For many years the Derby and Derbyshire Band of Hope Union had held a festival called "Crowning the May Queen." The local police informed the organizing committee that in consequence of the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act it would be necessary to obtain a magistrate's license to allow the children to take part in the festival. This was done under protest for this festival, although it meant that around fifty children under ten years of age were excluded. The Committee of the UK Band of Hope Union, at the request of their Derbyshire associates approached the Home Secretary who stated that he thought that the children would be exempted from the operation of Section 2 of the PCCA, 1904, by proviso 1 of that Section; and that they would not be held to be engaged in employment within the meaning of the Employment of Children's Act, 1903 and that he forwarded this to the Derby magistrates. The UK Band of Hope Union provided the following assessment: "friends generally throughout the country will rejoice to know that the innocent gaiety and helpful service of the children is now not likely to be frustrated by the hostile interpretation of an Act which was meant not to restrict, but to add to the happiness and well-being of the children of the land."²² Publishing this incident in the annual report would have been of use to local societies, who were encountering similar difficulties in local interpretations of the new laws designed to protect children.

²¹ For a discussion of the resistance of the Band of Hope to other legislation that was intended to aid children (ie. the 1889 Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children) because of feared restrictions on the employment of children in public entertainments, see Behlmer. *Child Abuse*, 52.

²² "Band of Hope Entertainments and The Cruelty to Children Act," United Kingdom Band of Hope Union *Annual Reports* (1904-05) 25.

That grass-roots movements still revered the traditional authority of the parent in relation to the child was expressed most clearly, for example, by the Band of Hope. As an organization which often took for itself the moral responsibilities of parents, it nevertheless maintained strict regulations about gaining the permission and trust of the parents of their young members, instructing its workers to do three things:

1. We must get to *know* the parents of our members.
2. We must get them *on our side*.
3. We must get their *help at meetings*.²³

Not only would such parental participation foster support for the Band of Hope movement, it was also hoped that parents themselves would be positively influenced by the movement and by their own children. The idea that children were moral beacons (explored further in chapter 6) was prevalent and was especially promoted by Benjamin Waugh (1839–1908), the founder and director of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.²⁴

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children

Home and school were increasingly seen as the only proper locations in which to provide children with the right foundations for life. The State therefore had a responsibility to ensure that children's home life was salubrious, both physically and morally. The greater goal of this intervention was to create future generations of citizens who were modern

²³ Miss Annie Young, "The Parents of Our Members," *Band of Hope Chronicle*, Jan. (1885): 11.

²⁴ George K. Behlmer, 'Waugh, Benjamin (1839–1908)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36787>, accessed 14 Aug 2008].

and competitive on an international stage. Thus, as Hugh Cunningham notes, “Child-saving aimed both to provide the child with what was thought of as a childhood, and to ensure the future of society. The two aims were thought to be entirely consonant with one another.”²⁵ The future of society depended on saving the current generation of children. The NSPCC was a prime location for these endeavours.

This short section does not propose to provide a comprehensive history of the NSPCC; this task has already been amply achieved by George K. Behlmer.²⁶ Yet it is useful to include a brief discussion of this important movement, since in many ways, the founding of the NSPCC and its methods typify the ideas about children and the strategies used by the other organizations and publishers discussed here. The NSPCC was founded in 1889 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1895. Its objectives were clear yet formidable:

1. To prevent the public and private wrongs of children and the corruption of their morals.
2. To take action for the enforcement of the laws for their protection
3. To provide and maintain an organisation for the above objects
4. To do all other such lawful things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects.²⁷

Benjamin Waugh was devoted to his cause. During the ten years building up the society he took no pay except a small annual sum for editing the *Child's Guardian*.²⁸ Robert Parr, in his tribute to Waugh, explained Waugh's devotion to protecting children's rights

²⁵ Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (Harlow: Longman, 1995) 162.

²⁶ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*; see also Christine Anne Sherrington, *The NSPCC in Transition. 1884-1983: A Study of Organisational Survival* (Ph.D. London University, 1984).

²⁷ NSPCC Reports (1898-99) 48.

²⁸ Robert J. Parr, *Benjamin Waugh: An Appreciation* (publisher not given, [1909]) 9.

in the form of a story: in a cottage on the estate of a well-known countess who took an active interest in social reform “lived two people whose children were terribly neglected; the parents were abstainers, and there was no poverty. Warnings had failed to secure proper treatment for the children.” The countess ignored this deplorable situation, but Waugh could not and proceedings were started on the parents and they were convicted. The woman withdrew her ten guinea subscription to the Society.²⁹ This story is typical of the message the NSPCC laboured to convey. The dedication of its director and its workers, the universal potential for abuse, even without such external causes as poverty or intemperance, are highlighted here and repeated regularly in Waugh’s writings, in the NSPCC’s official paper, the *Child’s Guardian* (launched in 1887), and in the texts of other supporters of the Society. Waugh made clear that “the NSPCC is not just another children’s charity. It is an organisation which will fight to obtain the citizenship of every child and justice for all children.”³⁰ According to M.J.D. Roberts, it was “a distinct advantage for the NSPCC that, in dealing with the ‘best interests’ of potential, rather than actual, adult citizens, it was generally able to avoid the tensions about the moral responsibility of the individual which so irritated relations between state policy-making elites and voluntary society leaders in adjacent areas of social policy debate.”³¹

Inspired by the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1875), the first British Society was founded in Liverpool in 1883. The London Society was formed a year later, with Lord Shaftesbury as President, Rev. Benjamin Waugh (who became the first NSPCC director) and Rev. Edward Rudolph as joint Honorary

²⁹ Parr, *Benjamin Waugh*, 8-9.

³⁰ Benjamin Waugh (1894) in, *A History of the NSPCC* (London: NSPCC, 2000) 1.

³¹ M.J.D. Roberts, *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 278.

Secretaries. Patrons included Cardinal Manning (the inter-faith nature of the Society was stressed), Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Dr. Barnardo and Lord Aberdeen. By 1889, the London Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children had 32 branches, known as “aid committees,” throughout England, Scotland and Wales. In 1889, it revised its constitution and renamed itself the NSPCC with Queen Victoria as Royal Patron and Waugh as Director. At this time the NSPCC employed 29 Inspectors, and dealt with 3,947 cases of child abuse and neglect.³² The NSPCC was widely promoted and supported, as in the RTS magazine, the *Leisure Hour*.³³ In 1891 Princess Mary of Teck (later to be Queen Mary) took out a subscription to the Society for herself and her younger brothers, which inspired the formation of the Children’s League of Pity, whose newsletter started 1893. The League and its newsletter enabled children (mostly of the middle classes) to learn about the NSPCC’s work and to become involved in fundraising activities.³⁴

According to Christine Sherrington, Benjamin Waugh’s idea of citizenship of the child was a “genuinely forward-looking concept” and the basis of his campaign.³⁵ The rights of the child concept is much mentioned in the early literature of the children’s rights movement, particularly in association with the passage of the 1889 Children’s Act. Waugh regarded the legislation as vital in setting up a standard for the civil rights of children: “For the first time in English history, a new year has dawned on English children with civil rights, as real and as vital as the civil rights of grown people.”³⁶ He

³² *A History of the NSPCC*, 2.

³³ Anne Beale, “Cruelty to Children,” *Leisure Hour* (1889): 627.

³⁴ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, 188.

³⁵ Sherrington, *NSPCC in Transition*, 224.

³⁶ *Child’s Guardian: The Official Organ of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children*, Jan. (1890).

saw child cruelty as resulting from the child's powerlessness, a denial of its natural rights of citizenship and personhood, calling for "a courageous assertion and honest enforcement of the principle that every child is a member of the State and subject of the Crown."³⁷ In the words of a supporter, because of the NSPCC and the "Children's Charter" (1889), "the *child* has as sacred rights as the *parent*," as children had become "citizens of the State' instead of, as formerly, mere 'goods and chattels' of their parents."³⁸

As with the Band of Hope (see chapter 5), the NSPCC was careful wherever possible to avoid treading on parental rights and authority. Regarding school medical inspections, the vice-chairman of the Society, Harold Agnew made it clear that parents had the right to prevent inspections of their children. Furthermore, he stated that the NSPCC "must not be used to harass these parents. Independence may become a rare virtue. Easy facilities are being given to overthrow it. Whatever may be done by others, the Society's duty still remains, to induce all parents to do their duty, and, if necessary, to help them in its performance."³⁹

NSPCC policy reinforced traditional ideas about duties and obligations within the family. The NSPCC directors and workers were sincere in their desire to preserve the family intact. As the *Child's Guardian* explained in 1914:

It would be very easy to sweep a thousand children off the streets and to place the responsibility on the ratepayers. The easy way is not always the best way, and though the task of reforming homes and of reforming parents is not always easy,

³⁷ NSPCC Annual Report (1884) 61.

³⁸ Johnson, *Our Future Citizens*, 7.

³⁹ Autumnal Conference at Manchester: A statement in the *Child's Guardian*, Nov. (1910): 129. Mr. Harold Agnew (vice-chairman of Society, presiding).

it is always best. There is something in domestic association that no institution can give, and the noblest ideal for everyone engaged in work for children is that of making home a reality, and of making the names of father and mother a reality also.⁴⁰

The NSPCC did not remove children from their parents' homes unless it was deemed a necessity. Far less than one percent of the children on whose behalf the Society intervened between mid-1889 and mid-1903 were removed from parental custody.⁴¹ In the year ending March 31, 1909, for example, there were 49,792 cases reported to the Society, in which parents or others were neglectful or cruel toward children in their care; 2,399 cases were prosecuted. A more important duty than bringing offenders to justice was "securing an improvement in the state of children by bringing about an alteration in the conduct of parents." Of the 49,792 cases, 42,872 were effectively dealt with by warning.⁴²

The role here of the NSPCC's inspectors as early social caseworkers is essential. They were the chief enforcers of protection laws until the early twentieth century. In 1900, there were 163 inspectors known as "Cruelty Men." The 1904 Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act allowed them to remove children from abusive or neglectful homes without the involvement of the police, but with the consent of a Justice of the Peace. "Cruelty men" were chosen for their moral uprightness and their positive example as family men, favourably judged by their own children's success in life.⁴³ "Steadiness"

⁴⁰ *The Child's Guardian*, Feb. (1914): 16.

⁴¹ 1,200 children were removed from parental custody out of a total of 754,732 children on whose behalf the NSPCC intervened. *Inebriate Mothers and Their Reform*. NSPCC 29th Annual Report (1903) 4-5.

⁴² Parr, *Wilful Waste*, 51-52.

⁴³ For example, the paper for officers of the NSPCC, stated that "Inspector Butler, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, is to be congratulated on the success attained by his son Sidney John Butler, who, as a student at the evening classes of the Education Committee, has passed with distinction his second-year course in the

and temperance were two of the most important attributes of the NSPCC inspector.⁴⁴ The NSPCC combined the efforts of the amateur and the professional into one rather harmonious organization. Inspectors were often aided by their wives. The NSPCC continued to operate during the First World War, with the wives of inspectors called up for military service taking on their husbands' duties at home.⁴⁵ Inspectors tried, by their visits and by their example, to encourage a sense of parental duty in the people they cautioned. The Society did punish parents who shirked their duty and often provided their stories as examples to others who might be in danger of abusing their children.

As we shall see with the papers for boys, the NSPCC emphasized paternal responsibility. In neglect cases which were found to be due to the mother's indifference, inspectors were instructed to reinforce male responsibility by charging the husband as well. The excuse that the father was away at work was not admissible.⁴⁶ The NSPCC paper, the *Child's Guardian*, often featured articles about fathers who shirked their responsibilities toward their children. In part, this was to instruct NSPCC workers that they were to take fathers' neglect as seriously as mothers', indicating perhaps that public opinion by this time placed greater responsibility for the daily care of children on mothers. Often cases of abuse or neglect were tied to vice – drinking, gambling and laziness were often to blame. The *Child's Guardian* was careful to publish examples of negligent and abusive fathers from all classes, supporting Benjamin Waugh's insistence

subjects of practical mathematics, physics and machine drawing. His son has been equally successful in two examinations at Armstrong College, in engineering and shipbuilding subjects. The Inspector's eleven-year-old daughter has also gained a four years' free scholarship at Rutherford College, the value being £6 per year." *The Inspectors' Quarterly*, 1, no. 1 (Sept. 29, 1913): 2.

⁴⁴ Behlmer, *Child Abuse*, 163.

⁴⁵ *A History of the NSPCC*, 4.

⁴⁶ *The Inspectors' Quarterly*, 1, no. 2 (Dec. 25, 1913): 6.

that child abuse happened at all social levels. In 1889, Waugh declared, “cruelty is in no way related to i) education, or ii) material conditions and to dwelling or income or dress. These only affect the manner of it, not its existence.”⁴⁷ Morality and the personality of the parents or guardians were put forward as far more important determinants of cruelty than social class.

One article in 1914, for example, detailed the story of a “lazy and indifferent” man who had stopped working and who drank constantly, while his wife had to take in washing to support their children. When the NSPCC inspector warned this man he answered, “I have chucked up my job, and I am not going to work for 20s. a week for you or any other man. I don’t care a _____ for you; do what you like.”⁴⁸ He was sent to prison for three months. In the NSPCC paper, this man is seen as reprehensible because he flouted his traditional duties as a husband and father. He did not provide for his family in monetary or in moral ways; the epitome of his depravity occurred when he forcibly removed the wedding band from his wife’s finger and pawned it for drink. The paper also stressed the punitive impact on delinquent parents. For example, of a Barnsley father who badly neglected his children, it was stated in court that he had got rid of £900 in five years, mostly in drink and gambling. This father drew the 30s. maternity benefit on behalf of his wife, but paid nothing to the midwife who attended her. His wife had given him £169 to set himself up in business. On several occasions the inspector had advanced money to enable the children to be fed. He was imprisoned for two months.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ NSPCC Annual Report (1889) 22, in Sherrington, *NSPCC in Transition*, 93.

⁴⁸ *Child’s Guardian*, May (1914): 52.

⁴⁹ *Child’s Guardian*, Jan (1914): 7.

Excessive parental drinking was often given as a reason for the neglect or abuse of children, though the NSPCC wanted to make clear that poverty and drinking were symptoms of a greater problem, not the cause of the abuse in themselves: “Drink and poverty are, without doubt, answerable for such misery [cruelty to children], but the evils that affect children mainly come from sources behind these.”⁵⁰ Stories of callous fathers drinking away good wages whilst their starving wives and children were forced to beg were successful in creating the public outrage needed to fuel the temperance movement.⁵¹ According to one author writing in 1899, “The liquor party still try to raise the cry about the ‘rights of parents to send their children where they will;’ ‘the interference with personal liberty,’ etc. But such high sounding phrases are no longer living arguments.”⁵² That drinking was devastating to family life, and to children in particular, was an oft-repeated refrain in temperance circles. Each Church of England Temperance Society Band of Hope member was supposed to be given a copy of a handbook which discussed the connections between drinking and unhappy homes. It bolstered its moralistic discussion of alcohol with the more “scientific” findings of the NSPCC, quoting it as saying that “ninety out of every hundred cases of cruelty are due to intemperance.”⁵³ Temperance advocates were quick to point out the future benefits of temperance on the young. Hugh Mason, Liberal MP for Ashton (1880-1885), mill owner, philanthropist and temperance promoter, complained that though Britain had more Sunday Schools, places of worship and missionary activities than anywhere else in the

⁵⁰ Parr, *Wilful Waste*, 55.

⁵¹ “Drinking and Gambling”, *The Child’s Guardian*, May (1914): 53.

⁵² Johnson, *Our Future Citizens*, 7.

⁵³ C.F. Tonks, “My duty, to God, to my country, to my home, to myself,” *CETS Annual Examination and Inter-Diocesan Competition* (1914-15) 8.

world, it also had the most drunkards.⁵⁴ Writing in *Onward*, a temperance periodical for children and families, he explained that the object of temperance efforts should be the young, “those who in future should be heads of families, and who themselves should be training the young into the paths of virtue and morality and religion.”⁵⁵

Like the papers we will examine in subsequent chapters, the NSPCC, from its inception, understood that the printed word was its most powerful tool in education and in changing or reinforcing perceptions of proper behaviour toward children.⁵⁶ A table in the 1895-6 NSPCC report showed the direct correlation between increases in the amount of official literature the Society diffused and the number of children in need who were brought to its attention (see appendix IV). In a section in this report called “Our Literature and Children,” the NSPCC argued for an acceleration of literature production, as it was convinced that in areas where it was received, children were much more likely to be protected than in areas where the literature was unavailable.⁵⁷

The Society made full use of this medium to communicate its objectives, to gain support, to change public opinion and to prevent or uncover abuse or neglect. In 1902, for example, the Central Office issued 650,000 copies of the *Child’s Guardian* and 54,000 copies of *The Discovery* (the 1901-2 National Report). 356,000 pamphlets and

⁵⁴ D. A. Farnie, ‘Mason, Hugh (1817–1886)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47905>, accessed 28 Aug 2008].

⁵⁵ Hugh Mason, “National Intemperance and Bands of Hope,” *Onward*, 16 (1881): 78.

⁵⁶ Photography was also frequently used, mainly to convey the extremes of abuse and to encourage feelings of pity in the viewer. For an excellent discussion of this topic, see Monica Flegel, “Changing Faces: The NSPCC and the Use of Photography in the Construction of Cruelty to Children,” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 39, no. 1 (2006): 1-20.

⁵⁷ *The Power of the Children being the Report of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* (1895-6) 45-46.

leaflets were also printed for use by “Lady Collectors” and by promoters of meetings. 830,000 leaflets and show-cards were distributed, which outlined illegal practices regarding children and provided contact details for obtaining further information.⁵⁸

Though novel in its child-centered approach, the NSPCC’s mandate was to preserve and secure a conservative model of home and family. The interests of the child and of the State were one in desiring strong and stable homes, with fathers who not only provided for their families, but who were also positive moral models for their children. Yet many parents fell short of this ideal. As in the papers we shall examine in chapter 6, Waugh and the NSPCC believed that children could in fact change their parents’ vice-ridden lives for the better. Even more importantly, on a larger level, ensuring proper living environments for children, and especially for boys, would safeguard the next generation of capable heads of families and citizens. As Robert Parr put it: “If the rightful place of the child is secured, and his interests properly safeguarded, the nation will breed a race of strong, independent, self-reliant men who will have no need of pensions in old age.”⁵⁹

Fears of Physical Deterioration

Concern over youth and the fate of the nation reached a peak at the turn of the twentieth century. A number of social and intellectual currents converged to create a concentration on the category of adolescence, a much used term after the publication of G. Stanley Hall’s work, as I discuss further below. Discomfort regarding Britain’s position in relation to strong economic and imperial rivals turned into alarm during the Second

⁵⁸ NSPCC Annual Report, *Inebriate Mothers and Their Reform* (1902-3) 5.

⁵⁹ Parr, *Wilful Waste*, 60.

South African War of 1899-1902, when high numbers of young recruits were deemed physically unfit for military service. The near defeat of the British army also encouraged fears about the future of the “British race.” The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, reporting its findings in 1904, addressed the situation, and also pushed the discussion on adolescence further.⁶⁰ Though implied, it should be emphasized that the concern was focused on male adolescence, as it had been focused on boys before the term adolescence was commonly employed. For all observers, the condition of male adolescents was essential to the strength of the nation, which in turn rested on healthy manhood and families.

Several of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration’s findings are interesting in the context of the themes discussed throughout this dissertation. Firstly, young people were lacking the education necessary to prevent physical deterioration. Parental guidance here was absent and very little other supervision on physical and moral development was available.⁶¹ For the poor, material improvement was necessary before any moral or religious development could occur. The committee concluded that these results were in danger of being lost by prematurely providing religious teachings.⁶²

The report declared alcohol to be a “most potent and deadly agent of physical deterioration.”⁶³ The Committee acknowledged the large improvement in other countries made by legislation regarding alcoholism and recommended a similar course of action for the United Kingdom. It also asserted that emphasizing “the fatal effects of alcohol on

⁶⁰ Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Degeneration, Cd. 2175, [*Parliamentary Papers* 32] vol. 1 (1904), [hereafter, *Physical Deterioration*] 72-6, for adolescence.

⁶¹ *Physical Deterioration*, i, 73.

⁶² *Physical Deterioration*, i, 74.

⁶³ *Physical Deterioration*, i, 32.

physical efficiency” would have a more positive outcome than “by expatiating on the moral wickedness of drinking.”⁶⁴ Still, the Church of England Temperance Society reacted strongly to the committee’s report, devoting much of its annual report and *Temperance Chronicle* to questioning the qualifications of the committee’s members and arguing that they did not take the effects of alcohol seriously enough.⁶⁵ The CETS claimed that the committee’s chairman, Almeric W. Fitz Roy, C.V.O., Clerk of the Council, was unresponsive to evidence that alcohol was to blame and quite dismissive of expert medical comments to the contrary.⁶⁶ The CETS *Annual Report* proceeded to quote at length the committee’s findings. It is interesting to note what the CETS chose to reprint for its members from the committee’s lengthy three-volume report.

On the other hand, in large classes of the community there has not been developed a desire for improvement commensurate with the opportunities offered to them. Laziness, want of thrift, ignorance of household management, and particularly of the choice and preparation of food, filth, indifference to parental obligations, drunkenness, largely infect adults of both sexes, and press with terrible severity upon their children. The very growth of the family resources... is often productive of the most disastrous consequences. “The people perish for lack of knowledge.”⁶⁷

By way of support the CETS also chose to reprint from the report the recommendations to provide some general education to the community at large on the gravity of the issues surrounding physical deterioration and its prevention. The emphasis of this was to be on

⁶⁴ Physical Deterioration, i, 87.

⁶⁵ CETS, *Annual Report* (Westminster: CETS Depot, 1905) 1-5.

⁶⁶ CETS, *Annual Report* (Westminster: CETS Depot, 1905) 2.

⁶⁷ CETS, *Annual Report* (Westminster: CETS Depot, 1905) 4.

ways that individuals could promote and make effective the conclusions of the experts associated with the Committee.⁶⁸

As we have seen in chapter 2, urbanization was understood to be a great potential threat to young men. The Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration was also concerned with what they termed a “depletion of rural districts by the exodus of the best type.”⁶⁹ The associated fear was that once the move to the city was made, the young would succumb to the problems of urban life. This fear was most grave during the time of adolescence, which also received comment in the report. “The committee are impressed with the conviction that the period of adolescence is responsible for much waste of human material and for the entrance upon maturity of permanently damaged and ineffective persons of both sexes.”⁷⁰ Increasingly then, this liminal period of life drew the attention of reformers, professionals, educators and moralists alike.

Adolescence and Professionalization

Though the first use of the term adolescence was around 1430, its modern use, to categorize a liminal, problematic time between childhood and adulthood, occurred during our period and was popularized by G. Stanley Hall’s book, *Adolescence* (1904).⁷¹

Boyhood, youth, adolescence and young adulthood were still quite imprecise terms in this era, as they were often used interchangeably. In many cases, such as in the

⁶⁸ CETS, *Annual Report* (Westminster: CETS Depot, 1905) 5.

⁶⁹ *Physical Deterioration*, i, 34-38.

⁷⁰ *Physical Deterioration*, i, 72.

⁷¹ “Adolescence,” *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, [http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/50002958?query_type=word&queryword=adolescence&first=1&max_to_show=10&single=1&sort_type=alpha, accessed 7 August 2008]. G. Stanley Hall. *Adolescence: Its Psychology And Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (2 vols., New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904).

Children's Act (1908), the category "child" meant a person under the age of fourteen years, and "young person" a person between fourteen and sixteen years old. Often however the term "child" was used to include both.⁷² G. Stanley Hall's period under consideration in his *Adolescence* is between fourteen and twenty-four years of age.⁷³ Sylvanus Stall, an American Lutheran minister and highly popular and prolific writer of advice manuals for boys and men clearly delineated the various age categories. In 1897, he published *What a Young Boy Ought to Know* (for boys 8 to 10 years old) and *What a Young Man Ought to Know* (for 16 to 18 year old males and upwards). For Stall, adolescence for boys was defined as the years between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five. These years are "fraught with perplexities, trials, and much danger. It is during these years that most boys make mistakes and go wrong; some physically, some intellectually, some morally, and some in all three of these respects."⁷⁴

Hamilton Edwards saw the need for male adolescent education which surpassed what he could contribute in his boys' papers: "There are some topics in connection with a boy's moral and physical welfare upon which it is difficult to dilate in the pages of a widely-read magazine, such as the *Boys' Friend*," he said. "Yet," he went on, "these topics, relating as they do to the physical and mental well-being for the boy who is ultimately to become a responsible citizen of this Great Empire, and the possible father of future citizens, are of vital importance to him."⁷⁵ He recommended that parents and their boys read Sylvanus Stall's *What a Young Boy Ought to Know*. Here the link between

⁷² Inglis, *Children's Charter*, 13.

⁷³ Hall, *Adolescence*, i, x.

⁷⁴ Sylvanus Stall. *What a Young Boy Ought to Know* (London: Vir Publishing Co., 1897) 185.

⁷⁵ Hamilton Edwards, "Editor's Den – A Very Excellent Book," *Boys' Friend*, 2, no. 82 (1903): 505.

informal boyhood education, both physical and mental (moral), good citizenship of nation and empire, and fatherhood is made explicit, and will be a recurrent argument throughout this dissertation. Here too is the assumption that these sorts of life lessons could be taught through boyhood reading material, in part the boys' papers which will be our main focus, with more formal advice manuals like Stall's filling in gaps. Robert Baden-Powell also advertised Stall's *What a Young Boy Ought to Know* in the first edition of his *Scouting for Boys*.⁷⁶

Stall wrote many popular advice books, for males and females of all age groups, all published by his Vir Publishing Company, based in Philadelphia. He also had publishing offices in London where his British editions were produced. The name of his company, Vir (which means man), typifies the kind of work Stall published, which consisted of conservative advice steeped in Christian morals, promoting traditional family structures (headed by husbands) and sexual restraint. Stall also published works by other authors, who had similar messages. He sometimes wrote the introductions to such texts, as in Charles Frederic Goss's *Husband, Wife and Home* (1905), which will be discussed in chapter 6, along with Stall's *What a Young Husband Ought to Know*.⁷⁷ In a short work entitled *Parental Honesty*, Stall made clear to parents the importance and manner of safeguarding the purity of young children by the imparting of proper information about their bodies and about procreation.⁷⁸ Children, so he thought, would not remain innocent as they would be exposed to "defilement" from other children in school. Only "the truth" from a parent would allow a child to stay "immune to deception

⁷⁶ Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (London: C.A. Pearson, 1908), 203.

⁷⁷ Charles Frederic Goss, *Husband, Wife and Home*, With intro by Sylvanus Stall (London: Vir Publishing Co. 1905), and Stall, *What a Young Husband Ought to Know* (London: Vir Publishing Co., 1897).

⁷⁸ Sylvanus Stall, *Parental Honesty* (London and Philadelphia: Vir Publishing, 1905).

and to much degrading vice, and it is the only thing that will.”⁷⁹ He suggested that fathers instruct their sons on such matters, as it was especially important for boys of a certain age.⁸⁰ The truth of how his mother got pregnant would awaken “the true nobility of manhood” in a boy and prompt him to respect his mother and women and girls outside the home.⁸¹ Stall then described a time of “storm and stress,” (ie. adolescence) thus:

The boy who was previously mild and teachable and tractable now becomes a perplexity to his parents and a mystery to himself. Nature is just unfolding; and he is emerging from the period of infancy into the period of early premonitions of prospective manhood. He is now passing from the nonentity of boyhood into the individuality of unfolding manhood by the acquisition of sex power. His nature is undergoing an entire revolution, and just at this time, when his parents should understand and sympathize with him and help him, they oftentimes make his awkwardness and his changing voice, or the starting hairs upon his upper lip, the occasion of remarks and jests which only bring humiliation and embarrassment. It is just at this time that the parents should bring to the succor of their son that intelligent understanding of his nature which will enable him to comprehend himself and to forecast that future which his coming years are to unfold to him. He needs not only the sympathy of his parents, but that his parents should by the intelligent understanding of his necessities so fashion and modify the bearing of any other members of the family that the young boy shall be saved from the humiliation which unbecoming and inappropriate jests are calculated to effect.⁸²

According to Stall, most young men were pure, but they were given the impression even by “well-meaning” writers and public speakers that “the large mass of young men are leading lives of impurity.” This gave pure young men an easy excuse to succumb to temptation. Stall advised that boys needed to have “purity held up in its proper garb for their thoughtful contemplation and considerate adoption. They need to know that vice is always destructive of character, that sin always sacrifices self-respect and generally loses

⁷⁹ Stall, *Parental Honesty*, 16-18.

⁸⁰ Stall, *Parental Honesty*, 44

⁸¹ Stall, *Parental Honesty*, 23-24

⁸² Stall, *Parental Honesty*, 45-48

the respect of others, and that a life of vice is never safe from disease.”⁸³ Stall thought that the young needed to have proper knowledge of sexual topics and intelligence, but also to be “guided by right precepts and religious principles.” This combination required good decisions and “a pure life by an abiding moral character.”⁸⁴ The emphasis fell not only on parents, but also on those organizations whose primary function, as they saw it, was to ensure the moral character of the next generation. H.F. Clarke, writing for the CETS in 1894, stressed the importance of gaining a personal knowledge of and influence over children in their Bands of Hope, so as to have “a strong hold over them when the anxious period of youth begins.”⁸⁵ The tenor of this hold was not only moral but religious, and we shall see in this thesis a general consensus regarding the importance of a spiritual life in ensuring the successful passage of boys through adolescence.

G. Stanley Hall and his Impact on British Thought

Nathan Roberts has rightly pointed to the interconnectedness of character, citizenship, education and psychology in this period.⁸⁶ Roberts recognized that in classroom education, character remained an important pedagogical goal, though the focus had shifted from religious or moral foundations to contemporary understandings of psychology or a “science of character.”⁸⁷ Individual character remained an essential attribute as it was earlier in the nineteenth century, since it was still understood to have

⁸³ Stall, *Parental Honesty*, 50-52

⁸⁴ Stall, *Parental Honesty*, 60-61.

⁸⁵ H.F. Clarke, *How to avoid leakage between the Band of Hope and the Adult Society* (London: CETS, 1894) 4. Clarke was the Honorary Secretary for the Junior Division of the Church of England Temperance Society.

⁸⁶ Roberts, “Character in the mind,” 177–197.

⁸⁷ Roberts, “Character in the mind,” 181.

implications for the health of the country and the Empire. It was especially important to encourage character formation in the young, who would determine the future health of the nation. These ideas were repackaged in a more scientific language, stressing the crucial period of adolescence.

The professional conceptualization of adolescence made it possible to address the concerns highlighted in popular culture in new and effective ways. The periodicals discussed in this work provided a means to address issues related to boyhood in ways which were accessible to boys and to their parents and other responsible figures. The professional approach to the topic increasingly provided a means for the State and the voluntary sector to address these issues more thoroughly. These two levels of discourse did not happen in a vacuum. They occurred at the same time and mutually informed each other. Though this new treatment of adolescence was associated with the late nineteenth-century professionalization of the social sciences generally, the most important specific factor was the publication of G. Stanley Hall's *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* in 1904. In this huge two-volume work, Hall argued that the ages between fourteen and twenty-two represented a period of dangerous imbalance and instability. Like Stall, he called this a time of "storm and stress."⁸⁸ Every step toward adulthood was "strewn with wreckage of body, mind, and morals."⁸⁹ Hall advocated legislation which he thought was urgently needed for the protection of youth, but he also encouraged far better education

⁸⁸ Hall, *Adolescence*, i, xiii.

⁸⁹ Hall, *Adolescence*, i, xiv.

for adolescent males.⁹⁰ A great part of this education could come from reading material, but it was also supposed to come from parents. Also like Stall, Hall recommended that fathers talk honestly with their sons about sexual matters and their changing bodies, devoting a lengthy chapter to the topic.⁹¹ Hall was critical of clergymen, who professed to be “spiritual and moral guides,” but who ignored the topic of sexuality, falsely thinking that the omission promoted “superior ethical purity and refinement,” while in reality they were the embodiment of “the sloth and cowardice that dreads to grapple with a repulsive and festering moral sore.”⁹² He maintained that modernity presented difficult challenges for adolescents, which were not fully addressed by the institutions dedicated to teaching and guiding this age group: “modern life is hard, and in many respects increasingly so, on youth. Home, school, church, fail to recognize its nature and needs and, perhaps most of all, its perils.”⁹³

It would be misleading to make an absolute distinction between religious understandings of character and morality and newer, scientific approaches. G. Stanley Hall encouraged religious studies in school in order to train the character and will.⁹⁴ With a background in divinity, Hall was a pioneer in scientific psychology and in issues relating to childhood and adolescence. He was also interested in pedagogy and in reforming children’s education based on new theories in psychology.⁹⁵ In 1904, Hall also

⁹⁰ Hall, *Adolescence*, i.

⁹¹ Hall, *Adolescence*, i, 469. G. Chapter VI: “Sexual Development: Its Dangers and Hygiene in Boys” 411-471.

⁹² Hall, *Adolescence*, i, 465.

⁹³ Hall, *Adolescence*, i, xiv.

⁹⁴ G. Stanley Hall and M.E. Sadler (eds), *Moral Instruction and Training in Schools*, 95, in Roberts, “Character in the mind,” 195.

⁹⁵ Dorothy Ross. “Hall, Granville Stanley”; <http://www.anb.org/articles/14/14-00254.html>; *American National Biography Online* Feb. 2000. Access Date: Sun Aug 24 2008.

published a shorter version of *Adolescence* entitled *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene* for use by parents and educators on how to approach young people.⁹⁶ While striving to make his field scientific, he also popularized it. His books sold widely in Britain and he had many followers. Hall's view on the topic was quickly adopted by British social scientists. Psychology established itself as an academic discipline in Britain at this time.⁹⁷

J.W. Slaughter, Hall's pupil and disciple, lived in England where he was chairman of the Eugenic Education Society and secretary of the Sociological Society. These positions gave him access to important contemporary debates, and allowed him to disseminate Hall's already widely-read ideas. Michael Roper has shown that new social sciences like sociology and psychology were increasingly influential in the first decades of the twentieth century in Britain.⁹⁸ In contrast to eugenic ideas, the new field of psychology was understood to be an apolitical and scientific method of studying adolescence. Slaughter wrote his thin volume, *The Adolescent*, in order for Hall's and his ideas to reach as many youth workers as possible. It was first published in 1910 and reprinted three times by 1919.⁹⁹ He maintained that "civilization and a prolongation of adolescence are found together," and thus it was of utmost national importance to focus studied attention on this age group:¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ G. Stanley Hall, *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene* (London: Sidney Appleton, 1908 [1904]).

⁹⁷ For a discussion of the establishment of the professional discipline of Psychology in Britain, see Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 98-101.

⁹⁸ Michael Roper, "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The "War Generation" and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (April 2005) 343-362.

⁹⁹ Hendrick, *Images of Youth*, 98.

¹⁰⁰ J.W. Slaughter, *The Adolescent* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1911) 11.

The most significant stages are those which youth must pass through for themselves, and mostly alone, and which cannot be touched except harmfully by formal school methods; fortunately, the educative process proceeds on its own account in terms of spontaneous new interests, together with an eager desire for knowledge. This is the time of the reading passion and an ambition to master all knowledge.¹⁰¹

The solution to the problems of adolescence, therefore, could be found in appropriately constructed reading matter. The moral training of youth would thereby take care of itself, as if naturally. This would compensate for the shortfalls of formal education. Writers in the 1880s complained that even boys with the best public-school education knew nothing that would aid them in the professions or in the “business of life.”

Thus at the age of seventeen – and often, indeed, at eighteen – the young man has to be sent to some cramming establishment, where the special knowledge which is necessary to enable him to enter upon active life is packed into his brain in such a manner, and under such conditions, as that in less than a year it is found to have all oozed out, and left the brain in a state of confusion – if not of absolute disease.¹⁰²

Slaughter was also critical of formal education as its design did not consider adolescent-specific requirements. In his view the secondary school was organized around passing university entrance requirements and its highest success was for its pupils to receive university scholarships. This was the wrong focus as most secondary school students did not even go to university. Instead, for Slaughter the focus of education should be on the “human product” at this most crucial time of life.¹⁰³ “The time occupied,” he wrote, “is undoubtedly the most precious of the whole lifetime for the growth of mind and

¹⁰¹ Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, 89.

¹⁰² W. Fielding, “What Shall I Do with my Son?” *The Nineteenth Century*, April (1883): 580.

¹⁰³ Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, 86.

character, yet it is thrown away in grind on materials of third-rate value – this for a stupid and scientifically obsolete tradition.”¹⁰⁴

A new approach was already well established by the time Slaughter wrote the *Adolescent*, precisely designed to address these failures in formal education. The scientific approach to adolescence and childhood impacted the juvenile organizations discussed in this work. As we shall see in chapter 4, the publishers were informed by this background of pseudo-scientific, professional and legislative activity, and formed their own consensus about boyhood development. They did so with remarkable consistency, transcending class, political and religious/secular lines. They saw an essential need for an informal brand of education that might make up the shortfalls being acknowledged by the State, by voluntary societies, and by the formal school system.

¹⁰⁴ Slaughter, *The Adolescent*, 87.

“Very Real Dangers:” A Moral Consensus

“Wanted – a boy.” How often we
 These very common words may see!
 Wanted – the world wants boys to-day,
 And she offers them all she has for pay –
 Honour, wealth, position, fame,
 The world is anxious to employ
 Not just one, but every boy
 Whose heart and brains will ever be true
 To work his hands shall find to do.
 Honest, faithful, earnest, kind,
 To good awake, to evil blind,
 Heart of gold, without alloy,
 Wanted – the world wants such a boy.¹

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 will focus on juvenile and family publications, keeping in view the contextual framework established in chapters 2 and 3. While it would be misleading to argue for a general societal consensus regarding boyhood and adolescence in this era, it will be argued that the most widely-spread and influential juvenile papers, and their associated societies, did agree on how to view boyhood and on the strategies involved in promoting the right kind. Encouraged by the apparent popularity of this particular view of ideal boyhood in the juvenile periodical market, the publishing industry maintained a similar message throughout the period. The late Victorian and Edwardian boy was the subject of abundant discussion and intense scrutiny in the juvenile press. He was also the subject of grave concern. Gordon Stables, the flamboyant and prolific writer on health

¹ *The Band of Hope Annual [Band of Hope Review]* (UK Band of Hope Union) Aug. 1915, “Boys Wanted,” 64.

matters for the *Boy's Own Paper*, remarked that boys faced dangers that were 'very, very, real.'² He advised that:

The very first stepping-stones to good health and success are the giving up of bad habits, whether school vices or smoking and the declaration made to yourself and before Heaven in your own chambers that *you will not read sensational or impure literature again*. You thus bid fair to purify your minds and bodies also, and remove the most dangerous obstacles to your advancement in life.³

The religious and secular press both promoted the same view: a boy's life course was fragile, and the few years before adulthood would make a significant difference in producing either the next generation of responsible citizens and heads of family, or moral and physical degenerates. Disparate groups, which one might otherwise expect to be at odds with one another, agreed that better than encouraging boys to cease the practice of bad habits, was to prevent them from ever starting them. As will be shown, the importance of this project led writers to blur the distinction between fact and fiction.

As has been shown, since the popularization of Rousseau's ideas, childhood increasingly was set aside as a special, sacred time, one ostensibly free from adult responsibilities and temptations. The reality in the period 1880-1914, however, was that many children of all classes faced adult pressures before their time. One of these, drink, though by no means a new one, came under attack by reformers and publishers in innovative ways. Gambling, questionable morality and lack of religiosity were often

² Gordon Stables, "Doings for the Month – June – The Boy Himself, Poultry Run, Pigeon Loft, Aviary, Rabbitry, and Gardens", *Boy's Own*, 27, no. 1376 (May 27, 1905): 558.

A Scottish-born medical doctor, Stables was a regular contributor to the *BOP*, appearing in almost every monthly issue of the paper from 1884 until his death in 1910. His writings greatly influenced the moral tone of the paper.

³ Stables, "Doings for the Month," 558, emphasis mine.

linked to drinking. These pressures were especially difficult for boys, many of whom believed it was manly to drink. Smoking was also widely believed to be unacceptable for boys and young men before the age of twenty-one. This new and growing concern for male adolescents, who were in a phase between boyhood and adulthood, was indicative of an increasing fear that many men were not fit for a modern Britain, with their manliness and their morality in question. *Perceptions* of declining rates of religious adherence and *fears* that many men were shirking their familial responsibilities for the homosocial environments of the Empire and the club,⁴ drove organizations to promote the informal education of the next generation of young men, in the hopes that they would be better husbands, fathers and citizens. This impetus has been lost on historians who, examining some of the same papers for boys, have focused on the Empire and on concerns to build up generations of good soldiers between the South African War and the First World War.⁵

The focus of the organizations was a generation of adolescents, who, subject to the Education Act of 1870, were literate and often sought reading material that was more entertaining than edifying. More than in any previous time, publishers had to disguise educative messages in appealing and often frivolous text; somber evangelical texts emphasizing individual repentance or damnation no longer held sway. Having more

⁴ John Tosh, in his book, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 170-194, argues that there was a widespread "flight from domesticity" of men in this era.

⁵ John Tosh, "Manliness, Masculinities and the New Imperialism, 1880-1900," *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005); Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Papers in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); J.A. Mangan, "Muscular, Militaristic and Manly: The British Middle-Class Hero as a Moral Messenger," *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport*, Pierre Lanfranchi, Richard Holt, and J.A. Mangan, eds. (London: Frank Cass, 1996); John MacKenzie, ed. *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (London: Manchester University Press, 1986); John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977).

education than many of their predecessors, youth of this generation often lacked advanced training in so-called modern employment. Publications like the *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*, or schemes like “The Boys’ Friend Correspondence College” in the *Boys’ Herald* and *Boys’ Friend* papers,⁶ catered to this large group of mainly working-, and lower-middle-class young men.⁷ Male adolescents in general held a sometimes problematic position in society. This was a time when young men flocked to the big cities, and were subjected to many pressures, the topic of myriad articles in the popular press.

Diverse youth problems were addressed by middle-class reformers with evangelical motives, but also by the secular press whose main goal was clearly not the reformation of youthful character, but rather the sale of its publications. To avoid invidious accusations of publishing “penny dreadfuls,” it was essential for editors to appear to be educating and reforming youth in order to meet the approval of parents as well as be popular with their boys. The widespread consensus in British opinion on boyhood behaviour, even among seemingly disparate organizations, both secular and religious, is established through an examination of the publications by Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) and his Amalgamated Press, the Religious Tract Society, the Church of England Temperance Society and the Band of Hope movement. I will map how this contemporary discussion took form in popular periodicals for boys and demonstrate how this consensus was shaped. This survey of boys’ papers and organizations is by no means intended to be exhaustive, rather it aims to provide a broad

⁶ Advertisement, *Boys’ Herald*, 3, No. 131 (1906).

⁷ With sections on diverse topics from science, mathematics and engineering to history, geography and music. A practical approach based on skills acquisition pervaded throughout.

sketch of popular cultural and intellectual opinion on the importance of boyhood at a pivotal time in British society within the most popular juvenile publications of the era.

The consensus on boyhood education and enculturation involved an understanding that the future of society and the nation depended on reaching children in time. This view was stated unequivocally, especially by temperance advocates. As the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union stated clearly, “The Future of the Nation is with the Child.”⁸ The *Workers Onward*, the publication for Band of Hope workers containing temperance news and information, blackboard addresses and a “hints and helps for the work” column, published a photograph of a huge juvenile temperance rally held on October 10, 1908. The focal point of this photograph was an enormous banner draped across a balcony, which read “Train the Child, Save the Man,”⁹ as did a song sung at the Jubilee of the Band of Hope in 1897: “As the hope of the earth is the spring-time, So the Hope of the race is the Child.”¹⁰ Advice to the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope workers made this clear: “To train the child is easier, safer, and its results more permanently abiding than to reclaim the man. With the untrained, unreached children of to-day will be found the drink-problem of to-morrow.”¹¹ While the motivation for educating boys on temperance in particular was clear, the principle was far more pervasive. As already shown, the director of the NSPCC, Robert Parr, made clear that children, since they were the “central figures in religion” and “the moving force in the home,” and even more crucially, “the main hope of the nation,” should be a central

⁸ Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (est. 1863) *Annual Reports* (1910) 42.

⁹ *Workers Onward*, Jan. 1910 (1910-12): 25.

¹⁰ Robert Tayler, *The Hope of the Race* (London: Hope Press, 1946) 6.

¹¹ Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union (est. 1863) *Annual Reports* (1910) 42.

responsibility of the nation.¹² The extension of this argument was also widely expressed: attention should be focused on boys since they themselves were the future holders of responsibility in matters of familial, community and national concern. The recitation, “The Coming Men” (see appendix III), asserts that boys should be prized, as they will be the future teachers, preachers, voters and statesmen, positively influencing their families, communities and the wider nation. It associates temperance, Christian religiosity, family and effective manhood and citizenship. The idea of promise in boyhood was common.

The main argument of this chapter is perhaps surprising. That there was a consensus of opinion about the moral upbringing of boys within periodicals and their associated organizations is not an obvious conclusion. These organizations had sometimes opposite points of view politically, theologically and commercially. They were also targeted at different classes, based on their prime motivations for change within specific groups. In the messages these papers directed at boys and at their parents, however, there was far more similarity than ideological friction. It will be shown at the end of this chapter that socialist papers also promoted the same views. For children of all classes, abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, no gambling, no masturbation or impure thoughts were all essential. Furthermore, there was a strong emphasis, even in so-called secular papers, on religious faith, fair play, sensitivity, empathy and kindness to women and children. All of these positive attributes were tied in with the view that these adolescent boys would become men; they should be trained to become the “right” sort of men, citizens who were at the centre of domestic life, with fidelity to family, to country and to Empire (in that

¹² Robert J. Parr, *Willful Waste: The Nation's Responsibility for its Children* (London: NSPCC, 1910) 70.

order). Most importantly, all of these widespread publications emphasized that the boy, and the crucial life stage of adolescence, were of utmost importance to the family and the nation. As boyhood and adolescence were by this time recognized as phases of life distinct from manhood, there was an increasing perception of the need for a moral education specific to boys. In an era of universal education, this sort of education was seen to be lacking in formal settings of school, church, chapel and home. Perhaps it was also deemed better to teach these moral lessons more subtly and informally, through a popular medium that young readers could enjoy while absorbing deeper messages.

Raising boys correctly would mean nothing less than the advancement of the British race. According to one commentator, “What the nation will be in thirty years hence depends chiefly on what the children of the present decade are. The world makes its progress on the little feet of childhood.”¹³ Raising boys properly had a significant impact on society. Raising them incorrectly, or in other words, not using all possible means to inculcate the right sort of behaviour and beliefs would cost the family and the nation dearly when these boys became men.

Boys were informally educated, through the fictional stories in popular periodicals, to become responsible men and caring fathers. This moral fiction aimed at correcting the ‘immoral’ fiction of penny dreadfuls, an undertaking especially important at the turn of the twentieth century when, as Martin Francis and John Tosh have outlined, a rapidly changing society provoked questions about the place of men in the family.¹⁴

¹³ Hesba Stretton, “Women’s Congress of the Chicago Exhibition, 1893” in Harriet M. Johnson, *Our Future Citizens* (London: CETS, 1899) n.p.

¹⁴ Martin Francis, “The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth-century British Masculinity,” *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002): 637-652; Tosh, “Manliness, Masculinities”; Tosh, *A Man’s Place*, 196.

The legislation of this era is indicative of an augmenting concern for the rising generation's physical and moral health. Several key acts served to bolster the effectiveness of pre-existing education and anti-cruelty acts, most notably the Children Act of 1908, but also the Education Acts of 1901 and 1902, 1901's Factory and Workshop Act and Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, and the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1904 (see chapters 2 and 3). These laws demonstrated a new concern for children in their own right, and not as possessions of their fathers. Since many late Victorian and Edwardian boys were falling short of modern physical, educational and moral standards, organizations (the Boy Scouts being the most influential after 1907) were formed to ameliorate these shortcomings. The juvenile periodical press was also an important part of this attempt and collaborated with these groups. Important religious organizations, like the Religious Tract Society, the Church of England Temperance Society and the Band of Hope Unions, sought to inculcate in boys the morals and attitudes needed for their future roles by publishing juvenile fiction, usually in the form of periodicals. The Religious Tract Society met the challenge of secularized education (after the 1870 Education Act) by producing a series of juvenile periodicals which had an implicitly Christian basis.¹⁵ Although echoing earlier Victorian modes, late Victorian and Edwardian periodicals adapted their messages according to an increasingly competitive and expanding juvenile publishing industry, and in response to broader changes in British society and culture. This was exemplified by the introduction of "secular," market-driven competitors, such as the *Boys' Herald* and the *Boys' Friend*, published by Lord Northcliffe's Amalgamated Press. The *Boy's Own Paper*, started by

¹⁵ Gordon Hewitt, *Let the People Read* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949) 62.

the evangelical Religious Tract Society in 1879 and catering to a mostly middle-class audience, dominated the market until it was overtaken by the more working-class focused papers of the Amalgamated Press at the turn of the century.¹⁶

Many constants remained regarding childhood in the Victorian and Edwardian eras. A preoccupation with boyhood especially dominated the prescriptive and fictional writings of the whole period. That the future of Britain depended on the proper upbringing and education of boys was not in doubt. What was in doubt was whether boys were being adequately taught at home and in school. Victorian publishers had begun to fill that gap; Edwardian publishers sought to refine this informal education in a changing market. Periodicals blurred the distinction between fiction and non-fiction by making fiction serve religious and moral ideologies. The details of the short story, drama or serial novel were chosen, informed and made relevant by their service in advancing Christian truths. Thus in a sense it is irrelevant whether the details of a moral tale were imagined or reported. They were made real by the perceived truth which underlay them.

Truth, Fiction and Morality

In the *Young Crusader*, the “Temperance Lesson” addressed much more holistic life choices than simply abstaining from alcohol. Though total abstinence was viewed as an essential component for a boys’ development into moral manhood, it was not sufficient. The following list of negative habits and influences could have been published in any of the papers.

¹⁶ Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys’ Story Papers*, 70-71

1. Beware of swearing.
2. Beware of lying.
3. Beware of disobedience to parents.
4. Beware of scoffing at the Bible.
5. Beware of gambling.
6. Beware of bad company.
7. Beware of the first glass.
8. Beware of the first pipe.¹⁷

The emphasis was placed on making sure that these bad habits were not even tried, rather than on reforming boys who had already strayed. This same view provided a focus on promoting goodness in potentially corruptible children, rather than on reforming their already corrupted parents (see chapter 6). Some of these bad habits, like drinking, smoking, gambling and masturbation were condemned as having disastrous effects on the body. Others, such as disobedience to adults (especially to parents) and lack of piety or honesty, were bad habits of the spirit. These two sets of bad habits were mutually propagating. Bad influences, found in the home, the street, the gambling den or the pub, could either be the first step toward the moral and physical corruption of the young, or could lead to further degradation in those already seeking out a bad habit.

The periodicals late Victorian and Edwardian publishers produced were structured with fiction as the strongest component, while there were usually also illustrations and non-fictional articles, either in the form of biography or of “true” storytelling in the first person. For the purposes of this study, the term fiction is loosely defined, reflecting its fluid uses in the periodicals. The non-fiction and advice columns of periodicals lent weight and precision to the morals hidden in the fictional accounts and in the illustrations. One of the main aims of the non-fictional elements was to make sure

¹⁷ Thomas Heath, “Beware,” *Young Crusader*, June (1894): 62.

that boys read the *right* kind of fiction and that they understood what lessons to draw from their reading. It is only possible clearly to understand these messages when the various narrative forms are juxtaposed. The messages of the pieces were of crucial importance to the writers. What, therefore, was promoted in the periodicals? In short, it was the message that boys should be trustworthy, honest, hardworking, punctual, polite, unselfish, justly independent and self-reliant and abstain from bad habits.¹⁸ These habits included drinking, smoking, gambling, sexual gratification (alone or with others) and swearing. Within this scheme there was some latitude in terms of the extent to which “bad” habits were proscribed.

Robert Hamilton Edwards, editor of the Amalgamated Press’s boys’ papers, did not want to be called a “rabid teetotaler,” but he did advocate for every British boy to be not only an abstainer from alcohol, but also from “cigarettes, swearing, and every other bad habit.” He maintained that if boys were total abstainers during their youth, there would be far more abstinence among adults.¹⁹ That “the British race would be all the better for it” was agreed by all of these groups, with varying degrees of “rabidity.”²⁰ Boys should prioritize family above all else and obey their parents, even if they felt their advice unreasonable or outdated. “No matter how keen their desire may be to see the world outside, their first duty is to their parents.”²¹ Moral messages were clearly contained within the fictional element, but were made manifest by their location next to apparently non-fictional moral guidance.

¹⁸ Hamilton Edwards, “Your Editor’s Advice,” *Boys’ Herald*, 1, no. 25 (1904): 400.

¹⁹ Hamilton Edwards, “Teetotalism,” *Boys’ Herald*, 1, no. 26 (1904): 416; “Your editor’s advice,” *Boys’ Herald*, 1, no. 25 (1904).

²⁰ Edwards, “Teetotalism,” 416.

²¹ Hamilton Edwards, “Editor’s Den,” *Boys’ Friend*, 2, no. 94 (1903): 709.

The early Victorian emphasis on strict evangelical messages was certainly becoming unpopular, in favour of more subtle moral messages which would be more palatable to the late Victorian and Edwardian young. Yet, even in so-called secular papers (as Lord Northcliffe's are understood to be), a strong Christian foundation can be uncovered. The values promoted in the texts were Christian in origin, though it would be far too simplistic to dismiss the papers as relics from an evangelical past. They were certainly of their age, competing in a modern publishing industry and with the modern reader in mind. The late Victorian and Edwardian period was a pivotal time when a modern understanding of boyhood emerged. Boys were no longer miniature adults: they were often viewed as naturally good and pure and could be moral beacons for adults, but their good qualities could easily become polluted under the wrong influences. Boyhood was a distinct and crucial phase of development, one in which boys were trained in the serious matter of character-building for manhood, while also catering to their specific pastimes and fantasy world. This new and growing concern for boys was indicative of an increasing fear that many men were not fit for a modern Britain, with their manliness and their morality in question.²² Evidence from the major boys' papers shows a strong concern for training boys in an informal and indirect way: while there was an abundance of explicit moral instructions in these papers, it was common for the educational value to be implicitly loaded into the morals of particular stories, and into the general tenor of the publications over this entire period. Moral training was therefore not reducible to one or other particular story, but was formed from a general and long-running appreciation, in the reader, of the whole. Boys were also given advice on how to prepare for a modern

²² As discussed by G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

career and how to provide themselves with a healthy lifestyle. More important than these outward attainments, they were also instructed how to lead a manly life.

The inner qualities of manliness were actively taught. As John Tosh puts it: “It was the consistent aim of boys’ education to internalise these moral qualities – to make them second nature so that they could be expressed in action instinctively and convincingly. Virtue was held to be inseparable from manliness.”²³ All of these organizations, both religious and ‘secular,’ made clear in their informal teachings for boys that the attributes of a ‘real’ man, of a real gentleman, were open to any class. It could be put simply, as in one 1914 *Band of Hope Review* piece, that “the boys who keep on trying have made the world’s best men,” regardless of class.²⁴ Equally, *no* boy should be drinking, smoking, gambling or physically “impure.” Real success was in becoming a “real” man, one who took seriously his responsibilities to his family and to his country, as will be discussed in chapter 5. Hamilton Edwards clearly expressed this in 1903: “I want them all to remember that success in life, is, after all, not so much about the mere making of money, as the making of one’s self a useful, honest citizen of our great empire.”²⁵ The juvenile publishing industry had long recognized the influence fiction could have on its readers. As early as 1886 Edward Salmon, a journalist who wrote extensively on juvenile literature, had made the connection clear:

It is impossible to overrate the importance of the influence of such a supply [of fiction] on the national character and culture. Mind, equally with body, will

²³ John Tosh “The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850,” in *English Masculinities 1600-1800*, eds., Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London: Longman, 1999) 23.

²⁴ Apples of Gold, “Keep On,” *Band of Hope Review* (1914): 96.

²⁵ Hamilton Edwards, “Editor’s Den,” *Boys’ Friend*, 3, no. 115 (1903): 176.

develop according to what it feeds on; and just as the strength or weakness of a man's muscle depends on whether he leads a healthy or vicious life, so will the strength or weakness of his moral sense largely depend upon whether he reads in his youth that which is pure or that which is foul.²⁶

To boys, stories became real; their thoughts, actions and moral sense were shaped by reading as much as by their contact with the world around them.²⁷ The juvenile papers maintained that reading could have a decisive impact on boys' development. While they had different motivations, they all recognized the importance of the boy to society, and in the words of one commentator, "to the character and well-being of the nation and the state."²⁸ Thus, in the late Victorian and Edwardian period, "frantic educational and religious dashes" were made at boys.²⁹ This urgency to reach boys was clearly seen by the RTS. Earl Cairns (1819–1885), a supporter of numerous evangelical causes, was chair of the RTS's 84th Anniversary meeting in 1883:

The urge for increased support is drawn from the home life and the young life of this country. It has ever been the grandest feature of the Society that influenced for good the life of our country in its most sacred and influential spheres. Guard home and young life, and you take the best method of establishing religion and righteousness in the land. Keep these pure, and you purify the whole nation.³⁰

In great part this was to be accomplished by publishing uplifting periodicals and other reading material for the young and for families. Other anniversary meeting speeches

²⁶ Edward Salmon, "What Boys Read," *Fortnightly Review*, 45, February (1886): 248.

²⁷ Salmon, "What Boys Read," 248.

²⁸ W. Scott King, "The Boy: What He Is and What Are We Going to Make of Him," *Sunday at Home* (1913): 818

²⁹ King, "The Boy," 818.

³⁰ *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, no. 27, June (1883): 39-40.

carried similar messages, such as Chairman Sir T. Fowell Buxton's³¹ for the 88th Anniversary, "This is a Reading Age,"³² or the 100th Anniversary speech, "The Antiseptic Power of Good Literature."³³ All were especially concerned with providing the young with pure and uplifting reading material. Home and the young were the keys to a better future for Britain.

For all the papers, boys, more than girls, were seen as crucial to this potential betterment of home, society and nation. As one *Boy's Own Paper* writer declared in 1910, "People say, 'Boys will be boys;' but they are wrong – boys will be men. And to prepare for their manhood not a day is to be lost."³⁴ There was a new sense of urgency in the late Victorian and Edwardian papers: modern life was comparatively fast-paced and the years before adulthood so few that moral guidance, as well as the education required for a modern workforce, needed to be passed on effectively and efficiently. This is in line with other opinions of the time. The papers often promoted other works of advice. For example, on the back cover of the June 1910 issue of the *Seed Time and Harvest*, there was an advertisement for David Williamson's new book, *From Boyhood to Manhood*. The contents of this book addressed the same issues as the papers and reflected a continuity of message throughout the period, with a focus on character and manliness: "starting work," "lodgings," "clothing," "doing work well," "changing employment," "reading," "the simple life," "ambitions realised," "a true gentleman," "keep eyes open,"

³¹ Buxton, grandson of the abolitionist of the same name, led by example, as it is noted that he was a "man of high principle," who "put family concerns above office," see Elizabeth Baigent, 'Buxton, Sir (Thomas) Fowell, third baronet (1837–1915)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32225>, accessed 31 Dec 2007].

³² *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, no. 43, June (1887).

³³ *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, no. 91, June (1899): 37

³⁴ David Williamson, "How to Succeed in Life: Some Finger-posts for Boys," *Boy's Own*, 32, no. 1633 (30 April, 1910): 487.

“friendships,” “building character,” “keeping on,” “debating and speaking,” “keeping accounts,” “acquiring knowledge,” “the soul life.”³⁵

Positive images of masculinity were mixed with warnings against the temptations of modern life. It was feared that the “ugly thoughts, wicked memories and unclean pictures” of bad books would etch themselves into boys’ hearts.³⁶ One young reader of the *Band of Hope Review* wrote in 1908, “If a boy reads rubbish he nearly always thinks about it afterwards, and feels inclined to do the same things himself. And it robs him of strength of will, and care for his character.”³⁷ Gordon Stables and countless other writers of the period blamed “penny dreadfuls” for boys’ descent into vice and violence, which produced immoral, ungodly and unproductive lives. Lives like this were ruined, with redemption by moral influence or example difficult. It was far better positively to influence the young before they “ruined” their lives. The fear, however, was that the publishers of penny dreadfuls and even the producers of newer inventions like cinematography understood the weaknesses of the boy, and could therefore influence his moral behaviour and his upbringing more than “the Sunday-school teacher and the Band of Hope lecturer, and better even than the woman who bore him.”³⁸ Yet there was hope that with the availability of the right sort of reading material the current generation of boys would know what to choose. Hamilton Edwards believed this to be true regarding his own papers. He wrote in 1912 that “The present-day fellow carries plenty of common-sense in his head, and when he reads a thrilling story, he wants it to be thrilling

³⁵ *Seed Time and Harvest*, June (1910).

³⁶ Rev. J. Reid Howatt, “For the Young,” *Sunday at Home* (1902-3): 134.

³⁷ Frederick Blight, “What Boys Say about Reading,” *Band of Hope Annual* (1908): 50.

³⁸ King, “The Boy,” 820.

in a sensible manner, and not a mass of blood-curdling improbabilities.”³⁹ The advice to boys was clear: “Do not load up your heart then with hateful things you must carry with you to the last; load up rather with thoughts that are beautiful and true and lovely: these will lend you wings to help you mount higher and be happier.”⁴⁰ Morally correct fiction was prescribed, as it was thought that “good books” could also be inscribed on boys’ hearts.

Home Politeness

In the *Boy’s Own Paper*, as in other periodicals, fictional and non-fictional accounts often merged, and though many of these accounts were probably not genuine, they were lent more credibility by supposedly being the experience of real boys. In a 1911 article entitled “Mother and Home,” a clean-cut Christian young man is reported as having said that he had been one of the worst boys in town, but seeing the example of a boy from a good home who was respectful to his mother, he decided that he would try to be the same to his own mother. Though he is mocked for his new behaviour, his whole life begins to improve and the narrator comments: “thus one boy’s kindness to his mother is still bringing forth good fruit in the life of a man.”⁴¹ The *Young Crusader* also emphasized the importance of placing the family and home above wider pursuits. In one 1897 article a young man is described as having been discontented with his home, and consequently having enlisted as a soldier. He had wanted to see the world, have adventures and wear a red coat. Five years later, he learned that “be it ever so humble, there’s no place like

³⁹ Hamilton Edwards, “The Penny Dreadful,” *Boys’ Herald*, 9, no. 460 (1912): 70.

⁴⁰ Howatt, “For the Young,” 134.

⁴¹ “Mother and Home,” *Boy’s Own*, n.s., part 1 (1911): 16.

Home.”⁴² These stories and numerous similar ones served to instruct readers to be accountable to God, to their families and to themselves. In the words of one recitation, the “boys that are wanted,” were the ones who placed the love of home and family above all else:

“Wanted – boys,” this want I find
As the city’s wants I read of,
And that is so – there’s a certain kind
Of boys that the world has need of.
The boys that are wanted are sober boys,
Unselfish, true and tender;
Holding more dear the sweet home joys,
Than the club or the ball-room’s splendor.⁴³

In this way, duty to home and family should take priority over homosocial or individual pleasures.

Hamilton Edwards told boys, many of whom left home to work at an early age, to write home regularly, thereby fulfilling a duty to their parents. “I need hardly say that nothing brings greater happiness in after life than the knowledge that you have been a good son to your father and mother, and have spared them all needless worry and anxiety.”⁴⁴ A letter from a young female reader (many girls also read the Amalgamated Press’s boys’ papers) asks for advice for her brother who wants to be a scout, against the wishes of their father. These papers clearly promoted the Boy Scouts, but in this case, emphasizing duty to family took priority. Edwards replies that though the boy should attempt to talk to his father about the merits of scouting, he should be obedient to his

⁴² “Home,” *Young Crusader*, September (1897): 88.

⁴³ “Boys that are Wanted,” *Young Crusader*, June (1892): 63.

⁴⁴ “Do you write to the People at Home?” *Boys’ Herald*, 9, no. 443 (1912): 428.

father always. He then used the opportunity to teach readers about their debt to their parents: “their parents feed, clothe, and educate them from the time that they were tiny babies.” He also notes that in the “vast majority of cases, until they are at least fourteen, none of them ever bring a shilling into the house.”⁴⁵ Though Edwards was making the point that boys owed their parents obedience and kindness for their financial support, he also relates to his working-class readership by appealing to their own realities.

In the religious and temperance press as well, politeness to father and mother indicated that a boy had good manners to everyone else. A boy who was not polite to his parents might seem courteous to others, but, as one 1884 *Band of Hope Review* article stated, “is never truly polite in spirit, and is in danger, as he becomes familiar, of betraying his real want of courtesy.”⁴⁶ Emphasis on good manners, originating in the home, but also projected onto society, was part of boys’ training for a modern workforce, and was tied in with more concrete new skills like bookkeeping or typing. Modern business skills, without a concomitant transformation of manners, would be useless in working-class boys’ advancement. In a similar way, middle-class boys were taught moral ways of comportment in society in order to ensure that they too would advance, or at least not descend from the position of their parents.

Though various periodicals were primarily read either by parts of the working or the middle classes, there was a consistent message for all. According to the *Young Standard Bearer*, a Mr. Burns, when addressing the boys and girls of the Anerley District Schools, “gave some excellent advice, which applies to all classes of society.” He instructed the boys “when they went out into the world to shun gambling and strong

⁴⁵ “Scouts and Obedience to Parents,” *Boys’ Herald*, 7, no. 328 (Oct. 30, 1909): 244.

⁴⁶ “Home Politeness,” *Band of Hope Review* (1884): 151.

drink;” and he said to “the girls that to boil a potato well was better than playing a piano badly, and to nurse and dress a baby was far preferable to overdressing themselves.”⁴⁷

These comments are interesting in their preservation of traditional gender roles, in their universality and in their support by the paper. They are also interesting in bridging the gap between what young people were exposed to in their reading material and in their moral formal education in school. That all social classes should adhere to these codes of conduct was emphasized by all the papers. That boys should abstain from bad habits and that girls should be oriented toward the home were clear messages (see chapter 6).

Defining the Path

A regular feature of the *Boy's Own Paper* was “Talks to Boys: by an Old One.” These were described as ‘chats’ with readers in a “manly, straightforward manner, giving sound advice and pointing the road to a pure, Christian life.”⁴⁸ Their advice was often placed in the broader framework of a moral nation, constituted of pious, domesticated and loyal male subjects. This concept was encapsulated in the notion of the “Briton,” a trope commonly used to denote the characteristics required of the male citizens of a great nation. This was more significant, however, in instructing boys in their behaviour at home, within their families, in school and at work, than in invoking some grander idea of the Briton in his great Empire. Scholars such as Dunae, Mangan, MacDonald and Boyd have focused on the *Boy's Own Paper's* imperial message,⁴⁹ yet it emphasized male

⁴⁷ *Young Standard Bearer*, n.s. 29, no. 7 (June 1909): 51.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1916) 126.

⁴⁹ Patrick Dunae, “Boys’ Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914,” *Victorian Studies*, 24 (1980): 105-21; J.A. Mangan, “Noble Specimens of Manhood: Schoolboy Literature and the Creation of a Colonial Chivalric Code,” in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989) 173-94; Robert H. MacDonald, “Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity

moral duties, in the home and in the wider world, over and above imperial adventure. A recitation for five boys in the temperance paper *Young Standard Bearer* demonstrates that boys were vitally important to the nation and its fate. The last paragraph, to be recited in unison, summed up the point:

Yes, little Britons are we, are we,
Not very big yet, and not very strong;
Yet we are growing and men shall be,
So we must keep us from all that's wrong;
Fair is our country, her fame is great,
And God has sent us our best to do;
Nor need we until we're grown-up wait,
But even now may be Britons true'.⁵⁰

The connection between the individual conduct of boys and imperialism (or even jingoism) was made clear in numerous stories, though this was not necessarily the model of imperial masculinity which scholars have argued dominated this era. It was supposed to have captured the imagination of the late Victorian and Edwardian young, at the expense of male feelings of domesticity. This was, after all, the period when imperialism was at its height and fascinated many Britons, perhaps especially young boys, who were drawn to stories and images depicting imperial adventure. Yet, the evidence from boys' papers suggests that the relationship between imperialism and boyhood training was more complicated than simply preparing readers for their future roles as imperial men. Frequently these imperial stories were employed to entice the reader, who would then be subjected to the papers' weighty messages about morality and duty to family and self.

to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24, no. 3 (1989): 519-539; Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Papers*.

⁵⁰ Faith Chiltern, "Little Britons," *Young Standard Bearer*, 28, no. 4 (March 1908): 30.

By generally focusing on categories (such as man, nation and Empire) with which readers from different backgrounds could agree and identify, and by boiling down the religious, moral and physical precepts to their essences, the papers provided messages that could be universally understood. Diversity of perspective and of opinion in late Victorian and Edwardian life were therefore minimized in order to provide boys with a clear, fairly uniform prescriptive pattern of manhood. Far more important than class, status or social manners were the inner qualities of the boy, which were to be cultivated for manhood. The publications defined a man in similar terms:

What a man says – is something;
What a man does – is more;
What a man is – that is most.⁵¹

In the Church of England Temperance Society paper, the *Young Crusader*, a short story called “Uprooting the Passions” shows the intertwining of the fictional and prescriptive genres. In this story, a young boy who is walking with an old man is asked to pull up increasingly bigger shrubs. He pulls up the first ones with ease, but the task becomes more difficult, until he can no longer move the roots at all. The old man then makes the connection to the passions clear: when young, it is easy to “pull out” passions with a little self-denial, “but if we let them cast their roots deep into our souls, then no human power can uproot them – the Almighty hand of the Creator alone can pluck them up.”⁵² This fictional boy had a good role model in the wise, older man and consequently, the readers of the *Young Crusader*, who might not have such a role model in their real

⁵¹ *Young Standard Bearer*, 29, no. 10 (Sept. 1909): 75.

⁵² “Uprooting the Passions,” *Young Crusader*, no. 197 (March 1908): 52.

lives, could access moral instruction through their reading material. The periodical press, with its unique combination of narrative forms and genres, became the late Victorian and Edwardian child's moral guardian.

Moral guidance was easily and consistently encapsulated in pictorial form. In the March 1908 issue of the Religious Tract Society's publication for its workers, *Seed Time and Harvest*, for example, a pictorial story appeared entitled "Which Path Will You Take?" which demonstrated the importance for young boys of taking the right path while they were still young enough to shape (Figure 2). This was a greatly reduced facsimile of a "striking" cartoon that had recently been published by the RTS to be purchased by

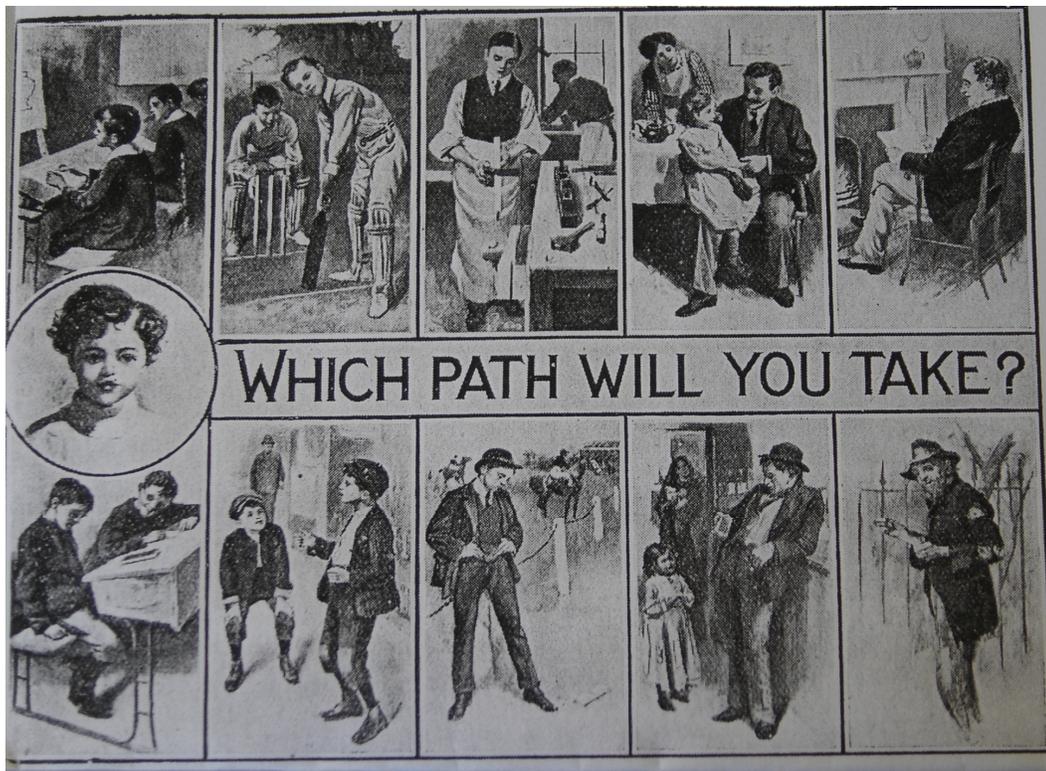


Figure 2, "Which Path Will You Take," *Seed Time and Harvest*, March (1908): 17.

teachers in elementary schools, Sunday Schools, mission halls, boys' clubs, and similar institutions. In short, it was to be shown anywhere in Britain where groups of boys were

gathered for moral instruction or character building; it was also translated into many different languages for missionary purposes abroad. Images were often used as fictional forms, reinforcing stories. The title, according to the RTS, “seems to us well calculated to be of service in the training of the rising generation.”⁵³ The pictures received support from educational and religious leaders. The Bishop of Manchester, Edmund Knox, believed that it would teach boys honesty and industry. The Rev. Canon Denton Thompson wrote that “It will not only attract the eye and impress the mind, but also be retained by the memory, and as such, I am sure it will prove a potent force in the development of moral character.”⁵⁴

The story, typical of its type, is presented in two parts: in one, the boy goes through the life stages appropriate to a young Briton who will take up his rightful place as citizen and head of family. He is attentive at school, practices fair play at cricket, learns a respectable trade, provides for a comfortable home, takes pride in his family, and retires to a quiet life of dignity and refinement. The other one demonstrates what could go wrong if boys are not properly guided: the young boy falls asleep at his lessons; gets into mischief in the street, gambles on horses, neglects his family in favour of drink, and ends up a beggar on the street. The social status of this boy is rather ambiguous, signalling the relevance of the story’s weighty message to boys of different social classes. According to this scheme, the building of moral character, in conjunction with a commitment to work and family, allowed boys of merit (regardless of standing) to reach the higher echelons of society; conversely, a poor work ethic, disregard for morality and

⁵³ “Which Path Will You Take,” *Seed Time and Harvest* (1908): 17.

⁵⁴ “Which Path Will You Take,” 17.

the authority of the father, drinking and gambling, would lead to poverty and depravity, irrespective of the class into which one was born.

Images such as this tapped into a long-running culture of pictorial story-telling for both boys and girls which was easily understood, and which was developed by diverse groups. A cartoon from 1852, called “The Influence of Morality or Immorality on the Countenance,” offered boys and young men similar paths of success or depravity. (Figure 3). Analogously, “The Child – How Will She Develop,” published in the *Girl’s Own* in 1894, revealed the “dangers” of militancy to girls. One path shows the girl conforming to traditional expectations: she is loving, caring and nurturing. Though she does get an education, she chooses marriage and maternity over a career. The other path shows the

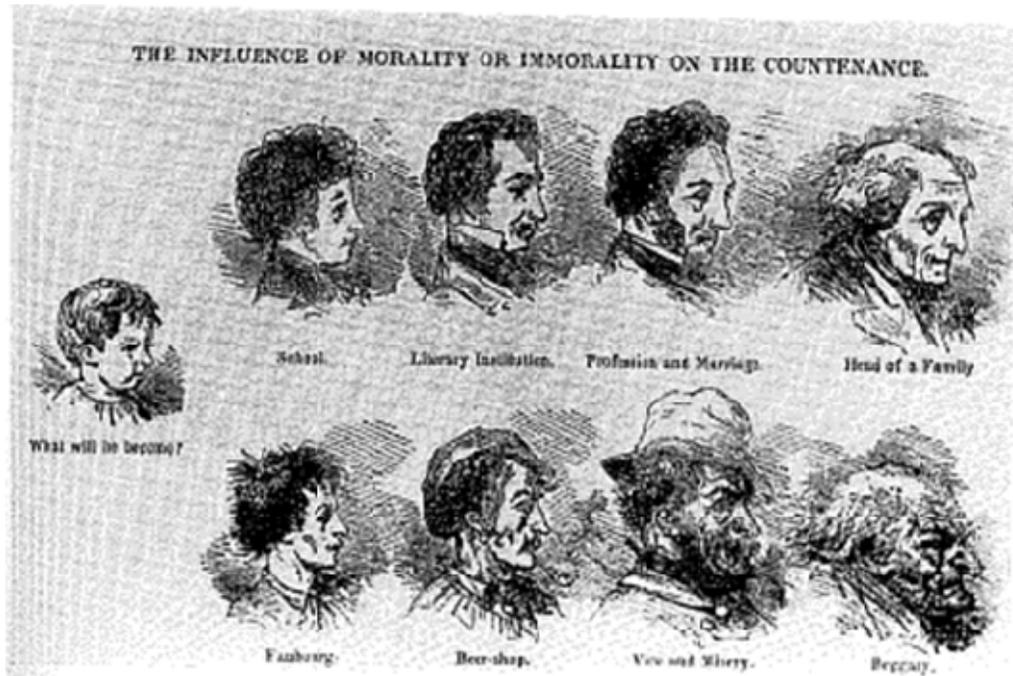


Figure 3, “The Influence of Morality or Immorality on the Countenance,” *Cassell’s Popular Educator*, 1852.

girl choosing the life of the “New Woman.” She is self-sufficient and intellectual, yet discontented, miserable and alone (Figure 4, divided over the next few pages). Whether intended to teach lessons to girls on the dangers of female emancipation, or to boys on the dangers of vices and character faults, these images provided children and young adults unequivocal messages on acceptable development.

Fatherly Answers

Boys were not expected to find the right path independently of any authority or moral guidance, but it was clear that families, especially fathers, were failing in this regard. Several publications for boys directly took on this fatherly role. The Religious Tract Society established the *Boy's Own Paper* in order to provide a moral paternal voice in a perceived void in the juvenile periodical market. Hamilton Edwards also took on the paternal role in the papers he edited. He claimed that every week he received 500 to 700 letters from readers of the *Boys' Friend*,⁵⁵ which attested to the relevance of the fatherly answers and advice he provided in his papers (see chapter 5).

Though many of the stories in the secular Amalgamated Press papers were far more sensationalistic than their religious counterparts, some stories did promote, in exaggerated form, similar moral goals for boys as the other papers. It was in the editor's replies to letters,



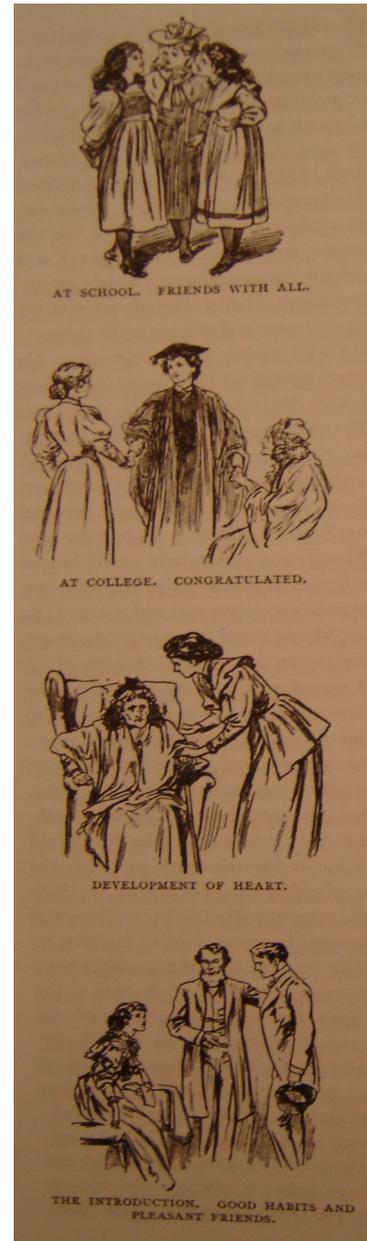
Figure 4, "The Child: How Will She Develop?" *Girl's Own Paper*, 16, no. 6 (1894): 12.

⁵⁵ Hamilton Edwards, "Editor's Den – My Reader's Letters," *Boys' Friend*, 8, no. 16 (1901): 244.

however, that this moral message was made most clear. This epistolary form was probably more fictional than Edwards liked readers to believe, but in this kind of literature fancy could also be “fact” so long as it was based on received moral truths or on youthful experiences. Even if sometimes fictional, the letters and replies printed in Amalgamated Press papers would have been plausible to their young readers. They provide an interesting way of accessing some of the common preoccupations of Edwardian boys, and the advice they engendered. This teaching of expectations was perceived by Edwards and the publishers of the other papers not to be adequately practiced at home or at school, and, as we shall see in chapter 5, was tied up with ideals of manliness:

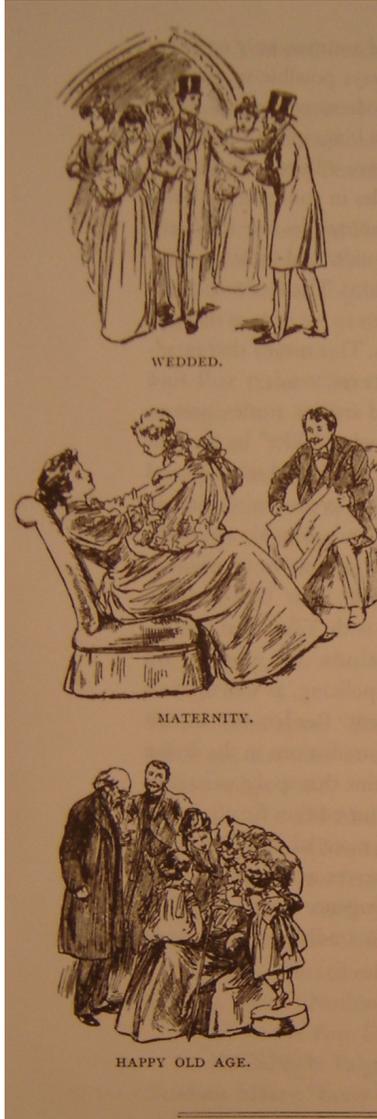
It seems to me a pity that boys are not taught at school the admirable quality of moral courage; are not taught to admire the lad who can deny himself some foolish pleasure because it is wrong; are not taught the manliness of being able to say “No” at the right moment. But they are not; and their parents also neglect this side of their teaching, with the result that many a lad finds himself in evil paths simply because he is unable to say “No”.⁵⁶

One of Edwards’ main concerns was underage smoking, which he denounced vociferously as detrimental to boys themselves and to



⁵⁶ Hamilton Edwards, “Editor’s Den,” *Boys’ Friend*, 8, no. 316 (1901): 39.

society. Edwards recounts a letter from a younger brother, in which he writes that he is a member of a family with no father, and one of his brothers, a year or two older than this



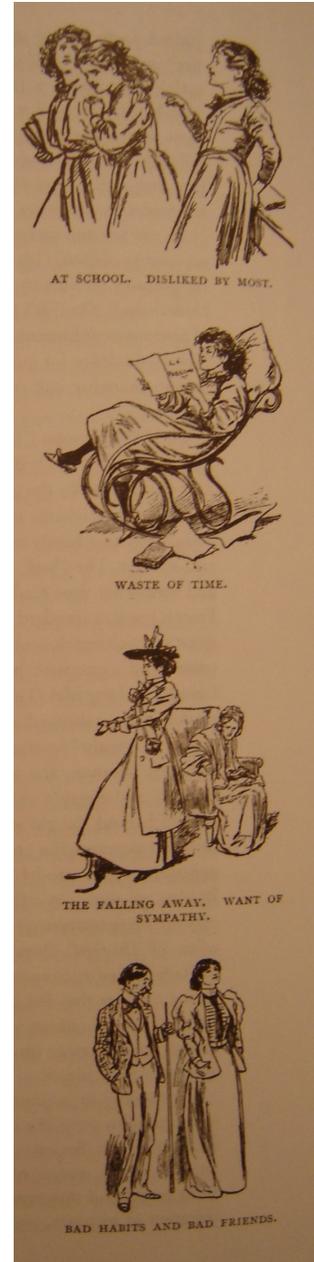
boy, smoked very heavily, and followed up this bad habit by starting to drink, Edwards shockingly remarks, all before he was eighteen years old. In surrogate fatherly fashion, the editor then describes in further detail the common downward spiral of vice: “Drink and tobacco took this unhappy lad into bad company, and bad company, I am grieved to say, ultimately led this lad into wrong-doing – wrong-doing which brought him into contact with the law – with the result that he has been sent to prison.” In the papers, the threat to boys with bad habits is real and dangerous, often leading to jail, or even to death. The younger brother asks the editor for advice on whether this erring brother should be let back home after he gets out of jail, and Edwards replies very specifically that they should contact a Mr. W. Wheatley, the Superintendent of St. Giles Christian Mission, to influence the boy back on

the right path.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that though the Amalgamated Press papers are considered “secular” by scholars, they still had a strong Christian foundation, with moral advice given out freely, by an editor who stated clearly that he considered himself

⁵⁷ Hamilton Edwards, “Your Editor’s Advice – Bad Habits and their Consequences” *Boys’ Herald*, 1, no. 27 (1904): 432.

Christian. All of the papers did not wish to be dogmatic or so heavy-handed as to discourage potential readers, but all shared the same moral tone, and the importance of imparting Christian moral values in late Victorian and Edwardian boyhood.

Hamilton Edwards did not, however, provide blanket support of religious authority. In response to a reader's letter which included a newspaper clipping announcing that a clergyman had used cigarettes as a bribe for inducing boys to go to Sunday School, Edwards was clear in his condemnation of such a tactic. He could not believe it possible that "a man teaching the religion of Jesus Christ can so far forget the teachings of his Master as to use such a pernicious bribe to induce boys to attend his Sunday-school."⁵⁸ As with temperance appeals, anti-smoking articles utilized men of influence to speak to the dangers of tobacco. Eugen Sandow (1867–1925), the famous strongman and an originator of modern body-building, was quoted in the *Young Crusader* as saying to boys that "By smoking you are slowly but surely poisoning the system, and sapping the energy which you should reserve for the duties of life. Do not



⁵⁸ Hamilton Edwards, "Your Editor's Advice – An Extraordinary Gift," *Boys' Herald*, 1, no. 25 (1904): 400.



abuse the body which God has given. But that is what you will do if you smoke.”⁵⁹ Physical degeneration from smoking was a real fear during this period.⁶⁰ If men who were so physically strong believed that boys should be God-fearing and abstain from tobacco, then these choices would be more appealing to readers than if they were told in an overtly didactic way. The passing of the Children Act of 1908, which, we have seen, banned smoking for those under sixteen years of age, vindicated Edwards’ position. In the temperance periodicals, smoking was linked to drinking as a secondary vice.

The process of moral enculturation through reading was not intended to be accomplished by boys alone. It resulted from subtle negotiations among the publishers, the parents and the boys themselves. The Religious Tract Society publications, in particular, were not bound by rigid distinctions between juvenile and adult reading matter, but rather were intended for family reading. This served to encourage family cohesion and proper moral transferral from parents to son. In contrast, the Amalgamated Press publications were intended for boys’ reading alone, yet parental approval was sought and even published to ensure the papers’ wholesome content, thus

⁵⁹ “The Strong Man’s Advice,” *Young Crusader*, Nov (1908): 2.

⁶⁰ John Welshman, “Images of Youth: the Issue of Juvenile Smoking, 1880-1914,” *Addiction*, 91, no. 9 (1996): 1379-1386.

obviating the charge that they were penny dreadfuls. One mother wrote to the *Boys' Herald* to say that she approved of its anti-drinking and anti-smoking stance, but believed it should also take a position against boxing, which the paper continued to advocate as a manly pursuit.⁶¹ Thus the papers were viewed as being equipped to assist parents in raising their boys: "Let us teach them to be peaceful, law-abiding, God-fearing citizens."⁶² The papers sought to entertain, but more importantly, to shape boys in a period of rapid change. According to one commentator, most parents tried to hand over their responsibilities to others, "not because we shrink from trouble but because we feel painfully unfit for our infinitely difficult fourfold work of turning out healthy, educated, moral and religious children."⁶³

Many stories were meant to be read by parents to their children, in the hopes that discussions on morality would ensue. One such story was "Mr. Boy Next Door," about Norrie, a rich, cheerful and pious boy with loving parents. Although very young, he seems much more mature than his age, and is on track to become a "real" man. He gives his dog, his favourite possession, to Tom, the boy next door. Tom is portrayed as an angry and resentful boy who lives in poverty with his granny and has no one to love. Norrie realizes that Tom also needs something to love, after which Tom burst forth with gratitude:

I can't thank you – you're the best thing of any sort I've ever met, you funny little chap, with your prayers and your songs. I shall always love you for this, and if you

⁶¹ "A Mistaken Idea," *Boys' Herald*, 1, no. 32 (1904): 512.

⁶² "A Mistaken Idea," 512.

⁶³ Helen MacDowall, "My Boys," *Sunday at Home* (1913): 402.

can really put up with a great rough sort of chap like – like I am – oh, do let me be your friend.⁶⁴

This type of story, to be read to children, provided an opportunity for parents to discuss with their children the qualities which would make them and those around them happy. Norrie is not content because he is rich, but rather because he is loved by his parents and by God. Consequently he is considerate and polite to all. Tom, by contrast, was mean, not because he was poor or uneducated, but because he had nothing to love. In giving Tom the dog, Norrie actually shows him the path to God by softening his defensiveness with love and consideration. These values were shown to be essential in a changing, modern world.

Consensus and Association

The problem of “boys in big cities” was addressed in one article in the *Boy's Own Paper*. The writer, a city clergyman, warned that many a young man found himself “lost and lonesome” in a big city, where “no one seems to see him, and his loss of individuality disheartens him and leaves him open to temptation.” This is counterpoised by individuality of youth in their native towns, where they are under observation. “People notice their good deeds, and “wholesome scrutiny” prevents young men from vice. This sort of environment should be actively re-created by young men in cities by finding a church or social organization, where, as the clergyman advised, they could surround themselves with “a little group of friends who will applaud [...] success and encourage

⁶⁴ Maud Maddick, “Mr. Boy Next Door: A Story to be Read by, or to, the Children on Sunday Afternoon or at any Time,” *Sunday at Home* (1911): 532.

[...] after failure.”⁶⁵ Indeed, coupons could be found for “The Boys’ Herald Hobby Club”⁶⁶ in that Harmsworth paper, an attempt to keep boys off the streets and engaged in hobbies which might prove useful to their future careers. I have found many allusions to various organizations for boys, and though many are seemingly unconnected, they all address the ubiquitous concerns about young men and their place in a changing world. There was cooperation between publications and youth groups, many of which were either started or at least greatly enlarged at this time. The Church of England Temperance Society publications and other temperance papers encouraged participation in the Band of Hope, the Church Lads’ Brigade, and many other thrift and purity societies. The Amalgamated Press encouraged participation in its own “League of Boy Friends,” and also the Boy’s Brigade and the Boy Scouts. Other organizations promoted in the papers include: Harmsworth’s “The League of Health and Strength,” “The League of Health and Manliness,” the Boy’s Life Brigade, the National Association for the Suppression of Bad Language, (all advertised in the Religious Tract Society’s *Boy’s Own Paper*), and of course the mass Band of Hope movement. All of these groups had pledge forms for boys to sign and a code of conduct to uphold. They must have also engendered a sense of belonging in their youthful members.

The formation of two of the most influential groups for boys, the Boy Scouts (1907) and the Boys’ Brigade (1883), is usually associated with increasing militarism and physical training for boys,⁶⁷ but this was by no means the whole story. The Scouts’

⁶⁵ “Boys in Big Cities,” *Boy’s Own*, 25, no. 1282 (Aug. 8, 1903): 719.

⁶⁶ *Boys’ Herald*, 5 (1908): 427.

⁶⁷ See for example Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000) 104-106; Allen Warren, “Citizens of Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Idea, 1900-1940, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, John Mackenzie, ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986) 232-56; John Springhall, “The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in

leader, Major-General Baden-Powell, was also elected patron of the “League of Health and Manliness” formed in connection with a parish church, which was directed against smoking for boys under the age of twenty-one.⁶⁸ He addressed a large gathering of boys at the Central Hall in Liverpool in 1907, under the auspices of the Anti-Cigarette League. He reminded boys that some of the best men in sports and the professions were non-smokers.⁶⁹ In addition, Baden-Powell’s *Rovering to Success: A Guide for Young Manhood* (1922) repeated much of the advice given in earlier boys’ periodicals, with a focus on avoiding the “rocks” of women, wine, horses and irreligion, among others, and on building up character and the positive values associated with it.⁷⁰ In 1908, the same year as Baden-Powell published his *Scouting for Boys*⁷¹ and shortly after his movement began, he wrote to Hamilton Edwards, the editor of the *Boys’ Herald*, congratulating him on “The Wolf Patrol,” a serial story about the Scouts. In fact, Edwards promoted the Scouts saying that “the manly principles, the self-reliance, the discipline, and the open-air life it encourages should make fathers regard the movement favourably,”⁷² and started many schemes in his boys’ papers to promote the Scouts, including “Our Boy Scouts’ Corner,”⁷³ in which boys who wanted to join patrols, or patrols wanting new members,

Reaction to British Youth Movements,” *International Review of Social History* 16: 2 (1971): 131-2; John Springhall, Brian Fraser and Michael Edward Hoare, *Sure and Steadfast: A History of the Boys’ Brigade, 1883-1983* (London: Collins, 1983). One notable exception is Allen Warren, “Popular Manliness: Baden-Powell, Scouting and the Development of Manly Character,” *Manliness and Morality, Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1880-1940*, eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (Manchester University Press, 1987)

⁶⁸ *Boy’s Own*, 23 (1905): 558.

⁶⁹ *Young Standard Bearer* 27 (1907): 42.

⁷⁰ Robert Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success: A Guide for Young Manhood* (1922; London: Herbert Jenkins, 1959).

⁷¹ Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (London: C.A. Pearson, 1908).

⁷² “Scouts and Obedience to Parents,” *Boys’ Herald*, 7, no. 328 (1909): 244.

⁷³ *Boys’ Herald*, 5 (1908): 758.

could have free advertising space. In 1909, The *Boys' Herald* even started “The League of Scouts” to encourage “boys to become alert, vigorous men and loyal citizens.”⁷⁴ In a private letter to the publisher Lord Northcliffe, Hamilton Edwards expressed his intention of giving away 10,000 free scout uniforms to readers of the *Boys' Friend*; this seems not to have materialized, but six uniforms were offered as prizes in the *Boys' Herald*.⁷⁵

“The League of Boy Friends,” advertised in the *Boys' Friend* and the *Boys' Herald*, was one of the best promoted of the Amalgamated Press's organizations for boys and claimed to have a membership of over 35,000 in 1904. The rules of “The League of Boy Friends” bear repeating, as they are a common refrain in writings directed at youth:

1. To endeavour to lead a manly, honest life.
2. To be polite to all seniors and to girls.
3. To protect the weak as far as lies in the member's power.
4. To abstain from bad language.
5. To be kind to dumb animals.
6. To abstain from smoking until twenty-one years of age.
7. To strive to be a bright British boy – always a patriot and lover of his country.
8. To assist fellow-members under all rightful circumstances.⁷⁶

A similar club in these papers, “The League of Health and Strength,” also included abstention from alcohol, gambling, and “evil habits” (masturbation, among others).⁷⁷ The leagues had secret passwords, badges, certificates and pledges. As with the Boy Scout promotions, the Amalgamated Press surely wanted to boost sales of its juvenile papers by creating these clubs, but the league rules also reflect a pervasive view of boyhood and

⁷⁴ *Boys' Herald*, 6 (1909): 814-15.

⁷⁵ Edwards to Northcliffe, June 3, 1910, BL, Add. MSS 62182A.

⁷⁶ *Boys' Herald*, 1 (1904): 562.

⁷⁷ *Boys' Herald*, 2 (1906): 432.

male adolescence, one which demanded constant repetition for its growing youthful readership.

Some of these rules are quite transparent, others much less so. What, for example, would it mean “to lead a manly, honest life?” Or “to be a bright British boy?” The correspondence sections of the Amalgamated Press boys’ papers, especially the *Boys’ Friend* and the *Boys’ Herald* provide part of the answer. Whether these letters were authentic or not, their publication in conjunction with Hamilton Edwards’ replies, reveal much about concerns of boys and young men, what ought to be taught, and what was to be expected of them. They should be respectful of their parents, work hard, prepare for a good career, be self-controlled, refrain from close friendships with women until they were self-sufficient enough to marry, and generally be gentlemen. To be a gentleman (a title perhaps now available to men of any class) was quite simple, according to one major Band of Hope periodical: “By being true, manly and honourable. By keeping himself neat and respectable. By being civil and courteous; by respecting himself and others, by doing the best he knows how, and finally and above all, by fearing God and keeping His commandments.”⁷⁸ Even the “secular” press for youth, like those controlled by Northcliffe, would have agreed.

One organization advertised in the *Boy’s Own Paper* was “The Boys’ Life Brigade.” Boys in uniform, but without arms, were instructed in military drill. They were taught how to save life from fire, drowning, and accident. There were also classes in hygiene, ambulance and first aid. But its goals were broader and, like the Boys’ Brigade, it promoted “the advancement of Christ’s Kingdom amongst boys,” and the “habits of

⁷⁸ *Onward*, 40 (1905): 30.

obedience, reverence, discipline, and self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.”⁷⁹ This focus on the values associated with the movement rather than with its apparent militarism was also promoted by local Boys’ Brigades, who needed to appeal to adults to drum up support and money in order to buy the boys’ uniforms and musical instruments.⁸⁰ As with the Scouts and the other groups already mentioned, these militaristic trappings served to entice boys to join these movements, but the emphasis for the leaders was really on the values and good habits taught within these groups. Manliness was the trope often used to denote the kinds of characteristics required of these future men. A full explication of what this meant will take place in chapter 5.

The goals of the Band of Hope, the most extensive of these organizations, were similar. At its peak, this religious, multi-denominational movement had a membership of well over three million children and young adults throughout Britain. It is surprising that an organization of this magnitude and importance has received scant attention by historians.⁸¹ Though the Band of Hope’s main purpose was promoting abstinence from alcohol to children, it also had much broader aims. It discouraged smoking, gambling and other vices. This remained unchanged through the organization’s history, and is demonstrated by the following from the manual for Band of Hope workers, written in the 1940s, but indicative of the movement’s premise from its beginnings: “If you teach a child to say ‘No’ when offered intoxicants, you are doing more than making him a total

⁷⁹ *Boy’s Own*, 22 (1900): 270.

⁸⁰ WYAS Bradford, St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church of England, Infirmary St, Bradford, Year Books, 1904-5, 3rd Bradford Company Boys’ Brigade, WYB10/5/9/2, 11.

⁸¹ The only article on the Band of Hope is Lilian Lewis Shiman’s “The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working-Class Children,” *Victorian Studies*, 17, no. 1 (1973): 49-74; Brian Harrison briefly mentions the organization in his *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971) 192-4; Shiman gives it a bit more attention in her *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (London: MacMillan, 1988) 134-155.

abstainer; you are teaching him to resist other evils; you are teaching a way of life.”⁸²

This “way of life” was not just made up of negative exhortations; it promoted a positive model for youth, founded on “purity, honesty, uprightness, manliness, sincerity, conscience.”⁸³ This was very similar to what was promoted by so-called secular organizations like the “The League of Boy Friends” and in many poems and recitations, like this one in the CETS’s *Young Crusader* in 1892:

Boys are wanted whose strength can lead,
The weaker on them leaning;
Boys whose “No” is a “no” indeed,
And whose “Yes” has an equal meaning.
Who are strong not only when life decrees
Its bitter and heavy trials,
But can practice its small economies,
And its every-day self-denials.⁸⁴

Teaching boys to have the moral fortitude to say “no” to bad habits and “yes” to doing the right thing in the face of peer pressure was important. It was crucial, however, for boys to remember these lessons as men.

Temperance organizations often found it much easier to attract juvenile members than to retain adults. In 1913, for example, there were 400,477 juvenile members of the Church of England Temperance Society, compared with 109,968 adult members.⁸⁵ As early as the 1850s Joseph Livesey, an influential temperance reformer, worried about the tendency to concentrate on educating children in temperance principles rather than

⁸² *The Band of Hope Blue Book: A Manual of Instruction and Training* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1942) 10.

⁸³ *Speakers’ Self-Help. Outlines of Blackboard and Other Addresses for Band of Hope Meetings* (London: Richard J. James, n.d.) 21.

⁸⁴ “Boys that are Wanted,” *Young Crusader*, June (1892): 63.

⁸⁵ Church of England Temperance Society Annual Report (London, 1913) 15.

reforming their drunken parents: “to retreat from the great world of known drinkers in order to teach boys and girls merely, is, to my mind, an indication of weakness, and rather a symptom of despair.”⁸⁶ Yet the core of the Band of Hope’s teachings was its insistence on the dangers of alcohol, especially to boys and young men, in the hopes that they would have a positive influence on their peers and on their own fathers. According to one Band of Hope instructors’ guide, “Not only does alcohol deprive the youth of his self-control, but perverts his thoughts and ideas, and excites his passions. The youth who is under the influence of strong drink is at the mercy of his passions and has no resistance to temptation.”⁸⁷ As with anti-smoking campaigns, prominent men were appealed to in order to give the cause more weight. For example, the *Workers’ Onward* printed a strong message of temperance and good character for young men from the Lord Mayor of Leeds, J. Hepworth.

I have been a total abstainer all my life, and have found it a good thing in every way. Young men who begin with temperance principles, must be prepared to fight hard against the many temptations open to them, and if they do their part well, they are bound to become worthy and respected citizens. We like young men with determined force of character to conquer the many difficulties of life which they have to meet, and there is only one way of doing it, and that is, by fighting against temptation. At no time in English History has there been a greater demand for sterling men than there is at the present.⁸⁸

Among all these organizations, resistance to temptation was the surest way to become a real man, with all the domestic and civic duties that entailed. Furthermore, as

⁸⁶ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 192.

⁸⁷ *Speakers’ Self-Help*, 11.

⁸⁸ “Message to Young Men among our Readers from the Right Hon. The Lord Mayor of Leeds (Ald. J. Hepworth),” *The Workers Onward: The Organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope & Temperance Union*, Jan, (1907): 5.

the Lord Mayor of Leeds intimated, the sense of urgency in ensuring the next generation's temperate and dutiful men and citizens was shared by all the papers.

Masturbation: A Delicate Touch

Whereas the periodical press' treatment of alcohol abuse could appeal to observable social problems as highlighted by the temperance movement, other problems tapped into a persistent societal fear which necessarily resisted any form of empiricism. The "problem" was, nevertheless, no less real to its critics. Throughout the period, some physicians wrote prolifically about the devastating link between masturbation and impotence later in life.⁸⁹ One physician maintained that males are no more passionate than females, and that therefore, boys should be raised as sexually pure as girls. "Yet how few are! How many of the female sex never know or understand the pleasure of sexual congress until after they are fully grown and married, and how many of the male sex are weakened and exhausted before reaching the age of maturity!" He encouraged a comparison of the number of cases of female and male impotence in order to understand the influence of "early sexual excitation."⁹⁰

In a lecture delivered in London to an audience of 1200 men, Alfred Dyer, the Quaker publisher, Contagious Diseases Act repealer and author of *Plain Words to Young Men on an Avoided Subject*, made it clear that men as well as women should be pure, and that the passions should be controlled even in marriage. He presented the opinion of a medical doctor, who, in response to the question "Would the bringing up of boys in a

⁸⁹ Victor G. Vecki, *Sexual Impotence*. Fourth edition. (Philadelphia and London: W.B. Saunders Company, 1912) 219.

⁹⁰ W. Frank Glenn, "Impotence in the Male," *Southern Practitioner*, June (1892): 241.

more moral atmosphere diminish physical passion for sexual indulgence?," replied that it unquestionably would and that this is one of the "most pressing difficulties of the age."⁹¹ Using a religious tone throughout, Dyer also advised total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, in part because of their stimulating effects. Further safeguards against immorality and licentiousness included a "well-occupied mind, plenty of out-door exercise, and a resolute avoidance of vicious companions."⁹² Dyer also advised against impure literature or art and quoted John Angell James, an eminent preacher and advice manual author, as saying in his pulpit:

Twenty-five years ago, when I was a boy, a school-fellow gave me an infamous book, which he lent to me for fifteen minutes. At the end of that time I was to return it to him, but that book has haunted me like an evil spirit ever since. I have asked God on my knees to obliterate that book from my mind, but I believe I shall carry down the damage of those fifteen minutes to my grave.⁹³

Dyer condemned the urge of parents to keep their sons at home and to delay marriage until late in life. Instead they should be encouraging their sons to begin courtship at a reasonably early age (e.g. twenty years old) and to expect fewer material comforts in the first few years of marriage.⁹⁴ Among other things, this would prevent self-abuse, still seen by Dyer to have devastating moral and physical consequences. Dyer's concerns were fully represented, if veiled, in the juvenile periodical press.

Masturbation, or self-abuse, was a persistent and delicately touched issue for boys' papers. All agreed that it was harmful, for both moral and physical reasons. It

⁹¹ Alfred S. Dyer, *Safeguards to Moral Purity and Facts that Men Ought to Know* (London: Dyer Brothers, n.d. [1890s]) 5.

⁹² Dyer, *Safeguards to Moral Purity*, 8.

⁹³ Dyer, *Safeguards to Moral Purity*, 9-10.

⁹⁴ Dyer, *Safeguards to Moral Purity*, 11.

would destroy boys' manhood before they had even attained it, and might even lead to early death. The *Boys' Herald* cautioned readers that it causes "spots before the eyes," if not much worse and that it should be ceased immediately.⁹⁵ Edwards provided a more candid than usual response to one reader, "Very Sorry" from Plymouth, who was the "victim of foolish practices," though these practices are still not named. It is claimed that the boy has given up these practices, but that they have damaged his "physical system." Although Edwards is clear that he will not go into detail about what this damage entails, he provides advice for this reader and the many others who require similar counsel. Citing this advice in length will provide a good sense of the tone and attitude of Edwards and the writers of the other papers regarding masturbation.

The boy who has been guilty of stupid practices need not suppose that the mere giving of them up is going to restore him to his former condition of good health. He will have to take care of himself, and he will have to give himself time to remedy the damage which he has done. Moreover, he will have to give Nature some little assistance in repairing the harm which his own foolishness has caused. Plenty of open-air exercise, clean living, clean thoughts, are essential. In addition, a good tonic is a very useful thing.⁹⁶

The *Boy's Own Paper*, in articles by Gordon Stables, provided advice on how to prevent such a habit from forming in the first place. In addition to getting straight out of bed into a cold bath every morning, followed by lifting dumb-bells, five to ten minutes in the open air, and a healthy breakfast, he encouraged boys to "Think, ... before it is too late. Think – and pray."⁹⁷ Echoing the more straight-forward advice of the papers' other sections, these religious, moral and physical precepts were the core tropes of juvenile fiction in

⁹⁵ *Boys' Herald*, 6 (1909): 592.

⁹⁶ Hamilton Edwards, "Your Editor's Advice – A Bad Habit," *Boys' Herald*, 1, no. 41 (1904): 668.

⁹⁷ Gordon Stables, "Doings for the Month," *Boy's Own*, 22, no. 1102 (1900): 335; 25, no. 1263 (1903): 414-15; 27, no. 1376 (1905): 558.

these periodicals (a tradition stretching back to *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857)), which consistently emphasised bodily exercise and private prayer. They were also the subject of recitations, whose repetition could only serve to emphasise the weightiness of the message of keeping all “animal appetites” at bay:

Boys are wanted whose breaths are sweet,
The pure air undefiling;
Who scorn all falsehood and smooth deceit
That lead to a soul's beguiling.
Boys who in scenes that are glad and bright,
Feel their pulses beat faster,
But who hold each animal appetite
As servant, not as master.⁹⁸

The boys' papers all agreed that drinking, smoking, swearing, gambling and masturbation were dangerous habits which boys were encouraged to avoid if they wanted to grow up to be upstanding husbands, fathers and citizens.

Socialist Messages for the Young

So far we have seen that this “consensus” included the Evangelical (of various denominations), the Anglican, the for-profit secular and the temperance presses. Though not a major focus of this work, it would be remiss, when trying to argue for consensus, not to include some discussion of the socialist element of the press. The socialists, too, who were mainly Christian socialists in this period, focused on educating the young. This education served to promote socialist principles, but also to inculcate general moral fundamentals, much like the other papers discussed in this dissertation. There were many socialist papers for the young, often associated with the socialist Sunday School

⁹⁸ “Boys that are Wanted,” *Young Crusader*, June (1892): 63.

movement. A prominent example is the *Young Socialist: A Magazine of Love and Service*,⁹⁹ owned by the Glasgow and District Sunday School Union and edited by John Searson. This magazine discussed the progress of the schools, the movement and the links forged with Socialist children within Britain and in other countries. It printed stories and poems, with socialist and moral messages. The *Young Socialist* also contained less overtly socialist teachings, ones that were much in line with the morality found in the other papers under discussion.

If you have learned to be kind, sincere, helpful, the little seed has been planted which will grow up and bear fruit. We have all to do what we can, whether that be little or much. A little spite, a little angry word, makes enemies of those who were friends. A little selfishness helps to drive love out. A little kindness brings us nearer each other, and a little knowledge wisely given may change a boy or girl's thoughts, bringing light where there was darkness.¹⁰⁰

With titles like, "Helping One Another,"¹⁰¹ by Lucie from Huddersfield School, this paper tried to promote considerate and empathetic action in children. These values supported socialist views, but they were also much broader values, equally promoted by the non-socialist papers.

As with the other papers, these messages were sometimes couched within fatherly lessons to children. The last verse of the song, "What Daddy Told Dolly," provides a good example of the socialist/paternal tone:

"And must this ALWAYS be?" asked Dolly,

⁹⁹ John Searson, ed., *The Young Socialist: A Magazine of Love and Service* (Owned by the Glasgow and District Sunday School Union. 1901-1916).

¹⁰⁰ Uncle Archie, "Little Things," *Young Socialist*, 2, no. 8, (Aug. 1902): 4.

¹⁰¹ "Helping One Another by Lucie from Huddersfield School," *Young Socialist*, 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1908):172.

Looking very sad –
“Is there no cure for poverty and misery, dear dad?
Must people ALWAYS work and work, and be so poorly paid?”
Oh, no!” said daddy, as he stooped and kissed his little maid.
Chorus – “There are brighter days in sight, Dolly dear,
Dolly dear!
When these wrongs shall be put right, that is
clear, Dolly dear!
SOCIALISM is the cure
For the ills the poor endure,
And it’s coming, slow but sure,
Never fear, Dolly dear!”¹⁰²

Teachings had to be adapted to suit children in particular. Providing a familial context helped to make socialist ideals more familiar. “Joy and gladness” were also necessary in socialist writings for children.¹⁰³ In this way, dour messages of class inequality were seen as far less effective for children than hopeful messages of future happiness and equality.

Socialist papers for adults also contained articles and stories for children, often within dedicated children’s sections. Important examples are the *Yorkshire Factory Times*, the *Labour Prophet*, the *Labour Leader: A Weekly Record of Social and Political Progress*, and the *Clarion*. These papers had the support of socialist leaders, who sometimes wrote themselves for the papers’ children’s sections. In the 1890s, Keir Hardie, founder of the Labour Party, wrote many serial stories for children, frequently published in the paper he edited, *The Labour Leader*.¹⁰⁴ Some of these stories were

¹⁰² Tom Robinson, “What Daddy Told Dolly,” *Young Socialist*, 8, no. 7, (Aug. 1908): 79.

¹⁰³ John Trevor(?), “Labour Day and the Children,” *Labour Prophet*, May (1895): 73.

¹⁰⁴ Some examples are Keir Hardie, “Jack Clearhead: A Story for Crusaders, and to be Read by Them to their Fathers and Mothers” *Labour Leader* (8 Sept. 1894): 11ff (serial story); “A Story for Young People,” *Labour Leader* (5 Jan. 1895): 2-3; “To my little daughter,” *Labour Leader* (30 July 1895): 12; “The child heart,” *Labour Leader* (12 June 1897): 198; “Come to Me, O Ye Children,” *Labour Leader* (31 Aug. 1895): 12.

reprinted in the *Young Socialist* in the 1910s.¹⁰⁵ They clearly show Hardie's devotion to socialism, but also to temperance and to Christianity. Hardie had been a temperance supporter since he was a boy and was a convert to Christianity and a lay preacher in the Evangelical Union Church.

Robert Blatchford (or "Nunquam"), founder of the Manchester Fabian Society, author of *Merrie England*, and editor of the popular socialist newspaper, the *Clarion*, also wrote stories for children. For Blatchford and the *Clarion*, moral education of children should be the priority, since it related directly to politics. This view was widely held among socialist writers and publishers. As with the non-socialist papers, in important ways, moral education was linked not only to domestic and personal satisfaction, but also to good citizenship. The *Clarion* promoted the view that "Education is the next essential – moral education more than any other kind." Extending the franchise would be useless unless voters were not only wise enough to use their vote "properly," but also "honest" enough to go through with it. "You can no more make a man a good citizen by giving him a vote than you can make him a good carpenter by giving him a basket of tools."¹⁰⁶ Boy and girl readers were often addressed together in these publications, but they generally followed predictable gendered prescriptions for childhood and future adult behaviour and action. While girls were encouraged to take on a supporting role, boys were described as future leaders of the movement. As with the other papers (see chapter 5), socialist boys were taught what it meant to be a man. Robert Blatchford wrote that "When you meet a *man* he will tell you to respect *everybody*; but he will also tell you to respect yourself. And he will tell you that unless you respect

¹⁰⁵ Keir Hardie, "Jim: A Story for Young People," *Young Socialist*, 10, no. 7, (July 1910).

¹⁰⁶ *Clarion*, (May 19, 1900): 153.

yourself you will never respect other people. You will only *fear* them. Which is a very different thing.”¹⁰⁷ This idea of manliness was consistent with the teaching in the other papers.

As with many of the other papers for children, the socialist papers helped to promote socialist Sunday Schools, and were intended as reading material for such gatherings. The *Labour Prophet*, for example provided its “Cinderella supplement” free of charge. An announcement for a socialist Sunday School meeting in the *Clarion* made clear that socialists, like their non-socialist juvenile publishing counterparts, regarded this sort of education for the young as crucial for the future of the family and the Nation: “Comrades, our hope for the future lies with the children of to-day. Help us help them.”¹⁰⁸ Many such socialist Sunday Schools (which met on Sunday afternoons) were founded in the 1890s in London including one in Fulham started by Uncle Archie, regular contributor to the *Young Socialist* and to the children’s section of Hardie’s the *Labour Leader*, as well as schools in other parts of Britain. By 1911, one source counted about 120 Socialist Sunday Schools in Britain with an attendance of about 7,000 children and 1,500 adults.¹⁰⁹ It was recognized that attention should be focused on educating children to be morally solid adults, and ones trained in socialist thinking. As John Trevor, founder of the Manchester Labour Church (1891) and the editor of the *Labour Prophet* noted: “The children, rising up into a world which will be theirs to renovate, must be gathered into our great movement.”¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ “Good and Bad Boys” *Labour Prophet*, July (1893): 65-66.

¹⁰⁸ *Clarion*, (May 8, 1914): 3 (reports about these schools were frequent).

¹⁰⁹ I.L.P. Year Book, in Mrs. St. Clare Norriss. “Watchman Awake! Save the Children!” Pamphlet (1911) 3.

¹¹⁰ John Trevor, “Labour Day and the Children,” *Labour Prophet*, May (1895): 73.

In addition to the socialist Sunday Schools, there were socialist summer camps and other gatherings which focused on children. As part of the annual May-Day Socialist Festival at Alexandra Palace in 1903, children could obtain *The Children's May-Day Souvenir* in which was written: "The children are to Socialism what the flowers are to Spring. In their happy faces we already get a glimpse of the victory the future holds in trust for our cause, and every earnest Socialist feels a duty in fitting with the coming generations to make Socialism a living reality throughout the world."¹¹¹ The aim of this festival and its accompanying booklet, as well as the socialist papers and their associated socialist Sunday Schools was to promote the socialist movement among the young. Like their counterparts in other parts of the political spectrum, socialist children's workers believed that it was crucial to educate children while they were still young enough to be molded, rather than attempting to change the behaviour and beliefs of adults. One poem asked that pure childlike qualities be promoted for all: "O, give me my child-heart – My child-hope again."¹¹² As socialist teachings were promoted for children, perhaps adults could also be taught by children.

It would be difficult to argue that this "consensus" of moral teachings for children was understood that way in the early twentieth century. There was much opposition to socialist Sunday Schools, and by extension, the papers in which their lessons were contained. Traditional (Christian) Sunday Schools were praised, and contrasted with the socialist schools which were seen, by groups like the London-based Children's Non-Socialist League, to undermine religious teachings and pervert Christian terms like "The

¹¹¹ D.J. Rider, "The Children's May-Day Souvenir, With designs by Walter Crane. May-Day 1903 Socialist Festival, Alexandra Palace." (Issued by the Children's Committee, First of May Demonstration, Hon. Sec. Mary Gray, 72, Este Road, Battersea, S.W.).

¹¹² Alan Moore, "The Child-Heart," *Labour Leader* (12 June 1897): 198.

Ten Commandments, The Hymn, The Red Catechism, The Declaration, Socialist Saints, the Socialist Doxology.”¹¹³ These teachings were denounced as a “Sacrilège!” and a “Travesty of the Forms of Christian Worship Taught to Children on Sunday Afternoons.”¹¹⁴ The “awful evil” done by these schools was seen to be increasing.¹¹⁵ The author argued that it was urgent to save the faith of the 7,000 children who attended these schools, since as adults they would not be able to accept Christianity if as children they were trained to despise it through agnostic teachings. This could not be allowed to happen in “Christian Britain.” This kind of judgment of socialist Sunday Schools was clearly exaggerated for the purposes of polemic. In fact, since the 1890s, socialist Sunday Schools had had a theistic and Christian socialist view in promoting values to children.¹¹⁶ It was not until after the First World War, when the Communists joined up with the socialist Sunday Schools, that the ideas promoted within became more radical and less palatable even to many socialists.¹¹⁷ Until that point, however, even if the various opposed groups (from the evangelical RTS, to the secular AP, to the various socialist groups) could not acknowledge it, there was a marked similarity and consistency of moral message among them.

¹¹³ Norriss. “Watchman Awake!” 4.

¹¹⁴ Norriss. “Watchman Awake!” 4.

¹¹⁵ Norriss. “Watchman Awake!” 2.

¹¹⁶ Stephen Heathorn and David Greenspoon “Organizing Youth for Partisan Politics in Britain, 1918-c.1932,” *The Historian* 68, no. 1 (2006) 97n38.

¹¹⁷ Heathorn and Greenspoon “Organizing Youth for Partisan Politics,” 89-119.

Conclusion

C.E. Schwann, an M.P. from Manchester, was quoted as saying that “From the age of fourteen to eighteen a boy was a *queer sort of creature*. He was scarcely a boy, and yet not a man, and it was easy for him to get off the right path.”¹¹⁸ This was precisely the concern of the groups mentioned in this chapter, and the popular education associated with them in the juvenile press; it also serves as a reminder of the message of the “Which Path Will You Take” cartoon discussed earlier. Historians have recognized the fact that home and school fell short of their goals of developing strong and moral young men at this time, and this was in part due to the lack of awareness that the period of male adolescence was an especially precarious and crucial one. What has been under-recognized by historians is the common agreement amongst the juvenile publishers to fill this educational gap with moral instruction for male adolescents. This chapter highlighted the existence of this broad consensus in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain regarding male adolescents, even among seemingly disparate secular and religious movements.

As discussed in chapter 3, the creation of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in 1889 marked a decisive shift in attitudes towards children’s rights and focused on creating a nurturing and moral environment for individual children in the home, at the expense, some argued, of parental rights. Some youth problems were also addressed by the passing of the Children Act of 1908,¹¹⁹ but much was left for organizations to ameliorate.

¹¹⁸ Harriet M. Johnson, *Our Future Citizens* (London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1899) 15.

¹¹⁹ The relevant parts here are on reformatory and industrial schools, the treatment of juvenile offenders and especially the ban on juvenile smoking, see 8 Edw. VII, c. 67.

The first verse of a poem in the 1914 *Band of Hope Review* neatly sums up the preoccupation of authors and publishers of late Victorian and Edwardian boys' periodicals:

If boys should get discouraged
At lessons or at work,
And say, "There's no use trying;"
And all the hard tasks shirk,
And keep on shirking and shirking,
Till the boy become a man,
I wonder what the world would do
To carry out its plan.¹²⁰

The late Victorian and Edwardian juvenile periodical press, although varied in its methods and motivations, provided a unified message for boys of various classes. It facilitated the transmission of common values and of expected behaviours, in order to educate boys on their future roles as men, husbands, fathers and Britons. It also promoted improvements in their physical health and work-related skills. This education was informal, not too heavy-handed or didactic, and often catered to boys' desire for fun and play. It created a space for boys to be morally instructed outside of the stricter confines of church, chapel, school or even home, forging close ties with a diverse range of boys' associations with similar aims. In combination, their goals were much broader than simply reforming individual boys: they were to ensure the growth of the next generation of strong and moral men, capable of heading their families, and of becoming good citizens, in peace time and in the build-up to war. The message was uncompromising, even if its medium blurred the boundary between fiction and reality. The next chapter

¹²⁰ Apples of Gold, "Keep On," 96.

will address more fully what “manliness” was to the publishers and writers of these papers and how they attempted to teach boys what it meant to be a real man.

Gentlemanly Boys Make Manly Men

A gentle boy, a manly boy,
Is the boy I love to see;
An honest boy, an upright boy,
Is the boy of boys for me.

The gentle boy guards well his lips,
Lest words that fall may grieve;
The manly boy will never stoop
To meanness, nor deceive.

An honest boy clings to the right
Through seasons foul and fair;
An upright boy will faithful be
When trusted anywhere.

The gentle boy, the manly boy,
Upright and honest too,
Will always find a host of friends
Among the good and true.

He reaps reward in doing good,
Finds joy in giving joy,
And earns the right to bear the name:
“A gentlemanly boy.”¹

Martin Francis has pointed out that in the twentieth century, “the notion of the ‘gentleman’ enlarged to embrace a much larger cross-section of the male population.”² The sources discussed here reveal that this trend began earlier, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, or earlier still.³ The above poem, “A Manly Boy,” showed its mainly

¹ “A Manly Boy,” *Band of Hope Annual*, Oct (1913): 78.

² Martin Francis, “The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity,” *Historical Journal*, 43, no. 3 (2002): 649.

³ See Brian Lewis’s interesting discussion: *The Middlemost and the Milltowns: Bourgeois Culture and Politics in Early Industrial England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001) 347-350. Also see P.J.

working-class readership that if they strove to become “real” men, they could earn the right to be gentlemen. Being a “real” man implied the characteristics discussed in the previous chapter. The usefulness of the term manliness has been questioned by historians. John Tosh has argued that the concept of masculinities is far more fruitful than manliness. Masculinities, he says, deal with manifestations of sexual difference which can transcend class-based distinctions.⁴ Yet, manliness, as an ideal, both influenced by and influencing popular culture, remains an important category for analyzing the expectations of a broad range of boys and men in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.⁵ The term had a cultural resonance which is difficult to ignore in publications for boys.⁶

Manliness, encompassing the traits discussed in the previous chapter, was commonly-used shorthand to explain to boys what was needed of them as they were growing up. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part will go into further depth about the ideals of manliness that these publications shared. The moral consensus on the dangers of various vices, and the crucial task of ensuring that boys grew up to be manly men, have been established in chapter 4. Yet the exhortation to “be manly” necessarily raised the question of “how,” not only for boys themselves, but also for the writers, editors and teachers whose job it was to instill it. The specifics of what it meant

Corfield, “The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen,” in *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914*, ed. Negley Harte and Roland Quinault (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986) 12, 16, 21, 23.

⁴ John Tosh, “Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914,” *Journal of British Studies*, 44, April (2005): 336, and “What Should Historians Do with Masculinity,” *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994): 179-202.

⁵ Historians are starting to make revisions in this regard. See R. Boddice, “Manliness and the ‘Morality of Field Sports:’ E.A. Freeman and Anthony Trollope, 1869-71,” *The Historian*, 70, no. 1 (2008): 1-6.

⁶ For a full discussion of the distinction between manliness and masculinity, see the introduction, pp. 20-27, and the associated literature listed there. This is particularly important with regard to the need to reclaim the language of historical actors and to mark the difference between this and the analytical language of historians.

to be a man and what was required to reach that goal, were broadly stated in three ways: inwardly, outwardly and through the Christian underpinnings of the manly ideal. The initial part of this chapter therefore details the parameters and character of the “manliness” that the various boys’ publications sought to teach, going beyond “manliness” as a somewhat nebulous concept, in favour of something more precise.

The second part of this chapter will examine the ways in which the publications conveyed their messages on manliness and the strategies they used to attract readers. Juvenile periodicals were not above suspicion, and the label of “penny dreadful” could signal the failure of a journal’s attempt to situate itself on the moral high ground. By equal measure, avoiding the appearance of being stiffly didactic or boringly Christian was essential if a journal was to survive. Reading a boy’s magazine, in either of these cases, could easily have been an outward sign of a *lack* of manliness. It was imperative that publishers widely disseminated the contrary view as part of a strategy of gaining acceptance, in order to make the act of reading these papers positive and manly in itself. This section therefore explains the publishers’ attempts to bring the moral tone of the medium into line with their intended message, at the same time as generating a wider readership. The third part, an examination of the Band of Hope movement, provides access to the ways in which the publications, their teachings and their associated movements presented a unified message to young people about how to live a manly life. Such an approach has the advantage of offering numerical evidence as a gauge of the successes and failures of the movement’s strategies and overall cohesion.

Success in Being: Teaching Manliness

Michèle Cohen has shown that, since the eighteenth century, British men asserted their manliness in contradistinction to women and to the French, by being stoic and taciturn.⁷ Certainly by the last decades of the nineteenth century, this held true in popular culture, as James Mason in an 1889 *Leisure Hour* article entitled “Silent Men” wrote: “The best and most successful men are silent and awkward in company, whereas women are full of chit-chat.”⁸ Yet it was certainly not adequate simply to be quiet in public to demonstrate manliness. There were many signs, both inward and outward, which indicated the presence or absence of manliness; it was the task of boys’ periodicals to teach these traits.

Boys were taught that in order to grow up to be successful men, they should live properly while they were growing up. To live properly meant to follow the lessons discussed in the previous chapter. The connections between these lessons and the ultimate goal of such teaching, to instill manliness in boys, is most clear in one positive trait already discussed: virtue. Its links to manliness would have been obvious to a classically-trained contemporary audience as the Latin for manliness is *virtus*, from the stem *vir* meaning man.⁹ Boys were taught such lessons because they were future men, and the publishers were concerned that they grow up to be the right sort. As the founder of the Band of Hope movement, the Rev. J. Tunnicliff put it, “A wise man once said, ‘The boy is the father of the man.’ And what you are while young, if you persevere in that way, you are likely enough to be all through your life. A faithful and wise Band of

⁷ Michèle Cohen, “Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England,” in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds., Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. (London: Longman, 1999) 44-62.

⁸ James Mason, “Silent Men,” *Leisure Hour* (1889): 48-51.

⁹ Secondary meanings (excellence, character, worth and courage) were also connected to manliness and virtue.

Hope child takes the pledge for life.”¹⁰ Temperance, though important, was just one of the components required of a man in training. These traits were often described as being manly.

Through these periodicals boys were taught that worldly wealth was far less important than spiritual and moral wealth, as in this 1892 *Young Crusader* recitation:

Who eagerly Fortune’s smile to gain,
With wise zeal wait upon her;
But count all wealth as a treasure vain,
That is won at the cost of honour.
Doing their duty in every stress,
With love and faith undaunted;
Daily growing in nobleness –
*These are the boys that are wanted.*¹¹

Manliness was the preferred way of explaining to boys the set of characteristics that made up the right sort of wealth. Viewed by scholars as a middle-class ideal, manliness had far greater appeal in the periodicals. It was promoted for working-class, as well as middle-class boys, providing them not just with an ideal model of masculinity, but rather as a way of life that would promote happiness and success.

In a 1908 *Sunday at Home* article entitled “Wanted: A Man,” the author asks what a true man is. The answer is that manliness is not shown through sports, games or physical prowess, but “rather we must look for one who has these five essentials – conscience, heart, mind, soul, will.”¹² In addition to these internal attributes, a boy who wanted to succeed had to display his manliness outwardly as well. An article mainly for

¹⁰ Rev. J Tunnicliff [Founder of the Band of Hope Movement], *The Band of Hope Annual* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1865) 25.

¹¹ “Boys that are Wanted,” *Young Crusader*, June (1892): 63.

¹² Rev. E.J. Hardy, “Wanted: A Man,” *Sunday at Home* (London: RTS, 1907-8): 499.

working-class boys, “Manners between Boys,” in the 1884 *Band of Hope Review*, showed that gentlemanly status was open to working-class boys who nurtured the right characteristics in themselves: “The boy who is habitually coarse and rude in his bearing towards other boys will be such as a man towards men, and all his life will never gain the reputation of being a gentleman.”¹³ As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, boys, regardless of social standing, could be entitled to the epithet of gentleman if they followed teachings in manliness. Another article (1890) made it clear that a strict class-based use of the term was no longer relevant: “Who would not rather have the manliness to work than the gentlemanliness to shirk it?”¹⁴ It was a misuse of the term gentleman if only used for those men who had no need to work. Reading material for boys made it clear that men who were gentlemen by social standing only, and did not demonstrate their manliness in action and in spirit, did not really deserve their gentlemanly status.

The socialist paper, the *Labour Prophet*, put forward similar views on how real men were made. In outlines of three lessons for socialist Sunday School, pupils were instructed that they could make men (and women) of themselves by eating and drinking good things and by seeing good sights, hearing good men and reading good books.¹⁵ Teachers were to make it clear to children that it was good to be a great man “and help to make life more possible or more beautiful for a great many people.” Nevertheless the author acknowledged that greatness was not possible for everyone, but that it was still

¹³ *Band of Hope Review* (1884): 155.

¹⁴ J. Rogers Rees, “Men and Manliness,” *Leisure Hour* (1890): 109.

¹⁵ J.H. Wicksteed, “How to Make Men and Women, II. Making Ourselves,” *Labour Prophet*, March (1895): 47.

possible to be a real man by being “kind at home and honest at work,” and the man who does so makes “the atmosphere of life fresher and the soil of life richer.”¹⁶

The *Boy's Own Paper* taught middle-class (and many working-class) boys how to prepare for manhood by equipping themselves mentally and physically and by shunning temptation. This paper represented one way in which it was possible for boys and men “simultaneously to both embrace and reject the attributes of domestic manliness,” as Martin Francis has so succinctly put it.¹⁷ In the *BOP*, many articles catered to boys’ fantasy life, often through fictional accounts of imperial adventure. They were an escape from their daily existence – a way to engage in a larger “manly” framework which was outside of their experience. This, however, was not the only form of masculinity contained within. The more subtle variety was the one that readers would have been more familiar with: it was a family-based Christian manliness. This form was perhaps less appealing to boys themselves, but it was one that the RTS actively promoted in its family papers. In the *BOP* domesticated evangelical manliness is displayed, in tension (even on the same page) with the newer image of imperial masculinity. In fact, even when colonial emigration was sometimes promoted as a means for young middle-class men to achieve quick success, it was motivated by the desire to create the conditions necessary for domesticity, not homosociality.¹⁸ The *BOP* itself took on a paternal role toward its young readers, educating them on what was to be expected of them as good men. Stories for boys throughout the period were generally concerned with reinforcing the established and little-questioned manly virtues and discouraging vice (such as sexual indulgence with

¹⁶ J.H. Wicksteed, “How to Make Men and Women, III. Making Each Other,” *Labour Prophet*, April (1895): 63.

¹⁷ Francis, “Domestication of the Male?” : 643.

¹⁸ See for example, Anon., “Making a Start in Canada,” *Leisure Hour* (1889): 645.

either sex, cowardice, cheating or gambling).¹⁹ One important expectation was their attitude toward domesticity. One author gave the following advice to *BOP* readers on duty: “If you are tempted to speak slightheningly of those at home, remember that truly brave men always love their mothers. Many lads nowadays think it a sign of weakness to lovingly speak of home.”²⁰ This kind of piece showed boys that it was manly to be loving and to think well of home life, an attitude that would serve boys well as future husbands and fathers.

The “Pages for the Young” section was featured in the *Sunday at Home* through the 1870s and early 1880s. Later, neither it nor the *Leisure Hour* contained special sections for children as both were intended for family reading: perhaps RTS members increasingly recognized that it was desirable and useful for parents and children to be educated and entertained *together*, at a level accessible to all. This was certainly the image conveyed by illustrations, such as the frontispiece of the *Leisure Hour*, which shows the paterfamilias reading to his family (figure 5). The special time thus set aside would be dually important, both in its message *and* in its medium.²¹ The act of reading together would promote family cohesion while the content of this family reading would stress familial morality and evangelical values. There was, therefore, no longer a special section for youngsters to read by themselves.

With the founding of the *Boy’s Own Paper* in 1879, the RTS began catering specifically to the needs and whims of boys as young as ten years. The paper quickly

¹⁹ See P. Dunae, “Boys’ Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914,” *Victorian Studies*, 24, (1980): 105-21, and R.H. MacDonald, “Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys’ Magazines, 1892-1914,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 24 (1989): 519-39.

²⁰ Anon., “Duty: A Straight Talk with BOP Boys,” *Boy’s Own*, 23, no. 1154 (1901): 330.

²¹ Cf. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: the Making of Typographic Man* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962).

became popular with boys and critically also with their parents. The stories, in contrast to those in the RTS family periodicals, were not overtly didactic or religious, but rather encouraged boys' fantasy life. In light of the RTS' ongoing concern with fatherhood, discussed more fully in chapter 6, it is perhaps surprising that this periodical contains little direct discussion of fatherhood. Even so, significant remnants of domesticated evangelical and romanticized Christian manliness can be found in the *BOP*, in tension



Figure 5, Frontispiece of the *Leisure Hour*.

with the newer image of imperial masculinity. There are two models of surrogate fathers in the *Boy's Own Paper*. One version of the surrogate father is represented by schoolmasters and is found mainly in public school stories or in other fictional articles. These stories form the didactic character of the periodical in teaching boys manliness and their obligations as future fathers to maintain traditional family structures and counteract the perceived subversive decline of values and of religious adherence, and assaults upon

the family. The second important surrogate father was *the publication itself*. The *BOP* took on an almost paternal role toward its young readers from all classes, inculcating in them a bourgeois version of evangelical masculinity that was no longer assumed to be taught at home or at school.

The weekly “Correspondence” section at the back of every issue of the *BOP* provided some fatherly answers to young boys’ questions about life. In response to E.A. Roles, the *BOP* wrote in 1881: “1. Learn a trade if you can. Special knowledge is always better, in a money-making sense, than general knowledge.” The same paragraph further contained responses to young E.A. Roles’ eclectic mix of inquiries: “2. Mixed diet is best. Our teeth would tell you this. Some vegetable foods are as nutritious as most animal foods. 3. Your voice will probably come right in time.”²² The *BOP* did not hesitate to give this kind of advice. Sometimes, the editors would even respond by suggesting a course of action that the father might take in ensuring his son’s future. It is interesting that the *BOP* saw fit to answer these serious queries, which otherwise might have been more suitably answered by fathers or at least by school masters.

One piece, for example, is an exhortation for correct and moral behaviour:

“Don’t write there,” said a father to his son, who was writing with a diamond on the window; “you can’t rub that out.” Did it ever occur to the reader that he is daily writing that which *he* can’t rub out?” You made a cruel speech to your mother the other day! It wrote itself on her loving heart, and gave her great pain. It is there now, and hurts her every time she thinks of it. You can’t rub it out.²³

²² *Boy’s Own*, 3, no. 108 (1881): 312.

²³ *Boy’s Own*, 8, no. 399 (1886): 783.

The *BOP* author chose to give this article a more explicitly paternal voice than was usual. In presenting this advice as a father's lecture to his son, the advice is given more gravity and authority. Furthermore, here the *BOP* firmly positions itself in the role of the father. While it is clear that the *BOP* deemed this advice to be best taught by fathers to their sons, this article demonstrates the necessity of including it in a wholesome publication for boys in order to instruct them on traditional, domesticated evangelical values, eventually to be passed on to their own sons.

The passage demonstrates that forethought, sensitivity and kindness to women were vitally important characteristics for developing men. This message was repeated in all of the publications, in prose and in poetry, as in this poem from the 1892 *Young Crusader*:

Boys who have eyes for their sister's grace,
Swift hands for household duty;
Who see in their mother's patient face,
The highest, holiest beauty.
Boys of earnest and noble aim,
The friends of the poor and lowly;
To whom ever a woman's name
Is something sacred and holy.²⁴

These values, taught early, were to see these young men through their future lives as husbands and fathers.

"The Boy who Dared to Say No" (1897) is a poem about the correct choices a young boy makes. He refuses smoking all forms of tobacco, drinking wine, telling lies

²⁴ "Recitation – Boys that are Wanted," *Young Crusader*, June (1892): 63.

and seeking amusements on the Sabbath. Though merely a boy, he also clearly knows what it truly means to be a man:

Would you not strike an angry blow
To show your pluck and manhood?" "No!
Our preacher says who dares do right
Is the true hero of the fight."²⁵

"Heroes" were boys who attempted to be manly by being kind and gentle. No matter what his social class, a "noble boy," though perhaps "hidden amid hard conditions and under unattractive garbs, will work out and show his manhood. He may not always find friends to appreciate; but, determined, virtuous, and willing to endure, he will in due time conquer."²⁶ A real man was one who would not be led by peers, but would keep in mind his real duties to God, his family and his country.

Boys were taught to be careful of a false sort of manliness, one that favoured "rough" habits, which did not consider these duties. One piece in the *Band of Hope Review* tells this lesson in the form of a story.

Boys, this is a question of great importance. Who will succeed in life? The boy or the man who spends his evenings away from home – attending music-hall, theatre, or billiard room; playing dice, billiards, or cards; smoking tobacco, or gambling – or the one who is entirely free from all that we have named – whose inclinations are in the direction of home, industry, sobriety, self-culture, of right, the truth and of God? We have in mind a most worthy gentleman who stands high in business circles, because when but a boy on the streets of London he chose the right and maintained it. At eleven his father died, leaving a wife and four children. From that time for seven years that boy sold papers and blacked boots, all the while supporting the family out of his daily profits. At eighteen he commenced business for himself as a merchant, and today is highly respected by his many

²⁵ George W. Bungay, "The Boy who Dared to Say No," *Young Crusader*, May (1897): 52.

²⁶ "How to be a Man," *Onward*, 16 (1881): 46.

friends and acquaintances, and is doing a flourishing business. Who wins? The boy or the man of bad habits? No! The boy or the man who can swear, cheat, lie, or steal, without being found out? No! But he wins who is not ashamed to pray to God in the hour of temptation for help – for strength more than human when adversity overwhelms. He who reads God’s word and trusts it; who is not governed by the motive, Is it expedient, but is it right? – he wins.”²⁷

The *Band of Hope Review* was directed mainly at the working classes, who were also most likely to attend Band of Hope meetings. Many stories like the one above showed boys that they had a choice: they could be real men, or they could let their poverty overwhelm them and lead them into lives of vice. Manliness could be manifested outwardly: “in an upright bearing in business engagements, in public duties;” and inwardly: “in the private delights of friendship and love.” For boys of all classes, manliness was seen as encouraging “growth of inner life, of intellect, of character.”²⁸

Manliness in Action: Teaching Practical Skills

The term manliness concerned not only internal ideals of character, but was also used to address “modern,” material realities. Great men, boys were taught, were not afraid of hard work, as long as it was honest.²⁹ Periodicals as diverse as the *Band of Hope Review*, the *Leisure Hour* and the *Boys’ Friend* put forward the same message.³⁰ Sometimes through the publication of mini-biographies in the style of Samuel Smiles, they were shown that they could succeed in life, no matter how humble their start, if they worked hard, had good values, and persevered. For the middle classes, there was much discussion

²⁷ “Who Wins?” *Band of Hope Review* (1881): 47.

²⁸ J. Rogers Rees, “Men and Manliness,” *Leisure Hour* (1890): 111.

²⁹ “A Word to the Boys,” *Band of Hope Review* (1884): 167.

³⁰ “Editor’s Den,” *Boys’ Friend*, 2, no. 84, (Jan 17, 1903): 536.

at the time about the precarious career positions of many young men, in an era with much competition and limited opportunities. One *Leisure Hour* article claimed that sober and industrious working-class men seldom had trouble finding employment. The real struggle was for middle-class young men, who were not trained in manual labour, and “who could not, under existing social arrangements” make a living that way.³¹ To the question “What are our sons to do?” these papers provided contradictory answers. Some recommended emigration as the “best and only hope for many young men.” “Where the will and the strength admit of hard work this will be undertaken in new countries where it could not at home.”³² Canada was a favourite destination for the advisors. Toronto was lauded as a clean, temperate and prosperous city, while the maritime provinces, Ontario and Manitoba were said to “afford a fair prospect of success and happiness to such of our countrymen as have thoughts of emigrating.”³³ In the *BOP* “Correspondence” section, advice was often provided to potential emigrants, like “A Barnsbury Reader,” who was advised to go to Canada and provided with the Westminster address of the Emigrants’ Information Office.³⁴ Other common destination suggestions were Australia and New Zealand. Regardless of the destination, however, it was assumed that these men would remain British in qualitative ways, not merely by citizenship alone. Unlike John Tosh’s emphasis on the homosocial nature of imperial migration, in this advice emigration was not promoted as a means to ensure a homosocial lifestyle. Nor were the colonies

³¹ “Making a Start in Canada,” *Leisure Hour* (1889): 645.

³² “Making a Start in Canada,” *Leisure Hour* (1889): 645.

³³ “Toronto,” *Leisure Hour* (1893): 430.

³⁴ *Boy’s Own*, 22, no. 1100 (1900): 304.

promoting homosocial migration in this period.³⁵ It was often promoted as a way to advance more quickly than possible in Britain and to set up a family. Other writers cautioned young men and their parents that there were not enough jobs in the colonies, and unless young men wanted to work on the land, it was better to stay in Britain.³⁶

The Amalgamated Press papers for boys also focused on boys' practical skills and their future careers. In his editorial sections, Hamilton Edwards advised readers to stay in school, but it was recognized that boys were often lacking in "modern" skills that were necessary for better paid and higher status careers.³⁷ In 1897, *The Boys' Friend* ran a series of articles called "What Will You Be? A Guide to Trades for Boys," which featured articles, for example, on how to become a booking-office clerk or a schoolmaster.³⁸ Edwards drew readers' attention to the Self-Help Page, which commenced with the first issue of the *Boys' Herald* in 1904. He wrote that the reason for creating this page was in response to the many letters which he received from readers' parents praising his endeavours to help boys to improve themselves. This page contained practical skills like shorthand.³⁹ The *Boys' Herald* also advertised "The Boys' Friend Correspondence College – An institution founded by your editor for the benefit of his readers." It was appealing to the class of *Boys' Herald* and *Boys' Friend* readers because

³⁵ See, for example, Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

³⁶ "Your Editor's Den," *Boys' Friend*, 13, no. 669 (April 4, 1914): 716. The likelihood that even upper-class emigrants would be required to work the land, and that this required formal training, is discussed in Patrick Dunae, "Education, Emigration and Empire: the Colonial College 1887-1905," in *'Benefits Bestowed'? Education and British Imperialism*, ed. J.A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 193-210.

³⁷ *Boys' Herald*, 2, no. 5 (1904): 68.

³⁸ *Boys' Friend*, 4, no. 108 (1897): 27; *Boys' Friend*, 4, no. 109 (1897): 35.

³⁹ "Your editor's advice," *Boys' Herald*, 1, no. 26 (1904): 416.

only they could join and “Neither Money nor Influence will Gain Admission for anyone to the B.F.C.C.” This correspondence college was free, but interested readers were required to send in 12 coupons found in the papers. It was promoted as useful to get into Civil Service, and taught shorthand and English composition for the general reader.⁴⁰

These practical skills were further promoted in another of Northcliffe’s publications, the *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*, which was advertised in his papers for boys. With slogans like “Your brain is your fortune” and the message that the *Self-Educator* was “The most modern book in the world – 50,000 pounds of knowledge for ½ d. a day” this publication was popular with boys and young men who wanted to advance.⁴¹ The *Self-Educator* was designed to be a “working school of life” and its goal was to provide its readers with the foundations of “an adaptable and successful career for the thousands of young men and women who are bewildered by the increasing difficulty of choosing a definite aim in life, or, having a definite aim, adapting themselves to its conditions.”⁴² The creation of this publication was an acknowledgment that the school system was failing to prepare young people for modern careers and life challenges:

There will be no room, in fifty years from now, for a Self-Educator such as this. With the growth of a rational system of training the young, the education of the schools will cover the whole of life and not merely touch its fringe. But there is still a pressing need unfortunately, for the education which tells in the world, the education which can be *applied*. How many boys, how many girls, set out every day on careers for which they are unsuited, or for which, if they be suited they have not prepared? It is pitiful to reflect on the failure which might have been made success by a little training at the beginning.⁴³

⁴⁰ Introduced in *Boys’ Herald*, 3, no. 131 (1906).

⁴¹ *Boys’ Friend*, 5, no. 226 (Oct. 7, 1905): 284.

⁴² *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*, no. 1 (1905): 5.

⁴³ *Harmsworth Self-Educator Magazine*, no. 1 (1905): 5.

Though the help provided by the *Harmsworth Self-Educator* and his papers for boys appealed mostly to the literate working classes, claims were made that they appealed to all classes of British (and colonial) society. For example, it was clearly noted that Lord Roberts paid three shillings and sixpence each month for his subscription copy of the *Harmsworth Self-Educator* when it was originally published in volume form, and that King George and the Duke of York were among other notable subscribers.⁴⁴

The Amalgamated Press's boys' papers also tried to entice readers by big competitions which addressed their concerns for their futures. "A Start in Life" was claimed to be the most generous offer ever made by any boys' paper. Every week, six puzzle pictures were to be published. £500 in cash and prizes were offered to the competitors who solved these puzzles and answered the questions under each picture. The winner of the first prize, a premium of £100, could elect to be apprenticed for the sum of £100 to any person or firm the winner and his parents or guardians selected (or the prize could be paid in cash). The second and third prizes were £50 premiums. In large part to increase circulation of the papers, Hamilton Edwards and the Amalgamated Press sought to capitalize on the preoccupations of adolescent males entering a precarious job market.

Temperance promoters also appealed to boys' ambition in life. "Brainy boys and young men" who wanted the best possible positions in business were said to be teetotalers out of principle (rather than out of necessity), unlike twenty years before when men who drank might be advanced to places of greater trust and responsibility.⁴⁵ This particular appeal was directed at middle-class boys, but the message was the same for

⁴⁴ George Dilnot (compiler), *Romance of the Amalgamated Press* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1925) 96.

⁴⁵ *Young Crusader*, April (1898): 51.

lower middle-class and working-class boys. “In a Warning to Young Men,” boys are told that the man who “makes a business of drinking, who cannot let a day go by without ‘taking something’,” will not be successful in gaining employment, as even non-teetotal employers do not hire clerks and assistants who drink.⁴⁶ It was widely believed that the critical time for boys to resist various temptations was when they left school and started work, often at the age of just fourteen. Men at work who were “a disgrace to manhood” were expected to test the principles of boys. “To drink, smoke, gamble, and swear; to talk mockingly of religion and sneer at those who are guided by Christian principles; to deprecate all that is good and elevating, and to gloat over the letting loose of the passions, is the daily curriculum of these base men.”⁴⁷ What was required was to teach boys, through the reading of periodicals (but also of course by other means, such as in groups like the Band of Hope), which principles were important for them to uphold, and to make these strong enough to withstand future temptations or humiliations. Christian faith was an essential component in teaching and upholding these principles, for both the religious and ‘secular’ papers.

Manliness in Spirit: Teaching in a Christian Context

Many stories had belief in God as their driving force. “My Rise from the Slums to Manhood” (1903) is a story of the author’s rise from orphaned street urchin to respectable man.⁴⁸ He had believed himself to be a real man when he could pick on the

⁴⁶ “A Warning to Young Men,” *The Abstainer: An Illustrated Temperance Monthly* (London: National Temperance Publication Depot), 1, no. 3 (1884): 4.

⁴⁷ S. Knowles, “A Critical Time for Youth,” *Every Band of Hope Boy’s Reciter: Containing Original Recitations, Dialogues, &C., Written Expressly for Bands of Hope*, no. 82 (c.1903): 159.

⁴⁸ Owen Kildare, “My Rise from the Slums to Manhood: A True Story,” *Leisure Hour* (1903): 22-32.

smaller boys selling papers in the streets, and had graduated to becoming a boxer and a bouncer in the most disreputable places in town. He had never had anyone to love nor guide him, and thus he found success in morally reprehensible ways. Only after he meets a young woman who not only teaches him to read, but also shows him the error of his ways, does he begin to think about God and about doing good deeds for others. In the end, he becomes a “real” man: he finds a respectable job, is respectful of others and wants to marry and set up a home with his young teacher. The twist in the plot comes when the woman unexpectedly dies, and the hero is injured in his manual work. Instead of becoming a traditional “real” man by getting married and establishing a family, he uses his newly-found intellectual skills to teach others how to become “real” men and followers of Jesus. This story was meant to be read by the entire family at home, its Christian message an appealing lesson about manliness for parents to share with their sons. As the reader is provided with the hero’s life story from his beginnings, it would have been easy for boys to identify with him and therefore perhaps to absorb the message more fully than in more rigidly didactic evangelical tales.

The Church of England Temperance Society published a series of booklets called “Juvenile Reciters,” which could be purchased for one half-penny. In addition to its publications, the *Young Crusader* and the *Young Standard Bearer*, this was part of the organization’s strategy for reaching young people of all classes, with lessons about temperance, but also about wider issues related to growing up. “If I were a Man,” a poem contained in one of these booklets, concerned kindness to animals, and abstention from cigars, alcohol and swearing, framed by the rhetoric of love for family (specifically of future children) and for God. The implication of this poem, and many like it, is that a real

man would take care not to engage in activities which would bring hardship to his family and disgrace him in the eyes of God – not to cause pain to “good people” and to keep his “lips clean for [his] children to kiss.”⁴⁹

“As Boy and Man” (1884) is a story which compares ideals of “real” manliness to those of the “rough” masculinity which boys seemed to prize, no matter their social standing. Residents of a middle-class school, Jack was a little teetotaler and Philip was an older boy who drank. Philip said of Jack: “A teetotaler is a sneak; they are all mean, miserable people, without a spark of *manhood* in them. They have no pluck, and are nothing but a lot of mean beggars.” He tried to force wine down Jack’s throat, injured his face with the broken glass and was dismissed from school. Years later Jack saved Philip who was about to end his life, made miserable and impoverished by drink and gambling. Philip ends the story by saying: “What would have been the consequences if Jack had yielded when a boy to either persuasion or oppression?” The narrator permits himself to answer the question didactically:

assuredly evil would have followed. It will be well for the young to think it over. Knowing yourself to be in the right, be strong in it. Resist temptation. Be neither persuaded nor bullied into doing wrong. Do not trust, however, in your own strength, which is perfect weakness. Remember that without God you can do nothing. Seek His help, then, by prayer, and in after life the fruits of your sturdiness will be gathered, not only by yourselves, but by others with whom you come into contact on the road of life.”⁵⁰

Jack is clearly shown as the real man, one who shuns vice in favour of the positive character traits of manliness. His status is not reflected in his social class – in

⁴⁹ “If I were a Man,” *Juvenile Reciters*, no. 16 (London: CETS, n.d., after 1891): 6.

⁵⁰ *Band of Hope Review* (1884): 182-3

this case both boys are middle class – but rather from his own character. Character traits were firmly based on evangelical Christian ideals. More importantly, boys’ religiosity would see them through the difficult years of their adolescence (see chapter 3). A firm, personal relationship with God was seen as essential to manliness and to provide the strength necessary to shun temptation.

Even the so-called secular, for profit, press had a strong Christian foundation. The editor of the Amalgamated Press’s boys’ papers, Hamilton Edwards (who, as we have seen, described himself in the papers as a Christian) answered the question of “converted lad” who was wondering whether it was right for him to read the *Boys’ Friend*:

You will never find anything in the BF which will do your religious scruples or your moral principles the least particle of damage. Instead, you will find that the BF always preaches in its rough and ready way a practical, solid, straightforward Christianity which is worth following.⁵¹

Callum Brown has shown that discursive Christianity had great influence over Britons throughout our period.⁵² Evidence from the sources discussed here clearly reinforce this assertion. Yet a gendered analysis of religion in this period from a masculine perspective remains incomplete. Brown places the onus on female piety: Britain remained strongly Christian until women were no longer interested in adhering to Christian institutional, social and cultural foundations.⁵³ Within this framework of Christianity and subsequent secularization, boys and men retain a secondary place. This conclusion is not supported by an examination of the juvenile periodicals of the period

⁵¹ Hamilton Edwards, “Is it right for a converted lad to read the *Boys’ Friend*?” *Boys’ Friend*, 18, no. 211 (1905): 388.

⁵² C. Brown, *Death of Christian Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001).

⁵³ Brown, *Death of Christian Britain*, chapters 4 and 8.

and their message for boys and men. Boys were urged to maintain a strong adherence to religious beliefs and modes of conduct, as well as being encouraged as future fathers to carry on the role of Christian teacher in the home. As discussed previously with reference to vice prevention, good fundamentals in religion during boyhood were assumed to lead to the maintenance of a good Christian life in manhood. In fact, lessons in Christianity served as the basis of all the attributes of manliness (including the shunning of vice).

In the 1901 *Boy's Own Paper*, The Rev. Dr. Stalker gave the following summary of a boy's religion:

1. Not a creed, but an experience.
2. Not a restraint, but an inspiration.
3. Not insurance for the next, but a programme for the present, world.⁵⁴

Christianity represented a code of conduct for boys. This code is not adequately understood by the term Christian manliness, which is loaded with class-based distinctions.⁵⁵ Boys were encouraged to integrate a form of non-denominational Christianity into their daily lives, in an informal way. This was reflected in their reading matter. Successfully following this code of conduct would lead to independence and real manhood. In one article, a boy named George intends to “Be Somebody,” starting that day, by becoming “A Christian boy, and so grow up to be a Christian man.” Approving of fictional George's conclusion that this “is the greatest somebody for us to be,” the narrator then makes the link between Christianity and manhood clear: “George is right.

⁵⁴ “A Boy's Religion,” *Boy's Own*, 24, no. 1189 (Oct. 26, 1901): 63.

⁵⁵ Still the best exploration of the elitism of Christian manliness is David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London: John Murray, 1961). For a literary approach to the concept, see Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

There is no higher manhood than Christian manhood.”⁵⁶ In an 1890 article entitled “Men and Manliness,” an RTS *Leisure Hour* writer declared that the highest form of manliness is “seen in the beautiful submission of self to the will of God.” It was possible, even for a man who knew worldly success and influence, to make his inner life his real priority and “to know the chiefest delight in the will of his Father.”⁵⁷

Messages about manliness and faith were also recited by boys at public events. The Leeds and District Band of Hope League organized a Band of Hope demonstration in front of the Town Hall, on Good Friday, 1884. One of the songs the children sang on that occasion was “Have Courage, My Boy, to Say No!” The last verse is typical in its tying together of religiosity, resistance to temptation and manliness:

In courage alone lies your safety, When you the long journey begin;
Your trust on a Heavenly Father Will keep you unspotted from sin.
Temptations will go on increasing, As streams from a riv-u-let flow;
But if you’d be true to your manhood, Have courage, my boy, to say no!⁵⁸

Teaching Strategies and Reception

Diverse strategies were utilized by the periodical press in order effectively to teach manliness. This required efforts to ensure that their papers were appealing and as widely-distributed as possible and that their messages were received by their readers in appropriate ways. Fiction, mixed with more material incentives, was a common strategy.

⁵⁶ *Band of Hope Review* (1883): 127.

⁵⁷ J. Rogers Rees, “Men and Manliness,” *Leisure Hour* (1890): 112.

⁵⁸ WYAS Leeds, J. Rinder, “Have Courage, My Boy, to Say No!” in Leeds and District Band of Hope League, Programme of Arrangements of the Band of Hope Demonstration, in Front of the Town Hall, On Good Friday, April the 11th, 1884. WYL1476.

In a 1901 serial story, “A Nonentity,”⁵⁹ Sir Thomas Quartermayne is a plain non-entity compared with his handsome and charismatic brother Edward, who had been loaded with University honours, was a rising Member of Parliament and a universal favourite. Sir Thomas is cautious and quiet, but responsible and virtuous. He notices that Edward drinks a lot of brandy, and warns him that he will develop the same bad habit as their father. Edward asks “If I’m in such danger, why not you? We’re both his sons,” but his condition deteriorates in dramatic form, until he wakes up to find himself weak, sick and robbed of everything in a back room in a close, narrow street in Glasgow.⁶⁰ He despairs, wants to jump off a bridge and the narrator recounts:

As he looked back to the first remonstrance of his brother, he could see clearly how each step downwards had followed, and he wished, with a very passion of longing, that he had taken warning at first, that he had conquered the craving before it conquered him, and he told himself that it was too late now.⁶¹

Edward admitted that he was beaten by his father’s curse, and begged his brother to let him go abroad in order that he might be out of the way.⁶² In the meantime, there is a fierce rumour that Sir Thomas is the drunk. He sacrifices his chance at love with Carrie (whom he thinks is in love with his brother anyway) to take his brother on a three-year sea voyage on a temperance ship in order to get Edward to overcome his drinking

⁵⁹ Margaret Watson, “A Nonentity,” *The Church Friendly* (London: Church of England Temperance Benefit Society), 6, no. 65 (March 1901).

⁶⁰ Watson, “A Nonentity,” 113.

⁶¹ Watson, “A Nonentity,” 113.

⁶² Watson, “A Nonentity,” 114.

problem. When they return there is a (false) rumour that Carrie is about to marry someone else.⁶³

In the end, all is well. Edward is cured of his problem with alcohol, and he explains everything to Carrie who happily marries Sir Thomas. The conclusion that “Tommy’s not quite such a nonentity as we used to think,” provides the reader with a clear contrast between different masculinities.⁶⁴ Sir Thomas’s stoic and virtuous manliness turns out to be vastly superior and more successful than his brother’s more ambitious, outgoing and hard-drinking masculinity.

“A Nonentity” was featured in the *Church Friendly*, the magazine of the Church of England Temperance Benefit Society. Founded in 1878, this Friendly Society insured men, women, boys and girls against sickness, accident, and death and was advertised in this magazine and in others for family and youth readership. In 1903, there were over 180 lodges in England and Wales, with a membership of over 9,000, with claims paid exceeding £49,000. The *Church Friendly* published fiction and non-fiction about total abstinence from alcohol, smoking and gambling. The magazine and the Friendly Society it promoted brought forward mutually sympathetic and affirming messages of morality and purity. As will be shown later in this chapter, papers with edifying messages were often coupled with other, sometimes more practical incentives for readers and followers. The links between story, periodical and society serve as an entry point into some of the pedagogical techniques used by the writers of boys’ papers in order to get their messages across to their readership. I want to demonstrate that the stories which provide the main focus of this thesis were not unconnected to the “real” world, and were central

⁶³ Watson, “A Nonentity,” 114.

⁶⁴ Watson, “A Nonentity,” 117.

components of varied strategies to inculcate appropriate forms of boyish, and thereafter manly, behaviour.

In one article by a scientific lecturer to the Lancashire & Cheshire Band of Hope and Temperance Union, the link between various pedagogical tactics and child nature is made explicit. Negative teaching would encourage the child to think about and consequently to do whatever is disapproved of by the teacher. Positive teaching, conversely, would lead by example, as young children will want to emulate whatever the teachers put before them. In the case of drink, as in this article, an example of negative teaching was: “do not abuse your body and mind with drink,” whereas the positive exhortation was: “try to make mind and body as wise and as strong as you can; take care of them as God’s good gift held in trust.”⁶⁵ This pedagogical method was employed by much of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century literature for boys. Instead of demonstrating how far from the ideal the prevalent contemporary situation was, these authors stressed the ideal itself. Since children are “unmoral rather than immoral,”⁶⁶ their teachings both in school and church, and in their reading matter, must play an important part in forming their moral characters. Fictional boys and biographical exemplars in the boys’ papers are often temperate, well mannered, kind, caring, who will turn into model husbands and fathers. When negative examples are provided of boys and men who have succumbed to vice and immorality, the authors leave no potential space for the young readers to glamorize or fantasize about these “bad” boys and men’s lives. As in “A Nonentity” and in the rest of the examples throughout the dissertation, in these texts boys

⁶⁵ Edith S.R. Williamson, “Child Nature from the Band of Hope Standpoint, II,” *Onward*, 16 (1906) (Read at the National Band of Hope Conferences, Oxford, Sept. 27th, 1905).

⁶⁶ Williamson, “Child Nature from the Band of Hope Standpoint, II,” 17.

are not provided with any leeway in which to interpret what real manliness meant. This, however, is a far too simple description of a complicated and conflicting literary nexus involving publishers, reform organizations, parents and boys in a growing mass consumer market.

As we have seen, competition in the boys' papers' market became increasingly stiff throughout our period. An important goal for the boys' papers in order to encourage growth in readership was to ensure that their publications were deemed wholesome by parents, clergymen, schoolmasters and others in authority over boys. Some papers had an easier time to convince the public than others. The *Band of Hope Review* could boast enthusiastic support from Northern English newspapers: "As an assistant in the proper training of the youthful mind, THE BAND OF HOPE REVIEW is the best publication we have seen,"⁶⁷ and "The price is so ridiculously small that we feel almost afraid to say that the serial is filled with good engravings and well-written articles, and everything to make it valuable and acceptable to the juvenile population."⁶⁸ Other temperance journals needed to explain their existence. In the first issue of the *Abstainer: An Illustrated Temperance Monthly*, the editor, James Fletcher of Uxbridge, explained that his paper was to meet the needs of temperance workers in all parts of the kingdom and intended to provide a "family journal that will be read with interest and profit by all classes of the community."⁶⁹ Whether they succeeded or not, it was a general claim of all these papers that their content appealed to all social classes and all ages. Fletcher also repeated

⁶⁷ *Liverpool Telegraph*, in *Band of Hope Review* (1880): inside cover.

⁶⁸ *Leeds Times*, in *Band of Hope Review* (1880): inside cover.

⁶⁹ Rev. James Fletcher, *The Abstainer: An Illustrated Temperance Monthly*, 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1884): 1.

another common refrain: that (with the exception of the socialist papers) the papers were conducted on Christian principles. Most were also undenominational and non-partisan.

The *Boy's Own*, backed by the formidable evangelical Religious Tract Society, had an easy time taking the moral high ground, while attacking other publications for boys which were judged to have negative influence as “penny dreadfuls.”⁷⁰ Unlike penny dreadfuls, the *BOP* was advertized as

entirely free from the lurid light of crime, the taint of vulgar bravado, and the vapid but only too seductive sensationalism of the day; but it will at the same time possess the life and “go”, the stirring and rousing action, the spirit and enterprise, that the genuine boy rightly desires. If it sparkle with fun, however, its mirth will leave no bitterness, and its laughter no regret.⁷¹

Temperance publications, like the *Young Standard Bearer*, did the same, boasting that the first issue of the paper had a larger than anticipated circulation. Providing “something pure, bright, and attractive” was the best way to counteract “wicked, poisonous literature” for young people.⁷²

Hamilton Edwards also promoted the Amalgamated Press boys' papers by comparing them to the religious papers, which were known for their positive moral influence on readers. As Edwards wrote in the editorial section of the *Boys' Friend* in 1898:

⁷⁰ For more on penny dreadfuls see P.A. Dunae, “Penny dreadfuls: late 19th-century boys' literature and crime,” *Victorian Studies*, 22, no. 2 (1979): 133-50.

⁷¹ “What are Boys to Read?” *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, no. 10, (March 1879): 1-3.

⁷² “Our Monthly Letter” [no date] Special supplement for: Conductors, Members and Supporters of the Juvenile Branches of the CETTS, *Young Standard Bearer* (1881).

I defy anyone to prove that the moral tone of the BOYS' FRIEND is one whit less than the moral tone of the most religious journal published. As a matter of fact, I have seen things in so-called religious journals which I would not permit of publication in my own paper. I feel very strongly upon this point of the morality and healthiness of the literature which goes into the BOYS' FRIEND, because I am thoroughly convinced that the welfare of the rising generation depends largely upon the literature which it reads; and if this literature is good and healthy in tone it will re-act upon the boy, and help him in his conduct towards his fellow-creatures. If he reads sensible, healthy literature it will induce his mind into sensible and healthy channels, and afterwards make of him a useful citizen.⁷³

As with the religious and temperance juvenile publications, the AP papers made the connection between uplifting literature and good traits in manhood and citizenship. On the other side of the same issue, the AP boys' papers also warned their readers against the evil influence of penny dreadfuls, and even had a recurring column to that effect, detailing the stories of boys who had committed real crimes after having read nefarious literature. The real punishment for these crimes was shown to be much more severe than the stories indicated.⁷⁴ Edwards defined these stories as "absurdly sensational and improbable [... with] more improbable pictures."⁷⁵ Yet, unlike the RTS, CETS and Band of Hope publications, AP editors could not assume that potential readers and authority figures viewed their papers as wholesome, since they lacked religious affiliation and contained sensationalistic adventure and crime serial stories. Hamilton Edwards admitted that the AP boys' papers were viewed with suspicion by parents and teachers and they were attacked as a new form of penny dreadful by some of the other organizations. He denounced "A Prejudiced [Sunday School] Teacher," who thought that the AP papers

⁷³ *Boys' Friend*, 5, no. 205 (1898): 411.

⁷⁴ "A Warning to Boys. The Evil Influence of the Penny Dreadful," *Boys' Friend*, 3, no. 61 (1896): 69.

⁷⁵ "The Penny Dreadful," *Boys' Herald*, 9, no. 460 (1912): 70.

were unwholesome compared to the religious boys' papers.⁷⁶ In his editorial sections he frequently repeated that reading the *Boys' Friend* and the *Boys' Herald* was morally beneficial for boys, as well as being educational and entertaining: "every paragraph in the BOYS' FRIEND is published with due consideration to its moral teaching, as well as to its interesting nature."⁷⁷ In his editorial section five years later he restated that AP papers were fit for Christian boys to read: "it has always been my endeavour, in publishing stories to publish nothing which would give offence to the most earnest or thoughtful Christian."⁷⁸

The *Boy's Own* and the other "religious" papers tended to have a different strategy. Even religious leaders admitted that papers for boys and families, though containing the "proper" message, had been thought of as dull, and that "anything evangelical was rather flat-footed, and lacking richness and variety."⁷⁹ Since the tendency was to perceive them as dry and sanctimonious, in order to increase readership they were promoted as having a Christian tone which pervaded their pieces on interesting topics for boys, rather than publishing doctrinal religious teachings *per se*. According to the editors of the *BOP*, "True religion, in their view, is a spirit pervading all life, in work or in play; and this conviction, rather than any purpose of direct doctrinal teaching, gives a tone to the Paper, which has already met with very wide and cordial acceptance."⁸⁰ It was also important to demonstrate that the papers had the support and co-operation of

⁷⁶ "A Prejudiced Teacher," *Boys' Friend*, 5, no. 205 (1898): 411.

⁷⁷ "Your Editor's Den," *Boys' Friend*, 3, no. 69 (1896): 131.

⁷⁸ "Editor's Den – A Christian Reader," *Boys' Friend*, 8, no. 28 (1901): 440.

⁷⁹ RTS Annual Meeting, speech by Rev. A.W. Gough (Vicar of Brompton), *Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, June (1911): 9-10.

⁸⁰ "The Boy's Own Paper," *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, No 10. (March 1879): 27.

authority figures like ministers, parents and schoolmasters. As part of an important evangelical organization, the goal of the *BOP*'s editors was to bring it to the attention of every boy in the land, of all classes. In return, they promised to employ the best writers and artists for the *BOP*'s content, "and neither pains nor expense will be spared to render the *BOP* the most complete and attractive journal for lads ever produced."⁸¹

One of the most important features of the *BOP* and all the other boys' papers was as a model for manliness, as we have seen in this chapter. This was crucial in a time when there was a perceived lack of good, male role models for boys at home and in the wider world. It was in this context that an informal, written model for manliness became appealing for parents and authorities concerned with boyhood. Boys would be attracted by the entertaining content of the papers, but the real goals were far more lofty:

It will strive to show that true courage is ever something vastly different from the swagger of foolhardiness and self-assertion, and that the noblest manliness and Christian honour are very closely akin; and this it will aim at accomplishing, not so much by precept as by example – by providing really entertaining reading that shall prove food, and not poison – the stimulant to high endeavour, and not the allurements to ribaldry and vice.⁸²

As this advertisement in the RTS workers' paper for the first issue of *BOP* indicates, one of the clear ways for publishers to make their papers appealing to boys and to their parents was to declare them manly, or manly-making. This was the strategy of the RTS, CETS and Band of Hope papers, providing this manliness training in a securely Christian context. The AP boys' papers took a similar position. Hamilton Edwards, editor of the Amalgamated Press's *Boys' Herald*, said that it was "The Manly Paper" and that

⁸¹ "What are Boys to Read?" 3.

⁸² "What are Boys to Read?" 1-3.

“every feature in it is a thoroughly man-making one.”⁸³ He assured potential readers that his papers contained “sound, healthy stories, conveying no bad lesson, but teaching boys rather to be **manly**, and to fight adversity, and to struggle against any obstacle which may come in their path.”⁸⁴ The AP papers published many letters ostensibly from readers who claimed that the papers had made them want “to try to be a man,” but Edwards reinforced the idea that manhood involved much more than financial success, rather it meant “making of one’s self a useful, honest citizen of our great empire.”⁸⁵ The seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, a promoter of the CETS and many evangelical causes, and particularly that of children’s education, was quoted extolling the gentlemanliness of the *Boy’s Own Paper*.⁸⁶ This was one of the many links between the content of boys’ papers and the movement to ameliorate social problems, in which he so actively participated. Shaftesbury, according to John Wolfe, “was held up to late Victorian and Edwardian manhood as a role model of noble Christian endeavour.”⁸⁷ This was certainly true of the periodicals, as Shaftesbury’s name was used to promote manliness and success.

Shaftesbury was an exemplar of the attempt to attract readership through what could be termed celebrity endorsements. Diverse figures like Sandow, the strongman,⁸⁸ and Robert Baden-Powell supported the messages of the papers by writing on the dangers

⁸³ *Boys’ Herald*, 9, no. 443 (1912): 428.

⁸⁴ “Editor’s Den,” *Boys’ Friend*, 3, no. 115 (1903): 176, emphasis added.

⁸⁵ “Editor’s Den” [re: letter from W.P.B.], *Boys’ Friend*, 3, no. 115 (1903): 176.

⁸⁶ *RTS Record*, no. 11, (June 1879): 36.

⁸⁷ John Wolfe, ‘Cooper, Anthony Ashley-, seventh earl of Shaftesbury (1801–1885)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004); online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6210>, accessed 27 Feb 2008].

⁸⁸ Mark Pottle, ‘Sandow, Eugen (1867–1925)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/76284>, accessed 18 March 2008]

of smoking and liquor.⁸⁹ Earlier, the famous cricketer W.G. Grace was featured in the *BOP*. All of the papers utilized this tactic to get their messages across, as well as to attract increased readership drawn in by the desire to learn about famous or great men. In the tradition of the important voluntary organizations of the age, some papers also obtained the support of leading political and religious men. The *BOP*, through the existing RTS networks, was supported by archbishops, bishops, the chairman of the London School Board, the president of Trinity College, Oxford, the president of the Royal Society, the president of the Royal College of Physicians, the leaders of the YMCA and charitable homes for boys, and of course the Earl of Shaftesbury.⁹⁰

Though the AP boys' papers did not list such lofty support, Hamilton Edwards frequently published letters ostensibly from parents (especially fathers) and other authority figures (like schoolmasters and Sunday School teachers) who praised the high quality and the moral tone of his papers. He wanted to assure boys that his papers were far from "trash" or penny dreadfuls, and that they could take the papers home without admonishment from parents. One 1911 letter from "a scoutmaster, Sunday-school teacher, secretary of honoured institutions, and a church officer," says that the *Boys' Friend* interests him as much as it did in his teenaged years and that he would never have taken it had he thought it was a penny dreadful.⁹¹ Another letter, not at all unusual, says Edwards, was from Henry William Hill, a father who felt it was his "duty" to give the editor "a little encouragement to keep up the standard of excellence and purity which has always been the dominant point in your papers." Hill goes on to say that as he has had a

⁸⁹ *Young Crusader*, no. 189, (July 1907): 67; and *Young Crusader*, May (1912): 62.

⁹⁰ Full page ad for new *BOP*, in *The Publisher's Circular: General Record of British and Foreign Literature* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1879): p. 61.

⁹¹ "Your Editor's Den – Testimony for the BF," *Boys' Friend*, 11, no. 528 (1911): 116.

lot of experience with boys' papers, he could come to the conclusion that the *Boys' Friend*, the *Boys' Herald*, and the *Boys' Realm* "contain the best literature the British boy can possibly want." He asserts that not only boys read the papers, but also "grown-up men, who have the responsible positions of training up children of their own."⁹² Edwards also published the thoughts of Alfred Luker, a 64 year old Nonconformist Sunday-school superintendent who recommended the *Boys' Friend* to his young male charges as a clean and manly paper. In fact, Luker says, "it is the ideal paper to teach boys to be manly and independent, to fight their way in the world."⁹³ The tone of these letters is remarkably similar to that attributed to Edwards in his editorial sections.

Whether these letters of support were genuinely from readers or not, they demonstrate the great effort involved in making the AP papers seem as wholesome and moral as their "religious" counterparts from the RTS, the CETS or the Band of Hope. Edwards also assured readers that his "chat" letters, the majority of which were from boys who sought advice on their daily adolescent problems, were genuine. To prove this he printed a letter from a boy who said that he really enjoys the paper and who hopes that his letter will be published in order to prove to his friends in the neighbourhood of Shepherd's Bush that the letters are real.⁹⁴ Edwards also boasted about the vast quantity of letters he received, a number far too great to print in his papers, around 500 to 700 every week.⁹⁵

⁹² "A Parent's Testimony," *Boys' Herald*, 1, no. 28 (1904): 448.

⁹³ "Your Editor's Den," *Boys' Friend*, 10, no. 509 (1911): 656.

⁹⁴ *Boys' Herald*, 5, no. 233 (1908): 400.

⁹⁵ "Editor's Den – My Readers' Letters," *Boys' Friend*, 8, no. 16 (1901): 244.

Not only did Hamilton Edwards assert that his publications were wholesome and parent-approved, he also made clear that he was a knowledgeable advisor, a sound counselor and even a good friend to his boyish readers. “I want all my boys to look upon me as their firm friend and adviser. There are few men who know boys as well as I do, and there are no little trials and troubles, perplexities and anxieties, in which I cannot help and assist my readers.”⁹⁶ He advised boys on everything from detailed “Hints on Shaving”⁹⁷ to future careers, to personal relationships with family, friends and possible love interests. In his Christmas greeting of 1894, he encouraged his readers to write to him regularly and he would, as their friend, “sympathise with them in their sorrow” and “rejoice with them in their happiness.”⁹⁸ This perceived personal, emotional bond with his young male readers was seen as an important selling point for the AP papers. The *Boy’s Own* also promoted itself as understanding boyhood. “The principle of this Journal is, in one word, Sympathy. Its writers understand boyhood well, and enter heartily into its pursuits and pleasures.”⁹⁹

The publishers also used various tactics like creating organizations (such as the Amalgamated Press’s League of Boy Friends,¹⁰⁰ discussed in chapter 3), examinations and competitions. Organizations such as these had as their stated purpose to encourage “boys to grow up into strong men physically and morally – true specimens of the great race and Empire to which they belong.” To promote loyalty to the groups, they had

⁹⁶ “Your Editor’s Den,” *Boys’ Friend*, 10, no. 491 (1910): 356; *Boys’ Friend*, 5, no. 160 (1898): 27.

⁹⁷ *Boys’ Herald*, 5, no. 235 (1908): 432.

⁹⁸ *Boys’ Friend*, 3, no. 98 (1896): 372.

⁹⁹ *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, no. 10, March (1879): 27

¹⁰⁰ Advertised in the *Boys’ Friend* 1905, No. 204, Vol. IV, May 6, 1905, p. 785

conditions of membership,¹⁰¹ secret passwords, “handsome” certificates, and “beautifully-designed” badges.¹⁰² Hamilton Edwards made it seem as if these leagues were exclusive, not only in terms of their membership requirements, but because members, if they were “honourable lads,” were shown to resign from the group if, for example, they started smoking, or broke another one of the rules. Edwards wrote that while he felt like he were parting with friends, he would rather that “every member of the league resigned rather than one should remain a member whilst being false to his pledge.”¹⁰³ A major motivation in creating these supplementary offshoots of their papers was clearly to increase readership and thereby to increase the reach of the papers, the organizations backing them, and their messages.

The Religious Tract Society conducted religious instruction and examinations. In 1881-2, for example, a total of 5380 children and pupil teachers participated and 1139 prizes were awarded.¹⁰⁴ The CETS also had annual examinations and inter-diocesan competitions, associated with its Bands of Hope. In 1914-15, for example, the theme of the associated handbook was “My Duty, to God, to my country, to my home, to myself” by Rev. C.F. Tonks. In the section, “Love at Home,” students should learn that **“Drunkenness destroys love in the home,”** and that the **“home may be happier and more prosperous without strong drink, while intemperance brings poverty and unhappiness into the homes of England.”**¹⁰⁵ These handbooks were widely distributed

¹⁰¹ In the case of the League of Health and Strength, these included “No Smoking (until 21 years of age); No drinking of intoxicants as beverages; No Swearing; No Gambling; No Evil Habits.”

¹⁰² *Boys’ Herald*, 5, no. 236 (1908): n.p.

¹⁰³ “Editor’s Den – Two Honourable Lads,” *Boys’ Friend*, 5, no. 219 (1905): 164.

¹⁰⁴ RTS ECM, June 6, 1882.

¹⁰⁵ Rev. C.F. Tonks, “My Duty,” *Church of England Temperance Society annual examination and inter-diocesan competition, 1914-1915* (Westminster: CETS, 1914) 8. Bold in original.

as every member of the Band of Hope was supposed to have a copy. Competitions such as these served to increase juvenile interest in religious affiliation and in moral rectitude. They also provide us with a clearer understanding of the links between the discursive messages of the organizations' publications and the wider goals of the organizations themselves in reaching out to individual children. By understanding the periodicals and the organizations' other activities as part of the same project, we can better understand the vast impact of the "manly" messages of the publications. Though it remains difficult to assess how readers absorbed particular messages in the texts they read, involvement in the organizations' activities is a good indicator of the reach of these messages, as the periodicals and the organizations' other activities were mutually promoting and perpetuating. A closer study of the Band of Hope movement will help show the intertwining of the media, the messages and the institutions.

The Band of Hope Movement as a Case Study

In answer to the question, put by the Greenwich and West Kent Band of Hope Union, "Why are you a Member of a Band of Hope?," four reasons are provided: "I want to be strong; healthy; good; and Christlike."¹⁰⁶ Yet the main purpose of the organization was of course to promote the temperance movement among the young. Though the temperance movement among adults was controversial, there was little debate that it was necessary among children. In 1886 Parliament forbade the sale of liquor to children under thirteen years for consumption on the premises, but there was still concern that children were being given alcohol at home, either as a beverage or as a remedy. Frustrated at the

¹⁰⁶ C.O. Barber, "A Band of Hope Address: Why are you a Member of a Band of Hope?," *Quarterly Manual and Band of Hope Reporter for Greenwich and West Kent*, Vol. 1, No. 5, October (Greenwich: Borough of Greenwich and West Kent Band of Hope Union, 1880) 9.

slow speed of supportive legislation, temperance reformers saw the most effective way of creating a temperate society was through the education of the young. As the Band of Hope National Secretary, Robert Tayler, argued in 1946, “A new race of citizens had to be created, who were fully aware of the evils of drinking, and could eventually create the public opinion without which Temperance reform could never be achieved.”¹⁰⁷

As we have seen, the Band of Hope was founded in 1847, with the aim of instructing boys and girls as to the properties of alcohol and the consequences of its consumption. The Band of Hope societies were generally structured around midweek meetings with music, slides, competitions and addresses on the importance of total abstinence. By 1855, there were so many local bands that a London Union was formed and in 1864, this was expanded to become the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. The pace accelerated after 1870, when most new Band of Hope societies (and County Unions) were formed.¹⁰⁸

Band of Hope periodicals, the most widespread in this period being *Onward* and the *Band of Hope Review*, were an important part of the Band of Hope movement, whose ultimate aim was not only the inculcation of its values through its publications, but also recruitment for Band of Hope meetings. The prevalence of the consensus on issues related to boyhood, and the impact this had on British boys in this period, is difficult to gauge through a discussion of the reading material alone. Participation in the Band of Hope offers more tangible evidence for historians to assess the reach of messages relating

¹⁰⁷ Robert Tayler, *The Hope of the Race* (London: Hope Press, 1946) 15.

¹⁰⁸ United Kingdom Band of Hope Union Annual Report (1913-14) 5. (only 5 of the County Band of Hope Unions, including Yorkshire - 1865, Dorset - 1864, Lancashire and Cheshire - 1863, Leicestershire and Rutland – 1866, were founded in the 1860s out of 27 total.

to boyhood. This section does not intend to be an exhaustive study of the Band of Hope. This important movement still awaits its master historian.

By the Jubilee of the Band of Hope in 1897, there were 26,355 separate societies in the United Kingdom, and over three million children were members of the movement.¹⁰⁹ In 1913-14, in the juvenile temperance movement as a whole, there were estimated to be 3,788,969 members (see appendix II). At the local level, success was measured not only by membership numbers, but by attendance at weekly meetings and by unbroken temperance pledges. The Bedford Institute (Spitalfields) Band of Hope, for example, was deemed to be “a flourishing society:” in 1883 it had a total of 586 members, with a weekly attendance of 349. 218 junior and 167 senior pledges had been taken during the previous year. The visitation of absentees was a systematic practice, and it was found that of those visited only 17 had broken their pledge.¹¹⁰

The movement had a far greater impact than its membership numbers indicate. By 1946, over twenty million children had heard the scientific total abstinence lectures of Band of Hope representatives.¹¹¹ These were usually men (although many women worked in the movement, very few were lecturers) who were professionally trained in science or medicine. Their lectures were focused on the effects of alcohol from a scientific point of view, leaving aside the moral and spiritual components so often explored in the movement’s periodicals (school lectures were deemed less effective than Band of Hope attendance).

¹⁰⁹ Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 55.

¹¹⁰ *The Middlesex Temperance Chronicle, A Quarterly Record of Good Templar, Band of Hope and other Temperance Work in the County of Middlesex*, Aug.-Oct. (1884): 78.

¹¹¹ Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 50.

According to Charles Wakely, the General Secretary of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, the age of membership differed in various societies, but in most Bands of Hope the members were received at seven years of age, and at fourteen were drafted into a senior society, where the proceedings were adapted to their “increased intelligence and altered habits of thought.”¹¹² Membership was conditional upon giving a written promise of abstinence, and upon compliance with the rules which governed each society. The declaration in general use was the following: “I promise to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks as beverages.” The pledge was central to the Band of Hope. “It makes the signatory feel that he is one of many who have banded together in a crusade. When later in life he tries to keep his promises and overcomes temptation, he is strengthened in his moral and spiritual character.”¹¹³ It was argued that children thus strengthened would be less likely to succumb to other vices like smoking or gambling, and more likely to become manly men.

Young people became members without fees, but usually paid a weekly contribution of one half-penny, if possible. In most cases, members received a monthly temperance magazine (often *Onward* or the *Band of Hope Review*), and admission to the entertainments, tea meetings, and annual outings. The written consent of at least one parent or guardian was necessary in the case of children under fourteen in order to counter any claims of interference in parents’ sphere of influence or indoctrination of the young. Parental consent and involvement were crucial to the movement’s success.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Charles Wakely, *Bands of Hope and Sunday Schools* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894) 4.

¹¹³ Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 40.

¹¹⁴ Annie Young, “The Parents of Our Members,” *Band of Hope Chronicle* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union), Jan (1885): 11.

According to Wakely, the teaching of the Band of Hope was “grounded on the principles of religion, morality and science,” these contrasting principles seemingly presented without tension.¹¹⁵ A religious tone was supposed to pervade the entire movement, although there was fear that this was sometimes lost in entertainments and recreational activities. Band of Hope instructors were told to sustain the children’s interest from week to week by various means, such as magic lantern shows, object lessons, dissolving views, chemical experiments, and physiological charts; and to make every possible effort to render the meetings engaging and attractive (for a typical Band of Hope program, see appendix I).¹¹⁶ Band of Hope instructors and lecturers were often devoted to the cause. In fact, Tayler claims that ninety percent of the leaders of the Band of Hope (in 1946) were members in their childhood.¹¹⁷ They had a “sacred and definite” mission.¹¹⁸

The Band of Hope Union reported yearly on its work in day schools. It maintained a fairly constant schedule of visiting around 3,800 schools per year.¹¹⁹ These were of all varieties: Council, Voluntary, Industrial, District or Workhouse Schools, Evening Continuation Schools and High Schools. It also visited Orphan Asylums, Deaf and Dumb, and Blind Schools. Institutions of every kind for the ordinary education of the young, no matter the class or sectarian peculiarities (Roman Catholic and Jewish schools included), were offered and accepted the free services of lecturers. The main feature of

¹¹⁵ Wakely, *Bands of Hope and Sunday Schools*, 4.

¹¹⁶ See various manuals for instructors, including: *The Band of Hope Blue Book: A Manual of Instruction and Training* (London: UK Band of Hope Union, n.d.) and *Speakers’ Self-Help. Outlines of Blackboard and Other Addresses for Band of Hope Meetings* (London: Richard J. James, n.d.).

¹¹⁷ Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 39.

¹¹⁸ *Speakers’ Self-Help*, 1.

¹¹⁹ United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, Report of School Scheme (1914-15) 5.

the work was the delivery of addresses, invariably illustrated by charts, diagrams, specimens, and experiments demonstrating the dangers of alcohol. The lectures, usually around forty minutes long and during school hours, were given to the older children, who, in the estimation of the report, welcomed “the addresses as a pleasant break in the routine of their school work, and who showed, by the intelligence with which they answered searching questions, and by the fullness and discrimination of their written reports, that they had secured a grasp of the subject calculated to prove most useful to them in after life.”¹²⁰

There was much mutual sympathy and collaboration between the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union and other influential temperance organizations (and their associated juvenile branches and periodicals). In 1891, for example, the Church of England Temperance Society held two conferences on the topic of alcohol and childhood, with all the influential representatives of the movement present. The morning conference was chaired by Frederick Temple, Lord Bishop of London, and the afternoon’s by the Duke of Westminster. Much of the discussion was focused on the Band of Hope, its impact and how its influence might be increased. Rev. J.R. Diggle, chairman of the London School Board, gave a talk on “Temperance in the Schools,” during which he claimed that eight out of ten Board school children in London belonged to a Band of Hope, in large part because of visits by temperance lecturers during school hours. He praised the efforts of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union in providing

¹²⁰ United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, Report of School Scheme (1907-8) 3.

school lectures – “The teachers like it, and the children like it” – and encouraged plans that the CETTS should set up its own involvement in schools throughout England.¹²¹

There were also tight connections between the juvenile temperance movement and Sunday Schools. The Band of Hope sought to tap into the already well-established Sunday-School movement. One report estimated in 1894 that there were over six million Sunday scholars, and 674,000 teachers in the United Kingdom.¹²² According to the Honorary Secretary of the Junior Division of the CETTS, the Sunday School and the Band of Hope had members who belonged to both institutions; they both met in the same rooms, had workers who were enthusiastic about both or “one common object in training up the children in the way they should go.”¹²³ He added that “what is wanted is that every Sunday School teacher and superintendent shall clearly recognize that he has a duty to perform towards the temperance work, even when for any reason he may be unable personally to take active part in it.”¹²⁴ Recommendations to teachers included keeping track of individual Sunday School children’s participation in the Band of Hope and examining their Band of Hope attendance cards; and giving parental consent to children who were not already Band of Hope members. Sunday School instructors were told that each lesson must be taught by one clear, graphic illustration. At least one, (but not more than three or four), texts should be learnt with each lesson, as children should have retained to memory “words which will live in the days when the stress and strain of

¹²¹ J.R. Diggle, “Temperance in the Schools,” in *Alcohol and Childhood: A Report of Two Conferences*, Church of England Temperance Society (Junior Division) (London: CETTS, 1891) 22.

¹²² C.A. Davis, *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers to the Band of Hope Movement* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894).

¹²³ H.F. Clarke, *The Sunday School in Relation to the Band of Hope* (London: Church of England Temperance Publication Depot, 1892) 3.

¹²⁴ Clarke, *Sunday School in Relation to the Band of Hope*, 4.

temptation will try him very hard.”¹²⁵ Clergy were encouraged to introduce temperance principles to Sunday School children who did not attend the Band of Hope and to promote the Band of Hope in Sunday School.¹²⁶

Charles Wakely encouraged greater cooperation between Sunday Schools and the Band of Hope. This support was sometimes lacking, he argues, because of a false idea that drinking in moderation was beneficial.¹²⁷ Yet the Band of Hope was promoted as a valuable auxiliary to the Sunday School, encouraging increased attendance in Sunday School of children who were already Band of Hope members. It also provided a place with religious influence to meet during the week, and not merely on Sundays.¹²⁸

Rev. C.A. Davis of Bradford took a tougher approach. “There exist in the land such gloomy buildings as prisons and reformatories. In their cells can be found forty thousand persons: *six out of seven* of these have been Sunday scholars!” To the question, “How did they get there?,” he answered that they did not pass directly from the Sunday School to the Prison; “they went through the public-house.”¹²⁹ The solution to this dramatic problem was twofold. It was the responsibility of fathers to provide a temperate example to their sons. Sunday School teachers should do the same. The second part of the solution would be to teach temperance lessons in Sunday Schools and to create closer ties between it and the Band of Hope, with the goal of creating new Band of Hope

¹²⁵ CETS leaflet No. 144, “How to make the scriptural syllabus interesting to children,” in “The Scriptural Syllabus: Elementary Lessons on the Bible and Temperance” based on the authorised Syllabus of Instruction by J. Johnson Baker condensed and arranged as a course of instruction for the children of Bands of Hope under 16 years of age by W. Taylor, 1-2.

¹²⁶ CETS leaflet No. 144, 2

¹²⁷ Wakely, *Bands of Hope and Sunday Schools*, 3.

¹²⁸ Wakely, *Bands of Hope and Sunday Schools*, 5-6.

¹²⁹ Davis, *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers*, 2-3.

societies attached to every Sunday School.¹³⁰ Using the example of his own church, Davis also maintained that the Band of Hope increased the spiritual power of the Sunday School, as five-sixths of the new members of the church were from the Band of Hope section of the schools.¹³¹ This claim coincides with evidence from other clergy members. In Charles Booth's survey of the 1890s, for example, a Presbyterian mission minister divulged that accessing young people through the Band of Hope was a strategy to ensure churches' more regular membership.¹³²

Some children were less likely to join the Band of Hope than others. In 1895 the CETS admitted that though "the children of the upper classes need as much enlightenment on the temperance question as the children of the masses," they had largely been neglected.¹³³ Put another way, children of the "educated classes" had been less inclined to join Bands of Hope than working-class children. According to the CETS, "The victims of intemperance are to be found among those who pride themselves on their ancestral relations and blue blood, just as among those, who occupy the humbler stations in society, for alcohol is no respecter of persons."¹³⁴ For the purposes of the Band of Hope, social class was unimportant in a crucial way – the goal was to involve as many children as possible in the movement. Yet a class-based organization, the Young Crusaders' Union was created by the CETS to encourage more upper-class participation (in connection with the CETS juvenile periodical of the same name). With a subscription

¹³⁰ Davis, *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers*, 2-3.

¹³¹ Davis, *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers*, 4.

¹³² Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971) 171.

¹³³ "CETS Work: The Band of Hope," *The Illustrated Temperance Monthly Of the Church of England Temperance Society. A Magazine for all Classes* (London: CETS), no. 60 (Oct. 1895): 225.

¹³⁴ "CETS Work: The Band of Hope," *Illustrated Temperance Monthly Of the Church of England Temperance Society*, no. 60 (Oct. 1895): 225.

fee of at least one shilling per year, it was more costly at the outset than regular Bands of Hope. Unlike the dual basis of the CETS for adults, the Young Crusaders' Union had a pledge of total abstinence from alcohol. The Band of Hope continued to have trouble attracting upper-class members throughout our period, though attempts were made to increase involvement through churches, Sunday schools, and with continuing attention to upper-class themes in Band of Hope periodicals.

There were also other difficulties facing the Band of Hope movement. One CETS worker, H.F. Clarke, admitted that it was difficult to retain Band of Hope members after they reached a certain age. There seemed to be an almost inevitable drifting away of members when they started to earn their own living. This was also the period when they were judged to be most at risk since they were newly exposed to various temptations. Starting around the age of 14 or 15, boys were of special concern in this regard and in need of "wise and continual supervision and guidance."¹³⁵ In order to keep older members, several strategies were recommended. Transfer papers for members who moved from one parish to another were one way to keep track of youth who might otherwise have drifted away from the movement. Older members were often given increased responsibilities as junior officers or as visitors to younger absentee members. Clubs for youths, and Church Lads' Brigade and Senior Bands of Hope also encouraged young people to stay within the Band of Hope movement. The management of the senior societies, in which the teaching was more advanced and the evening meeting times more suitable to young working people, was left much more to the members themselves,

¹³⁵ H.F. Clarke, *How to avoid Leakage between the Band of Hope and the Adult Society* (London: CETS, 1894) 3.

providing them with leadership opportunities for future adult temperance work.¹³⁶ This system of self-management was also set up for fear that young people would bristle under the authority of adult workers. That weekly meetings based on temperance only may become “tiresome,” and that “no Band of Hope will ever compete with the popular amusements and resorts of the day” were acknowledged.¹³⁷ In the tradition of informal self-education, readings and lectures of general interest were therefore to be presented on subjects like history, science, music, commerce and poetry. Letters from Senior Band of Hope workers show that all of these recommendations were implemented in individual societies.¹³⁸

Industrial Bands of Hope were set up in many locations as a way to attract older, mainly working-class, boys.¹³⁹ The CETS saw this as an effective way to keep them involved in the temperance movement with the aim of joining the adult society. The goal was to teach them practical skills while providing moral influences and teetotal principles. There was some debate whether this sort of more practical twin purpose should be permitted, as it could be seen to detract from the religious and moral messages of the movement. According to one Industrial Band of Hope leader, one more practical disadvantage of this organization was the bad behaviour of some of its (mostly male) members, especially with tools and hot glue. The most effective solution was judged to

¹³⁶ *The Band of Hope Manual: The Formation and Management of the Bands of Hope* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894) 27.

¹³⁷ *Band of Hope Manual*, 29.

¹³⁸ *Band of Hope Manual*, 34-36.

¹³⁹ H.T. James, *Industrial Bands of Hope* (London: CETS, 1891) 3-15.

be the keeping of a black book for misbehaving members to be excluded from free admission and charged a fee for the next Band of Hope entertainment.¹⁴⁰

The St. John's (Middleton) Band of Hope, or Juvenile Union, in connection with the Durham diocesan branch of the Church of England Temperance Society was provided by CETS organizers in the early 1890s as a model of an Industrial Band of Hope.

Founded in 1889, at the end of its first session there were 235 members and 28 teachers, about one fourth of the population of the district. At the start of the next session the membership was reduced to 107, as only members who were not in arrears and had not frequently misbehaved were readmitted.¹⁴¹ Boys had classes for learning joinery, fretwork, painting; girls had classes for various kinds of needlework. Spelling and geographical bees were also introduced. Members gave entertainment evenings for parents and friends with songs, instrumental pieces, and recitations, which "were rendered with much spirit."¹⁴² A sale of the members' handiwork resulted in £9 in proceeds. By the end of the 1890-91 session, this Band of Hope was out of debt (the startup costs had been considerable at £7, plus a sum nearing £5 for advances from shareholders). It also had a large stock of materials and tools and about £2 worth of unsold goods.¹⁴³

The United Kingdom Band of Hope Union provides one view of the movement as a whole. It was responsible for national lobbying and campaigns, providing expensive resources to local societies and publishing the main juvenile periodicals. Large regional

¹⁴⁰ James, *Industrial Bands of Hope*, 8 and 11.

¹⁴¹ James, *Industrial Bands of Hope*, 13.

¹⁴² "A letter to our Young Friends – An Industrial Band of Hope," *CETS Illustrated*, 1, n.s. (April, 1890): 41.

¹⁴³ James, *Industrial Bands of Hope*, 13-15.

unions, like the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, had similar functions. Yet since the movement was loosely associated and individual Unions and societies had much local control, examining a local Band of Hope Union and associated societies provides quite a different view. The Bradford Band of Hope Union began in 1851, with individual Bands founded as early as 1849. It was the first Band of Hope Union in the United Kingdom.¹⁴⁴ This Union was the organizational centre for the local Bands of Hope, and later had links to the much larger Yorkshire and United Kingdom Band of Hope Unions. It consisted of a 14 member (men only) executive committee, with annual elections. Candidates were chosen from the various local Bands of Hope; there were also about 50 delegates who attended each meeting. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, this Union had 163 societies, with 28,724 members; 8,250 of these members were over 16 years old. This was an active Union, with wide participation. In 1891-2, a profitable bazaar was held and the “Million More Scheme” adopted, because of which 7,607 home visits were made and 3,987 pledges secured.¹⁴⁵ In 1897, there were 2,700 Band of Hope workers in Bradford. In the same year 3,105 meetings were held, with a total average attendance per week of 11,286. The local agent spoke at 198 engagements, with a total attendance of 31,941. In addition, 135 voluntary speakers made visits to 1,623 meetings. Temperance Sunday was observed and 223 sermons were preached and 176 Sunday School addresses were made.¹⁴⁶

It is also revealing to examine the situation even more locally, at the level of individual societies. The Sion Band of Hope and Temperance Society, Harris St.

¹⁴⁴ Frederic Smith, ed., *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1897), 300.

¹⁴⁵ Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 301.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 301.

Bradford, was one of the original five societies which formed the Bradford Band of Hope Union. This is an example of a well-run and successful organization, which cooperated with other local societies.¹⁴⁷ All of its programs were planned well in advance. It often had festivals and competitions to attract new members and increase awareness in the local community. These events were usually reported in the local newspapers. For example, at its forty-fourth annual festival, held in the large schoolroom, on Good Friday, April 12, 1895, the society had Tea at 5 pm, (Adults 5d, Children 4d), which was incentive to attend the (free) meeting. After tea, there was an address by Mr. E. W. Pike, Agent of the Yorkshire Band of Hope Union. Attendance at the meeting was impressive at 400. At the Annual Festival on Good Friday, April 16th 1897, there was a Grand Concert, with a recitation of “What Can Children Do” by silver medal winner, J.W. Mason, and with songs, recitals and an address. The annual report and balance sheet were also presented.

Competitions were regularly held. In the junior Recitation Competitions each competitor had to render two pieces, one being taken from the “Prize Reciter.” The first prize, a sterling silver medal donated by the United Temperance Council Prize Committee in London was awarded to Master John Wilfred Mason, who in addition to the test piece, “What Can Children Do?” recited “A Story of An Apple.” The second prize went to Master Joe Squire for the test piece and “Little Roy” and the third prize was secured by Miss May Saul, for the test piece and “Incorrigible.”¹⁴⁸ The recorded attendance was of 120 members and the event details were published in the local

¹⁴⁷ For example, Sion and Greenfield Congregational Church cooperated and took charge of each other’s meetings.

¹⁴⁸ WYAS Bradford, Sion Band of Hope and Temperance Society, Harris St. Bradford, Programme Book from April 12, 1895 - Jan 31, 1906, 28D92 [Anonymous local news cutting, Wed. April 7, 1897].

newspaper. Sion's weekly meetings were generally well attended. On "Boys' Night," Nov. 16, 1904, the attendance was an impressive 250. At another meeting a few months later, with recitations on the theme of boyhood, there were 130 participants (see appendix I for the programs of these two meetings).¹⁴⁹ Lantern lectures seemed to be popular and attracted 250 members.¹⁵⁰

The Girlington Congregational Band of Hope was a younger organization, having joined the Bradford Union on Nov. 12, 1890. This organization had a rocky start. According to an organizer, D.B. Scott, "More workers, better entertainments, more enthusiasm and financial help and the Band of Hope Girlington will be as fine a society as any in Bradford."¹⁵¹ These represented diverse and challenging areas to improve, and the society suffered from a lack of interest by adult workers, declining juvenile membership and some "rough and unruly boys who were a source of great trouble and annoyance."¹⁵² The Report of the 1895-6 session puts a positive spin on low interest by highlighting the generally good attendance (average of 42), and good behaviour, considering the small number of adults at the meetings. The entertainments, though "much the same as usual" were lacking, and were blamed for poor order and attendance.¹⁵³ The January lantern entertainment was more successful. During the same session, only 6 out of 15 appointed speakers kept their appointments. The November Children's Social was more of a success, as 90 people attended, perhaps thanks to the

¹⁴⁹ Sion Band of Hope and Temperance Society Programme Book, Nov. 16, 1904; March 22, 1905.

¹⁵⁰ Sion Band of Hope and Temperance Society Programme Book, Jan 3. 1906

¹⁵¹ WYAS Bradford, Minute Book of Band of Hope Committee meetings for Girlington Congregational Church, WYB10/3/5/15-16, "Report of session, 1895-6."

¹⁵² Minute Book of Band of Hope Committee meetings for Girlington Congregational Church, "Report of session, 1895-6."

¹⁵³ Minute Book of Band of Hope Committee meetings for Girlington Congregational Church, "Report of session, 1895-6."

coffee and parkin served. There was, however, a net loss even at this relatively successful event. The conclusion of the organizer was that in the five years of its existence, this Band of Hope had not made any real improvements in membership numbers and finances and had suffered a decline in volunteers (from 28 to 8). Various changes were made, and by 1900, the Girdlington Band of Hope was in a stronger position. It had more organized and stable leadership (all members 16 years of age and older were members of the committee), a sound financial footing and better attendance by members at regular meetings (average attendance in the winter was 80, with the highest attendance being 115). There were also more events to attract new members: lantern lectures and entertainments, prizes for good attendance (oranges), annual summer excursions, and concerts. One concert, for example, held on Feb. 22, 1902, featured a ventriloquist, a blind pianist, dialogues and refreshments. It was well attended and even made a profit of 5s.7d. Girdlington also had a Sunday School and participated in large gatherings in Bradford like the “Jubilee of the Bradford Sunday School Union,” a celebration in Peel Park in July, 1901, at which 10,476 teachers and scholars marched.¹⁵⁴

St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church of England on Infirmary St. in Bradford started a Band of Hope in 1888. In the first year, it had 143 members, representing a moderately successful start.¹⁵⁵ The number of children who attended on a weekly basis, however, was significantly lower. In its second year, for example, its largest weekly attendance was 56, but the average was 32. In 1893-4, the total numbers were down to 114, but the average weekly attendance was up to 60 children. In 1901-2, there was a lack of interest

¹⁵⁴ WYAS Bradford, Programme of a Sunday School rally in Peel Park, in celebration of the Jubilee of the Bradford Sunday School Union, 1901, WYB10/3/5/16.

¹⁵⁵ This figure is around the estimated average for individual societies. See Smith, *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*, 222.

and the session closed at Christmas, but by 1907-8, the average attendance was back up to 52, and the organizers were reporting that, despite “many other counter attractions in the neighbouring district,” the interest for the Band of Hope was kept up, with the lantern shows an especially attractive feature of the meetings.”¹⁵⁶

In 1894, of the eighty-six schools of the Bradford Sunday School Union, twenty-six were without a Band of Hope, but vigorous attempts were made to rectify this situation.¹⁵⁷ The St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church Band of Hope was tied to the church Sunday School, but despite assumptions that the relationship of Sunday School and Band of Hope would be mutually beneficial, the Sunday School had declining attendance through the 1890s, to a low of less than 100 pupils. The only exception, remarkably, was the Young Men’s Class, which increased in numbers. A report stated that these meetings were well attended, and “much enjoyed and appreciated by all.”¹⁵⁸ The numbers for this group, though increasing, appear to have remained small, as in 1909-10, the Young Men’s Class’s membership increased from 23 to 27, with an average attendance of 16. Significantly, the linked 3rd Bradford Company Boys’ Brigade suffered a similar fate to the Sunday School and was reported to be suffering from a lack of interest and dwindling

¹⁵⁶ WYAS Bradford, Year Books 1864-1900, containing the annual reports and accounts of the Session, Management, Sunday School, Children's Service, Literary Society, Ladies Sewing Society, Band of Hope, and Women's Missionary Association, and list of communicants arranged in Elders' District, for St Andrew's Presbyterian (UR) Church, Bradford, WYB10/5/9/1; and WYAS Bradford, Year Books 1900-1910, containing the annual reports and accounts of the Session, Management, Sunday School, Ladies Sewing Society, Women's Missionary Society, Presbyterian Boys Brigade, Band of Hope, Literary Association, Church Choir, Dorcas Society, Young Women's Guild, Children's Guild, Young Men's Class, and list of communicants arranged in Elders' District, for St Andrew's Presbyterian (UR) Church, Bradford, WYB10/5/9/2.

¹⁵⁷ Davis, *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers*, 8.

¹⁵⁸ Year Books 1900-1910, St Andrew's Presbyterian (UR) Church, Bradford, 9.

numbers in 1903-4, with 35 boys on the roll. The report confidently stated that an investment in new uniforms and musical instruments would help enlarge the company.¹⁵⁹

The details listed in the local Band of Hope reports and minute books are perhaps inconsequential in themselves, but when understood in the context of the broader movement, they provide examples of the daily trials and successes of diverse local communities. They demonstrate that local churches and chapels of various denominations struggled to attract and maintain the interest of the youth in their areas, and attempted numerous strategies towards their goals. These goals were manifold, and already discussed in the context of the periodicals. For boys, manliness was a key word for these goals and included the shunning of vice, and the building of character and religiosity. Band of Hope workers approached their tasks with evangelical missionary zeal. In the words of Charles Wakely,

Let us bear in mind that we are not simply labouring for the present, but the future, not for this world only, but for eternity. Realising this, we shall be progressive and aggressive, striving to ever enlarge our borders, and letting no day pass without endeavouring to win over fresh recruits for the great army of abstinence, which by God's help, shall at length, through the children, become invincible and victorious.¹⁶⁰

Summary

Following from the discussion of the boyhood traits deemed necessary to produce good men in chapter 4, the first part of this chapter discussed the three-part version of manliness in juvenile and family papers. These included general ideals of (inward)

¹⁵⁹ Year Books 1900-1910, St Andrew's Presbyterian (UR) Church, Bradford, 11

¹⁶⁰ "Essentials in Band of Hope Meetings" by Charles Wakely (1891), 4. Minute Book of Band of Hope Committee meetings for Girlington Congregational Church.

manliness, practical (outward) manliness and the Christian underpinnings of this ideal. The second part of the chapter examined the various strategies the publishers used in order to ensure the correct reception of these teachings on manliness. Finally, the third part, on the Band of Hope movement, represented one way in which these messages and strategies were intertwined in the publications, the individual societies and the movement as a whole. The next chapter will question to what extent manliness, as presented in the papers, was domesticated: the relationship of boy to father; the development of boy into father; and the moral centrality of manliness in the home.

Playing House: Images of Marriage, Husbands and Wives for Children

It's very clear that all of us
 Good wives intend to be,
 And how we carry out our plans
 Some day I hope you'll see.
 And when folks look on our bright homes.
 And pleasant, healthy lives,
 They'll say 'tis plain that Temperance makes.
 Good husbands and good wives.¹

The above stanza is from a long recitation for eight girls called “Temperance Wives,” from the CETS paper, the *Young Crusader*, published in September 1898. This piece is an exemplar of Victorian social thought, emphasizing the “naturalness” and comfort of the ideology of separate spheres and of a gendered separation of labour. The pervasive view of contemporaries and of scholars is that “females were seen as ordained by God to be dutiful wives and mothers, guardians of the home and family.”² Though the family conjured up in the imagination of little girls reciting this piece is humble, it follows the aspirations of “middle-class” domesticity. The wife will make a pretty little house and her husband, when he comes home at night, will be proud. She will be neat and cook good meals. She will send the children to bed early so that she can sew and mend as her husband reads to her. They will be snug and happy. They will have a little garden, where her husband will like to go after work; he will never want to go to the pub. If the wife is kind and gentle, the husband will want to stay at home. In return for her contributions to

¹ “Temperance Wives,” *Young Crusader*, no. 70 (Sept. 1898): 68.

² P. Jalland, *Women, Marriage and Politics, 1860-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) 7.

their domestic bliss, she hopes that he will help her. This is the ideal picture of a companionate marriage, for little girls.

The above recitation, targeted at middle-class children, did more than to show the virtues of temperance in the working classes. It was intended to reinforce and confirm in the minds of its young readers “correct” gender relations in their future lives as men and women, no matter their social status. They were taught that they should not aspire to wealth for its own sake, but should seek a happy and comfortable home. It will be shown that these “middle-class” domestic values were far more pervasive than rigid class distinctions allow. Publications targeted at working-class audiences also provided this sort of image of domesticity, but framed in terms with which their readership could identify. This was no mere imposition of gender norms from above. Moreover, mainly middle-class papers also stressed domesticity as a goal for men, perhaps because of a perception that many middle-class men found the home a far less appealing prospect than in previous generations.³ In fact, often stories targeted at one class would feature characters from another class, thereby creating ambiguity in the directional flow of the messages among social classes. This was certainly due to wider readership aspirations of the publishers, but more importantly, also served to highlight the universality of the messages. The framework of “separate spheres” in gender relations was further complicated by an insistence on the importance of the role of the father within the family, not merely as a distant provider, but as the moral centre of the family. Manliness was thus linked, not to physical prowess, but to morality and domesticity.

³ See John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 170-194. Although this chapter explores an argument in contradistinction to that of Tosh in *A Man's Place*, it nevertheless owes a great deal to this work and to Tosh's corpus in general, since it has done more, perhaps, than anything else to establish the question of manliness in the domestic space as an important area of academic research.

Marriage was certainly a pervasive theme in the evangelical and temperance papers. Home life, and the roles of husbands and wives were part of a larger informal education in these periodicals on giving children what the editors deemed was the necessary moral framework to form good future citizens and parents. The examples provided in this chapter are interesting in their typicality in a large variety of late nineteenth-century writing, with their messages also echoed in popular advice literature of the time. It was the aim of these publications, not only to provide positive examples of domesticated manliness, but also to make manifest concealed immorality. An elision between fictional and non-fictional pieces occurs, whereby both were deemed effective in generating feeling in readers and provoking change by their plausible situations and their powerful messages. It will be shown that the Amalgamated Press' boys' papers also addressed the issue of fatherhood, although in a much less involved way. Its focus, at least in its editorial sections, was also on moral training and negotiating the vagaries of modernity. In the context of the consensus generated by the juvenile papers in all other areas, it is reasonable to see these moral discussions in the Amalgamated Press papers as part of a larger domestic framework, in which these young, mainly working-class adolescents would work hard in the spheres mentioned in the papers in order to be able to settle down eventually to a happy home life, as described in the "Temperance Wives" recitation.

As with the recitation, many authors encouraged children to do whatever they could – by their comportment and their actions - to make their homes a more welcoming place for fathers who might otherwise be tempted to stray away from home. For example, in one Band of Hope article, working-class girls were encouraged to gather flowers for

their homes. “If Band of Hope children would try to make their home prettier, and sweeter, and brighter, perhaps they could sometimes tempt their fathers to remain in them instead of seeking the false pleasures of the public-house.”⁴ In fact, children were themselves described as little flowers who give pleasure to all who knew them.⁵ This association of childhood with good, innocent things, as beacons of purity to adults around them, will also be discussed later in this chapter.

In other texts girls and women were encouraged to feel that, by their own example, they could influence men to behave responsibly. In a 1883 temperance story “Don’t Marry a Drunkard,” Susie’s aunt recommends that she not encourage a young man who is courting her, because he drinks moderately and is reported to swear while out of the presence of women. Susie thinks that her aunt is exaggerating and marries the man anyway. Eight children later, he is a drunkard and the entire family has dropped drastically in social status and is destitute. The narrator then asks, “Is this not a wretched picture? Yet hundreds of maidens are preparing for themselves a future as bad. There can be placed no dependence on the *manliness* of the man who drinks, or on his kindness and good nature.”⁶ By this sort of cautionary text, both women and men were instructed on what was required of them in marriage. Men who wanted the chance to attract a good woman should display manliness by being temperate and good; women should make sure that they were shrewd enough before marriage to select the right sort of man, one who

⁴ Outline Addresses, seasonable addresses by M.A. Paull, No. 6, Flower Gathering. – “For Whom We Gather,” *Band of Hope Chronicle*, June (1882): 84.

⁵ “For Whom We Gather,” 84.

⁶ Anon., “Don’t Marry a Drunkard,” *The Marylebone Band of Hope Monthly Visitor*. 2, no. 6 (1883): n.p. [Emphasis mine].

would be trustworthy and responsible. It was crucial that men understand before marriage what it meant to be manly.

In another story, “A Deliberate Choice,”⁷ this one in the 1893 *Leisure Hour*, author Anne Fellowes presents a young woman who must choose between a model of a ‘good’ man and that of a ‘bad’ man. Violet is fond of her cousin George, who is learned, kind and honest, but when he offers her marriage, she refuses him in favour of a rich man with a good position and family. Violet’s choice, Lord Monmouth, has a vile temper, and she is miserable in married life. She comes to her cousin for advice, wanting to leave her new husband, but he counsels her to do her duty and stay with her husband. She does so, but is never happy, and clearly misses the “dear old days”⁸ with her cousin. The moral of the story is that she should have considered the inner qualities of the man she was to marry, rather than superficial considerations of position and wealth and a “love of pleasure.”⁹

Yet the story also demonstrates that real manliness is outwardly apparent, as it compares the two men who vie for Violet’s affection.

Lord Monmouth had a handsome face, with strongly marked features. His figure was short and ill-made. Despite his good looks, his appearance was unprepossessing. There was a look of evil temper in the heavy eyebrows and in the clear-cut thin lips. George and he made a curious contrast. George Petre was tall and spare, his features irregular but refined. The whole charm of the face lay in the deep-set, melancholy blue eyes, and in the smile that but rarely lit up and transfigured his countenance.¹⁰

⁷ Anne Fellowes, “A Deliberate Choice,” *Leisure Hour* (1893): 124-128.

⁸ Fellowes, “A Deliberate Choice,” 127.

⁹ Fellowes, “A Deliberate Choice,” 126.

¹⁰ Fellowes, “A Deliberate Choice,” 126.

This description implies that Violet would have been able to tell by appearance who was actually the more manly man, and thus who would have made the better husband, had she not been blinded by her own greed. George, though perhaps not handsome, was refined and his sincerity was apparent on his face: he smiled rarely, but when he did it was sincere; his eyes portrayed his depth of emotion, not his gestures or his speech. By contrast, Lord Monmouth was all talk and artifice, and thus not really manly.¹¹ By this time it would have been clear to readers that the best and most successful men were silent and awkward in company (unlike women, who were described as full of chit-chat).¹²

Women had responsibilities in addition to judging the character of their future husbands. Papers for girls, like the RTS' the *Girl's Own Paper*, argued in this period that though women were gaining greater educational and professional advantages outside the home, they should remember what were their core duties. The following exchange between father and daughter makes this clear:

Daughter (home from school): 'Now, father, are you satisfied? Just look at my testimonial. Political economy, satisfactory; fine art and music, very good; logic, excellent!'

Father: 'Very much so, my dear, especially as regards your future. If your husband should understand anything of housekeeping, cooking, mending and the use of a sewing machine, your married life will indeed be happy.'¹³

¹¹ See M. Cohen, "Manliness, effeminacy and the French: gender and the construction of national character in eighteenth-century England," in *English Masculinities 1660-1800*, eds., Tim Hitchcock & Michèle Cohen (London and New York: Longman, 1999). Cohen charts an important transition from masculine politeness to sincerity.

¹² J. Mason, "Silent Men," *Leisure Hour* (1889): 48-51.

¹³ Author of How to be Happy Though Married, "Between School and Marriage," *Girl's Own Paper*, 7, no. 4 (September 1886): 770.

In these texts, women were certainly instructed that their proper place was in the home. They read in great detail about how to take care of their households. Yet this was the physical care required of a manager of servants: the emotional care of their families was of lesser concern. That said, women were taught that they must be responsible for their husbands' happiness and wellbeing. Unhappy husbands could often be blamed on undutiful wives. The same could be said of husbands who strayed from home. A socialist paper, the *Yorkshire Factory Times*, gave the following advice to wives:

Unless a man is really depraved and heartless, any woman of tact can keep her husband at home if she wishes to do so. Make him feel each time he enters the home that his presence is really desired, and show him that his comfort and happiness are the business of your life. Make the home itself as bright and attractive as possible, and pay particular attention to your own personal appearance. Don't worry your husband with domestic troubles if you can help it; but if this is absolutely necessary, keep them till he has had his meal.¹⁴

This sort of advice for wives is not a great revelation to scholars; more surprising were the lessons for boys and men concerning their domestic roles. The "good husband," despite the focus of the "Temperance Wives" recitation, implied far more than simply being temperate.

Many Religious Tract Society stories emphasize the earthly father's role in influencing his children's moral behaviour. Religious themes are emphasised to uphold and strengthen the position of the father in the family, and consequently, of the family itself. One serial story will be examined in detail, as it echoes many of the themes surrounding traditional Evangelical views on fatherhood and its ties to religion as well as the deemed displacement of women from the moral centre of the household in favour of

¹⁴ "Woman Our Angel," *The Yorkshire Factory Times*, Oct 6 (1899): 2.

the morally strong father. “Kathleen: The Story of a Home” by Agnes Giberne, in the 1882 Annual of the *Sunday at Home*, is a tale about overcoming damaging personal emotions and obeying God’s will. This story provides a clear example of what an adequate male centre of the family should look like, while juxtaposing this ideal father with an example of a real, but inadequate father. Inadequate female replacements and surrogate fathers also figure prominently in this, as in many other RTS stories.

Mrs. Joliffe, the mother and centre of her family, is dying of consumption and is preoccupied with ensuring her replacement before her death. She tries to mould her slightly immature daughter Kathleen into the kind of woman who could become the moral centre of the family: “I have to prepare her for the life which lies before her, after I am gone,” she said. “Everything will rest upon her, and she is only a child.”¹⁵ Mrs. Joliffe worries that Kathleen “would have no one to run to, in the thousand and one perplexities of daily life,” noting that her husband “could not be troubled” with such things. “He will lean upon [Kathleen] then, as he leans upon me now,” she said, resolving that “I must do what I can to prepare her.”¹⁶ Kathleen is mistakenly set up as the new mother figure and moral guide of the family. In the end, however, the daughter neglects her other familial duties in order to focus entirely on her father, and proves to be an inadequate replacement for her mother.

The father has an important role in this story, before and after his wife’s death. This is not expressed in the centrality of his own moral example, but rather in his selection of a morally strong wife who could become the centre of the family and later in his determined search to find an adequate replacement for his deceased wife. Thus, this

¹⁵ Agnes Giberne, “Kathleen: The Story of a Home,” *The Sunday at Home Annual* (1882): 194.

¹⁶ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 195.

father's responsibility is not to be the central moral and religious figure of the family, but to ensure that there is a female figure who can adequately fulfil that role, although it is clear that it would have been preferable to take on this role himself. Mr. Joliffe is indeed a clear example of an inadequate father. He grows increasingly dependent on his daughter. Though physically strong, he is portrayed as not really up to the task of parenting and is certainly an insufficient moral guide to his children:

A fine-looking man, six feet three in height, and of ample proportionate breadth and stoutness, he certainly gave strangers the impression that he was made to stand alone; but his wife and daughter knew well that this was the last thing he ever thought of doing. Whether weakness of decision or craving for sympathy lay under the characteristic, neither troubled herself to inquire – enough that he always did need companionship, and that what he required had to be given.¹⁷

Here true manliness is defined by mental and moral strength and not by physical prowess.

When in a family crisis, Kathleen relies not on her own father but on male family friends who act as surrogate fathers. She wishes her cousin, Kenison Montgomerie, to step in and act for her family since her father is “quite unnerved and bewildered, and I can ask him nothing”¹⁸ and he “seems to have no energy to act.”¹⁹ She knows that she will have to be her father's support, not he hers; that she will have to care for him, not he for her; that she cannot hope to lean upon him, but must expect him to lean upon her. Kathleen observes that with men like her cousin, Dr. Ritchie, her doctor, and Mr. Corrie, her future husband, “she knew that there would be in an hour of need the sense of rest on

¹⁷ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 197.

¹⁸ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 283.

¹⁹ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 284.

her part and of upholding on theirs, - a sense dear to the heart of every true woman. But with father, much as she loved him, she knew well it would not be so. She would have to be strong, for he would be weak.”²⁰ Yet as Kathleen is not “strong” enough on her own, she needs the assistance of surrogate fathers to compensate for her father’s inadequacies.

At the end of the story, everything is as it should be. Mr. Joliffe has found a competent replacement for his deceased wife. Kathleen no longer sees the new Mrs. Joliffe as a rival for her father’s affections, but rather as occupying her rightful place as centre of the family and as moral guide. Although the new Mrs. Joliffe is not a lady by birth, her strong religious faith makes her suitable to lead the more refined Joliffe family. Mr. Joliffe is attracted to her primarily for her gentleness and kindness, and not for her refinement, which is sometimes lacking. Mr. Joliffe, despite his faults, is portrayed as a good father because he selects a strong woman who is capable of becoming an effective new centre of the family.

True religious faith is a central theme of “Kathleen: The Story of a Home,” yet here again, Mr. Joliffe is lacking. He is too self-centred to care for others beyond himself. As his wife says, “he is always ready for any kindness”²¹ that his wife or daughter would plan, but he did not spread any kindness himself. Kathleen’s mother says to her, “when great trouble comes to you, the great comfort will be yours, of a loving Master close at hand to bear you up.”²² The narrator explains that Kathleen’s strength in upholding her family, especially her father, through the extremely difficult time after her mother’s death, was a “calm and soft pervading sense that God loved her, that a Father’s arm was

²⁰ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 306.

²¹ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 194.

²² Giberne, “Kathleen,” 198.

around her, that all would be well.”²³ It was not her earthly father’s arm, of course, but that of her Father in Heaven, who, along with some surrogate father figures, would support her through her trials. It was a faith in God and a reliance upon Him that directed all characters, not just Kathleen, on the path of self-sacrifice and love. By providing a negative example of an inadequate father, this story and many others like it would have instructed husbands and fathers on how to conduct themselves; women and girls on what to expect from men; and boys on how to model themselves.

Women were not always seen as a positive force in the home, like Kathleen’s mother, taking on the moral roles their husbands could not or would not perform. In some texts women were held directly responsible for husbands’ failings.

Women are often so capricious, so exacting, so tactless in their treatment of the man they have married that they drive him into ways and habits which, although in themselves wrong, are in reality the outcome of the wife’s conduct. Thus things gradually go from bad to worse, and the happiness of two lives is ruined, all perhaps for want of a little tact in the first place on the part of the woman.²⁴

In articles such as this one, from the RTS’ paper for girls, wives are to blame for their husbands’ misdeeds. The author goes on to sum up why this is so: “He is the master, the head of his household; his word is, or should be law, and the wife’s duty is to submit and carry out his will.”²⁵ In this understanding of gender relations, husbands and fathers should not only be the final authority, but also the strongest moral influence. Mothers, on the other hand, were displaced from this moral centre.

²³ Giberne, “Kathleen,” 244.

²⁴ Countess de Boerio, “Some Marriage Thorns and How to Avoid Them,” *Girl’s Own Paper*, 14 (1893): 659.

²⁵ Boerio, “Some Marriage Thorns,” 659.

The Moral Man is the Family Man

One of the most well-known images of Evangelical fatherhood is the grim tale of a stern and strictly religious father and his stifled son recounted by Edmund Gosse in his *Father and Son* (1907). But this does not provide us with the complete image of evangelical parenting which historians usually, and misleadingly, draw from this kind of source. Religious Tract Society writings provide us with a different, richer picture. For RTS authors, tenderness and familial love were within the reach of the late-Victorian male. John Gillis' phrase, "a worldly stranger to domestic life," encapsulates the assumed marginality of the father, with the increasing distinction between home and work.²⁶ Yet, discursively, manhood and fatherhood were still inseparable constructions. In fact, domesticity could be the principal test of character for men, as one author declared: "When a married man, a husband, or a father, is fond of spending his evenings abroad, it implies something bad, and it predicts something worse... Home is the test of character."²⁷ According to popular advice writer, Sylvanus Stall, "if the husband has the true father-spirit, the privilege of frequently remaining at home to spend the evening with his children will afford more pleasure and more profit than could be secured elsewhere."²⁸ Domesticity and fatherhood were thought to be the greatest goal for men. They were also their greatest responsibility: "What his home is, what his children are to become, will depend as much, and possibly more, upon what he is and does," than what

²⁶ J.R. Gillis, "Gender and Fertility Decline Among the British Middle Classes," in *The European Experience of Declining Fertility*, eds., J.R. Gillis, L.A. Tilly and D. Levine (Blackwell: Oxford, 1992) 43.

²⁷ J.W. Kirton (1897[1870]) *Happy Homes and How to Make Them; or, Counsels on Love, Courtship and Marriage*. (London: John Kempster & Co) p. 88.

²⁸ Sylvanus Stall, *What a Young Husband Ought to Know* (London: Vir Publishing Co., 1897) 58. For more on Stall, see chapter 3.

his wife is and does.²⁹ In an era acutely concerned with the next generation, the idea that a man's children's future depended on his actions would have seemed serious indeed. His actions would of course also determine his own happiness.

According to one 1882 article in *Onward*, the Manchester Band of Hope paper, "a young man's highest ambition should be the establishment and maintenance of such a home, which shall be the reservoir of his best life, and a perennial fountain of joy" and therefore this young man should "scorn to bring to his [future] wife, a heart that has flirted with a dozen girls, or a body impure from evil thoughts and practices."³⁰ Once married, this advice still applied. In 1904, the *Sunday at Home* published counsel along similar lines from the Archdeacon of London, William Macdonald Sinclair: "Do not let your own affections wander and stray in a series of vain sentimentalisms. The wife who is neglected, slighted, or coldly treated, is just as unhappy as if the law permitted her rival to be installed in the family circle."³¹ Young men were to prepare themselves for their future roles as husbands and fathers by leading chaste and temperate lives while still young. The idea that a young man's wife was somewhere out there to be found was to be a stimulus for him to eschew temptation and "to attain all that is worthy and complete in a perfect manhood."³² For many, marriage was seen as the culmination of youthful efforts to succeed in life, financially and morally.

This view of the importance of domesticated men is in line with much contemporary thinking. J.W. Kirton, for example, in his *Happy Homes and How to Make*

²⁹ Stall, *What a Young Husband Ought to Know*, 262.

³⁰ H.S. Thompson, "Home and the Choice of a Wife: to Young Men," *Onward*, 17 (1882): 127.

³¹ "True Family Life the Gift of Christ," *Sunday at Home* (London: RTS, 1903-04) 56.

³² "True Family Life the Gift of Christ," 56.

Them, appeals to young husbands to make themselves useful at home and if there are any children, to play with them, “for without any loss of dignity you can now and then rock the cradle or nurse the baby, and in this way share the burden of the house with your wife.”³³ Another commentator opined that “It is not only the privilege, but the honor of the father to be found enjoying the pleasure and satisfaction of holding and caring for his children.”³⁴ Yet far more important than taking care of the physical needs of the children, the father was supposed to instruct his children in their moral and spiritual lives.

Men were taught that though providing for their family’s material needs was an essential role, it was not a sufficient one. They should also be morally good, in order to provide a positive example for their families. One article condemned the modern trend of seeing wealth as a main life goal. Young men “toil on the belief that no one can be fairly said to have ‘risen’ unless his pockets are well filled.”³⁵ Monetary wealth was certainly secondary to moral health. Belief in God was the real way to ‘rise’ and become a man. Men who were deceived into worldly pursuits only might rise in wealth, but would most certainly ‘fall’ when judged in substantial, moral ways. A man’s piety was important for his own moral health, and that of his entire family.

Readers were shown that fathers must be especially Christ-like with their progeny. In “A Search for a Wayward Son,” one evening a young man came home very late and very drunk. His father, disgusted by his son’s behaviour, threw him out of the house, but then repented and blamed himself for his son’s unmanly conduct. The father then went out searching for his wayward son, and said to him “My dear boy, I want you

³³ Kirton, *Happy Homes*, 104.

³⁴ Stall, *What a Young Husband Ought to Know*, 260.

³⁵ H. Jones, “The Man who Rises, and the Man who Falls,” *Leisure Hour* (1886): 166.

to forgive me; I've never prayed for you; I've never lifted my heart to God for you; I've been the means of leading you astray, and I want your forgiveness."³⁶ Men were taught that they should be patient and loving in the home, and be good moral examples for their children.

Some fathers were portrayed as being on the road to failing the principal test of character that domesticity wrought. In "Bob Hilmore's Escape," the main character is a working-class father and a drunkard.³⁷ His two children, Jenny and Hal, went to find their father in the pub. "For a moment the father's heart went out in love towards the pale face [Hal], and he longed to clasp the child to his breast." He was, however, embarrassed in front of his drinking partners and instead yelled at Hal, who staggered back and fell on the floor. The father had held back his fatherly instincts, the reader is led to think, because of his drinking habit and because of the bad associates this brought as a consequence. The father was sorry and no longer afraid of his companions, and carried his son home. Then came the real moment of crisis, or awakening, which drove Bob to change his life. As he sat intensely thinking, in a drunken state, he accidentally dragged off the table cloth and with it the paraffin lamp. This started a mighty blaze. Bob, "sobered at last by the terrible danger to which his little ones were exposed," saved them and his wife from the fire. He later recalled "how his drinking had nearly robbed him of those he held most dear." The end of the story was a happy one for Bob and his family as he became a total abstainer, and succeeded in leading many men like him to follow his example. In its family publication, the CETS provided models for "flawed" fathers to

³⁶ Anon., "A Search for a Wayward Son," *The Marylebone Band of Hope Monthly Visitor*, 1, no. 3 (1881): n.p.

³⁷ "Bob Hilmore's Escape," *CETS Illustrated*, Aug (1890), p. 89.

follow, perhaps those with which many readers could identify. Though the road for Bob was not smooth, in the end, he became a good model for his children.

The importance of fathers was made most clear in the role they should play in their sons' moral development, as mothers' dominance in the home would have disastrous consequences to their sons' manhood. The last three stanzas of a recitation called "Following Father" in the Church of England Temperance Society's *Young Crusader*, illustrate this point. A six year old boy followed his father's footsteps in deep snow in order to tend the sheep with him. When the pair came home, tired but happy, the moral import of this kind of father-son activity became apparent:

The mother looked up in the father's face,
And a thoughtful look was there,
Jack's words had gone like a lightning flash
To the hearts of the loving pair –
"If Jack treads in my steps, then day by day
How carefully I must choose my way!"

"For the child will do as the father does,
And the track I leave behind,
If it be firm, and clear, and straight,
The feet of my son will find.
He will walk in his father's steps and say,
'I am right, for this was my father's way.'"

Oh, fathers leading in life's hard road,
Be sure of the steps you take,
That the sons you have when grey-haired men
Will tread in them still for your sake.
And with loving words to *their* sons will say,
"We tread in our father's steps to-day."³⁸

³⁸ Anon., "Recitation – Following Father," *Young Crusader*, July (1892): 67.

This meant that the father must provide a positive moral example for his son. He should be careful not to develop vices, should be religious, thoughtful of his wife and a good provider for his family. He has a special responsibility towards his sons since it was believed that they would follow in his example, good or bad. The mother in this poem is typical in her loving and supportive, but peripheral, role. In a comforting way, there is a strong sense of the continuity of generations here. Not only is it assumed that this son will get married and have children of his own, thereby passing on his father's name, but he will also pass on his father's traits as well. This is the nub of the matter for many such authors and what makes these sorts of lessons imperative.

The *Young Crusader* targeted middle-class boys, but often with working-class themes, perhaps to demonstrate the universality of the lessons and to encourage a broader readership.³⁹ As this was directed at youth, it would have served to emphasise a message of paternal moral responsibility to readers without children. It was to stress future thought and action, not to take seriously present responsibility. This went along with a prevalent belief that it was better to educate boys to become conscientious before they become adults, rather than admonish men who were perhaps not taking their moral responsibilities to their children seriously enough.

The RTS's widespread publications, the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*, taught readers on how to have a moral and religious home, one that would bring harmony and create a fitting environment for the raising of children. They continually emphasised the central spiritual role the father should have in the family. The wife had to replace the husband when needed, but she was not the preferred moral centre of the home. From its

³⁹ Although the *Young Crusader* was targeted at middle-class boys, the CETs and other branches of the Band of Hope had difficulty recruiting above the working classes (see chapter 2).

inception in 1799, the RTS' view of the father's central role within the family remained constant, yet in its early period, the RTS' portrayal of fatherhood took for granted that fathers would impart moral and religious teachings to their children and undertake their spiritual guidance. Examples of such publications are *A Present for the Young* (1828) and the *Boy's Week-day Book* (1836) and the periodical *Child's Companion or Sunday Scholar's Reward*, in addition to early issues of the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this role could no longer be taken for granted.

In RTS stories, the traditional evangelical connection between the father and the Father is made clear. The father receives his authority over his family from God, but God is the ultimate Father, ready to fill in for the earthly father when he fails to meet his moral responsibilities to his family. When adequately performing his role, the earthly father is, however, held to be a direct and essential moral force in the family, whose influence over his children is significant. Other stories show the negative effects on children of a father who does not live up to the evangelical ideal and is not an adequate moral guide for his children. As many of these stories mirrored the lives of the (mainly middle-class) readers and of their social superiors and reflected men's changing roles, fathers who always took the moral lead in the family were less frequent toward the end of the century, making apparent RTS authors' worry that late nineteenth-century fathers were not living up to their duties. It was shown to be especially important for young men to have a strong role model and guide in their fathers. The young man in each story is led away from the family by immoral and worldly influences, only to return to the family in the end, redemptively, through the memory of the father's influence.

As in earlier generations, fatherhood was *still* an essential part of manhood for these authors. The Religious Tract Society, from its founding, made clear that fathers were the moral and educational centre of the family. By the 1880s, however, members of the Society perceived a need to reinforce traditional evangelical values and began more actively to defend paternal authority both explicitly and implicitly within the fictional and non-fictional content of its publications. In RTS family stories, young men return from abroad to be with family or to start their own. They are not usually engaged in long-term homosocial activities, at the expense of their interactions with women and children. Furthermore, on the first page of almost every story in which the central character is a boy, the formula is a description of the child, then a description of the father and his occupation. Thus the father invariably figures prominently in these stories. Yet his central importance is not always due to the positive effects of his presence within the family. It is often his physical or emotional absence that marks his relationship with his son and the rest of his family. A trinity of fatherhood is present in these papers: the heavenly father, the surrogate father and the earthly father.

The Heavenly Father

God, the heavenly Father, is ever present in the RTS' the *Leisure Hour*, the *Sunday at Home* and the *Boy's Own Paper*. The term, "The Fatherhood of God,"⁴⁰ often repeated in RTS publications, is an important signifier of the close ties between God and the earthly father. In many RTS stories, this tie is so strong that Father and father are used interchangeably. While stories featuring imperial masculinity were common, there was

⁴⁰ *Sunday at Home* (1880): 508-509

also a reaction against this in favour of evangelical manhood. One stanza of the poem, “The Little Boy’s Faith in God,” is telling:

“Our Father,” sir, the prayer begins,
Which makes me think that he,
As we have no kind father here,
Would our kind father be.⁴¹

This poem, from a paper with a mainly middle-class readership, describes the total faith in God of a poor six-year-old boy, one of four children of a widow who could not find her family enough bread to eat. The boy says the Lord’s Prayer with complete faith that God will provide their daily bread, when their mother could not, in the absence of an earthly father to provide for all of them. In this case, not only does the Father replace the father as moral and educational head of the family, but, by the end of the poem, the author also indicates that the boy rightly expects Him, at least figuratively, to take on the breadwinner role of the family.

There are many other examples of stories in which the heavenly Father substitutes for the earthly father. “A Discontented Boy”⁴² is one of many stories in which the father is physically absent. Herber Letter had been close to his father before his death. They had shared a love of books. His mother could not have become his moral and educational centre because, too weak to sustain herself and her son, she died shortly after his father. Herber is not fortunate enough to find an adequate surrogate father, and he is portrayed as a sad, “discontented boy” because of it. He is adopted by his uncle, a man who does not share Herber’s intellectual interests or his spirituality.

⁴¹ “The Little Boy’s Faith in God,” *Sunday at Home* (1854): 176

⁴² “A Discontented Boy,” *Sunday at Home* (1887): 638-672

Although Herber's new home takes care of his physical needs, his spiritual and emotional needs are unmet. His direct relationship with God fills his spiritual void, as the Father replaces the father. Though persecuted by his uncle's family, Herber perseveres in his intellectual and spiritual pursuits and finally develops a true relationship with God. He is no longer a "discontented boy" and declares, "I feel as if I could hunger no more, nor thirst any more, because I have found Jesus."⁴³ While in this story Father and father are not entirely interchangeable concepts, God becomes a more than adequate fatherly figure for Herber when no earthly substitute for his father is available.

The Surrogate Father as Replacement for the Absent Father

Evangelicals associated with the Religious Tract Society saw fathers as central to familial piety, while mothers acted only as inadequate replacements for absent fathers.⁴⁴ Due to the perceived increasing complexity of *fin-de-siècle* society and, more specifically, in response to men's assumed neglect of the family and preoccupation with imperial adventures and homosocial activities, the absent or dead father became a new and recurring theme in the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home* in the early 1880s. The central importance of the father in the family required that the absent father be replaced by a male surrogate, as the moral head of the family, filling the traditional evangelical father's role. The father's absence invariably has a profound impact on the family. Perhaps this was a convenient way for the RTS to address the problem of male absence in the home, without appearing unpatriotic by criticizing men whose imperial duties

⁴³ "A Discontented Boy," 672.

⁴⁴ J. Tosh discusses the "absent father" in "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England," *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 48-64. His categorization includes only emotionally absent fathers. I would like to enlarge this to include physically absent fathers.

increasingly called them away from home. The RTS, with its many missionary activities throughout the world, trod a fine line between seeking to strengthen traditional family values at home, while encouraging activities in the Empire. Examining a few RTS stories in detail will help explicate its preoccupations and its strategies.

In some stories, the focus is on the absent father and the negative consequences for children connected with that absence. “The Old Man’s Will,” in the 1883 annual of the *Leisure Hour*, is a variation on the absent father theme.⁴⁵ Etta’s father died in India while she was a little girl. Her mother, wanting to secure her daughter’s future, returns to her place of origin and marries Mr. Rivers, a man with considerable agricultural land. Etta’s mother dies shortly after, leaving Etta in the care of her stepfather. Mr. Rivers resents having this burden and especially regrets his promise to Etta’s mother that Etta would inherit his ancestral home, at the expense of his nephew’s inheritance.

Though he wishes to assert himself as master over Etta, he does not play at all a fatherly role toward the young woman. She is not seen as a mature woman since she is not positioning herself for marriage and is not self-sacrificing, but rather wilful and independent. Since her own father died, she lacks any sort of father figure, a deficiency that is shown to be at least partly responsible for her character defects. As Etta becomes increasingly self-willed and disobedient, Mr. Rivers grows more “cross and surly, and once even threatened her with his riding-whip.”⁴⁶ Only after Etta becomes deathly ill does Mr. Rivers develop a more fatherly attachment. “Etta’s illness seemed to have a softening effect upon Mr. Rivers also, judging by his anxiety respecting her. As she grew worse his anger abated: twice a day if not oftener, he demanded a report of her

⁴⁵ “The Old Man’s Will,” *Leisure Hour* (1883): 1.

⁴⁶ “The Old Man’s Will,” 4.

condition.”⁴⁷ Unfortunately, Mr. Rivers dies before they could develop a full father-daughter relationship. Though he becomes warmer toward Etta immediately before his death, it is rather convenient to the plot that, unable really to change, he dies. The implication here is that if he had been a better father he would also have been a better man.

Their strained relationship highlights Etta’s need for a surrogate father who will morally guide her and mould her into a woman with traditional evangelical values. While Etta is eventually taught to be less wilful and independent, the message of the story is that marriage is the key to her happiness and fulfilment. The RTS clearly wants to demonstrate that evangelical values bring harmony and contentment for women and for men, as Etta finally embraces her new role as a traditional wife.

Mr. Reade, the vicar, is, in one sense, the only father figure in Etta’s life, as he is the only one to provide her with religious and moral guidance. “His judicious teaching, his tender sympathy, and, above all, his personal character, exercised an undeniable influence over her.”⁴⁸ It is his moral example, as much as his direct teachings, which contribute to his fatherly status toward her. Demonstrating the crucial link between the earthly or surrogate father and the heavenly Father, he also reminds her of her relationship with God. He asks her, “what place has God in your future plans? Has He the principal part—has He any plans, or is He left out of the life He has given you—is it to be lived for yourself alone and for what pleases and interests you, or what pleases

⁴⁷ “The Old Man’s Will,” 323.

⁴⁸ “The Old Man’s Will,” 327.

Him?”⁴⁹ Mr. Nash, the lawyer, also treats Etta “with almost paternal tenderness.”⁵⁰

These, however, are not entirely adequate fatherly substitutes for the girl.

Etta finds a replacement for her father in Mr. Rivers’ nephew, whom she finally agrees to marry after much cajoling by Mr. Reade. He is very clear in his approval of the young man and declares, “My dear, I would wish no better lot for a daughter of my own if I had one. Mr. Ernest Rivers is a man to whom any father might willingly consign his child.”⁵¹ Thus, all of Etta’s problems are solved. She and Ernest Rivers can share the inheritance and land bequeathed by Mr. Rivers. More importantly, she finally is influenced by fatherly moral authority to control her childish and impetuous nature and reveal the worthy woman within. Etta is moulded into a traditional wife, while her husband is the undisputed head of the family. This story thus provides a moral template for both men and women who might stray from traditional evangelical familial roles.

In many other stories, the centrality of the father is emphasized by the need for a surrogate father to replace the absent father. The surrogate father then becomes the moral head of the family, filling the traditional evangelical role of the father. “Barbara’s Brothers,” in the 1887 annual of the *Sunday at Home*, provides an important example of an absent father.⁵² This story bridges the categories of earthly father and surrogate father, as the son becomes an effective replacement for the father and fully takes on the role of the earthly father. Here we clearly see the centrality of the father figure to the family, whether biological or surrogate. Beginning a promising career in London, Wulfric is a

⁴⁹ “The Old Man’s Will,” 11.

⁵⁰ “The Old Man’s Will,” 390.

⁵¹ “The Old Man’s Will,” 265.

⁵² “Barbara’s Brothers,” *Sunday at Home* (1887): 1.

medical doctor like his father, Dr. Meynal, and *his* father before him. After his father's death, Wulfric is obliged to sacrifice his own plans to take on his father's country practice and support his mother and siblings. He tries to replace his father in many ways, becoming the moral head of the family. Wulfric is in a position to replace his father because he had all the qualities of a "good man." He does not need any female replacement to provide the family's moral authority. He must endure his difficult and demanding mother. He ensures his sisters' virtue and facilitates their marriages. Most importantly, he must deal with his wayward brother Gerald, who has fallen into a life of dissipation and idleness and has succumbed to many *fin-de-siècle* temptations.

In this story it is quite apparent that the characters who are successful in worldly ways are those who have strong and true spiritual convictions and "traditional" domestic Christian values. The two Meynal brothers could not be more dissimilar. While Wulfric is taking care of his family's every material and spiritual need, Gerald is being led astray by nefarious worldly influences, which almost cause his demise. It is Wulfric, in true fatherly form, who rescues Gerald from his destructive ways and leads him back to his family. The ending is a happy one: Gerald learns that traditional domestic values, good morals and hard work lead to happiness, and he settles down and gets married. He and his wife move into the Meynal family home to take care of his demanding mother, liberating Wulfric from his familial obligations.

"In Father's Place," from the "Pages for the Young" section of the 1883 *Sunday at Home*, is the epitome of the surrogate father story. Young Will is "a grave lad of seventeen" who promised to be "a father to his fatherless sisters."⁵³ His father's sister

⁵³ "In Father's Place," *Sunday at Home* (1883): 143.

tells Will that he is “practising a great self-denial” and that all depends upon him. Her advice is to “be strong and of good courage, resting on your father’s God, who will help you through all difficulties.”⁵⁴ As a surrogate, Will fulfils his duties “in the father’s place” and in return is “to be loved and honoured as the father was.”⁵⁵ He manages to support his mother and siblings under difficult financial and emotional circumstances as they are obliged to leave their home after the father’s death, only to return to the manse when Will eventually takes his father’s place as minister of his native parish.⁵⁶ He thus replaces his father in both his public and private capacities, subsuming his personal desires and his youth to the needs of his family.

The Earthly Father

Many other stories carry strong messages of the importance of the father’s moral and emotional role in the family. “Idonea”⁵⁷ is a serial story in which the father occupies a prominent place, though he is deceased even at the beginning of the story. Idonea’s father had been a pastor. She had been educated by her highly accomplished mother, but trained by her father, “a hardworking, exemplary country clergyman.”⁵⁸ Her father was a model parent. She learned common sense from him and was taught “humility and the beauty of holiness by the paternal [voice].”⁵⁹ Unfortunately for the family’s financial situation and for his children’s moral formation, Idonea’s father died when she was fifteen. It is a great

⁵⁴ “In Father’s Place,” 144.

⁵⁵ “In Father’s Place,” 160.

⁵⁶ “In Father’s Place,” 206.

⁵⁷ “Idonea,” *Leisure Hour* (1880): 417.

⁵⁸ “Idonea,” 433.

⁵⁹ “Idonea,” 434.

loss to the entire family, but specifically for Idonea who “had loved him dearly.”⁶⁰

Because of her family’s straitened financial circumstances after her father’s death, Idonea goes to London to become a companion to a girl of similar age. She would complete her education with the youngest daughter of Mr. Dooner, a rich entrepreneur, and his social climbing wife.

Idonea’s brother Percy, a simple clergyman, takes on a paternal role toward his siblings after the father’s death. Percy draws their twin sisters “lovingly towards him, rather as if he were their father than their brother.”⁶¹ He also helps Idonea find her position in the Dooner household and provides her with support and guidance while in London.

Idonea is contrasted with the Dooner daughters who lack her moral and pious behaviour and her unassuming and self-sacrificing nature. Idonea had been taught these strongly moral characteristics principally by her father, since she was old enough to be moulded by him before his death. After his death, Idonea is clearly guided by her relationship with her heavenly Father. In contrast, the Dooner daughters seem guided by worldly pursuits and appear vain and selfish. After witnessing his daughters’ folly, Mr. Dooner reproaches himself for not taking a more active parental role. The narrator points out that Mr. Dooner should have paid more attention to family and less to business.⁶² He is “the victim of his own easy nature. When too late, he finds that he ought to have looked a little more narrowly into his home affairs while spending his energy in making his millions in the City.” As the narrator says, “It does not always do to sleep in your

⁶⁰ “Idonea,” 434.

⁶¹ “Idonea,” 754.

⁶² “Idonea,” 802.

own house, even if you are wide awake in your office.”⁶³ This moral coincides with popular advice manuals of the time. In trying to make a good home, a husband and father who sacrifices himself to his business “renders himself incapable of making a home.”

And he does it in this way: The best energies of his heart and mind are absorbed to such a degree in the conduct of some great commercial enterprise that he has nothing to contribute to domestic life when he comes home at night, like a squeezed orange.⁶⁴

It was expected of fathers to be emotionally invested in their families. “To Parents, on the Decease of a Daughter”⁶⁵ is a poem to soothe and console parents who have lost children. The beginning of the last stanza provides a good sample of the tone:

Weep not, O Stricken father, sorrowing mother,
The Hand that dealt the blow will heal the sorrow...

The editor explains that this poem was not selected for its “literary merit,” but rather for its “truth” and “good feeling,” as it was written for the curate and his wife of the parish where the writer lives. In the poem, the father is given equal right with his wife to grieve for his lost daughter. Although historians have done little to acknowledge this, it is simply assumed in this poem (and in much other contemporary literary material), that men would participate in their children’s lives to the extent that the loss of one would constitute a great blow to fathers and mothers equally.

⁶³ “Idonea,” 802.

⁶⁴ Charles Frederic Goss, *Husband, Wife and Home* (London: Vir Publishing Co. 1905) 66.

⁶⁵ “To Parents, on the Decease of a Daughter,” *Sunday at Home* (1879): 606.

Pamela Walker suggests that many mid-nineteenth-century evangelicals elevated motherhood and intensified the importance of the mother in a child's spiritual life. Mothers were often regarded as the most powerful guides to piety.⁶⁶ In contrast, at least for evangelicals associated with the RTS, it was fatherhood that remained central to familial piety. Mothers become central figures only as replacements, often inadequate ones, for absent fathers. In the article "Piety at Home,"⁶⁷ the religious role of the father is stressed, although it is acknowledged that many might not be living up to their paternal responsibilities. "Would to God we all liked always to show such 'piety at home!' For if we did, all fathers would be fatherly (which they are not) [...]." The author acknowledges that there are qualities that make fathers "fatherly," but that actual fathers often fall short of this ideal. The article then proceeds with a description of what this ideal fatherly behaviour should be:

Let the Christian husband show Christ by beginning and never failing to continue family prayers. We said the archetype of our English home is to be sought among the patriarchs; well, wherever they went we read, "there they builded an altar and called on the name of the Lord." Let the Christian wife show it by gathering her children, even if she cannot get her husband, and praying for him if she dare not pray with him.

The wife must take on the moral responsibilities that the husband neglects; she must replace him when needed. She is not, however, the initiator or interpreter of the "archetype" of the home, nor its moral centre. These are the responsibilities of the husband and father.

⁶⁶ Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 10.

⁶⁷ "Piety at Home," *Sunday at Home* (1881): 323.

In the following story in the *Leisure Hour*, the paternal role is still adequately filled. It illustrates the transferral of correct behaviour and morals from father to son. It is shown to be especially important for young men to have a strong role model and guide in their fathers, as the young man is led astray by immoral and worldly influences. In large part because of the influence of his father, each boy eventually returns to the manly path of middle-class domesticity. For example, in “A Poor Gentleman,”⁶⁸ Sir Walter Penton had no male heir, as both his young sons had died as a result of their debauched lives. His title and house were to be passed to his nephew, Edward. The narrator explains that “people pitied the father [Sir Walter Penton] to whom it must be, they felt, so great a disappointment that his baronetcy and his old lands should go out of the family.”⁶⁹

In the meantime, Edward’s son, also named Walter, falls in love with a thoroughly unsuitable young lady, the daughter of a London actress. While this Walter is in London attempting to convince the young woman into marriage, his father is suffering at home.⁷⁰ Edward Penton has more of the family’s sympathy than his wife as “He not only suffered, but looked as if he suffered. He lost his colour, he lost his appetite, he was restless, incapable of keeping still.”⁷¹ He proves himself to be a devoted father by going to London in search of his son. Edward would take care of his family himself, including the arduous search for his son. He could not bear other men, even those in authority, looking for Walter.

⁶⁸ “A Poor Gentleman,” *Leisure Hour* (1886): 1.

⁶⁹ “A Poor Gentleman,” 6.

⁷⁰ “A Poor Gentleman,” 730.

⁷¹ “A Poor Gentleman,” 668.

He was an old-fashioned man, and it seemed to him that “to set the police after” his son was an indignity impossible. He could not do it. He tramped about himself, yearning, angry, very tender underneath, thinking if he could only see Walter, meet him, which always seems so likely to country people, in the street, all would be well.⁷²

While his father is in London frantically searching for him, Walter makes it clear that he would like to break free from his father’s control and be a man in his own right, yet he lacks the maturity to do so. It is his father’s example that in the end makes him reject the fast city life and charms of the young lady, as he returns to his family and values his domesticated traditions.

This story reveals much about the primary role of the father. In traditional evangelical fashion, he is clearly the head of the family, with authority given to him by God. He is also a caring and gentle father, who emulates God in his patience and love for his children. The two Walters suffer and repent for not following this domesticated model, the younger for not having prepared himself to be a responsible domesticated man, the elder because he did not provide his own sons with a positive influence.

Fathers’ Influence

Many Religious Tract Society stories emphasize the earthly father’s role in influencing his children’s moral behaviour. As with Sir Edward’s and Sir Walter’s sons, “A Lost Son” is the story of a young man who temporarily forsakes his family and is led astray by many nefarious temptations in the city. In the end, this tale represents the triumph of the older values of middle-class domesticity, as represented by the values of the father, over the fast life of the *fin-de-siècle*. Julian Serlcote, the son, takes no interest in his father’s

⁷² “A Poor Gentleman,” 672.

shop, and is a “weak, pleasure-loving, self-indulgent young man.”⁷³ Yet, his father Joshua, “stiff, prim old martinet that he was, had a secret pride in this son of his.”⁷⁴

When he first talks to Agnes, Julian’s fiancée, of Julian, the old man shows his fatherly emotional connection and

betrayed with touching simplicity the pride and delight he had in his son. No detail seemed to have been too minute for his notice. “I never saw the gentleman who could hand a teacup with more grace than that which is natural to my boy,” he said one day.⁷⁵

Joshua’s pride, however, has its human limits. As Julian drifts increasingly away from his family, Joshua speaks about Julian in an apologetic tone. Embarrassed by his own behaviour and unable to face Joshua, Julian flees his father’s house after stealing a large sum of his money, to continue his downward spiral of vice in the city. Julian’s mother is saddened, yet she remains peripheral to the plot. It is his father’s grief that is thoroughly explored. His son was

not forgotten—no, nor was he forgiven, though through these two long years the old man had hardly any abiding thought save the thought of his absent son, yet never again had any burst of tenderness arrested the hardening of his grief.⁷⁶

Yet again, religious themes are emphasised to uphold and strengthen the position of the father in the family, and consequently, of the family itself. When news that Julian is dying alone in the city reaches Agnes, she exclaims passionately, “Think of him, Uncle Joshua—think of him!”

⁷³ “A Lost Son,” *Leisure Hour* (1885): 4.

⁷⁴ “A Lost Son,” 194.

⁷⁵ “A Lost Son,” 77.

⁷⁶ “A Lost Son,” 155.

He is alone, penniless, dying, and pleads that he may not die unforgiven. Is it possible that you can refuse to forgive him? Think of that other father—the father of the prodigal son in the Bible! When the prodigal was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him.⁷⁷

The Parable of the Prodigal Son in Luke’s Gospel is the familiar story of a rebellious son who rejects his father’s upbringing. Prideful and strong, the son, like Julian Serlcote, leaves his father for a wild life of adventure, and squanders everything of value (literally and symbolically). The son returns home when confronted with failure and despair, repentant and willing to do anything to win back his father’s favour. Agnes wishes that Joshua would emulate the father in the parable who forgives his son and welcomes him back lovingly. The wish to have the earthly father emulate the heavenly Father in forgiveness is quite apparent in this story, as it is in many others. The father should also provide a good moral example for his children, especially for his sons. He will thus ensure that his sons will eventually follow the moral path and embrace evangelical domestic values, even if they are temporarily led astray by worldly temptations.

Joshua did indeed regret that he was not more forgiving, more God-like, toward his son. Angry with Julian for neglecting his responsibilities toward his family and his fiancée, he did not open his letter asking for assistance for eight days. As a result, he comes to believe that his son has died because of his stubbornness and inaction.

It was my doing—I did it. I would not let Agnes open the letter . . . I wanted to do it; all the while I wanted to do it, but I couldn’t, I couldn’t! I don’t know why, I don’t know why! I wanted him—I wanted my boy, my Absalom! Oh, Absalom! my son, my son! Would to God I had died for thee!⁷⁸

⁷⁷ “A Lost Son,” 221.

⁷⁸ “A Lost Son,” 224.

Absalom (II Kings, iii, 2, 3) is an Old Testament example of a wayward son. He is alienated from his father King David and eventually banished for plotting against him. David forgives his son once and allows him to return to the city. Absalom does not repent, however, and yet again plots against his father. In the end, the son is killed, and David mourns his loss in the words that Joshua Serlcote repeats above. Joshua fears that his human feelings of anger toward his son would contribute to his death, as in the biblical story of Absalom.

The ending for Joshua and his son, however, is a happy one. Julian sees the error of his ways, remembers Joshua's moral teachings and returns to his father's house. Joshua finds his son lying on the ground and subsequently collapses as he believes him to be dead. Both father and son recover together and Julian goes on to assume all the duties of a domesticated evangelical man. Predictably, with the usual evangelical emphasis on the New Testament rather than the Old, in the end, his and his father's fate resemble the parable of the prodigal son, rather than that of Absalom and King David. As the narrator explains, the men settle into lives of happy domesticity: "Joshua Serlcote lived to see his son an honoured man and trusted; lived to see his niece [Agnes] a happy woman much loved and much loving; lived to find joy in the affection of his little grandchildren, who grew up about his knee; and lived to thank God."⁷⁹ In this story, God's role is essential, as it is his example that ultimately shapes the conduct of father and son. Yet without a strong earthly father as a model, it is clear that Julian would have lacked the deeply moral conscience that eventually led him back to the family.

⁷⁹ "A Lost Son," 227.

In addition to their editorial sections, some Amalgamated Press serial stories also provided boys with (surreptitious) lessons on fatherhood for its mainly working-class readership. One 1904 *Boys' Herald* story is about "Two Drummer Boys," both about sixteen years old.⁸⁰ Dick Wild is a good boy who tries to do the right thing. Jack Tillett steals from Captain Robinson and is generally morally reprehensible. Since Wild's father was supposed to have been a thief in his army days, his son was blamed for the crime against the Captain and goes to jail. Tillett continues to steal when Wild gets out of jail. Good confronts evil and both boys almost die. Thinking he is dying, Tillett finally confesses to the crimes, and also has an even more serious revelation for Wild. It was actually Wild's father who had been a hero in the army, and Tillett's was the thief. "The stain" on Wild's father's name was lifted, and thus by extension, his son's as well. In his confession letter, Tillett's father said: he "stole the jewels from the Maharajah of Jeypore, that Wild (father) had caught him in the act and suffered for him, afterwards dying in action while trying to save his enemy." Tillett confesses to Wild that, "I've been a bad lot. I was cruelly unjust to you always, and you behaved like a Briton. Will you forgive me?" The morally good character traits associated with being a "Briton" have already been discussed in chapter 5. One of these traits is clearly forgiveness, for in a rather lofty way, Wild replies, "I do, with all my heart," as he gives the boy his hand. "But go the straight road in future, Tillett," he adds. The message here is clouded in sensationalist writing and unrealistic plot lines, as was the way with most serial stories in the Amalgamated Press papers for boys. A reading beyond the surface of the action reveals a

⁸⁰ Popular A.S. Hardy, "Two Drummer Boys," *Boys' Herald*, 1, no. 24 (1904): 386.

two-fold message to its young, mainly male and working-class, readers. Firstly, having a morally strong character would serve them well in the end. What this entailed could be gleaned from Hamilton Edwards' editorial sections. Secondly, fatherly conduct (whether sons were cognizant of it or not) would be like a hereditary stain, impacting their moral development.

This was a point highlighted by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, at a time when physical and emotional abuse by fathers was less tolerated than before (see chapter 3). In a 1910 book designed to highlight the *Wilful Waste* and the consequences of bad parenting, Robert Parr, the Society's director, demonstrated that "the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation." Whereas the damage done to future generations was clear, the abuse often remained hidden. It was the aim of this publication, but also of all the others in this study, to make manifest this concealed immorality. As with the other sources, there is an elision between fiction and non-fiction, between what is real and what is plausible but *not* real. Both sorts of pieces were deemed effective in generating feeling in the reader and provoking change. One example is given of a man who appeared to be a good father, as he was a hard worker and earning good wages. In reality he was cruel and ruined the lives of his children. His oldest son was in an infirmary, as a result of the epilepsy brought on by his father's mistreatment. His daughter was in a workhouse with two illegitimate children. He also had two boys in the workhouse, and yet another at home, who though fourteen, was dirty, neglected and illiterate.⁸¹ Physical and emotional scars were the result of

⁸¹ Robert J. Parr, *Wilful Waste: The Nation's Responsibility for its Children* (London: NSPCC, 1910) 55-56.

abuse; moral, social and physical degeneracy were their legacy. This was a fear repeated in advice literature:

No one can doubt the law of hereditary transmission. Our inherited and acquired characteristics are sure to be transmitted to our descendants. Indeed, so thoroughly does character permeate one's entire being that it might be said of each drop of blood that in its characteristics is a miniature of the person in whose body it was secreted. Eminent characters do not emanate from degenerate parents...⁸²

As we have seen, these fears fit into the context of a pervasive concern with national efficiency and the corresponding imperative to produce fit, healthy young men as future fathers of a strong nation. The sins of this age, the state of immorality in the domestic realm, seem to threaten not just individual homes, but to jeopardize the whole future of the nation. If bad parenting led to a permanent downward spiral of degeneracy, then what hope was there for the nation and its empire? Such a vision placed domesticity, paradoxically, at the very centre of the imperial project. As the editor of the Amalgamated Press boys' papers, Hamilton Edwards, put it, present concern should be directed at "the physical and mental well-being for the boy who is ultimately to become a responsible citizen of this Great Empire, and the possible father of future citizens."⁸³

Fathers were taught that their example was of utmost importance to their children, but especially to their sons. As Hamilton Edwards wrote, with the intent to make a serial story in the *Boys' Herald* relevant to the lives of his readers:

No one can be ignorant of the great influence exerted upon a boy's future by the early teachings of his father. If that father is too mild towards his son, the result is

⁸² Stall, *What a Young Husband Ought to Know*, 274

⁸³ "Editor's Den," *Boys' Friend*, 2, no. 82 (1903): 505.

ofttimes deplorable, on the other hand, if the father is too harsh and strict, the result is every bit as bad – sometimes worse.⁸⁴

In the *Band of Hope Chronicle*, the paper for its workers, the “The Influence of Example” was made clear.⁸⁵ “Dissipated” fathers would raise dissipated sons, even if the fathers thought that they were hiding their bad habits from their children. Profane language, drinking and spending too much time away from home, in homosocial environments, are the targets here. A certain Dr. Talmage described what he thought to be a typical scene across the country. The morally laudable image of family “seated at the tea-table” is shattered when “the father shoves back his chair, says he has an engagement, lights a cigar – goes out, comes back after midnight.” The author then rhetorically questions whether any man would want “to stultify himself” by justifying this as right, or honourable. He then describes the son’s role in this lethal concatenation, whereby the moral laxity of the father is passed on to the subsequent generation. “Time will pass on,” he says, “and the son will be sixteen or seventeen years of age, and you will be at the tea-table, and he will shove back *his* chair, and have an engagement, and he will light *his* cigar, and he will go out to the club-house, and you will hear nothing of *him* until you hear the night key in the door after midnight.” However, this is not merely a repetitive chain, but one of degeneration. The son’s “physical constitution is not quite so strong” as the father’s (Talmage explicitly identifies this father figure as the reader). The forecast is for the son to catch up with the father “on the road to death,” despite the father’s head start.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ “Your Editor’s Chat,” *Boys’ Herald*, 9, no. 442 (1912): 413.

⁸⁵ Dr. Talmage, “The Influence Of Example,” *Band of Hope Chronicle*, Dec (1885): 194.

⁸⁶ Talmage, “The Influence of Example,” 194.

Readers were encouraged to think that fathers' influence on their sons was great. They could be a positive example that their progeny could imitate, both as children and later as men. This example extended into all facets of life, both in the home and in the wider world. It could also be very specific. To the question, "How long must I keep my [total abstinence] pledge," a little boy answers "I think I shall never break my pledge; I mean to keep it as long as my father, and he says he shall keep it as long as he lives." The little boy sensibly asks, "What's the use keeping it just while we are children, and then go and drink when we get to be men?"⁸⁷ In one article in *Onward*, the lesson on temperance is given added weight as it is framed as a discussion between father and son concerning the chemical properties of alcohol. The father instructs his young son that it is useful outside of the body, but never within it. The boy concludes that when he becomes a man he will try his best "to get people never to allow a drop of this stuff to go into their mouths."⁸⁸ This fatherly lesson emphasises the importance of knowledge (formal or self-taught) and would impact not only the life of his own son, but by extension the lives of his son's family as well.

Examples of fathers as moral educators were far more comprehensive than these two working-class sources would indicate. There was a uniformity of message here for all classes. The Band of Hope brand of morality was equally fitting for working-class men and Oxford dons. In one 1913 *Young Crusader* piece, Prof. Dennison tells a story to his children about two little boys – Jack joined the Band of Hope but he was unable to convince his talented and intelligent friend Tom also to join. After eight years Jack had made no new recruits. Jack got a scholarship at Eton and went to Cambridge and Tom

⁸⁷ J. Tunnicliff. *The Band of Hope Annual* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1865) 24.

⁸⁸ "Father's Chat on Alcohol," *Onward* (1904): 119-120.

went to a large public school and then to Oxford. In his first term at Oxford while attending a picnic with his friends, Tom got into a fatal rowing accident after consuming a large quantity of wine. Prof. Dennison, or Jack, said that he has never forgotten his lost opportunity – the children point out that there is a portrait of Tom hanging in Dennison’s study, therefore indicating to the reader that this is a true story. The piece ends by tallying the impressive number of new recruits for the Band of Hope, made by Dennison’s children. His son, Alick, gained the most - 12 new members.⁸⁹ This piece is lent weight because the narrator is a father, but also because of his status as a learned professor. The status of this family and the father’s friend clearly demonstrates that the Band of Hope message was not merely for the working classes. Upper-class parents and children were to be involved and, like their working-class counterparts, could suffer dire consequences if they were not. All fathers, according to this maxim, not just working-class, middle-class or upper-class ones, were crucially influential in the moral lives of their children.

Showing the Way: Boys as Fathers to their Fathers

The Band of Hope publication for Greenwich and West Kent, as with many others of its kind, featured a Children’s page, in which was printed a two-part story entitled “The Two Homes: A Story Founded on Fact.” The first image is of a happy home in a little Kentish village, with a neat wife and mother keeping this home clean and respectable. The children exclaim, “Father’s coming,” and compete with each other to be the first to meet

⁸⁹ “A Lost Opportunity,” *Young Crusader*, no. 257 (March 1913): 44.

their parent returning from work. The man feels “as happy as a king!”⁹⁰ because he has this wonderful home, a loving family and no real cares, for although they are poor, they are happy. It is difficult to imagine how the second instalment of this story could be a starker contrast to the first. It shows the destructiveness of the metropolis and the ruin of the family because of the father’s drunkenness. The entire family is dead, save for the father and one last daughter dying of consumption. Their home is cramped, filthy and demoralizing. The father grabs his daughter’s one comfort, her Bible, and pawns it to buy drink. The narrator describes how the father feels remorse at this most despicable act, but the reader is led to understand that he did not have a real choice in the matter, for he was already consumed by his vice. “Yes, the way of transgressors is hard.”⁹¹ The author claimed that this was not merely a fictional account, but one that was “founded on fact,” to lend it much weight and seriousness. It was a cautionary tale about the real dangers to the entire family of fatherly irresponsibility and irreligion.

Many husbands and fathers, like the father of the second home, did not live up to the moral ideal. But aside from the decisive factor of geography in these scenes, the attitude of the children themselves in their interaction with the father figure seems to have some implicit importance. The father’s kingly joy is directly related to his children’s demeanour towards him. In many stories, it was clear that children of all classes were seen as moral beacons, able to exert a strong moral influence on parents who were themselves deficient. Temperance supporters encouraged children to feel that they

⁹⁰ BOC, “The Two Homes: A Story Founded on Fact,” *Quarterly Manual and Band of Hope Reporter for Greenwich and West Kent* (Greenwich: Borough of Greenwich and West Kent Band of Hope Union), 1, no. 2 (January 1880): 7.

⁹¹ BOC, “The Two Homes,” *Quarterly Manual and Band of Hope Reporter for Greenwich and West Kent*, 1, no. 3 (April 1880): n.p.

could have a positive impact on their parents. In the words of one clergyman, more parents “were reclaimed from intemperance and added to my church through the zeal of these little ones than from any other agency. Surely, “A little child shall lead them!”⁹² As we have seen, the NSPCC’s founding director Benjamin Waugh represented the widespread opinion that children were naturally moral and could influence their parents to lead more wholesome lives. It was the “mystic power of a child” which could lead to positive change in his parents.⁹³ This idealized vision of children dictated that they were all to be regarded as holy, innocent and Christ-like. Boys, especially, could act as a father to their own fathers, showing them the right way.

“Oh, father, what is it you drink?
‘Taint coffee, or cocoa, or tea!
‘Cause these things don’t make your breaf smell;
I’s sick when you just kisses me.

Tom Hurling, he says you drink rum;
What’s rum? I should like to know,
Shall I have to drink it, like you,
When to a big man I do grow?

If so, I don’t want to grow up;
I’d rather be little, and then
My rum-breaf won’t make the boys sick;
They’ll kiss me again and again.”

The father looked down on his child,
Then hurried him off to his play;
And, though he to none spake a word.
He has touch’d no strong drink from that day.⁹⁴

⁹² “What Children May Do,” *Young Crusader*, April (1908): 62.

⁹³ NSPCC Annual Report (1891-2) 65; see also G.K. Behlmer, *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1982) 185, and C. Sherrington, *The NSPCC in Transition. 1884-1983: A Study of Organisational Survival* (Ph.D. London University, 1984) 81.

⁹⁴ “A Little Boy and His Father,” *Every Band of Hope Boy’s Reciter: Containing Original Recitations, Dialogues, &C., Written Expressly for Bands of Hope*, S. Knowles (Manchester: J. Brook and Co., no. 14, c.1879) 224.

The son in this poem equates manhood with drinking due to this father's bad influence. In his childish, but pure, reasoning, he then does not want to become a man. His father's example prevents the boy from accessing a correct model of manliness.

In many stories, boys are shown to be more intelligent and responsible than their own intemperate fathers. In "The Boy who Beat His Father," Mark Halliday is a widower with one son, who is liked by his fellow workers but not respected by them because he is the "slave of drink." Halliday looks to his young son Paul "as if he were a sort of moral prodigy," as the youth not only abstains from alcohol but tries to encourage his father to become steadier and to drink less. The roles of the father and son became increasingly reversed as the youth "leap[s] prematurely into manhood" and begins admonishing his father for his drinking and swearing. As the narrator explains, "Paul was deliberately taking in hand the moral education of his father," and told his father on several occasions that he would beat him if he misbehaved.⁹⁵ At the end of this story, Paul saves his father from a dangerous work-related accident and rejoices that he has "conquered" his father.⁹⁶

The significance of this story, and many others like it, is twofold. Lacking moral virtue, the contemporary generation of parents was seen to have failed. Boys required a better moral education in order to be better men and fathers of the future. To rectify this moral void required a mix of fact and fiction, laced with the same moral tone, rendering its real and imagined components equally true. Moralising fiction was seen to benefit both boys and parents. The child could thus act as a moral beacon for his family, encouraging good behaviour in his parents and even disciplining them when they strayed.

⁹⁵ D.F. Hannigan, "The Boy who Beat his Father," *Onward*, 36 (1901): 27.

⁹⁶ Hannigan, "Boy who Beat his Father," 28.

Stories were also meant to teach boys how proper fathers behaved, with the aim of influencing their later lives. Fiction, therefore, when properly directed, was thought to be a powerful proselytising force.

Many Band of Hope stories were written for the organization's main base, working-class children, some from very disadvantaged backgrounds. In one, a very poor boy named Willie joins the Band of Hope. Both his parents are drunkards and provide their son a poor moral example. Willie keeps his pledge but is mortally wounded at work in the shipyard. He speaks to his father on his deathbed about giving up drink and turning to God. The author remarks how good it is that God has made little children so useful.

Willie's life was clouded by a dark sinful home; but he carried sunshine everywhere, and at the last even led his parents up to the light, for his father became an active worker for good in the town in which he dwelt. Thus live for the truth, dear children, and witness for it by shining actions, and a pure clear faith in God.⁹⁷

Two lines of a song introduced at the first Band of Hope meeting in Leeds in 1847 make clear children's responsibility toward making their homes and their country happy: "We'll ask our fathers, too, to come and join our happy band; True temperance makes a happy home, and makes a happy land."⁹⁸

Children were taught how to do this by the positive example of (fictional and real) boys who resisted temptation. "A Brave Boy"⁹⁹ is the story of Arthur Mason, who, unlike his father who was jailed for drunkenness and violence, joined the Band of Hope and vowed never to go into a pub. He received shouts and mocking laughter from a group

⁹⁷ Uncle John, "Our Willie: A True Story," *Young Standard Bearer*, no. 1 (1881): 2-3.

⁹⁸ Robert Tayler, *The Hope of the Race* (London: Hope Press, 1946) 44.

⁹⁹ "A Brave Boy," CETS Children's Leaflets (1901).

of boys standing at the corner of the street, wanting Arthur to go into the pub to fill a jug with beer.¹⁰⁰ “Well, here’s a go! Arthur Mason setting up to be a saint, and his father a gaol bird,” the boys taunted.¹⁰¹ Arthur told them with emotion that though his father had always been good to him, it was true that his father had been tempted by some bad men into the pub, and in a fit of rage, had struck one and had gotten into trouble for it. He told the boys that he had given his word at the Band of Hope that he would never enter a pub.¹⁰² Arthur wanted to fight the boys who were taunting him but he resisted. The narrator explained that Arthur was not a coward as the boys said by not fighting, that instead he was strong. Then Arthur’s father, who had witnessed the incident, spoke up, confirming that his son’s moral example was the key to his salvation:

Yes, I am the gaol bird you spoke of, but never again, God helping me. I’ve learnt a lesson, and my little son here, with his resolution and pluck, has fixed my determination, and I, too, will never again enter a public-house. So now, boys, if you want to fight, come on! Two against six will be a little more equal than six against one.¹⁰³

The narrator concludes that the boys on the street were the real cowards, and now did not seem inclined to fight, though Arthur and his father returned home and continued to “FIGHT THE GOOD FIGHT.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ “A Brave Boy,” 2.

¹⁰¹ “A Brave Boy,” 1.

¹⁰² “A Brave Boy,” 3.

¹⁰³ “A Brave Boy,” 4.

¹⁰⁴ “A Brave Boy,” 4.

The New Woman and the Ideal Husband and Father

According to Elaine Showalter, “what was most alarming to the *fin de siècle* was that sexuality and sex roles might no longer be contained in the neat and permanent borderlines of gender categories.”¹⁰⁵ As women’s roles expanded, the role of men became a source of anxiety. In one 1893 article in the *Leisure Hour*, women are pressed to regain their “womanliness,” despite the allure of a “manly” education.¹⁰⁶ The author is not wholly unsympathetic to women’s plight, and explains that it is partly as the result of “long and unjust intellectual disabilities that the sex so long debarred from knowledge should be prone to exaggerate its value, and regard it as an aim, rather than one means to the attainment of a much better thing, wisdom.”¹⁰⁷ Young women must be coerced into accepting their domestic roles and excelling at them, for their own good and “must break [themselves] in (or be broken in) to do pleasantly these thousand and one small things,” while “still young and pliant.”¹⁰⁸ They should start perfecting the necessary domestic skills, or else their lives will end in misery, from which their advanced education cannot protect them. Put another way: “Or else, as a *woman*, she is a failure.”¹⁰⁹ Another article insisted that the “Ideal Husband” must accompany the new woman.

The new woman has determined that she will share the man’s life in every sense of the word, and that men are to lead lives surrounded with the safeguards and self-restraint that have hitherto protected women. The standard of life is to be reversed. Women are to know all, and men are not to be permitted greater liberty and indulgence than women. Thus we have the advent of the new man and the

¹⁰⁵ E. Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Viking, 1990) 9.

¹⁰⁶ J.M. Scott-Moncrieff, “A Plea for More Womanly Women,” *Leisure Hour* (1893): 120.

¹⁰⁷ Scott-Moncrieff, “Plea for More Womanly Women,” 122.

¹⁰⁸ Scott-Moncrieff, “Plea for More Womanly Women,” 121.

¹⁰⁹ Scott-Moncrieff, “Plea for More Womanly Women,” 121. (Emphasis mine).

ideal husband, both the creation of the new woman and the feminine spirit of the time.¹¹⁰

We might think that this article is a modern appeal for men to engage to a fuller extent in their families and in household affairs, yet this is not so. The author goes on to point out that it is tiresome if men seek control over the minutiae of the running of the home and that this should generally be left to wives. The husband should, however, usually be master of the house, as he is the breadwinner. She concludes that the best way to ensure an “ideal husband” is to be an ideal wife.¹¹¹

At the end of the Victorian era, one humorous piece by George Scarr Hall on “The New Woman,” intended for recitation at temperance and Band of Hope meetings, declared: “You must not suppose for one moment that the ‘New Woman’ is a head without a heart. She has a head and can think, and she has a heart and can love, but note, please, it must be a man, not a beer barrel on a pair of legs.” It goes on to describe the various bad habits and incompetencies of men in the home. “Fancy any woman called on to love, honour and obey a thing like that. The ‘New Woman’ never will, it is one of the most impossible of impossibilities.”¹¹² The “New Man” must be able to have as complete a grasp of the world as his female counterpart: he must be able to operate equally well in the home and in the wider world. Though written to entertain, the point was serious enough, and only amusing since it brought something real to its extreme. An accomplished woman who could do anything she wanted required a man who would excel at professional and domestic duties and be emotionally sympathetic.

¹¹⁰ Lady St. Helier, “The Ideal Husband,” *Leisure Hour* (1905): 626.

¹¹¹ St. Helier, “Ideal Husband,” 627-628.

¹¹² G.S. Hall, *The New Woman* (London: Houlston and Sons, c.1900) 6.

The *fin de siècle* certainly complicated gender relations in the home. While some men were perhaps taking domesticity too seriously, meddling in the minutiae of home life,¹¹³ others were eschewing the responsibilities of marriage for the freedom of bachelorhood. Contemporary commentators perceived this as a crisis, as it would exacerbate the “problem” of spinster women.¹¹⁴ There was also fear that modern ideas were destroying the view of the home as a sanctuary. According to Phyllis Browne, writing in the 1895 *Leisure Hour*, “The influence of home has done much good in the past, but there is reason to fear that it is losing its power.” To her mind, “the cause of this mischief [was] the devotion exhibited by the young people to outside interests – interests, that is, that are apart from the home.”¹¹⁵ Historians too have seen men’s rejection of domesticity as a positive choice in favour of a more homosocial life.¹¹⁶

One CETS story, however, “Why Bob Was a Bachelor: a Story for Mothers and Daughters,”¹¹⁷ puts the blame on intemperate women. Bob came from a good, temperate family. He could provide for his future family with his income as a porter. His sweetheart, however, came from an intemperate family, and although she seemed sound, she slipped into an intemperate life after her mother had died from alcoholism. Bob could not marry an intemperate woman, and though he had remained patient in trying to guide

¹¹³ For an important discussion of lower middle-class men’s focus on domesticity, see A. James Hammerton, “Pooterism or Partnership?: Marriage and Masculine Identity in the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1920,” *Journal of British Studies*, 38, no. 3 (1999): 291-321.

¹¹⁴ For a literary description of this problem, see George Gissing, *The Odd Women* (1893; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹¹⁵ Phyllis Browne, “A Committee of the Whole House – The Home Life,” *Leisure Hour* (1895): 401.

¹¹⁶ J. Tosh “Manliness, masculinities and the New Imperialism,” in his *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005) 206. Tosh maintains that the “turn away from marriage was class-specific,” i.e. the professional and business classes, which is a useful clarification of his earlier work.

¹¹⁷ F.L. Henderson, “Why Bob was a bachelor: a story for mothers and daughters,” *Church of England Temperance Tracts* (Westminster: CETS) no. 5, series H, (after 1891): n.p.

her towards temperance, he never married. In a time when there was a shortage of eligible young men, this was seen as a waste. Though this story was clearly a cautionary tale directed at women, whose life goal was assumed to be their own marriage or the marriage of their daughters, it also contained a message for men. Men should choose their wives carefully, but if good, temperate women were available, marriage should be the natural choice for men.

In “A House Beautiful,” the author gives advice to readers in the form of a dialogue with her husband, thereby providing advice on how to have a meaningful and comfortable home on a limited budget, from a feminine and a masculine viewpoint. Though the author acknowledges that it might be difficult for a young man to get married and set up a home with limited means, she decries the modern trend for young men to put off marriage indefinitely because they would have to give up luxuries. “His income is insufficient for marriage because it will not support these luxuries *and* a wife,” she scoffs, “And he prefers the club, the first-class carriage, the cigar, and the lemon kids. So he gives up the wife!”¹¹⁸ These are clearly wrong-headed priorities for the author, the RTS journal editors and other important writers on marriage - far better to have a good home life, than to enjoy luxuries outside the home. In the view of Charles F. Goss, the author of *Husband, Wife and Home*, it was the responsibility of all healthy men to marry and to have children, since nothing could be “more irrational than to be afraid to perform the functions of nature – to be afraid to live, to labor, to marry, to bear children, to found a home, to suffer, to die.”¹¹⁹ Domesticity was seen as a major and “natural” part of the

¹¹⁸ By the author of “Occupations of a Retired Life,” “Voices from the Highways and Hedges – A House Beautiful,” *Leisure Hour* (1888): 243.

¹¹⁹ Goss, *Husband, Wife and Home*, 20.

lifecycle of men. To have a happy home, however, required some effort, in the view of popular advice writer, Sylvanus Stall:

If you wish to preserve and perpetuate that which is noblest and best in your wife and your children, you can only do so by making your home the centre of your thought, and by making your loved ones the sharers of your purse and your pleasures. If you wish them to live for your comfort and happiness, they have equal right to expect you to live and sacrifice for their comfort and happiness. Almost any promising bride may soon be made an ill-tempered wife, a discontented homekeeper and an indifferent mother by an improvident, extravagant, selfish and neglectful husband. In most instances ruined homes come principally from drink, idleness, bad temper, shiftlessness, and thriftless habits, brutal husbands, slatternly wives and Christless living. Do your duty faithfully to your wife and your children, and then, if home and happiness are wrecked, the responsibility will not rest upon you.¹²⁰

This kind of summary of husbandly and fatherly duty and the causes of its failure was widely supported and promoted by the male and female authors of the juvenile and family-oriented publishing industry in our period, as well as by the organizations that backed them.

Conclusion

Domestic bliss was to be the culmination of a young man's efforts to build for himself a good career and a good character. Boys' (and girls') moral education in these fictional and non-fictional sources had fatherhood as a focus. The absolute moral authority of motherhood was in question and provided reasons for men not to stray from the home.¹²¹ Women's influence on their children and their husbands was cast into doubt, usually implicitly, but sometimes explicitly, by the focus on the father as moral centre and the

¹²⁰ Stall, *What a Young Husband Ought to Know*, 54.

¹²¹ Cf. Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 170-194.

focus on children to act as beacons of moral goodness from whom fathers might learn. Furthermore, emphasis on the importance of the father should have left young male readers with no doubt that they had a crucial role to fill once they had reached their professional and personal goals in manhood. In the late nineteenth century, manliness was still equated with domesticity for many ubiquitous and influential elements in popular culture. It is important to stress the continuity of message among boys and men of all classes. Cultivating good (and abstaining from bad) habits, adherence to religious faith, and attention to (formal and informal) education were the means to achieve these goals. Children were taught, sometimes surreptitiously, what made “good husbands and good wives.”

Conclusion

This study ends before the start of the First World War, when the publishing industry as a whole slowed down due to shortages in supplies and personnel. There was still, however, an important place for periodicals during the war. The *Expository Times* suggested that “Nowhere is the difference which the war has made more manifest than in the popular magazines. Some may not have risen to their opportunity; some have become great spiritual forces.”¹ The RTS papers, unswervingly published every month, struggled to maintain the same standard as before the war.² The Society was plagued by paper shortages, increased costs, and a staff shortage.³ The *BOP* had already been converted from a weekly to a monthly publication in 1913. The paper addressed the war directly, (unlike its ambivalent treatment of the South African War) with, for example, Captain Charles Gibson’s serial “Submarine U 93,” about naval battles in the North Sea, and with the regular monthly pages of “War Notes and Pictures.” It also featured a series entitled “Talks to Boys: By an Old One,” in which the writer chatted with readers “in a manly, straightforward manner, giving sound advice and pointing the road to a pure, Christian life.”⁴ The *BOP* also created new diversions perhaps to distract from the difficulties of war. One such was the Boy’s Own Field Club, for “the young naturalist and pet lover.” According to the annual report, the field club was immensely popular, with large

¹ RTS Annual Report (1916) 125.

² Gordon Hewitt, *Let the People Read* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949) 76-78.

³ RTS Annual Report (1919) 3.

⁴ RTS Annual Report (1916) 126.

numbers of branch clubs both at home and abroad being formed.⁵ The Amalgamated Press marketed the topical content of its boys' papers on the covers: "In war time you should read – The Boys' Friend."⁶ The papers contained many war stories, and some letters about the war.

The war did not end temperance appeals, but the messages changed. The CETS suspended most of its periodicals for the duration of the war.⁷ Special CETS publications were publicized, under the heading of "The War and Temperance," with war pledge cards and patriotic pledge badges and books.⁸ With the entreaty "Sacrifice for England!," one CETS wartime pamphlet recommended that everyone stop drinking because drink had a deleterious effect on soldiers.⁹

Shortly before the war began, stories like the *Band of Hope Review's* "Eric's Resolve" were telling boys that "whatever your future work may be, you will always faithfully do your duty. You may not wear a scarlet coat and have a medal on your breast, but if you overcome temptation and always do the right, you will be a hero indeed in the battle of life which all must fight."¹⁰ The message now changed to one of national sacrifice and patriotism. The RTS started publishing stories for young people like "How I came to Enlist: How Ella, after all, Sent a Man to the Front," a story for girls on how men

⁵ RTS Annual Report (1916) 126.

⁶ *Boys' Friend*, 14, no. 701 (1914): cover.

⁷ Church of England Temperance Society Annual Report, 1914, pp. 9-10.

⁸ Rev. Henry Trueman, *Temperance in War-Time* (2nd edn., Westminster: CETS, 1915) back cover.

⁹ Trueman, *Temperance in War-Time*, 7.

¹⁰ "Eric's Resolve," *The Band of Hope Annual (Band of Hope Review)*, Aug. (1913): 57.

should be strong (not weak and intellectual) and go to war. It was the duty of good girls like Ella to encourage their men to enlist.¹¹

The Band of Hope continued to have meetings whenever possible, although many groups were disrupted by the withdrawal for National Service of many male workers, who were not entirely replaced by women, as they were often needed for war service at home. Furthermore, unions and societies in air raid districts found parents unwilling to let their children attend meetings. Some societies had to suspend operations when their meeting places were commandeered for war-related purposes. Railway and food restrictions prevented lecturers, speakers and others associated with the movement from meeting their commitments. In addition to these obstacles, the *Annual Report* noted “the inevitable absorption of public attention by the great tragedy of the war and a corresponding diminution of interest in all social and philanthropic movements.”¹² The Band of Hope nevertheless managed to maintain a total estimated membership of over three million children immediately after the war.¹³

A full study of the war period and its aftermath in relation to the juvenile and family press, and the extent to which there was continuity of message, as well as change under new conditions, would be of enormous scholarly value and interest. Perhaps the war, which destroyed a generation of young men, prompted Britons to look to their children as future parents, and, even more than before 1914, as the hope of the nation.¹⁴

¹¹ “How I came to Enlist: How Ella, after all, sent a man to the front,” *Empire Annual for Girls* (Religious Tract Society, 1915): 87.

¹² United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *Annual Reports* (1917-1918) 5.

¹³ United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *Annual Reports* (1918-1919) 7.

¹⁴ Sara Josephine Baker, *Fighting for Life* (1939; Huntingdon, 1980) 165, in Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 17.

This study has sought to characterize the period 1880-1914 in new ways, stressing the interplay of legal, institutional, formal and informal factors on the lives of children, particularly boys. Increasing professionalization (in education, sociology and psychology), coupled with a heightened sense of responsibility on the part of the State, worked in dynamic ways with traditional forces of informal education, often utilizing novel approaches. Furthermore, it was through the informal education provided by the juvenile and family periodical press that the new morality of a professionalized society was transmitted. The periodical press remained an important provider of moral education and character training, despite increasing institutional and professional interest in the child.

Despite contradictory currents of thought in society at large at this time, a central argument throughout the thesis is that the published juvenile and family literature of the involved groups, whether politically oriented (Christian socialists), religiously motivated (the CETS and the RTS), or profit motivated (the Amalgamated Press), demonstrated an extraordinary degree of consensus on moral matters for boys and male adolescents. They drew upon the new scientific, pseudo-scientific and legislative impulses, but also upon the traditional values of Christianity, and insisted on the virtues of domesticity, fatherhood, and good character. It suggests that, although competing models of boyhood can be found, especially in the penny dreadfuls, the moral consensus of “improving” media (arguably including the AP boys’ papers) was enormously popular and highly influential. In an age in which religious participation was feared to be declining, the evidence of informal religiosity in these publications is profound. In constructing a detailed outline of what the involved groups meant when they referred to manliness, the

wide applicability of this analytical concept is thereby demonstrated, and the richness of what contemporaries would have understood by it revealed.

The child, and in particular the boy, was expected to play a major role in safeguarding civilization in the present and in the future. Not only was he instructed on the moral path that would lead to the ideal of domesticated Christian fatherhood, but he was expected to shine, beacon-like, so as to influence his own parents for the better. In highlighting the emergence, as a distinct category, of the concept of adolescence, this study shows how the tightening definition of this transitional stage also threw into relief the concepts of the child and the adult. The passage from first to last through this newly recognised distinct phase was crucial to those involved in informal education, for it was at this point that the good citizen was made or lost. This in turn contributes to our understanding of how boys were raised to be future husbands and fathers. The widespread historiographical acceptance of a female-centered ideology of domesticity has had tremendous implications for the history of late nineteenth-century manliness. This study has stressed the importance of male domesticity (fatherhood/husbandhood), even though having a home, wife and children of one's own were, by the 1880s, no longer the only defining attributes of manhood. For the many middle-class men who did marry and have children, the prevalent idea of the "Angel in the House" had seemingly displaced male identification with domestic life; to be a man no longer necessitated being a moral role model in the home. Yet even in ideal terms, gender power relations within the family were far more complex. Many late nineteenth-century commentators simply wrote men out of the family. In this way, the legacy of the late nineteenth-century *perceived* absence of the father has contributed to an ongoing disregard of the crucial

religious and political dynamics of the home and of who, the father or the mother, would be its central moral authority. Popular cultural sources allow us to contribute deserved complexity to this rhetorical picture of the family.

Accordingly, this thesis points to important implications for the historiographical study of masculinity in this era. Historians who have studied men from the 1870s to the First World War have pointed to a widespread, middle-class “flight from domesticity”¹⁵ attached to the new pre-eminence of imperial versions of masculinity. As historians of secularization are beginning to acknowledge,¹⁶ much historical inquiry has been influenced by the exaggerated discourse of the late nineteenth century. Studies of the intersection of religion and gender also deserve such a nuanced reformulation. It could be argued that versions of domesticated masculinity are displayed so prominently in these stories precisely because they were in decline or under assault. Yet, perhaps as the secularization of Britain did not occur as rapidly as many contemporary commentators feared, male domesticity was a more persistent desire for many more people than late nineteenth-century commentators, and in consequence, historians, have realized. As Frances Power Cobbe pointed out in 1884, “all that is best and soundest in public opinion in England is derived, first, from the private opinion of English firesides.” She went on to add that:

It is the fathers who teach, the mothers who inspire, those sentiments and judgments on moral questions which their children in later years (perhaps, after some revolt and oscillation), as a rule adopt and formulate as their own

¹⁵ John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 170.

¹⁶ Callum Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000* (London: Routledge, 2001).

convictions. It is because English homes are in the main moral, honour-loving, and religious, and not because English newspapers and platforms and schools teach morality or honour or religion, that the great Public Opinion of England is broadly moral, honourable, and religious, and stands out, in these respects, above that of the other countries of Europe.¹⁷

The goal of the organizations, publishers and authors studied here was ultimately to ensure the maintenance of traditional British home life and to promote it among the rising generation of boys. Their moral messages were therefore not ends in themselves but rather means to obtaining, through strong families, “moral, honour-loving and religious” homes and citizens.

¹⁷ Frances Power Cobbe, “The Long Pull,” *Zoophilist*, 4, n.s. 4, (1884): 82.

Appendices

Appendix I

Model of “typical” Band of Hope programme:

[Source: “Essentials in Band of Hope Meetings” by Charles Wakely (1891) p. 4, Contained in West Yorkshire Archive Service [WYAS], Bradford, Girdlington Congregational Church Band of Hope Minute Book, WYB10/3/5/16, 1893-1898].

First Quarter

Jan 1 – New Year’s Address
8 – Recitation Contest (prize)
15 – Annual Meeting
22 – Singing contest
29 – Address by Ladies
Feb. 5 – Entertainment by Excelsior Band of Hope
12 – Boys’ own night
19 - Prize Essay Competitions
26 - Address (Lessons from flowers)
March 5 – Prize Dialogue Contest
12 – Musical Evening
19 – Blackboard Address
26 – Magical Lantern Exhibition

Second Quarter

April 2 – Special Illustrated Address
9 – Story and Song
16 – Chemical Lecture
23 – Reports of Last Week’s Lecture (Prize)
30 – Service of Song (Public)
May 7 – Juniors’ evening
13 – Special “Object” Address
21 – Question Box Night
28 – Musical Drill Entertainment
June 4 – Girls’ own Night
11 – Return visit to Excelsior Band of Hope
18 – Address (Lesson from fruits)
25 – Summer Outing

Putting the above template into practice at Sion Band of Hope, Bradford:

[Source: WYAS, Bradford, Bradford Harris Street Sion Band of Hope and Temperance Society, Minutes, 28D92, 1904-1905].

Nov. 16th, 1904, Boys' Night

Melody 17

Scripture Lesson Prayer

Melody 49

Recitation "Do Your Best"

Pianoforte Solo

Dialogue

Song

Address

Violin Solo

Recitation

Song

Recitation "Young Heedless"

Prayer

(Attendance: 250)

March 22, 1905

Melody 40 Audience

Scripture Lesson

Prayer

Melody 25 Audience

Recitation "Hiawatha's Heart" Edith Taylor

Recitation "The Boy that is Liked" Albert Armitage

Song Annie Pitts

Duet "Sowing the Seed" Misses Cockcroft and Hargreaves

Recitation "Advise to Boys" Tom Cockcroft

Recitation "When Mother Went Away" H. Newlove

Prayer

(Attendance: 130)

Appendix II

Estimated Strength of Juvenile Temperance Movement (1913-14)

Bands of Hope	No. of Societies	Estimated Memb.	No. of Societies	Estimated Memb.
Societies associated with Organisations [Metropolitan and Provincial, inc. Lancashire and Cheshire and Yorkshire]	18,165			
Deduct on account of probable dual membership	1,500		16,665	2,249,775
Probable number of Societies unassociated with Local Unions, or for which no Unions exist			3,000	405,000
Church of England Temperance Society, Juvenile Branches	4,647	416,891		
Deduct one-tenth probably included above	464	41,689	4,183	375,202
Wesleyan Methodist Societies	6,123	407,850		
Wesleyan Reform Societies	83	7,277		
Independent Methodist Societies	64 = 6,270	7,950 = 423,077		
Deduct one-half probably included in Section I			3,135	211,538
Societies connected with Scottish Churches	473	70,139		
Deduct proportion probably included in Section I			856	122,606
			= 27,839	3,364,121
Other Juvenile Societies	No. of Societies	Estimated Membership	No. of Societies	Estimated Membership
Juvenile Rechabites	3,401	224,147		

Cadets of Temperance	1,155	85,600		
Juvenile Temples	1,265	97,110		
	= 5,821	= 406,857		
Deduct one-fifth probably included in Section I	1,164	81,371	= 4,657	= 325,486
B.W.T.A. Children's Department			40	1,500
Salvation Army (Bands of Love)			1,270	64,872
Roman Catholic (Juvenile Temperance Organisation)			87	26,000
Juvenile Sons of the Phoenix (Three Orders)			152	6,990
			6,206	424,848

Summary	No. of Societies	Estimated Membership
Bands of Hope	27,839	3,364,121
Other Juvenile Temperance Organisations	6,206	424,848
Total	34,045	3,788,969

[Source: WYAS, Leeds, United Kingdom Band of Hope Union Annual Reports, 1914, p. 6]. There appears to be an error in the row numbering societies connected with Scottish Churches. This would make the number of societies overstated by 373, and the total membership overstated by 52,467. This error has little effect on the overall scale of Band of Hope activity, however.

Appendix III

[Source: T.F. Weaving, *The Halfpenny Illustrated Temperance Reciter*, Vol. I. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894 (?), p. 127].

The Coming Men

Children in life's young morning,
Our journey just begun.
Already we are scorning,
The course by thousands run.
Do not, for youth, despise us,
Nor coldly criticize us,
In days to come you'll prize us –
We are the coming men.

We are the coming *teachers*,
Whose words may mould the lives
Of those who will in future
Be fathers, husbands, wives.
Then mark our Temperance teaching,
In grand results far-reaching –
Our help you'll be beseeching –
For we're the coming men.

Or, may-be, we'll be *preachers*,
Whose aim will be to save
Many from drink's dread thralldom,
Many from sin's sad grave.
Our Head, the Christ before us,
His love, a banner o'er us,
O then you'll not ignore us,
We are the coming men.

We are the coming *voters*,
Our rights we'll cherish well,
The liquor-trade promoters,
Who strong drink make and sell,
Will find us never wanting,
In frays where some are daunting,
Don't think we're idly vaunting,
We are the coming men.

May-be we're future *statesmen*,
Raised by the people's will,
To frame a Local Option,
Or Prohibition Bill.
Then we will show the nation,
To its alleviation,
By Temperance legislation,
That we're the coming men.

Appendix IV

The amount of NSPCC literature distributed and the number of children assisted in its first seven years:

Year	Cost of Literature Circulated			Number of Children Dealt with by the Society in following Year
	£	s.	d.	
1888-9	724	8	0	7,463
1889-90	1,068	16	2	13,955
1890-1	1,883	11	5	19,802
1891-2	2,225	19	2	27,637
1892-3	3,054	3	8	37,642
1893-4	4,579	9	9	47,212
1894-5	4,795	8	4	52,871
For 7 years	£ 18,331	16	6	206,582

[Source: *The Power of the Children being the Report of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1895-6*, p. 45.]

Appendix V

Number of children and teachers who were under instruction and who were examined for prizes by the RTS in 1881-2:

	Under instruction	In <i>Viva Voce</i> Written Examinations	In Competitive Written Examinations	Prizes Awarded
Scholars in Second and Third Standards	(Upwards of) 3400	(upwards of) 3400	20 per cent selected (for prizes)	707
In Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and higher standards	1980	1980	466	328
Pupil Teachers and Candidates	179		138	104
Total	5559	5380	604	1139

[Source: RTS, ECM, June 6, 1882].

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Unpublished and Institutional Primary Sources

British Library, London

Add. MSS 62182A Northcliffe Papers.

Add. MSS 62182B Northcliffe Papers.

Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union Annual Reports. Manchester, 1888, 1910, 1912.

NSPCC Annual Reports.

Lambeth Palace Library, London

Benson Papers.

Church of England Temperance Society, *Annual Reports*.

Church of England Temperance Society, *Executive Minutes*.

School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London

Religious Tract Society, Additional Deposits.

Religious Tract Society, Copyright Committee Minutes.

Religious Tract Society, Correspondence.

Religious Tract Society, Executive Committee Minutes.

Religious Tract Society, Finance Committee Minutes.

Religious Tract Society, List of New Publications.

Religious Tract Society, *Annual Reports*.

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

Souvenir of Banquet – held at the Fleetway House, The Amalgamated Press LTD., Thursday, November 7, 1912. For Private Circulation Only (G. Pulman, the Cranford Press, 1912). duff f 00130.

West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS): Leeds.

Leeds and District Band of Hope, Demonstration Leaflets, 1883-1885 with other papers. WYL1476.

Minute Book, Yorkshire Band of Hope Union (Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, Hull, Huddersfield, Dewsbury, York, Batley, Ossett.), 1904-5. WYL770.

J. Rinder, "Have Courage, My Boy, to Say No!" in Leeds and District Band of Hope League, Programme of Arrangements of the Band of Hope Demonstration, in Front of the Town Hall, On Good Friday, April the 11th, 1884. WYL1476.

WYAS Bradford

Bradford, Greenfield Band of Hope and Temperance Society meetings at Greenfield Congregational Church, Manningham, Minute Book, 1873- 1877, WYB10/2/2/13.

Minute Book of Band of Hope Committee meetings for Girdlington Congregational Church, WYB10/3/5/15-16.

Programme of a Sunday School rally in Peel Park, in celebration of the Jubilee of the Bradford Sunday School Union, 1901, WYB10/3/5/16.

Sion Band of Hope and Temperance Society, Harris St. Bradford, Programme Book from April 12, 1895 - Jan 31, 1906, 28D92.

Year Books 1864-1900, containing the annual reports and accounts of the Session, Management, Sunday School, Children's Service, Literary Society, Ladies Sewing Society, Band of Hope, and Women's Missionary Association, and list of communicants arranged in Elders' District, for St Andrew's Presbyterian (UR) Church, Bradford, WYB10/5/9/1

Year Books 1900-1910, containing the annual reports and accounts of the Session, Management, Sunday School, Ladies Sewing Society, Women's Missionary Society, Presbyterian Boys Brigade, Band of Hope, Literary Association, Church Choir, Dorcas Society, Young Women's Guild, Children's Guild, Young Men's Class, and list of communicants arranged in Elders' District, for St Andrew's Presbyterian (UR) Church, Bradford, WYB10/5/9/2.

Printed British Government Documents

Statutes

Act for Regulating the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors, 35 & 36 Vict., c. 94 (1872).

Children Act, 8 Edw. VII, c. 67 (1908).

Elementary Education Act, 33 & 34 Vict., c. 75 (1870).

Elementary Education Act, 43 & 44 Vict., c. 23 (1880).

Elementary Education Act, 54 & 55 Vict., c. 56 (1891).

Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 49 & 50 Vict., c. 56 (1886).

Intoxicating Liquors (Sale to Children) Act, 1 Edward VII, c. 27 (1901).

Licensing Act, 2 Edw. VII, c. 28 (1902).
Licensing Act, 4 Edw. VII, c. 23 (1904).
Licensing Act, 35 & 36 Vict., c. 94 (1872).
Metropolitan Police Act, 2 & 3 Vict., c. 47 (1839).
Youthful Offenders Act, 1 Edw. VII, c. 20 (1901).

Debates

Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 3rd ser., vol. 204 (1872).
Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 4th ser., vol. 91 (1901).
Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 4th ser., vol. 183 (1908).
Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 4th ser., vol. 186 (1908).
Hansard Parliamentary Debates, 4th ser., vol. 194 (1908).

Parliamentary Sessions and Papers

House of Commons. "A Bill to Amend the Laws Relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors". *Parliamentary Papers*, 1872. Vol. 2, pp. 303-397.

_____. *Report From the Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards Together with the Proceedings of the Committee Minutes of Evidence*, 1872.

_____. *Report From the Select Committee on Public Houses*, 1854.

House of Lords. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed for the Purpose of Inquiring into the Prevalence of Habits of Intemperance*, 1879.

_____. Select Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance. *First, Second, Third, Fourth Report[s], Together with Minutes of Evidence*, 1877. *Final Report*, 1878 - 1879, X (113).

Irish University Press. *British Parliamentary Papers. Social Problems, Drunkenness*. 4 vols. Microforms. Shannon, 1968 [1834-1899].

Joint Select Committee of Enquiry on Lotteries and Indecent Advertisements, Twentieth Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1908, vol. 9.

Report on the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Degeneration, Cd. 2175, [Parliamentary Papers 32] vol. 1 (1904).

"Intoxicating Liquor Laws Amendment Bill". *Parliamentary Papers*, 1872. Vol. 2, p. 346.

"Intoxicating Liquor (Licensing Bill)". *Parliamentary Papers*, 1871. Vol. 2, pp. 489-588.

"Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill". *Parliamentary Papers*, 1871. Vol. 4, pp. 449-452.

Religious Worship, England and Wales, 1851. Parliamentary Papers, 1852-1853. Vol. 79, pp. 188-238, 301.

Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Laws. Minutes of Evidence. 9 vols. Final Report, 1897-1899.

Spiritous Liquors Licensing Bill. Parliamentary Papers, 1872. Vols. 5-6, pp. 243-342.

Newspapers and Journals

Amalgamated Press

Answers to Correspondents.

Boys' Friend.

Boys' Herald.

Boys' Realm.

Champion.

Comic Cuts.

Harmsworth Self-Educator.

Home Circle.

Illustrated Chips.

Marvel.

Sunday Circle.

Sunday Companion.

Band of Hope

Band of Hope Annual.

Band of Hope Review.

Borough of Marylebone and North-West Middlesex Band of Hope Union Quarterly Manual.

Comrades: A Band of Hope, Temperance and Family Magazine. The Journal of the Ashton under Lyne & District United Temperance Association.

Every Band of Hope Boy's Reciter: Containing Original Recitations, Dialogues, &C., Written Expressly for Bands of Hope.

Halfpenny Illustrated Temperance Reciter.

Marylebone Band of Hope Monthly Visitor.

Onward

Our Boys and Girls Band of Hope Journal, to aid young people in Band of Hope and temperance work.

Quarterly Manual and Band of Hope Reporter for Greenwich and West Kent.

Sion Chapel Band of Hope Monthly Visitor.

Workers Onward: The Organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope & Temperance Union.

Church of England Temperance Society

Boys' & Girls' Companion: An Illustrated Magazine for Boys and Girls.

Church of England Illustrated Temperance Magazine.

Church of England Standard Bearer.

Church of England Temperance Chronicle.

Church of England Temperance Tracts.

Young Crusader.

Young Standard Bearer.

Religious Tract Society

Boy's Own Paper.

Chatterbox.

Child's Companion or Sunday Scholar's Reward.

Children's Friend.

Church Friendly.

Empire Annual for Girls.

Girl's Own Paper.

Seed Time and Harvest: Records of Religious Tract Society Work among the Nations of over 250 Languages.

Leisure Hour.

Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad.

Sunday at Home.

Tract Magazine and Christian Miscellany.

Socialist Papers

Clarion.

Daily Herald: The Labour Daily Newspaper.

Labour Leader: A Weekly Record of Social and Political Progress.

Labour Prophet.

Yorkshire Factory Times.

Young Socialist: A Magazine of Love and Service.

Zoophilist.

Other

Abstainer: An Illustrated Temperance Monthly.

All the Year Round: A Weekly Journal Conducted by Charles Dickens.

Chums.

Child's Companion or Sunday Scholar's Reward.

Children's Friend. A Magazine for Boys and Girls at Home and School.

Child's Guardian: The Official Organ of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Family Friend.

Inspector's Quarterly.

Lancet.

Middlesex Temperance Chronicle, A Quarterly Record of Good Templar, Band of Hope and other Temperance Work in the County of Middlesex.

Mining Magazine.

Published Primary Sources

Adler, Herbert M. "The Licensing Question in England," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 23, Philanthropy and Penology (1904): 106-9.

Anon. *Alcohol and Health Education for the consideration of teachers and others concerned for the Health Efficiency and Welfare of Youth and the Nation.* Pamphlet 31. Ministry of Education, n.d.

Anon. *The Apprentice; or, Affectionate Hints to a Young Friend Entering Upon the Business of Life.* London: Religious Tract Society, n.d.

Anon. *The Band of Hope Blue Book: A Manual of Instruction and Training, Preparing for Citizenship.* Westminster: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1942.

Anon. *Boys and Their Ways. A Book for and about Boys. By one who knows them.* London: John Hogg, Paternoster Row, 1892.

- Anon. *The British and Colonial Temperance Congress, London, July, 1886*. London: National Temperance Publication Depot, 1886.
- Anon. *The Children and the Drink, with a Preface by His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1901.
- Anon. *Christian Manliness. A Book of Examples and Principles for Young Men*. London: Religious Tract Society, n.d. [1866?].
- Anon. *Church of England Temperance Society Annual Examination and Inter-diocesan Competition, 1914-1915*. Westminster: Church of England Temperance Society, 1914.
- Anon. *Drinking and Your Child. Some Sobering Thoughts for Parents*. Edinburgh: Scottish Health Education Unit, n.d. (1970s?)
- Anon. *Homes Made and Marred: A Book for Working Men and their Wives*. London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.
- Anon. *Jubilee of the Mere Temperance Society. Short History of the Mere Temperance Society with some Account of the Morning Star Band of Hope*. Mere: H.H. Edmunds, 1890.
- Anon. *Methodist Ministers and Total Abstinence*. London: Christian Economic and Social Research Foundation, 1962.
- Anon. *My School-Boy Days*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1867.
- Anon. *Ourselves, Drugs and Young People: Some Suggestions to Adults*. London, Central Council for Health Education, n.d.
- Anon. *The Pilgrim Boy and Other Stories of the Early Missionaries*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1889.
- Anon. *Pearson's Temperance Reciter: Readings and Recitations for Bands of Hope, Temperance Society and P.S.A. Meetings*. London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1906.
- Anon. *The Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism*. London: Paternoster House, 1909.
- Anon. *The Proceedings of the Twentieth International Congress on Alcoholism*. London: Sainsbury, 1934.
- Anon. *The Publisher's Circular: General Record of British and Foreign Literature*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1879.
- Anon. *Socialist Sunday Schools: A Manual*. Gateshead: National Council of British Socialist Sunday Schools, 1924.
- Anon. *The Socialist Sunday Schools Song Book*. Glasgow: S.L. Press, 1917 [1911].
- Anon. *Speakers' Self-Help. Outlines of Blackboard and Other Addresses for Band of Hope Meetings*. London: Richard J. James, n.d.
- Anon. *Teaching your Child About Alcohol. Guidelines to Parents*. Manchester: Teachers' Advisory Council on Alcohol and Drug Education, n.d.

- Anon. *Uncle Rupert's Stories for Boys*. London: Religious Tract Society [187?].
- Anon. *The Working Boy's Sunday Improved*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1860.
- Baden-Powell, Robert. *Scouting for Boys*. London: C.A. Pearson, 1908.
- . *Rovering to Success: A Guide for Young Manhood*. 1922; London: Herbert Jenkins, 1959.
- Balfour, Clara Lucas. *Morning Dew-Drops or the Juvenile Abstainer*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, n.d.
- Band of Hope Review Office. *Speakers' Self-Help: Outlines of Blackboard and Other Addresses for Band of Hope Meetings*. London: Richard J. James, n.d.
- Barrie, J.M. *Sentimental Tommy. The Story of his Boyhood*. London: Cassell and Company, 1895.
- Bear, Kenneth. *Happy Journey: Textbook for the Temperance Knowledge Examination*. Manchester: Independent Order of Rechabites, n.d.
- Bedford, Reg. C. *Total Abstinence and the Teenager*. The Joseph Malins Memorial Lecture, 1960.
- Bentley, Frederick. *The Serpent in the Glass: A Temperance Examination Textbook*. Manchester: Onward Press, n.d.
- Bondfield, Margaret. *Joseph Livesey – A Man of Destiny!* First Livesey Memorial Lecture. Sheffield: British Temperance League, 1933.
- Bonwick, James. *Little Joe; A Tale of the Pacific Railway*. Second Ed. London: National Temperance Publication Depot, n.d.
- Brake, G. Thompson. *The Temperance Man and his Friends*. Birmingham: The Templar Printing Works, 1970.
- Burns, Dawson. *The Bible and Temperance Reform*. Seventh Lees and Raper Lecture (delivered in 1906). Biggleswade, Beds.: Larkinson Bros, 1961.
- Burns, John. *Labour and Drink*. Fifth Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1904.
- Burrell, Horace. *What Youth Should Know: A Book for Teen-agers on Alcohol*. London: Hope Press, n.d.
- Carpenter, Edward. *St. George and the Dragon, A Play in Three Acts for Children and Young Folk Dedicated to the I.L.P. Clubs and Socialist Sunday Schools*. London: I.L.P., 1908.
- Carter, Henry. *The Nation Surveys The Drink Problem: A Review of the Report of the Royal Commission on Licensing*. Westminster: The Temperance Council of Christian Churches, 1932.
- Chisholm, Samuel. *The Relation of the Drink Habit and the Drink Traffic to our Municipal and National Life*. Ninth Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1909.

- Church of England Temperance Society. *Report of the Committee on Intemperance for the Convocation of the Province of York*. Manchester: Darrah, 1872.
- . *Short Manual for the Formation and Guidance of Branches*. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1910.
- . *The Young Crusader's Hymn and Song Book, containing over 100 hymns and songs together with a short service for meetings and admission service for use in church bands of hope*. Westminster: Church of England Temperance Society Publication Depot, 1894.
- Clarke, H.F. *How to avoid Leakage between the Band of Hope and the Adult Society*. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1894.
- . *The Sunday School in Relation to the Band of Hope*. London: Church of England Temperance Publication Depot, 1892.
- Clifford, John. *Temperance Reform and the Ideal State*. Twelfth Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture. London: MacMillan and Co., 1913.
- Coomer, Helen. *Lessons and Experiments on Scientific Hygiene and Temperance for Elementary School Children*. London: MacMillan & Co., 1914.
- Crosfill, John. *Historical Survey of the Temperance Question*. Birmingham: The Templar Printing Works, 1920.
- Darnton, P.W. *The Adventures of Jack Pomeroy. A Book for Boys*. London: Religious Tract Society, n.d. [1890].
- Davies, Arthur C. *Teaching Children Abstinence as a Valid Preventative of Adult Alcoholism*. Lecture to the Temperance Collegiate Association, 1976.
- Davis, C.A. *The Relation of Sunday School Teachers to the Band of Hope Movement*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894.
- Diggle, J.R. "Temperance in the Schools," in *Alcohol and Childhood: A Report of Two Conferences*, Church of England Temperance Society (Junior Division). London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1891.
- Dilnot, George (compiler). *Romance of the Amalgamated Press*. London: Amalgamated Press, 1925.
- Dyer, Alfred S. *Plain Words to Young Men Upon an Avoided Subject*. London: Dyer Brothers, n.d.
- . *Safeguards to Moral Purity and Facts that Men Ought to Know*. London: Dyer Brothers, n.d. [1890s].
- Eccles, William McAdam. *The Relation of Alcohol to Physical Deterioration and National Efficiency*. Eighth Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1908.
- Elmgren, Sven. *Youth and the Future of the Temperance Movement*. The Joseph Malins Memorial Lecture, 1972.

- Essery, Rev. W.A. *The Sunday School Should Incorporate the Band of Hope*. London: Sunday School Union, 1885.
- Evans, Kilsby D. *Temperance Education*. Cardiff: The Temperance Collegiate Association, 1957.
- Fielding, W. "What Shall I Do with my Son?" *The Nineteenth Century*. April (1883): 578-586.
- Fleming, James, Rev., ed. *Readings for Winter Gatherings, Temperance and Mothers' Meetings, etc.* London: Religious Tract Society, 1870.
- Foot, Isaac. *Is There Not a Cause?* The Second Ernest Winterton Memorial Lecture. London: United Kingdom Temperance Alliance, 1949.
- Forsaith, Miss. "The Secret of Successful Work," (paper read at a conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, held April 25th, 1885). London: S.W. Partridge & Co. Manchester: Onward Publishing Office.
- Frecknall, Jesse R. *Body, Mind and Spirit: A Study of Alcohol and Life, from the Scientific Economic and Social Aspects*. Birmingham: Grand Lodge of England, 1947.
- Galton, Francis, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*. London: Macmillan, 1883.
- Garret, Rev. Charles. "The Relationship of the Sunday School to the Band of Hope," (paper read at the Autumnal Conference of the Sunday School Union, at the School-room, City Temple, 1883) London: Sunday School Union.
- Garwood, J.S. *By Their Fruits: A Text Book for the Study of the Biblical Aspect of the Temperance Cause Prepared Specially for Children and Young People*. Birmingham: Templar Printing Works, n.d.
- . *Heroes All: Stories of Famous Temperance Leaders and their Works. A Text Book for the Study of Temperance History Suitable for Children and Young People*. Birmingham: National Juvenile Templar Council, n.d.
- . *Mind That Child: A Booklet Describing the Principles, Methods and Purpose of Juvenile Temples of the International Order of Good Templars*. Birmingham: Templar Printing Works, n.d.
- Glenn, W. Frank. "Impotence in the Male," *Southern Practitioner*, June (1892).
- Gilby, Alice E.N. *The Scientific Aspect of the Drink Question with Special Reference to V.D.* Address delivered before a Conference of Church, Social and Youth Workers of the City of Bristol. Bristol: Western Temperance League, n.d.
- Gissing, George. *The Odd Women*. 1893; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Goss, Charles Frederic. *Husband, Wife and Home*. With intro by Sylvanus Stall. London: Vir Publishing Co. 1905.
- Gosse, Edmund. *Father and Son*. London: William Heinemann, 1907.

- Green, Samuel G. *The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1899.
- Hall, G. Stanley. *Adolescence: Its Psychology And Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904.
- . *The New Woman*. London: Houlston and Sons, c. 1900.
- . *Youth: Its Education, Regimen and Hygiene*. London: Sidney Appleton, 1908 [1904].
- Harbour, H. *Strong Reasons Against Strong Drink*. London: Jarrold and Sons, 1892.
- Hargreaves, W.M. *Alcohol and Science or Alcohol: What It Is, And What It Does*. London: W. Nicholson and Sons, 1875.
- Hayler, Guy. *Between the Two Thirties. Ten Decades' Struggle with the Liquor Traffic*. London: World Prohibition Federation, n.d.
- . *The Call of the Child. An Appeal for England's Ten Million Children and the Rest of the World's Little Ones*. London: World Prohibition Federation, 1930.
- . *The Child's Right and Prohibition. A Post Liquordom Inquiry*. Birmingham: Templar Printing Works, 1924.
- . *For the Great World's Good. Child Betterment Under Prohibition*. London: World Prohibition Federation, 1925.
- . *Prohibition Advance in All Lands. A Study of the World-Wide Character of the Drink Question*. London: International Prohibition Confederation, 1913.
- Hayler, Mark H.C. *The Man from Battle*. Birmingham: International Order of Good Templars, 1950.
- Heath, H. Cecil. *The Problem of Youthful Drunkenness*. Westminster: Hope Press, n.d. (UK Band of Hope Union Address at Folkestone).
- Hercod, R. "La protection de l'enfant dans la lutte contre l'alcoolisme," *The Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism*. London: National Temperance League, 1909.
- Hill, J., et al. *A Present for the Young*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1828.
- Hilton, J. Deane. *A Brief Memoir of James Hayes Raper, Temperance Reformer, 1820-1897*. London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1898.
- Hornbeck, Stanley K. "The English 'Children's Bill'," *American Political Science Review*, 2, no. 4 (1908): 564-569.
- Horsley, Sir Victor and Mary D. Sturge. *Alcohol and the Human Body. An Introduction to the Study of the Subject, and a Contribution to National Health*. Manchester: Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope and Temperance Union, 1909.
- Hoyle, William. *Our National Drink Bill as It Affects The Nation's Well-Being*. Glasgow: James Hamilton, 1884.

- Hughes, Thomas. *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. London: Collins' Clear-Type Press, n.d.
- Inge, W.R. *Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.
- Inglis, M.K. *The Children's Charter: A Sketch of the Scope and Main Provisions of the Children Act, 1908*. London: T. Nelson, 1909.
- James, H.T. *Industrial Bands of Hope*. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1891.
- Johnson, Harriet M. *Our Future Citizens*. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1899.
- Jones, William. *The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society: Containing a Record of its Origin, Proceedings, and Results*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1850.
- [Kelynack, T.N.]. "Posters and the Anti-Alcohol Movement," *British Journal of Inebriety [Addiction]*, 12, no. 4 (1915): 210-214.
- Kirton, J.W. *Happy Homes and How to Make Them; or, Counsels on Love, Courtship, and Marriage*. London: John Kempster & Co. [first published, 1870; Kempster editions in 1874, 1879 and 1897.].
- Lang, A. "At the Sign of the Ship," *Longman's Magazine*, 24 (1894): 655-6.
- Lang, Cosmo Gordon. *The Perfecting of Boyhood. A Sermon*. London: St. Martin's Press, 1907.
- Lawson, Wilfred. *Law and the Liquor Traffic*. Sixth Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture. London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1905.
- Legh, Rev. H. Edmund. *How to Make a Temperance Speech*. Westminster: Church of England Temperance Society, n.d.
- Low, Frances. "Favourite Books of Childhood," *Strand Magazine*, 7 (1894): 128-36.
- MacCarthy, Mary. *A Nineteenth-Century Childhood*. London: Martin Secker, 1931.
- Malins, Joseph. *The World's Temperance Reciter, Consisting of Original and Other Temperance Poetical Pieces*. Birmingham: Grand Lodge of England Dept., n.d.
- Massingham, H.W. *The London Daily Press*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1892.
- "Medicus Abstinens," *Side-Lights on Alcohol and its Action on The Human Organism*. Westminster: Church of England Temperance Society, n.d.
- Melville, Harden Sidney, John Thompson and Charles Whittingham. *The Boy's Week-day Book*. Revised Third Edition. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1836.
- Millington, T.S. *Boy and Man: A Story for Young and Old*. London: Religious Tract Society [1887].
- Mitchell, Rosslyn. *Booze versus Brains*. London: The National Commercial Temperance League, n.d.
- Morden, John F.C. *The Servants of Good Templary*. n.d.

- Morrison, Thomas. *The Sabbath School Teacher's Handbook; or, The Principles and Practice of Teaching*. London: Sunday School Union, 1888 (?).
- Newton, John. *Our National Drink Bill: Its Direct and Indirect Effects upon National Health, Morals, Industry and Trade*. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1909.
- Newton, Rev. Richard. *The Safe Compass and How it Points*. London: Charles H. Kelly, n.d. [first published 1863].
- Norris, Edwin, J. *Primer of the Physiological Action of Alcohol*. William Byles & Sons, 1900.
- Norris, Mrs. St. Clare. "Watchman Awake! Save the Children!" Pamphlet (1911).
- Nye, J.L., compiler and editor. *Stories for the Band of Hope*. 3rd Edition. London: Sunday School Union, n.d.
- Page, L. *Drink – the Waster, for Young People's Societies, Showing How the Use of Strong Drink Wastes the Nation's Resources, and is a Hindrance to Thrift, and Healthful Living*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, n.d.
- Parr, Robert J. *Benjamin Waugh: An Appreciation*. [1909].
- . *Wilful Waste: The Nation's Responsibility for its Children*. London: NSPCC, 1910.
- Parry, Hugh. *The Templar Knights*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, n.d.
- Pemberton, Max. *Lord Northcliffe: A Memoir*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922.
- Price, Alice. *The Child's Guide to Temperance: The Use of Schools and Families*. London: National Temperance Publication Depot, n.d.
- Rae, Robert, ed. *The National Temperance League's Annual*. London: National Temperance Publication Depot, 1881[-1892].
- Reason, Will. *A Handbook to the Drink Problem*. London: Student Christian Movement, 1926.
- Richards, Frank. "A Reply to George Orwell," *Horizon*, 1 (1940): 346-56.
- Ridge, J. James. *Temperance Teaching for the Young. Twelve Addresses founded on the Band of Hope Catechism*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, [1882].
- Russell, T.W. *Where Do We Stand To-day?* Thirteenth Lees and Raper Memorial Lecture. Birmingham: Templar Printing Works, 1917.
- Salmon, E. *Juvenile Literature As It Is*. London, 1888.
- . "What Boys Read," *Fortnightly Review*, 45, February (1886).
- Samuel, Herbert. *Memoirs*. London: The Cresset Press, 1945.
- Sara, Edmund. *Young Men and Maidens: A Study of Youth in the Parish*. London: The S. Christopher Press, 1936.
- Sargent, George E. *Boys Will Be Boys*. London: Religious Tract Society [1879].
- . *The Story of a Child's Companion*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1872.

- Sewell, A.H. and Arthur G. Barker. *The Drink Trade and the Nation*. Bristol: Western Temperance League, 1927.
- Sharp, J. Alfred. *Social Aspect of the Drink Problem*. London: Robert Culley, 1910.
- Slaughter, J.W. *The Adolescent*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1911.
- Smith, Douglas A. *Shall I? A Challenge to Christians*. London: Independent Press, n.d.
- Smith, Frederic, ed. *The Band of Hope Jubilee Volume*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1897.
- . “The Juvenile Temperance Organisations in Great Britain and Ireland,” in *Temperance in All Nations, History of the Cause in all Countries of the Globe, Together with Papers and Essays, Addresses and Discussions of the World's Temperance Congress Held by the National Temperance Society, Chicago, June, 1893* [World's Temperance Congress, 1893] J.N. Stearns ed. New York: National Temperance Society, 1893.
- . *Simple Lessons for Young Abstainers*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, [1894].
- Snowden, Viscount. Forward by David Lloyd George, M.P. *End This Colossal Waste. A Neglected Palliative for Unemployment*. London: United Kingdom Alliance, n.d.
- Snowden, Viscountess. *The Challenge of Total Abstinence*. London: United Kingdom Temperance Alliance, 1946.
- Sowton, Stanley. *Ideals and Ideas for Band of Hope Workers*. London: The Pioneer Temperance Pamphlets, no. 2, 1913.
- Stall, Sylvanus. *Parental Honesty*. London and Philadelphia: Vir Publishing, 1905.
- . *What a Young Boy Ought to Know*. London: Vir Publishing Company, 1909 [1897].
- . *What a Young Husband Ought to Know*. London: Vir Publishing Co., 1897.
- . *What a Young Man Ought to Know*. London: Vir Publishing Company, 1909 [1897].
- . *With the Children on Sundays: Through the Eye-Gate and Ear-Gate into the City of Child-Soul*. Philadelphia: Uplift Publishing Co, 1911.
- Stretton, Hesba. *Alone in London*. London: Religious Tract Society [1869].
- . *Jessica's First Prayer*. London: Religious Tract Society, n.d. [1867].
- . *Mrs. Burton's Best Bedroom*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1870.
- . *No Place Like Home*. London: Religious Tract Society, n.d. [1881].
- Taylor, Jane, Mrs. *Know Thyself: Designed for the Youth of Both Sexes. Designed for Families and Schools. To Parents and Teachers. (Revised by a member of the Royal College of Surgeons.)* London: W. Kent and Co., n.d.
- Taylor, Robert. *Burst Bubbles: The Truth about Alcohol Explained to Boys and Girls*. Westminster: Hope Press, n.d.

- Temperance Council of Christian Churches. *How to Be a He-Man*. Edinburgh: McLagan & Cumming, Ltd., n.d.
- Tinling, Christine I. “*About Ourselves*” *Ten Story Lessons in Hygiene*. London: National British Women’s Temperance Association [with permission from the National Women’s Christian Temperance Union, USA, 1914], 1924.
- Trueman, Rev. Henry, *Temperance in War-Time*. 2nd edn., Westminster: Church of England Temperance Society, 1915.
- United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. *Annual Reports*. London: UK Band of Hope, 1914.
- . *The Band of Hope Blue Book: A Manual of Instruction and Training*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1942.
- . Report of School Scheme [annual].
- Vecki, Victor G. *Sexual Impotence*. Fourth edition. Philadelphia and London: W.B. Saunders Company, 1912.
- Wakely, Charles, *Bands of Hope and Sunday Schools*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894.
- . *The Temperance Manual for the Young*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1891.
- . *Temperance Teaching in Schools throughout the World*. London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, n.d.
- Warner, Susan. *The Wide, Wide World*. 2 Vols. New York: George P. Putnam, 1851.
- Watts, Dr. *Advice to a Young Man Entering Upon the World*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1820.
- Wilkins, Rev. W.J. *Harry’s Trip to India*. London: Religious Tract Society, n.d.
- Williams, Howard. *Smoking and Young People*. London: The Chest and Heart Association, n.d.
- Williamson, David. *From Boyhood to Manhood*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1910.
- Winkless, Edward. *The Only Proven Solution to the Drink Problem*. Newcastle-on-Tyne, n.d.
- Winterton, Wilfrid. *Room at the Inn*. London: United Kingdom Alliance, 1948.
- . *Youth’s Challenge to Alcohol*. London: Order of the Sons of Temperance, 1957.
- Wittaker, Thomas P. *The Economic Aspect of the Drink Problem*. London: Church of England Temperance Society, n.d.
- Wordsworth, Charles. *Christian Boyhood at a Public School*. 2 Vols. London: Francis & John Rivington, 1846.
- Yorkshire Band of Hope Union. *Centenary Souvenir Handbook, 1865-1965*. Brighouse: Smith, Hodgson and Co, 1965.

———. *County Bazaar, Coliseum, Leeds: Programme of Arrangements*. Leeds: Geo. A. Jennings, 1904.

Secondary Sources

Books and Articles

- Abrams, Lynn. "There was Nobody Like my Daddy," *Scottish Historical Review* (October 1999): 219-242.
- Adams, James Eli. *Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Alderson, David. *Mansex Fine: Religion, Manliness and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century British Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- Altholz, Josef. *The Religious Press in Britain, 1760-1900*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood*. London: Cape, 1962.
- Avery, Gillian. *Childhood's Pattern: A Study of Heroes and Heroines of Children's Fiction, 1790-1950*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Barker-Benfield, G.J. *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995.
- Behlmer, George K. "Character Building and the English Family: Continuities in Social Casework, ca. 1870-1930," in *Singular Continuities: Tradition, Nostalgia, and Identity in Modern British Culture*. Eds. George K. Behlmer and Fred M. Leventhal. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- . *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982.
- . *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850-1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Berry, Laura C. *The Child, the State and the Victorian Novel*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.
- Bibbings, L. "Images of Manliness: the Portrayal of Soldiers and Conscientious Objectors in the Great War," *Social and Legal Studies*, 12 (2003): 335-358.
- Bird, Sharon R. "Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity," *Gender and Society*, 10 (1996): 120-132.

- Boddice, Rob. "In Loco Parentis? Public-School Authority, Cricket and Manly Character, 1855-62," *Gender and Education*, online edition, July 4 (2008).
- . "Manliness and the 'Morality of Field Sports': E.A. Freeman and Anthony Trollope, 1869-71," *The Historian*, 70, no. 1 (2008): 1-29.
- Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Boyd, Kelly. "Exemplars and Ingrates: Imperialism and the Boys' Story Paper, 1880-1930," *Historical Research*, 67 (1994): 143-55.
- . "'Half-Caste Bob' or Race and Caste in the Late-Victorian Boy's Story Paper," in *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth Century Media*. Ed. David Finkelstein and Douglas Beers. Basingstoke and New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- . "Knowing Your Place: The Tension of Manliness in Boys' Story Papers, 1918-39," in *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in England since 1800*. Ed. Michael Roper and John Tosh. London: Routledge, 1991.
- . *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Bradley, Ian. *The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians*. New York: MacMillan, 1976.
- Bradstock, Andrew, ed. *Masculinity and Spirituality in Victorian Culture*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Bratton, J.S. *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*. London: Croom Helm, 1981.
- . "Of England, Home and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and Edwardian Juvenile Fiction." *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Ed. John M. MacKenzie. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986. 73-93.
- Braude, Ann. "Women's History Is American Religious History." *Retelling U.S. Religious History*. Ed. Thomas A. Tweed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Bristow, Joseph. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*. London: HarperCollins, 1991.
- Brittan, Arthur. *Masculinity and Power*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Broughton, Trev Lynn and Helen Rogers. *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- Brown, Callum. *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- . "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?," *Urban History Yearbook* (1988): 1-14.

- . “The Secularization Decade: What the 1960s have done to the study of religious history,” in *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1789-1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Brown, Ford K. *Fathers of the Victorians: The Age of Wilberforce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Brown, Lucy. *Victorian News and Newspapers*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1985.
- Bruce, Steve. *God is Dead: Secularization in the West*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.
- Brydon, Thomas. R.C. “Charles Booth, Charity Control, and the London Churches, 1897-1903,” *Historian*, 68, no. 3 (2006): 489-518.
- Buettner, Elizabeth. *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Burnett, John. *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Burton, Antoinette. “Some Trajectories of ‘Feminism’ and ‘Imperialism’,” *Gender & History* 10, no. 3 (1998): 558-568.
- Canning, Kathleen & Rose, Sonya O. “Gender, Citizenship and Subjectivity: Some Historical and Theoretical Considerations,” *Gender & History* 13, no. 3 (2001): 427-443.
- Carnes, Mark C. and Clyde Griffen, eds. *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Carter, Philip. *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*. Harlow: Longman, 2001.
- Carter, Sarah. *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada’s Prairie West*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997.
- Chapman, Rowena and Jonathan Rutherford, eds. *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988.
- Childs, Michael. *Labour’s Apprentices: Working-Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1992.
- Christ, Carol. “Victorian Masculinity and the Angel in the House,” in M. Vicinus (Ed) *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.
- Clark, Anna. “Gender, Class and Nation: Franchise Reform in England, 1832-1928,” in James Vernon, ed. *Re-reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England’s long Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- . “The Rhetoric of Chartist Domesticity: Gender, Language, and Class in the 1830s and 1840s,” *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992): 62-88.

- Clark, Peter. *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830*. New York: Longman, 1983.
- Clarke, Tom. *Northcliffe in History: An Intimate Study of Press Power*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1950.
- Cohen, Michele. "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England," in *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*, eds., Tim Hitchcock and Michele Cohen. London: Longman, 1999.
- . *National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Cole, Sarah. "Modernism, Male Intimacy, and the Great War," *English Literary History* 68, no. 2 (2001): 469-500.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Collini, Stefan, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young, eds. *History, Religion and Culture, 1750-1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Collini, Stefan. *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850-1930*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- Connell, R.W. *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- . *The Men and the Boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.
- Corfield, P.J. "The Rivals: Landed and Other Gentlemen," in *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914*, ed. Negley Harte and Roland Quinault. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Cornwall, Andrea and Nancy Lindisfarne, eds. *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Corrigan, Philip and Val Gillespie. *Class Struggle, Social Literacy and Idle Time: The Provision of Public Libraries in England*. Brighton: John L. Noyce, 1978.
- Cox, Jack. *Take a Cold Tub, Sir! The Story of the Boy's Own Paper*. Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1982.
- Cox, Jeffrey. *English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Cunningham, Hugh and Joanna Innes, eds. *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850*. London: MacMillan Press, 1998.
- Cunningham, Hugh. *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*. Harlow: Longman, 1995.
- Cunningham, Hugh, et al, "Roundtable, Victorian Children and Childhood," *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 9, no. 1 (2004): 90-113.

- Curtis, S.J. and M.E.A. Boulton. *An Introductory History of English Education since 1800*. London: University Tutorial Press, 1960.
- Cutt, Margaret Nancy. *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Writing for Children*. Wormley, Herts.: Five Owls Press, 1979.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
- Davidoff, Leonore, et al. *The Family Story: Blood, Contract and Intimacy, 1830-1960*. London: Longman, 1999.
- Davidoff, Leonore, Keith McClelland and Eleni Varikas. "Introduction: Gender and History - Retrospect and Prospect," *Gender & History* 11, no. 3 (1999): 415-418.
- Davin, Anna. *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914*. London: Rivers Oram, 1996.
- Davis, R.W. and R.J. Helmstadter, eds. *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinity*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Dellamora, Richard. *Masculine Desire*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Delumeau, Jean and Daniel Roche, eds. *Histoire des pères et de la paternité*. Paris: Larousse, 1990.
- Demers, Patricia and Gordon Moyles. *From Instruction to Delight: An Anthology of Children's Literature to 1850*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Demers, Patricia. *Heaven Upon Earth: The Form of Moral and Religious Children's Literature, to 1850*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993.
- Deslandes, Paul. *Oxbridge Men: British Masculinity and the Undergraduate Experience, 1850-1920*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- . "The Boundaries of Manhood in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Gender & History*, 19, no. 2 (2007): 376-379.
- Dierks, Konstantin. "Men's History, Gender History, or Cultural History?" *Gender & History* 14, no. 1 (2002): 147-151.
- Digby, Ann and Peter Searby. *Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-century England*. London: MacMillan, 1981.
- Dixon, Diana. "From Instruction to Amusement: Attitudes of Authority in Children's Periodicals before 1914," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 19 (Summer 1986): 63-7.
- Dixon, Joy. *Divine Feminine: Theosophy and Feminism in England*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Doolittle, Megan. "Close Relations? Bringing Together Gender and Family in English History," *Gender & History*, 11, no. 3 (1999): 542-554.

- . “Religious Belief and the Protection of Children in Nineteenth-century English Families,” in *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*. Eds. Trev Lynn Broughton, and Helen Rogers. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- Douglas, Mary, ed. *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Drotner, Kirsten. *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Dunae, Patrick. “Boys’ Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914,” *Victorian Studies* 24 (Autumn 1980): 105-21.
- . “The Boy’s Own Paper: Origins and Editorial Policies,” *Private Library*, second ser., 9, no. 4 (1976): 123-58.
- . “Education, Emigration and Empire: the Colonial College 1887-1905,” in *‘Benefits Bestowed’? Education and British Imperialism*, ed. J.A. Mangan. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- . “Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth Century Boys’ Literature and Crime,” *Victorian Studies*, 22 (1979): 133-50.
- Dyhouse, Carol. *Girls Growing Up in late Victorian and Edwardian England*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981.
- Elbourne, Elizabeth. “Domesticity and Dispossession: The Ideology of ‘Home’ and the British Construction of the ‘Primitive’ from the Eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century,” in *Deep hiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa*. Eds. Wendy Woodward, Patricia Hayes and Gary Minkley. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002.
- Elias, Norbert. *The Civilizing Process*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
- Ellis, Alec. *Books in Victorian Elementary Schools*. London: Library Association, 1971.
- Erikson, Erik H. *Childhood and Society*. 1950; New York and London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985.
- Fahey, David M. “Drink and the Meaning of Reform in Late Victorian and Edwardian England,” *Cithara*, 13 (1974): 46-56.
- Ferris, Paul. *The House of Northcliffe: A Biography of an Empire*. New York: 1972.
- Flegel, Monica. “Changing Faces: The NSPCC and the Use of Photography in the Construction of Cruelty to Children,” *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 39, no. 1 (2006): 1-20.
- Forrester, W. *Great-grandmama’s Weekly: A Celebration of the ‘Girl’s Own Paper’, 1880-1901*. Guildford: Lutterworth Press, 1980.
- Francis, Martin. “The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research on Nineteenth and Twentieth-century British Masculinity,” *Historical Journal*, 45 (2002): 637-652.
- Frank, Stephen M. *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth-Century American North*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

- Galbraith, Gretchen. *Reading Lives: Reconstructing Childhood, Books, and Schools in Britain, 1870-1920*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- Gay, Peter. *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- . "The Manliness of Christ," in *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society*. Eds. R.W. Davis and R.J. Helmstadter. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Gilbert, Alan D. *The Making of Post-Christian Britain: A History of the Secularization of Modern Society*. London: Longman, 1980.
- Gilbert, Arthur N. "Masturbation and Insanity: Henry Maudsley and the Ideology of Sexual Repression," *Albion*, 12, no. 3 (1980): 268-82.
- Gill, S. "How Muscular Was Victorian Christianity? Thomas Hughes and the Cult of Christian Manliness Reconsidered," in *Gender and Christian Religion*. Ed. R.N. Swanson. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998.
- Gillis, J.R., L.A. Tilly and D. Levine. *The European Experience of Declining Fertility*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Gillis, John R. "Ritualization of Middle-Class Family Life in Nineteenth Century Britain," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 3, no. 2 (1989): 213-235.
- . *A World of Their Own Making: Myth, Ritual, and the Quest for Family Values*. New York: BasicBooks, 1996.
- . *Youth and History*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.
- Gilmour, Robin. *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1981.
- Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Gordon, Eleanor, and Gwyneth Nair. "Domestic Fathers and the Victorian Parental Role," *Women's History Review*, 15, no. 4 (2006): 551-559.
- Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Green, Martin. *The Adventurous Male: Chapters in the History of the White Male Mind*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.
- Greven, Philip. *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- Griffin, Emma. "Popular Culture in Industrializing England," *Historical Journal*, 45, no. 3 (2002): 619-635.
- Grimshaw, Patricia and Peter Sherlock, "Women and Cultural Exchanges" in *Missions and Empire*. Ed. Norman Etherington. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Griswold, Robert L. *Fatherhood in America: A History*. New York: BasicBooks, 1993.

- Gullace, Nicoletta F. *"The Blood of Our Sons" Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of Citizenship during the Great War*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002.
- Gutzke, David W. "'The Cry of the Children.' The Edwardian Campaign Against Maternal Drinking," *British Journal of Addiction*, 79 (1984): 71-84.
- . *Protecting the Pub: Brewers and Politicians against Temperance*. Wolfeboro, N.H.: Boydell Press, 1989.
- Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- . *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992.
- Hall, Donald, ed. *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Hall, Lesley A. "Birds, Bees and General Embarrassment: Sex Education in Britain, from Social Purity to Section 28," in *Public or private education?: Lessons from history*, ed., Richard Aldrich. Woburn education series; London: Woburn, 2004.
- . *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality, 1900-1950*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- . "Hauling Down the Double Standard: Feminism, Social Purity and Sexual Science in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Gender & History* 16, no. 1 (2004): 36-56.
- Hammerton, A. James. "The English Weakness? Gender, Satire and 'Moral Manliness' in the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1920," in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds. *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism, Middle-class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- . "Pooterism or Partnership?: Marriage and Masculine Identity in the Lower Middle Class, 1870-1920," *Journal of British Studies*, 38, no. 3 (1999): 291-321.
- Harris, Jose. *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Britain 1870-1914*. London: Penguin, 1994.
- Harris, Michael and Alan Lee, eds. *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1986.
- Harrison, Brian. *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971.
- . "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth-Century England," *Past and Present*, 38 (1967): 98-125.
- . "State Intervention and Moral Reform in Nineteenth-century England," in *Pressure from Without*. Ed. Patricia Hollis. London: Edward Arnold, 1974.
- Heathorn, Stephen. *For Home, Country and Race: Constructing Gender, Class and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Heathorn, Stephen, and David Greenspoon, "Organizing Youth for Partisan Politics in Britain, 1918- c.1932," *The Historian*, 68, no. 1 (2006): 89-119.

- Hendrick, Harry. *Children, Childhood, and English Society, 1880-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Herman, Sondra R. "Loving Courtship or the Marriage Market? The Ideal and its Critics 1871-1911," *American Quarterly*, 25, no. 2 (1973): 235-252.
- Heward, Christine. *Making a Man of Him: Parents and Their Sons' Education at an English Public School, 1929-1950*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Hewitt, Gordon. *Let the People Read*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1949.
- Hicks, J.D., ed. *A Victorian Boyhood on the Wolds. The Recollections of J.R. Mortimer*. Beverley: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1978.
- Hilton, Matthew. "Leisure, Politics, and the Consumption of Tobacco in Britain since the Nineteenth Century," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed., Rudy Koshar. Oxford: Berg, 2002.
- . *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800-2000: Perfect Pleasures*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- . "'Tabs,' 'Fags' and the 'Boy Labour Problem' in Late Victorian and Edwardian England," *Journal of Social History*, 28 (1995): 587-607.
- Hitchcock, Tim and Michele Cohen, eds. *English Masculinities, 1660-1800*. London: Longman, 1999.
- Hodgson, Dorothy L. *The Church of Women: Gendered Encounters between Maasai and Missionaries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Hoff, Joan. "Gender as a Postmodern Category of Paralysis," *Women's History Review*, 3, no. 2, (1994): 149-168.
- Hoffman, Frederick J., Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich. *The Little Magazine: A History and a Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.
- Hogan, Anne and Andrew Bradstock, eds. *Women of Faith in Victorian Culture: Reassessing the Angel of the House*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Hogan, Ashley. "'I Never Noticed She Was Dirty': Fatherhood and the Death of Charlotte Duffy in Late-Nineteenth-Century Victoria," *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 3 (1999): 305-316.
- Honey, J R de S. *Tom Brown's Universe: the Development of the Victorian Public School* (London: Millington, 1977).
- Howell, Sara and Jane Humphries. "The Origins and Expansion of the Male Breadwinner Family: The Case of Nineteenth Century Britain," *International Review of Social History*, 42 (supplement 5) (1997): 25-64.
- Huggins, Mike J. "More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England," *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 3 (2000): 585-600.

- Hunt, Alan, "The Great Masturbation Panic and the Discourses of Moral Regulation in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Britain," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 8, no. 4 (1998): 575-615.
- Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Hunt, Tamara. *Defining John Bull: Political Caricature and National Identity in late Georgian England*. Burlington, VT.: Ashgate, 2003.
- Inglis, Fred. *The Promise of Happiness: Value and Meaning in Children's Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Jacobson, Wendy S., ed., *Dickens and the Children of Empire*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000.
- Jalland, P. *Women, Marriage and Politics, 1860-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Johansen, Shawn. *Family Men: Middle-Class Fatherhood in Early Industrializing America*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Jones, Gareth Stedman. *Languages of Class: Studies in Working-Class History, 1832-1982*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- . *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship Between the Classes in Victorian Society*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.
- Jordan, Thomas E. *The Degeneracy Crisis and Victorian Youth*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- Kent, Eliza, F. *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Langford, Paul. *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character, 1650-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Laqueur, Thomas. *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- LaRossa, Ralph. *The Modernization of Fatherhood: A Social and Political History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Leavy, Barbara Fass. "Fathering and the British Mother's Magazine, 1845-1864," *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 13 (Spring/Summer 1990): 10-17.
- Levine, Philippa, ed. *Gender and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Lewis, Brian. *The Middlemost and the Milltowns: Bourgeois Culture and Politics in Early Industrial England*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Lewis, Jane, ed. *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Lombard, Anne S. *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

- Lovett, Laura L., "Age: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *Journal of Childhood and Youth*, 1, no. 1 (2008): 89-90.
- Lynch, Philip. *The Politics of Nationhood: Sovereignty, Britishness and Conservative Politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- MacDonald, Robert H. *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994.
- . "Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914." *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (1989): 519-39.
- . *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890-1910*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- MacKenzie, John M, ed. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- Mahood, Linda. *Policing Gender, Class and Family: Britain, 1850-1940*. The University of Alberta Press, 1995.
- Malmgreen, Gail, ed. *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.
- Mangan, J.A. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- . *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. Harmondsworth: Viking, 1985.
- . "Muscular, Militaristic and Manly: the British Middle Class Hero as Moral Messenger," in *European Heroes: Myth, Identity and Sport*. Eds. Richard Holt, J.A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi. Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1996.
- . "Noble Specimens of Manhood: Schoolboy Literature and the Creation of a Colonial Chivalric Code," in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Ed. Jeffery Richards. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Mangan, J.A., and James Walvin, eds. *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- Marsh, Margaret. "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915," *American Quarterly*, 40 (June 88): 165-86.
- Mason, Michael. *The Making of Victorian Sexuality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Maynard, John. *Victorian Discourses on Sexuality and Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- McCann, Phillip, ed. *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Methuen, 1977.

- McClelland, Keith. "Some Thoughts on Masculinity and the 'Representative Artisan' in Britain, 1850-1880," *Gender and History*, 1 (1989): 164-77.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *The Gutenberg Galaxy: the Making of Typographic Man*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
- McCormack, Matthew, ed. *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*. Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007.
- McKee, Lorna and Margaret O'Brien, eds. *The Father Figure*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1982.
- McKibbin, Ross. *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- McLaren, Angus. "Hypersexual Youths:" Premarital Sex and the Sex Educators," in *Twentieth Century Sexuality: A History*. Ed. Angus McLaren. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- . *Impotence: A Cultural History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- . *The Trials of Masculinity: Policing Sexual Boundaries, 1870-1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- McLeod, Hugh. *Religion and Society in England, 1850-1914*. London: MacMillan, 1996.
- Miller, Jane Eldridge. *Rebel Women: Feminism, Modernism and the Edwardian Novel*. London: Virago Press, 1994.
- Mintz, Steven. *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 1983.
- . "Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis," *Journal of Childhood and Youth*, 1, no. 1 (2008): 91-94.
- Mitchell, Sally. *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Mitterauer, Michael and Reinhard Sieder. *Vom Patriarchat zur Partnerschaft: Zum Strukturwandel der Familie*. München: Beck, 1977.
- Morgan, Cecilia. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- . "A Wigwam to Westminster': Performing Mohawk Identity in Imperial Britain, 1890s-1990s," *Gender & History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 319-341.
- Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Murdoch, Lydia, *Imagined orphans : poor families, child welfare, and contested citizenship in London*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006.
- Murphy, James. *The Education Act 1870. Text and Commentary*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972.
- Musgrave, P.W. *Society and Education in England since 1800*. London: Methuen, 1968.

- Mutch, Deborah. *English Socialist Periodicals, 1880-1900*. Ashgate, 2005.
- Negt, Oskar, and Alexander Kluge. *Public Sphere and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere*. Trans. Peter Labanyi, Jamie Owen Daniel, and Assenka Oksiloff. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- Nelson, Claudia. *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991.
- . *Invisible Men: Fatherhood in Victorian Periodicals, 1850-1910*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- . "Mixed Messages: Authoring and Authority in British Boys' Magazines," *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 21, no. 1 (1997): 1-19.
- . "Sex and the Single Boy: Ideals of Manliness and Sexuality in Victorian Literature for Boys," *Victorian Studies*, 32 (1989): 525-550.
- Neubauer, John. *The Fin-de-Siecle Culture of Adolescence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Newsome, David. *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal*. London: John Murray, 1961.
- . *The Victorian World Picture: Perceptions and Introspections in an Age of Change*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997.
- Northcliffe, Lord. *At the War. (Published for the Joint War Committee of the British Red Cross Society, and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England)*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, n.d.
- Northcliffe, Viscount Alfred. *Lord Northcliffe's War Book*. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1916.
- . *My Journey Round the World (16 July 1921-26 Feb. 1922)*. London: John Lane and the Bodley Head, 1923.
- Obelkevich, James. "Religion." *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750-1950*. Vol. 3. Ed. F.M.L. Thompson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Olsen, G.W. "Church of England Temperance Society," *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2003. Eds., J.S. Blocker, et al.
- . *Drink and the British Establishment – the Church of England Temperance Society, 1873-1919*. Unpublished manuscript.
- . "'From Parish to Palace': Working-class Influences on Anglican Temperance Movements, 1835-1914," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989): 239-52.
- . "'Physician heal thyself': drink, temperance and the medical question in the Victorian and Edwardian Church of England, 1830-1914," *Addiction*, 89 (1994): 1167-1176.
- Olsen, Stephanie and G.W. Olsen. "Church of England Inebriate Homes," "Church of England Police Court Mission," "Close, Francis," "Gore, Charles," "Green,

- Thomas Hill,” “Maguire, Robert,” “Moule, Handley,” “Wilberforce, Basil and Ernest.” *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2003. Eds., J.S. Blocker, et al.
- Orwell, George, “Boy’s Weeklies,” *Horizon*, 1 (1940): 174-200.
- Paisley, Fiona. “Childhood and Race: Growing up in the Empire,” in *Gender and Empire*. Ed. Philippa Levine. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Paris, Michael. *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000*. London: Reaktion, 2000.
- Pedersen, Susan and Peter Mandler, eds. *After the Victorians: Private Conscience and Public Duty in Modern Britain*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Pedersen, Susan. *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914-1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Perry, Adele. *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Peterson, M. Jeanne. “No Angels in the House: The Victorian Myth and the Paget Women,” *American Historical Review*, 89, no. 3 (1984): 677-708.
- Pick, Daniel. *Faces of Degeneration, A European Disorder, c. 1848- c. 1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Pollock, Linda. *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Pound, Reginald and Geoffrey Harmsworth. *Northcliffe*. London: Cassell, 1959.
- Pryke, Sam. “The Control of Sexuality in the Early British Boy Scouts Movement,” *Sex Education*, 5, no. 1 (2005): 15-28.
- Quinn, Suzanne M. Flannery. “Examining the Culture of Fatherhood in American Children’s Literature: Presence, Interactions, and Nurturing Behaviors of Fathers in Caldecott Award Winning Picture Books (1938-2002),” *Fathering*, 4, no. 1 (2006): 71-96.
- Randall, Don. *Kipling’s Imperial Boy: Adolescence and Cultural Hybridity*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000.
- Reynolds, Kimberley. *Girls Only? Gender and Popular Fiction in Britain, 1880-1914*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Richards, Jeffrey. *Happiest Days: The Public Schools in English Fiction*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988.
- , ed. *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Robb, George. *British Culture and the First World War*. Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002.
- Robbins, Keith. *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness*. New York: Longman, 1998.

- Roberts, Benjamin. "Fatherhood in Eighteenth-Century Holland: The Van der Muelen Brothers," *Journal of Family History*, 21, no. 2 (1996): 218-228.
- Roberts, M.J.D., *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787-1886*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Roberts, Nathan. "Character in the mind: citizenship, education and psychology in Britain, 1880–1914," *History of Education* 33, no. 2 (March, 2004): 177–197.
- Roberts, Robert. *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971.
- Robson, Catherine. *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Roper, Michael and John Tosh, eds. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Roper, Michael. "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950," *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005): 343-362.
- . "Maternal Relations: Moral Manliness and Emotional Survival in Letters Home during the First World War," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*. Eds. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann and John Tosh. New York: Palgrave, 2004.
- Rose, Jonathan. *The Edwardian Temperament, 1895-1919*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986.
- . *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Rose, Lionel. *The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain, 1860-1918*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Rosenthal, Michael. *The Character Factory: Baden Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*. London: Collins, 1986.
- Ross, Ellen. *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Rowbotham, Judith. *Good Girls Make Good Wives: Guidance for Girls in Victorian Fiction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- . "'Soldiers of Christ'? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom," *Gender & History* 12, no. 1 (2000): 82-106.
- Rudy, Jarret. *The Freedom to Smoke: Tobacco Consumption and Identity*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Rutherford, Jonathan. *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997.
- Ryan, A. P., *Lord Northcliffe*. London: Collins, 1953.

- Sanders, Valerie. *The Brother-Sister Culture in Nineteenth-Century Literature: From Austen to Woolf*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- . ed., *Records of Girlhood: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Women's Childhoods*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- Sangster, Paul. *Pity My Simplicity: The Evangelical Revival and the Religious Education of Children, 1738-1800*. London: Epworth Press, 1963.
- Scott, Joan. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* Volume 91, Issue 5 (Dec., 1986): 1053-1075.
- . *Gender and the Politics of History*. Rev. edn. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Scott, Patrick. "The Business of Belief: The Emergence of 'Religious' Publishing," in *Sanctity and Secularity: The Church and the World*. Ed. Derek Baker. Oxford: Blackwell, 1973.
- Searle, G.R. *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study of British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.
- Shiman, Lilian Lewis. "The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working-class Children," *Victorian Studies*, 17, no. 1 (1973): 49-74.
- . *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England*. London: MacMillan, 1988.
- Showalter, Elaine. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle*. New York: Viking, 1990.
- Simon, Brian and Ian Bradley, eds. *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975.
- Sinha, Mrinalini. *Colonial Masculinity: the 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*. New York : Manchester University Press, 1995.
- . "Giving Masculinity a History: Some Contributions from the Historiography of Colonial India," *Gender and History*, 11 (1999): 445-460.
- Smuts, Alice Boardman. *Science in the Service of Children, 1883-1935*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Springhall, John. "The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements, 1908-30," *International Review of Social History*, 16 (1971): 121-58.
- . "Building Character in the British Boy: the Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914," in *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Eds. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987.
- . *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*. Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1986.
- . "'Disseminating Impure Literature': the 'Penny Dreadful' Publishing Business since 1860," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 47 (1994): 567-84.

- . “‘Healthy Papers for Manly Boys’: Imperialism and Race in the Harmsworths’ Halfpenny Boys’ Papers of the 1890s and 1900s,” in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*. Ed. Jeffrey Richards. New York: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- . “Lord Meath, Youth and Empire,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, 5 (1970): 97-111.
- . *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*. London: Croom Helm, 1977.
- . *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gansta-Rap, 1830-1996*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998.
- Springhall, John, Brian Fraser and Michael Edward Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boys’ Brigade, 1883-1983*. London: Collins, 1983.
- Stearns, Peter N. *Be A Man! Males in Modern Society*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1979.
- Surkis, Judith. *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870-1920*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Sussman, Herbert. *Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Victorian Literature and Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Taylor, R. *Hope of the Race* (London: Hope Press, 1946).
- Taylor, Miles. “John Bull and the Iconography of Public Opinion in England, c. 1712-1929,” *Past and Present*, 134 (1992): 93-128.
- Thompson, F.M.L. *The Rise of Respectable Society*. London: Fontana, 1988.
- Thompson, J. Lee. *Northcliffe: Press Baron in Politics, 1865-1922*. London: John Murray, 2000.
- Thorne, Susan. *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-century England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- . “‘The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable’: Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class, 1750-1850,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Tinkler, Penny. “Refinement and Respectable Consumption: the Acceptable Face of Women’s Smoking in Britain, 1918-1970,” *Gender & History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 342-360.
- Tolson, Andrew. *The Limits of Masculinity*. London: Tavistock, 1977.
- Tompkins, Jane, ed. *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Tosh, John. “Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England,” *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 48-64.
- . “Gentlemanly Politeness and Manly Simplicity in Victorian England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series, 12 (2002): 455-472.

- . *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- . *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire*. Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- . "Manliness, masculinities and the New Imperialism," in *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. John Tosh. Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- . "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914," *Journal of British Studies*, 44, no. 2 (2005): 330-42.
- . "Methodist domesticity and middle-class masculinity in nineteenth-century England," *Studies in Church History*, 34 (1998): 323-345.
- . "The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750-1850," in *English Masculinities 1600-1800*. Eds., Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen. London: Longman, 1999.
- . "What Should Historians Do With Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain," *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994): 179-202.
- Turner, Mark W. *Trollope and the Magazines: Gendered Issues in Mid-Victorian Britain*. London: MacMillan, 2000.
- Vance, Norman. *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Veldman, Meredith. "Dutiful Daughter Versus All-Boy: Jesus, Gender, and the Secularization of Victorian Society," *Nineteenth Century Studies*, 11 (1997): 1-24.
- Vickery, Amanda. "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," *Historical Journal*, 36, no. 2 (1993): 383-414.
- Vincent, David. *Literacy and Popular Culture: England, 1750-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Walker, Pamela J. *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Walkowitz, Judith R. "Male Vice and Feminist Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 13 (Spring 1982): 77-93.
- Walvin, James. *A Child's World: A Social History of English Childhood, 1800-1914*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican, 1982.
- Ward, Paul. *Red Flag and Union Jack: Englishness, Patriotism, and the British Left, 1881-1924*. Rochester, NY: Royal Historical Society/Boydell Press, 1998.
- Wahrman, Dror. "Public Opinion, Violence and the Limits of Constitutional Politics," in *Re-reading the Constitution: New Narratives in the Political History of England's Long Nineteenth Century*. Ed. James Vernon. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Warner, Jessica. *Craze: Gin and Debauchery in an Age of Reason*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002.
- Warner, Philip. *The Best of British Pluck: The Boy's Own Paper*. London: MacDonald and Jane's, 1976.
- Warren, Allen. "Citizens of Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Idea, 1900-1940," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Ed. John Mackenzie. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986.
- . "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920," *English Historical Review*, 101 (1986): 376-98.
- Wasserstein, Bernard. *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Weeks, Jeffrey. *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain from the Nineteenth Century to the Present*. London: Quartet Books, 1977.
- Welshman, John. "Child Health, National Fitness, and Physical Education in Britain, 1900-1940." in *Cultures of child health in Britain and the Netherlands in the twentieth century*. Eds., Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Hilary Marland. Amsterdam (NY): Rodopi, 2003.
- . "Images of Youth: the Issue of Juvenile Smoking, 1880-1914," *Addiction*, 91, no. 9 (1996): 1379-1386.
- Wiener, Martin J. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Wigley, John. *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Sunday*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980.
- Windholz, Anne M. "An Emigrant and a Gentleman: Imperial Masculinity, British Magazines, and the Colony That Got Away," *Victorian Studies*, 42, no. 4 (2000): 631-658.
- Wood, Diana. *The Church and Childhood*. Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1994.
- Woollacott, Angela. *Gender and Empire*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Wynne, Deborah. *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Yeo, Eileen Janes, "'The Boy is the Father of the Man': Moral Panic over Working-Class Youth, 1850 to the Present," *Labour History Review*, 69, no. 2 (2004): 185-99.
- Zoja, Luigi. *The Father: Historical, Psychological, and Cultural Perspectives*. Philadelphia, PA: Brunner-Routledge, 2001.

Unpublished Theses

- Dunae, Patrick A. *British Juvenile Literature in an Age of Empire: 1880-1914*. Ph.D. Victoria University of Manchester, 1975.

- Fyfe, Aileen. *Industrialised Conversion: the Religious Tract Society and Popular Science Publishing in Victorian Britain*. Ph.D. History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, 2000.
- Lang, Marjory. *Children and Society in Eighteenth-Century Children's Literature*. Ph.D. University of British Columbia, 1976.
- Neal, Derek. *Meanings of Masculinity in Late Medieval England: Self, Body and Society*. Ph.D. Dept. of History, McGill University, December 2003.
- Neufeldt, Harvey. *The American Tract Society, 1825-1865: An Examination of its Religious, Economic, Social and Political Ideas*. Ph.D. Michigan State University, 1971.
- Sherrington, Christine Anne. *The NSPCC in Transition. 1884-1983: A Study of Organisational Survival*. Ph.D. London University, 1984.

Websites

- “Alcohol Concern,” <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6596515.stm>, accessed April 11, 2008.
- “No Sex Please, We’re Teenagers,” http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/tv_and_radio/4185498.stm, accessed on April 29, 2008.

Reference Works

- American National Biography Online*, 2000. <http://www.anb.org/articles/home.html>.
- Blocker, Jack S., Jr., David M. Fahey and Ian R. Tyrrell, eds. *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: an International Encyclopedia*. 2 Vols. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2003.
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, 2004. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/>.
- Oxford English Dictionary Online*, <http://dictionary.oed.com/>.
- Scoop! The Biographical Dictionary of British and Irish Journalists, 1800-1950*, <http://www.scoop-database.com/>