

The Boys' Brigade and Urban Cultures, 1883 – 1933: A Relationship Examined

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360838

The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Portsmouth.

Abstract

The lived reality of membership of the Boys' Brigade between 1883 and 1933 has been somewhat neglected in the field of youth histories. Existing histories have focused on the position of founders and headquarters of youth movements, thus neglecting the experience at the local level. Our current understanding of membership of youth movements is based on an interpretation that camping was the most appealing aspect, with historians including John Springhall and Stephen Humphries asserting that this element of the programme was the greatest attraction for *most* Boys. However, these arguments have not adequately addressed the role of camping within the broader programme of work of youth movements, have afforded insufficient attention to the relationship between the regular sessions and camp, and have overlooked participation figures. This thesis advances our existing understanding by addressing this issue within the specific context of the urban space, providing a unique insight into the lived experience of membership of a Boys' Brigade Company, whilst offering a comparative aspect often lost in prevailing histories. Through contemporary accounts, statistics from annual reports, oral testimonies, and newspaper articles, this thesis demonstrates that the practical application of the agenda set at the apex of the organisation was applied differently across varied spaces. Additionally, through a more thorough examination of the lived experience of camping, this thesis argues that previous histories have placed too much emphasis on camping as an attraction for young people to join a youth organisation, with the position maintained here that this activity was available to limited numbers from the 1880s to the 1930s, with more Boys experiencing life in this organisation at the weekly classes. This shows that the existing consensus approaches youth movements in broad homogenous terms and overlooks the regional variances in application of the agenda set from headquarters. This is significant to our understanding as it indicates that the urban space was a unique environment where youth movements adapted to local circumstances. Therefore, the Boys' Brigade is presented in this thesis as a vehicle to improve our understanding of the ways young people interacted in the urban space in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. It offers an indication of the lived experience of membership of a youth movement that is missing from much of the existing histories and provides a clearer indication that the application of the organisation differed across space and place, thus presenting an original contribution to the field of youth histories.

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Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

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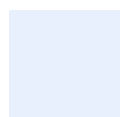
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Due to the age and nature of the data drawn upon for this thesis, derived from publically accessible archives, this work has not been submitted for an ethical review.

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List of Abbreviations

BCL	Bristol Central Library
BPOHP	Bristol People's Oral History Project
CBB	Catholic Boys' Brigade
CLB	Church Lads' Brigade
DTS	Daily Telegraph Shield
EBBCR	3rd Enfield Boys' Brigade Company Records
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
GSAA	The Glasgow Stedfast Association Archives
HLI	Highland Light Infantry
JLB	Jewish Lads' Brigade
LCF	London Camp Fund
LSB	The London School Board
LRV	Lanark Rifle Volunteers
SOA	Society of Arts
WHS	Wandsworth Heritage Service
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

The words 'Officer' and 'Boy' appear capitalised throughout to mirror the conventions of the Boys' Brigade.

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Writing this thesis has been an incredibly rewarding process that built on a passion for historical enquiry relating to the Boys' Brigade that began during my years as an undergraduate in Portsmouth. For this, a special note of thanks must go to Brad Beaven, who identified and encouraged this interest from an early stage of my academic life, and has continued to offer excellent support since. Throughout the process of researching and writing this thesis Brad has offered valuable advice and his comments and expertise have encouraged some exciting ideas. In a similar vein, gratitude must be extended to Karl Bell for his thoughtful insight on this thesis and the feedback given on all draft chapters and to Jodi Burkett for providing comprehensive comments on the first draft. In addition, a word of thanks should be recorded for all the other members of the Port Towns and Urban Cultures Project at the University of Portsmouth who offered words of motivation along the way.

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Introduction

In October 1883 the first meeting of the newly formed Boys' Brigade was held in the West-End of Glasgow. The approach of this organisation pioneered attitudes towards youth work through the model of uniformed youth movements, inspiring a multitude of imitators in the decades that followed. However, despite its innovative role in the field, the case of the Boys' Brigade remains largely undervalued in wider historiographical discourse. The aim of this thesis is to provide a detailed and comprehensive assessment of the lived experience of the movement at the local level, an aspect that has often been overlooked in prevailing histories where attention has centred on the perspective of founders or headquarters.¹ This thesis aims to demonstrate that the lived experience of membership of an individual Boys' Brigade Company has much more to offer to our understanding of urban society than the theoretical perspectives of those who founded a youth movement or decided on its higher philosophies. This thesis aims to challenge the historiographical consensus on the character of youth movements, particularly relating to their appeal and, most notably, the notion that camping was the central attraction for members.² The objective of this thesis is to contest this perspective by concentrating attention on the regular weekly sessions in order to demonstrate that most members experienced life in a youth movement during the regular weekly programme rather than at a summer camp. The Boys' Brigade is drawn upon here to act as a vehicle to improve our understanding of the core themes of Empire, militarism, and religion in the city space from the inception of the movement in the 1880s to the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the organisation in 1933. This thesis maintains that variances in the practical application of the model set by Brigade authorities differed across

¹ In her examination of children in uniform during the First World War, Rosie Kennedy has argued that the experience of individual groups often differed significantly from the official position of the leadership of a youth movement. Rosie Kennedy, The Children's War. Britain, 1914 - 1918, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.91; In his study of imperial culture in Antipodean cities from the 1880s to the 1930s, John Griffiths has argued that this focus is a consequence of available records on youth organisations, asserting that "The majority of sources left to the historian shed light on the 'official' attitudes of the higher echelons of the movements considered and it is considerably more difficult to obtain the views of those who formed the rank and file". John Griffiths, Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities, 1880 - 1939, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.130.

² John Springhall, Youth, Empire, and Society. British Youth Movements, 1883 - 1940, (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.98; Stephen Humphries, Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p.134; Bernard Porter, The Absent-Minded Imperialists. Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 208 – 211; Hugh Cunningham, The Invention of Childhood, (London: BBC Books, 2006); p.209; Pamela Horn, Pleasures and Pastimes in Victorian Britain, (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2011 [first edition 1999]), p.307; Melanie Tebbutt, Being Boys. Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p.74.

space and place. This position works within the framework of the perspectives of John MacKenzie and the ‘four nations’ approach to the history of the British Empire and the recent study by Brad Beaven on the regional variances in attitudes to Imperial identity in the city space which emphasised the importance of locality.³ Therefore, this thesis endeavours to enhance our knowledge of the socio-cultural context of the city space by presenting an illustration of the lived experience of membership of a youth movement at the local level.

This thesis deploys a city-based approach to the history of the Boys’ Brigade in order to exhibit the practical application of the theoretical perspectives set by headquarters, with a range of sources deployed in order to establish the lived reality of membership of the movement. Although this approach provides a more grounded perspective of membership of a youth movement from below the nature of the material is not without limitations. The key challenge with presenting the lived experience of membership of a youth movement is that the voices of the members themselves are often lost. Despite this difficulty, the views of former members are heard indirectly through an assessment of statistical data for attendance at different branches of Company work. These surviving records from individual Battalion and Company records provide an insight into the perspectives of members of the movement through an indication of preferences to various branches of Company work within the broader programme of activities. Direct accounts from members of the Boys’ Brigade are limited, although this thesis draws upon the finite written accounts by members. In addition, oral accounts from the Bristol People’s Oral History Project (BPOHP) are drawn upon to offer an insight into the attitudes of former members of the movement. In order to present the lived reality of membership at the local level this thesis deploys accounts from a variety of contemporary sources to deliver an indication of the practical application of the Boys’ Brigade. Articles from The Boys’ Brigade Gazette are utilised to demonstrate the lived experience of membership of a youth movement with these often written by those involved in the movement at the grassroots level. However, it is important to note that the publication came from headquarters and, as a consequence, the articles were subject to editorial approval. Accounts in national newspapers are drawn upon to

³ John M. MacKenzie, “Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire”, History Compass, 6, 5, 2006, pp. 1244 - 1263; pp. 1244 - 1245; Brad Beaven, Visions of Empire. Patriotism, Popular Culture and the City, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), p. 208.

confer broader attitudes towards the organisation, with articles from the local press offering an indication of how the movement was applied regionally. Despite this, these sources are not without their own challenges, with press agendas an area for consideration. Finally, individual Company records are utilised to provide an insight into the practical application of the Brigade at the local level. There is a paucity of surviving Company records and drawing upon these accounts is not without difficulty, particularly if the practices of an individual Company are viewed as indicative of wider attitudes. However, the records from the 1st Glasgow and 3rd Enfield that remain for assessment offer a window into the workings of a Company at the local level and the practical application of the theoretical perspectives from above. Therefore, although the voices of former members are often hidden, their experiences at the local level are presented in this thesis through a varied range of sources that offer an indication of the practical application of the model of the Boys' Brigade.

The thesis opens with a review of existing literature relating to the core themes of militarism, imperialism, and religion through the prism of youth organisations that run through the chapters. The literature review in chapter one offers an assessment of the ways in which youth movements have been drawn upon in previous histories and how the Boys' Brigade has been overlooked within our existing understanding of the key themes of this thesis. The chapter maintains that the organisation acts as a vehicle to enhance our knowledge of civic identities in the city. The city space is the focus of the second chapter that places the Boys' Brigade firmly within the context of the urban setting. The chapter provides a frame of reference for three case studies of this thesis of the application of the movement in Glasgow, London, and Bristol. These cities have been selected not only for the standing of the Boys' Brigade in these locations but as major industrial cities that are representative of the challenges faced in the urban space in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The third chapter presents the first of the three case studies where attention focuses on the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow. Through a closer examination of the organisation in Scotland's largest city it is evident that the movement in this area became a reflection of a broader sense of growing Scottish national pride, with pipe music a crucial element to the activities undertaken. The city of London is contrasted to Glasgow in the fourth chapter where the programme of activities was dominated by drill-based pursuits. The third case study of Bristol is the basis of chapter five,

with an assessment of Stephen Humphries' BPOHP presented in order to challenge the prevailing historiographical consensus on wider attitudes towards youth movements and the motivation for those who became members. These individual case studies will include comparative analysis across all three chapters, and the shifts from city to city studies are used to highlight particular distinctions rather than sustained thematic comparisons. The sixth and seventh chapters of this thesis examine the role of camping within the Boys' Brigade as an illustration of changing attitudes to youth work between 1886 and 1933. These chapters provide a dual role in offering comparative analysis of the lived experience of the three cities at the centre of this thesis and an assessment of how camping fared in practice, rather than from a theoretical outlook that dominates existing histories. Through these chapters this thesis aims to offer an alternative perspective to the history of British youth movements by embracing regional variances in approach that are often lost in broader narratives.

Chapter 1

Urban Society and the Character of the Boys' Brigade: A Review of Existing Historiographical Perspectives

When the first meeting of the Boys' Brigade was held in October 1883 it pioneered a new approach to addressing the challenges faced by urban youths. Despite its position as an innovator of youth movements, historical enquiry relating to young people during the early twentieth century has been dominated by the Scouts, formed in 1908 by the patriotic hero of Empire, Robert Baden-Powell. This organisation has caught the imagination of historians due to its numerical size, the celebrity character of its founder, and texts such as Scouting for Boys that afford a special insight into the workings and theoretical perspectives behind youth organisations. Therefore, the Scouts provide historians with an accessible case to explore the role of young people within wider concepts such as militarism and imperialism in early twentieth century Britain. In contrast, detailed examination of the Boys' Brigade as an alternative case for examination has a tremendous capacity to enhance our understanding of contemporary issues and challenge the domination of the Scouts in existing historiography. Moreover, as the movement pre-dates its successor by twenty five years, it has the ability to act as a vehicle to explore issues relating to militarisation of youth and imperial identities in a time pre-dating the inception of the Scouts. Furthermore, as an organisation with a clear religious ethos, the Boys' Brigade presents a contrasting perspective to the Scouts as a largely secular movement. Existing approaches by historians to the Boys' Brigade have been predominantly restricted to passing references, often grouped together with similar organisations, with few publications dedicated entirely to an assessment of the function and role of this youth movement. Analysis of this kind indicates that the Boys' Brigade is viewed as a movement with a degree of influence in society but has been overshadowed by other actors in the urban space. This chapter opens with an examination of existing histories dedicated to the Boys' Brigade, presenting an assessment of the way historians have drawn on this movement to explore wider areas of concern. The chapter then progresses into a thematic examination of the development of historiographical perspectives in the fields of militarism in society, imperial identities, and a crisis of faith through the prism of youth. Within each of these concepts the ability for the Boys' Brigade to advance our understanding is provided. It is demonstrated here

that the Boys' Brigade has a unique ability to enhance our understanding in key areas of historical enquiry by offering a fresh case for the progression of debates.

Literature on the Boys' Brigade

In The Victorian Town Child, published in 1997, Pamela Horn asserted that the leisure pursuits of young people fell into three broad categories; “those undertaken in and around the home; those involving events away from home, such as visits to a circus, fair, holiday resort... and those concerned with formal organisations”.¹ The Boys' Brigade was one of these organisations, providing a mode of leisure for Boys in the urban space. It is within this frame of reference that the literature below is considered, offering an examination of our current understanding of this formal organisation concerned with leisure pursuits for children. Sure and Stedfast, published in 1983, is the official history of the Boys' Brigade and was commissioned by the organisation to mark the centenary of the movement. Written by John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, the book records one hundred years of the history of the movement from 1883 to 1983, drawing upon official Brigade records including letters, annual reports, and roll books. For the purposes of this chapter attention is focused on the opening four chapters of the book, the introduction, and conclusion as the remaining chapters fall outside the period of concern of this thesis. The chapters in Sure and Stedfast are ordered chronologically, interspersed with a reflection of the movement overseas. The overriding narrative is concerned with the growth of the Boys' Brigade and the expansion of the movement from the first Company in Glasgow. In terms of historiographical considerations, the book is overwhelmingly focused with debates relating to militarism that surround the Boys' Brigade and wider society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To a large extent these debates focus on contemporary perspectives from groups such as the Peace Society, who campaigned against the ‘jingoism’ of the Brigade during the early years of the movement.² However, few references are made to historiographical debates that were prevalent at its time of publication. The text offers a challenge to the perspective of H. J. Hanham that the Boys' Brigade was intensely militaristic, brought values of the armed forces to

¹ Pamela Horn, The Victorian Town Child, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p.155.

² John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast. A History of The Boys' Brigade. 1883 - 1983, (London: Collins, 1983), p.98.

young non-conformists, and “prepared the way for the recruiting drives of the First World War”.³ The counterclaim in Sure and Stedfast is that:

The Boys’ Brigade may have helped to popularize the idea of military service among the population generally, although one cannot necessarily infer from this that The Boys’ Brigade helped pave the way for the recruiting drives of the First World War.⁴

The principal historiographical argument presented in the opening chapters is that the Boys’ Brigade is misunderstood and has been misrepresented as militaristic and fostering support for the armed forces, with the views of William Alexander Smith as the founder and other contemporaries used as evidence to support its assertions. The perspective is held that the military styled elements of the organisation - that were an attraction to Boys - were tools utilised to reach the end goal of encouraging religious practices and retain attendance of young men within the church after they passed Sunday school age.⁵

Direct references to the remaining historiographical themes of imperialism and crisis of faith which this thesis examines are more difficult to ascertain in Sure and Stedfast. The brief references to these themes within the recording of this history of the Boys’ Brigade indicates that more detailed research on the movement has much to offer in wider historiographical debates. Connections between the organisation and religion are limited within the context of militarism debates. These present the religious aims of the movement as an indication that it was not fostering a war-like spirit and are drawn upon in defence of charges of militarism, with the militaristic aspects viewed as being tailored to suit the needs of a particular audience.⁶ There are, however, fascinating passages which present the connections between non-conformist churches and the Boys’ Brigade, although only brief references are made to the connections between G. A. Henty, the popular children’s writer, and his role as an honorary Vice-President of the Boys’

³ H. J. Hanham, “Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army”, in M. R. D. Foot (ed.), War and Society, (London: Paul Elek, 1973), pp. 159 - 181; p.173.

⁴ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.107.

⁵ Ibid, pp. 97 - 98.

⁶ Ibid, p.249.

Brigade.⁷ Given the standing of this individual as a prolific author of children's adventure stories, the ways in which his works have been utilised in debates regarding attitudes towards imperialism, and his views on drill, it is discernible that further investigation into the relationship between Henty and the Boys' Brigade has the ability to improve our understanding in this area. With regards to the historiography of imperialism, the authors of Sure and Stedfast make few references to the interaction between the Boys' Brigade and Empire. Many supporters of the early Brigade are presented as viewing the movement as part of a desire to better behaviours of the next generation for the preservation of moral standards and defence of the Empire.⁸ Greater research in this field can offer much to our understanding of the ways urban cultures were influenced by imperialism. In the second chapter, the authors portray how the character of the town was important to the success of the movement in its early years. For example, it states that the success of the movement in Bristol, which was "more akin to Glasgow in character", had "the best company survival rate in England during the early years".⁹ However, detailed examination of the differences in success in varied spaces and places is afforded little attention elsewhere. This thesis advances this theory by providing an assessment of the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade at the local level, highlighting how the urban environment affected the experience of the movement geographically.

Review articles of Sure and Stedfast provide an indication of how the book was received and areas where the text was subject to criticism. The first review article of the book was written by Victor Bailey in 1984 where his main challenge of the authors, particularly Springhall, was for altering perspectives from previous publications, most notably his position in Youth, Empire, and Society. Bailey noted that "Springhall seems to have adjusted his own interpretation of the movement. He now feels that the Brigade has been misleadingly portrayed as a militaristic organisation, feeding the fires of working-class jingoism".¹⁰ Similarly, Stephen Humphries was critical of the book in his review, published in 1984, for reasons akin to Bailey. Humphries noted that "Springhall seems to have retreated somewhat from the highly critical view of the brigades that he expressed... in

⁷ Ibid, p.25.

⁸ Ibid, p.68.

⁹ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.52.

¹⁰ Victor Bailey, "Review, John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure & Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade 1883 - 1983", History Today, 30, 1, 1984, p.54.

Youth Empire and Society”.¹¹ The altered perspective of Springhall is arguably indicative of a historian assigned the task of writing an official history of the movement and wishing to avoid controversy by distancing his assessment away from contentious areas of investigation. In addition, Bailey and Humphries were critical of Sure and Stedfast for its lack of local level examples. Bailey noted that the early chapters would have benefited from a regional case study¹² with Humphries criticising the authors for applying “only a sprinkling of oral history” with the book failing to provide “a more grounded history ‘from below’” and focusing attention on the recollections of those at the apex of the organisation.¹³ Through the city based approach adopted in this thesis, the chapters here endeavour to present an investigation of the local level experience and, as a consequence, address some of the concerns raised by reviewers of Sure and Stedfast. Through this perspective, this thesis offers an indication of the lived reality of membership of the Boys’ Brigade at the regional level rather than the theoretical outlook of the organisation in isolation as presented in Sure and Stedfast. By assessing the lived experience of membership of the Boys’ Brigade in Bristol, London, and Glasgow, this thesis presents a demonstration of life in a local Company rather than the theoretical perspectives of those who Humphries viewed as “B.B. grandees” that dominated Sure and Stedfast.¹⁴ By returning to Humphries’ own BPOHP, chapter five of this thesis offers recollections through oral testimonies on the Boys’ Brigade in order to provide a more grounded history of membership of the movement at the grassroots level. Finally, John Galbraith noted in his review from 1987 that the narrative was “dense in detail”, leaving the book “pedestrian” in style although he conceded that the book is worthy of attention within the field of nineteenth-century British and Empire studies.¹⁵ These reviews offer a clear illustration that the Boys’ Brigade has much to offer as an actor in contemporary society to enhance our current understanding. What is patently evident from these reviews is that the history provided in Sure and Stedfast neglected the lived reality of membership of the organisation at the local level and instead focused attention on Brigade authorities. Through the case study approach of this thesis the aim here is to address some of the concerns raised in the reviews listed above. In doing

¹¹ Stephen Humphries, “Review, John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast: A History of the Boys’ Brigade 1883 - 1983*”, Oral History, 12, 2, 1984, p.77.

¹² Victor Bailey, “Review, John Springhall”, p.54.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Stephen Humphries, “Review, John Springhall”, p.77.

¹⁵ John Galbraith, “Review, John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boys’ Brigade 1883 - 1983*”, Victorian Studies, 30, 2, 1987, pp. 295 - 297; pp. 296 - 297.

so, an alternative perspective to the example of the Boys' Brigade as an actor in the urban space is offered by presenting the practical application of the model outlined in the official history.

“Bibles and Dummy Rifles” by Bailey is the second publication from 1983 dedicated to an assessment of the Boys' Brigade. It was published to coincide with the centenary of the Boys' Brigade and recounted the origins and early years of the movement. In terms of historiography the article is primarily concerned with debates regarding the militarisation of young adolescent men in the late Victorian and Edwardian era. For Bailey, the Boys' Brigade was not necessarily a militaristic organisation *per se* but utilised the ethos of muscular Christianity to instil religious values and discipline at the heart of the aims of the movement.¹⁶ “Bibles and Dummy Rifles” introduces a small number of themes that warrant further investigation. Most notably, the article makes reference to occasions when the movement experienced “surges in membership” with the Boer War and attention to “the youth problem in 1907-8” considered to be times when the Boys' Brigade grew rapidly.¹⁷ However, these two aspects are only touched upon briefly. This thesis differs from the approach of Bailey by providing an examination of the variances in membership levels at the local level. It is argued in this thesis that a multitude of factors contributed to the growth of the Boys' Brigade in the years prior to the First World War and that circumstances were not uniform across the country. This brings into question approaches to youth movements that view these groups in broad homogenous terms. In sum, the article from Bailey introduces the Boys' Brigade into wider historiographical debates but is limited in scope due to its attempts to cover over seventy years of the history of the movement.

Since the early 1980s the Boys' Brigade has appeared sparingly in historiographical discourse. However, the movement has found a place in recent debates through the publications of Richard Kyle. The 2009 chapter by Kyle in Essays in the History of Youth and Community Work was an attempt to “deepen and enliven” previous histories relating to the sense of a “BB atmosphere” in the Boys' Brigade recreation hut in Rouen during the First World War.¹⁸ Through the use of

¹⁶ Victor Bailey, “Bibles and Dummy Rifles. The Boys' Brigade”, History Today, 33, 10, 1983, pp. 5 - 9; p.8.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Richard G. Kyle, “Familiar Rooms in Foreign Fields: Placing the ‘BB Atmosphere’ in The Boys' Brigades Recreation Hut, Rouen, France, 1915 - 1919”, in Ruth Gilchrist, Tony Jeffs, Jean Spence, and Joyce Walker (eds.), Essays in the History of Youth and Community Work, (Lyme Regis: Russell House, 2009), pp. 176 - 191; p.179.

articles from The Boys' Brigade Gazette and annual reports from the Brigade Executive, the chapter argues that club rooms were important in instilling the 'BB atmosphere' in the Hut that was grounded in the activities of the club rooms.¹⁹ Despite this, the chapter largely considers the movement in broad homogenous terms. Furthermore, statistics to support claims such as club rooms quickly becoming an important, and popular, feature of the movement's work require context as this thesis maintains that other branches of Company work were far more widely undertaken. However, what makes the chapter particularly significant is the way in which it brings aspects of the regular weekly sessions to the fore of the debates. Kyle's second chapter on the movement, published in the 2014 Informal Education, Childhood and Youth, also considers the role of the regular programme of activities to the character of the movement. In his chapter, Kyle considers the relationship between camp and the indoor activities of the organisation through the metaphor of a cocoon and chrysalis.²⁰ Although this is a crucial concept, his analysis is largely placed within the context of contemporary cultural geographies, with analysis focused on interviews of Officers in the Boys' Brigade from the 2000s.²¹ Despite this, the relationship between the regular weekly sessions and camp is critical to our understanding of late nineteenth and early twentieth century youth movements, particularly as the historiographical consensus maintains that camp was the greatest attraction available to youth movements; an aspect explored in greater detail in chapters six and seven of this thesis. Therefore, in terms of works which place the Boys' Brigade within historiographical debates, there is a real paucity, to which these articles amount to the extent of dedicated academic peer reviewed literature.

Militarism and the Scouts

In terms of debates relating to militarism in late nineteenth and early twentieth century British society, the Boys' Brigade is often mentioned in passing and has rarely received attention at any great length. Furthermore, little has been written to bring to the fore the role of the Boys' Brigade as an organisation encompassing the spirit and ethos of the age, particularly as an agent carrying a

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 187 - 188.

²⁰ Richard G. Kyle, "Inside-out: Connecting Indoor and Outdoor Spaces of Informal Education Through the Extraordinary Geographies of The Boys' Brigade Camp", in Sarah Mills and Peter Kraftl (eds.), Informal Education, Childhood and Youth. Geographies, Histories, Practices, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 21 - 35; p. 22.

²¹ Ibid, p.25.

number of physical and ideological militaristic characteristics. Despite this, of the three core historiographical themes carried throughout this thesis it is debates on militarism where reference to the Boys' Brigade is most often found. However, existing narratives in this area have largely focused on the Scouts as an example of a youth movement in the context of militarism debates. Within this, the Boys' Brigade is often referenced but deserves its own attention particularly when taking into account its role as the pioneer organisation within the field of uniformed youth movements. The Scouts have provided a more fruitful ground for historians when considering its impact on young people and have been more widely drawn upon by historians. This is evident in discourse surrounding the formation of the Scouts. Within these wider discussions, the role of the Boys' Brigade is regularly attributed attention. It is referred to either as "paramilitary"²², a "semi-uniformed Brigade"²³, or "quasi-military"²⁴. In each instance the Boys' Brigade is grouped together with other youth organisations such as the Church Lads' Brigade (CLB) or Jewish Lads' Brigade (JLB). As a result, the unique characteristics of each of these movements are severely neglected. In historiographical debates on the Scouts the factors leading to the founding of the movement have been presented with militarism taken into consideration. The classical interpretation for Baden-Powell founding the Scouts has drawn reference to a moment of inspiration occurring during conversations held between the hero of Mafeking and the founder of the Boys' Brigade. This popular interpretation was largely disseminated from official histories within the Scouts and was most widely supported from the 1920s to the 1960s. In his history of English youth movements between 1908 and 1930, published in 1969, Paul Wilkinson recounts that Baden-Powell, then a Vice President of the Boys' Brigade, was "clearly impressed by the potentialities of training Boys through a well-led movement" when presiding over the 1903 Royal Albert Hall display of the London Boys' Brigade.²⁵ A similar account is recalled by Michael Rosenthal in his 1980 article where he argues that Baden-Powell experienced "a classical moment of inspiration" on attending a drill inspection of the Boys' Brigade, this time in Glasgow in the spring of 1904.²⁶

²² Michael Blanch, "British Society and the War", in Peter Warwick (ed.), *The South African War. The Anglo-Boer War 1899 - 1902*, (Harlow: Longman, 1980), pp. 210 - 238; p.230.

²³ Alan Penn, *Targeting Schools. Drill, Militarism and Imperialism*, (London: Woburn, 1999), p.9.

²⁴ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, p. 134.

²⁵ Paul Wilkinson, "English Youth Movements 1908 - 1930", *Contemporary History*, 4, 2, 1969, pp. 3 - 24; p.12.

²⁶ Michael Rosenthal, "Knights and Retainers: The Earliest Version of Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Scheme", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 15, 1980, pp. 603 - 617; p.603.

Revisions of this have moved on from a romanticised picture of Baden-Powell inspired by the pioneer of uniformed youth movements, and have instead focused on the character and writings of the future founder of Scouting. This change in perspective introduced new historical debates surrounding the Scouts, particularly with regards to its perceived alignment with militarism and imperialism. With this, any reference to the Boys' Brigade in the recording of the origins of the Scouts was lost which, in turn, has resulted in a history largely void of debate surrounding the reasons why Baden-Powell left the Boys' Brigade and formed his own organisation. We therefore have a historiography that has moved to analyse contemporary themes in relation to the Scouts. This was displayed in the work of Warren and Springhall during the 1980s who presented the inspiration for the movement from the writings of Baden-Powell, albeit, with vastly differing conclusions. For Warren, the personal writings of Baden-Powell indicate that the organisation he founded was subject to the influence of enthusiasm for an improvement to health and combating decadence as well as concerned with domestic and external challenges.²⁷ In his chapter, "Citizens of Empire", in MacKenzie's Imperialism and Popular Culture, the ideas of militarism are masked by rhetoric of "defensive domestic imperialism" which was to be found in the early writings of Baden-Powell in relation to his plans on scouting.²⁸ The concept of militarism was prominent in Warren's 1986 article in English Historical Review. In this, he criticised historians for placing the Scouts within the context of military values and challenged the "sombre intonings of those historians who present a picture of an anxious and insecure Edwardian upper and middle class" who were "desperately trying to reassert authority over the young".²⁹ It was, therefore, not just a challenge to claims of the Scouts as a militaristic organisation but a critique of the idea of British society holding deep-set militarist sentiments. In the article the lack of a religious or spiritual purpose underpinning the Scouts is considered to account for the charges of militarism it faced in its early years.³⁰ The article is critical of Springhall in particular, who responded in the same journal the following year. In his response, Springhall endeavours to "reassert the earlier historical interpretation that when Baden-Powell organized his Scout movement he did so with one primary motive – to prepare the next generation of British soldiers for war and the defence of the

²⁷ Allen Warren, "Citizens of Empire. Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Idea, 1900 - 1940", in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), Imperialism and Popular Culture, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 232 - 256; p.238.

²⁸ Allen Warren, "Citizens of Empire", p.235.

²⁹ Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900 - 1920", English Historical Review, 101, 1986, pp. 376 - 398; pp. 376 - 377.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.388.

Empire”.³¹ In his riposte, Springhall maintains that the Scouts need to be considered within the context of the prevailing social and political climate that was one of “insecurity and anxiety”.³² Furthermore, the concept of citizen training, which Warren considered to be primary to the purpose of Scouting, should be considered as “peripheral... to Scouting’s central concern with the threat of national decadence and inadequate military preparation”.³³ In the same issue of this journal Anne Summers entered the debate. For Summers it was not possible for the Scouts to escape the “pervasive militaristic influence” and to do so would be to consider the organisation within a cultural vacuum.³⁴ In response, Warren wrote a “final comment” in which he questioned Summers’ opinion that Edwardian society was “comprehensively militaristic”.³⁵ Furthermore, Warren challenged the evidence Springhall and Summers used in presenting individuals with a military background as associating the Scouts with militarism. For Warren, such relationships were not significant, concluding that “there is no hint of a military underpinning to their commitment to the organisation”.³⁶

In the late 1990s two articles of note were published on the Scouts that re-assessed from a chronological distance the debates that interested Warren, Springhall, and Summers. For Sam Pryke, in an article from 1998, the history of the Scouts should be considered from the angle of nationalism and how this shaped activities.³⁷ According to Pryke this was an element overlooked in the militarism versus citizenship debates between Warren and Springhall.³⁸ In terms of progression of the militarism debate, Pryke is quick to present the perspective that the main motivation behind the Scouts was not “an effort to capture British youth through sugar coating a militarist core”.³⁹ Tammy Proctor also argued against claims of militarism within the Scouts in an article published in 1998, this time through a consideration of the uniform the organisation

³¹ John Springhall, “Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?”, English Historical Review, 102, 1987, pp. 934 - 942; p.935.

³² Ibid, p.938.

³³ Ibid, p.941.

³⁴ Anne Summers, “Scouts, Guides and VADs: a Note in Reply to Allen Warren”, English Historical Review, 102, 1987, pp. 943 - 947; p.943.

³⁵ Allen Warren, “Baden-Powell a Final Comment”, English Historical Review, 102, 1987, pp. 948 - 950; p.948.

³⁶ Ibid, p.950.

³⁷ Sam Pryke, “The Popularity of Nationalism in the early British Boy Scout Movement”, Social History, 23, 3, 1998, pp. 309 - 324; p.310.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

adopted. For Proctor the uniform worn by the Scouts was not something utilised for any militaristic purpose and drew on Scout literature, memoirs, and diaries to contest that it was functional and displayed the rejection of class divisions that were significant to the work of the movement.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the uniform was integral to the social improvement aims of the organisation to make citizens clean, healthy, and well presented.⁴¹ In contrast, the uniform of the Boys' Brigade is considered by Proctor to be of a military style for an organisation that attracted the lower-classes.⁴² More recent revisions of the militarism debates relating to the early years of the Scouts have progressed into deliberation on citizen training of a largely non-militaristic nature. Recent histories have focused on specific elements of the character and activities of the organisation within the context of wider discussion on imperialism, nationalism, and class. There is an increasing move which reasons that it was possible that the Scouts held militaristic values to an extent whilst still maintaining ambitions for citizen training. Brad Beaven has considered the Scouts within the undercurrents of Edwardian society which feared for the condition of the Empire. In Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, published in 2005, Beaven commented that historians have considered the movement to be one of either militarism or citizenship, with the argument presented that the organisation was “part of a broader shift in ideals of citizenship that emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries”.⁴³

A further article presenting a protective perspective of Scouting through analysis of a specific element of the movement is the 2007 article by Christopher Love on the role of swimming within the organisation. In his article Love utilises Scouting for Boys and Scout Association records to argue that the activities of the Scouts, in this case, swimming, are considered for their humanitarian value to enable the Scout to fulfil his civic “duty”.⁴⁴ Although the article provides an interesting account of swimming within the programme of activities of the Scouts, it misses the case that the Boys' Brigade drew upon swimming before the inception of the Scouts, with chapter three of this thesis providing an assessment of how this item was undertaken by Companies in

⁴⁰ Tammy Proctor, “(Uni)forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1909 - 1939”, History Workshop Journal, 45, 1998, pp. 103 - 134; p.104.

⁴¹ Ibid, p.117.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Brad Beaven, Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850 - 1945, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p.95.

⁴⁴ Christopher Love, “Swimming, Service to Empire and Baden-Powell's Youth Movements”, The International Journal of the History of Sport, 24, 5, 2007, pp. 682 - 692; p.683.

Glasgow from the 1890s onwards. This aspect was lost in Love's assessment, where the Boys' Brigade was listed amongst other similar organisations that had swimming as part of their programme of activities.⁴⁵ In the article Love presents a new approach to militarism debates in relation to youth movements by considering specific aspects of the organisation. In his assessment, Love does not view the Scouts as fostering militaristic sentiments, but instead presents the movement as aiming to improve the condition of youth in the Edwardian years through practical training. More recently, Rosie Kennedy has considered the role of uniformed youth organisations within the context of the First World War. In her 2014 book, The Children's War. Britain, 1914 - 1918, the Boys' Brigade is afforded attention where the use of military training to instil Christian values was noted as being received with criticism from some quarters.⁴⁶ The Scouts are prominent in her assessment, where it was noted that Scouting appealed to some urban working-class Boys who had little opportunity for outdoor adventure in their everyday lives.⁴⁷ Kennedy raises some crucial points in her assessment of youth movements within the context of the First World War. First, Kennedy is critical of histories that have focused on the prescriptive strategies of youth movements rather than the practical realities and the experience of young members.⁴⁸ By examining the Boys' Brigade from a city based approach this thesis offers a method to address this issue that is prevalent in existing historiographical perspectives. Kennedy challenges the existing preoccupation with militarism in relation to youth movements as follows:

The question of militarism, which is central to the discussion of the involvement of British youth movements in the war effort, has dogged these movements since their creation and continues to preoccupy historians today. Were groups like the Boy Scouts or the Boys' Brigade paramilitary organisations masquerading as peace-loving troops teaching nothing but moral fortitude and Christian Manliness? Or were they in fact cover attempts... to produce young men ready to serve as soldiers in the Regular Army or Reserves?⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.689.

⁴⁶ Rosie Kennedy, The Children's, p.88.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.90.

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp. 90 - 91.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.91.

In her assessment Kennedy notes that the evidence, drawn from articles from official Scout and Boys' Brigade publications, is conflicting. Moreover, crucially, for the progression of debates relating to militarism, it is argued that the experience of individual groups could be quite different to the official position and that uniformity of experience could not be achieved.⁵⁰ Through an examination of the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade at the local level this thesis embraces this theory, and advances the ethos by arguing that the practical application of membership of a youth movement varied across space and place and was greatly influenced by the prevailing social climate of a city. In addition, through a comparison between the experience in England and Scotland, this thesis presents the notion that national variances in approach were noticeable and were crucial in the formation of national identities. Therefore, although historians have tended to focus on the Scouts, there are good reasons to focus on an alternative example.

Militarism in British Society

In terms of the progression of militarism debates in wider British society around the turn of the twentieth century, an important starting place is the article by Summers appearing in History Workshop Journal from 1976. This article presents Britain before the First World War as inherently militaristic, with "militaristic modes of thinking" developing "over a long period" and being all pervasive throughout society.⁵¹ For Summers, there was a "tremendous upsurge of interest in things military in Edwardian Britain" coming as a product of reactions to the Boer War.⁵² The Boys' Brigade is considered within this context, as a religious organisation representing the merging of military discipline with Christianity.⁵³ It was a movement that adopted military discipline in association with moral and religious qualities of the Edwardian period. This militarism was not "Blood-thirsty" or "particularly martial" but enthusiastically adopted militaristic virtues.⁵⁴ The tone of the article was supported in a letter to the same journal from 1977 by Michael Blanch who reiterated that "There was indeed a strong and pervasive militarism at large in Edwardian England", continuing by commenting that "its various movements cultivated

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 91 - 96.

⁵¹ Anne Summers, "Militarism in Britain Before the Great War", History Workshop, 2, 1976, pp. 104 - 123; p.105.

⁵² Ibid, p.111.

⁵³ Ibid, pp. 119 - 120.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

considerable working class support”.⁵⁵ Blanch protracted the sentiments of Summers in his own work, with a chapter in Peter Warwick’s collection of essays on the Anglo-Boer War, published in 1980. In his chapter, Blanch mentions in passing the Boys’ Brigade, as a “paramilitary boys’ movement” which acted as propaganda of war.⁵⁶ It is presented alongside books, comics, and other forms of popular youth culture as methods of inculcating militaristic virtues.⁵⁷ The sentiment of the chapter is that;

Popular society, on the eve of war, was already imbued with a degree of nationalism and militarism. The roots of this are to be found in the style and content of teaching in the schools, and in popular involvement at all levels with militarist organizations in the period between 1880-1899.⁵⁸

The years in question are ones when the Boys’ Brigade was beginning to grow. For this reason it is crucial for our understanding of broader attitudes to militarism in society that the organisation receives greater attention in order to establish the character of the social climate that enabled a uniformed organisation for Boys, with a focus on drill, to grow. In sum, these scholars present British society as entrenched with militarist sentiment. It was interpretations of such an ethos in society that shaped the way debates on militarism progressed from the 1980s onwards.

The class based theories and debates on militarism assessed by Blanch were continued by Stephen Humphries in his oral history of working-class youth. In *Hooligans or Rebels*, published in 1981, militaristic values present at school and in uniformed youth organisations are claimed to have been strongly opposed by young working-class people.⁵⁹ Through the use of oral testimonies, Humphries argues that acts of opposition towards uniformed youth movements were expressions of class struggle.⁶⁰ The Boys’ Brigade is mentioned within these debates as a “quasi-military movement” with the “recruiting officers” possessing tools of propaganda, such as drilling and the

⁵⁵ Michael Blanch, “Militarism in Britain Before the Great War - Letters to the Editor”, *History Workshop*, 3, 1, 1977, pp. 199- 200; pp. 199 - 200.

⁵⁶ Michael Blanch, “British Society”, p.230.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.211.

⁵⁹ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 22 - 23.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

uniform “in order to dupe unruly youths into submission”.⁶¹ Through the careful selection of oral testimonies from the BPOHP, which he organised, Humphries presents the argument that young people joined organisations such as the Boys’ Brigade for the sporting activities and the camp.⁶² Drill and military manoeuvres were considered “tiresome concessions to authority, to be avoided wherever possible” but necessary in order to attend camps or take part in sports.⁶³ Furthermore, the Boys’ Brigade is presented as an organisation that acted as a reminder that “many working-class army recruits were forced to join up either by economic necessity or by legal compulsion, and their primary aim was personal survival, not the patriotic self-sacrifice encouraged by youth movements.”⁶⁴ This thesis contests the position of Humphries and argues that an alternative perspective of the lived experience of the Boys’ Brigade is perceptible through a more thorough assessment of the accounts from the BPOHP.

The conclusions of Humphries on the Boys’ Brigade were challenged by Springhall who, in a chapter in Manliness and Morality, published in 1987, questioned the selective nature of the testimonies used. Springhall comments that:

it is one of the temptations of oral history, as of any other kind of history, to make selective use of evidence to corroborate a particular interpretation, but where the historian is himself, through taped interviews, engaged in creating raw data as well as in making sense of it, the temptation that has to be resisted is all that much greater.⁶⁵

Such observations were the result of Springhall’s experience with the BPOHP, with “a slightly less detached working-class attitude and, in one particular case, a positive enthusiasm for the physical training classes the Boys’ Brigade offered”.⁶⁶ However, the challenge by Springhall is limited to a couple of paragraphs towards the end of a piece on the wider context of building character. Moreover, as will be explored in greater detail in chapter five, the methodological approach of

⁶¹ Ibid, p.134.

⁶² Ibid, pp. 134 - 135.

⁶³ Ibid, p.134.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p.135.

⁶⁵ John Springhall, “Building Character in the British Boy: the Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880 - 1914”, in J. A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), Manliness and Morality. Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800 -1940, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 52 - 74; p.61.

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp. 60 - 61.

Humphries and Springhall was selective, with a more comprehensive assessment of the material required in order to present a clearer perspective of what the BPOHP tells us about youth in society in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bristol.

The earlier perspective of Blanch was revisited by Glenn Wilkinson in 1998 through his work on the depiction of the armed forces and war in newspaper articles in Edwardian Britain. Through analysis of accounts of war in the press, Wilkinson declared that “the prevailing perception of the use of military force in Edwardian Britain was that war was both beneficial and desirable to the societies engaged in it”.⁶⁷ Wilkinson utilises newspaper articles as a tool to advance the theories of Blanch of a society that was increasingly militaristic and was conveyed through the introduction of military discipline and instruction fostered in schools.⁶⁸ Wilkinson progresses the debate by introducing the notion of military activities as a “desirable form of education”.⁶⁹ In his article there are a number of extracts taken from The Glasgow Herald. It is therefore surprising that Wilkinson did not reference the Boys’ Brigade, for this organisation of distinctly Glaswegian origins clearly provides an example of an educational tool for young people, utilising the concepts of military discipline. Therefore, the Boys’ Brigade has the ability to act as a vehicle to progress this line of debate and enhance our understanding. In sum, through a varied selection of newspaper articles, Wilkinson presents a society where warfare was seen as “natural, beneficial and desirable” and “was not merely a minority view”.⁷⁰ Furthermore, this is presented as a concept held by all social classes, with these views expressed in a range of newspapers “indicating that readers from a myriad of social backgrounds perceived warfare in similar ways”.⁷¹

Supplementary to the views of Wilkinson is Targeting Schools by Alan Penn, which was published in 1999 and expressed a similar ethos. Where Wilkinson’s article considers militarism debates relating to education within the context of wider societal moves, the monograph by Penn is concerned entirely with militarism and youth. For Penn, the practice of military style drill was not for the encouragement of militarism but for the well-being and physical improvement of school

⁶⁷ Glenn R. Wilkinson, “The Blessings of War: The Depiction of Military Force in Edwardian Newspapers”, Journal of Contemporary History, 33, 1, 1998, pp. 97 - 115; p.98.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.108.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.115.

⁷¹ Ibid.

children.⁷² In addition, Penn notes that few alternative forms of exercise existed at the time, thus reiterating the physical advantages of teaching military style drill.⁷³ Despite focusing on drill in schools, the author finds time to consider youth movements and organisations for young people within debates on the impact of the military on civilian life. The Boys' Brigade is presented here alongside the Salvation Army, and the CLB, as an organisation representing the military spirit of the age extending into religion.⁷⁴ In his conclusion, Penn is clear in the way militarism existed in society, using local school board records to emphasise the role of drill in elementary schools to argue that "although Britons in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were reluctant to admit that their country was a militarist nation, the evidence for it being so is strong".⁷⁵ These scholars have developed on themes relating to militarism that Blanch and Summers began in the 1970s and early 1980s. However, as has been displayed here, references to the Boys' Brigade remain limited, with the movement wholly absent from the work of Wilkinson, despite scope for utilising the organisation, and mentioned only in passing by Penn.

The same experience is apparent in Warrior Nation where Michael Paris presents late nineteenth century Britain as fostering a "pleasure culture of war" through toys and war games that suggested to young people that war was a normal part of everyday life.⁷⁶ In his book, published in 2000, Paris comments that:

By the early twentieth century, the pleasure culture of war had imbued the youth of Britain with the martial spirit and convinced them that war was natural, honourable and romantic; that on the battlefield, fighting to further the nation's cause, they would achieve their destiny.⁷⁷

Within this context the Boys' Brigade is mentioned as providing the model for paramilitary movements which took the drill of the school curriculum from the classroom and into a form of popular leisure.⁷⁸ However, the majority of the chapter devoted to "The Little Wars of Empire" is

⁷² Alan Penn, Targeting, p.40.

⁷³ Ibid, p.44.

⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 165 - 166.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.173.

⁷⁶ Michael Paris, Warrior Nation. Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850 - 2000, (London: Reaktion, 2000), p.73.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.82.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p.81.

dedicated to drawing upon contemporary sources of popular literature as providing a vehicle for inculcating a militaristic spirit in popular culture. Paris comments that youth literature convinced young men that a great war was on the horizon.⁷⁹ This is not to say that he overlooks other agencies, noting that alternative methods were required in order to prepare them physically for the conflict to come.⁸⁰ Rather than returning to the case of the Boys' Brigade he mentioned earlier in the chapter, Paris relies on the Scouts as an example of a movement preparing for war. Paris comments that "the Boy Scouts have been subjected to considerable academic scrutiny".⁸¹ This poses questions as to why Paris did not utilise an alternative example within the debates of the 'pleasure culture of war'. As an organisation that has not been subjected to "considerable academic scrutiny" it is discernible that the case of the Boys' Brigade has much more to offer within this context, particularly considering the militaristic predisposition of the organisation. This thesis, whilst embracing the notion of a 'pleasure culture of war', presents the case of the Boys' Brigade as an alternative organisation to the Scouts as a movement broadly preparing for war in a theoretical sense, and advances the notion by offering local level examples to support the theory.

The Boys' Brigade receives closer attention in the work of Stephen Miller on the influence of the military in popular culture and in particular, popular youth cultures. In a 2005 article in The Journal of Military History, Miller draws upon existing histories of the Boys' Brigade to present youths who "felt increasingly displaced and isolated".⁸² Within this climate, the Boys' Brigade is portrayed as an organisation "tinged with elements of muscular Christianity and militarism" which was alluring to displaced youth.⁸³ In addition, Miller asserts that "William Alexander Smith's Boys' Brigade... numbered fifty thousand at the outbreak of the war and grew by six thousand more in the 'euphoria' of the war's first year".⁸⁴ However, although the 'euphoria' of the war was important in the growth of the Boys' Brigade, this thesis argues that the increases in membership were the consequence of a more complex combination of factors that enabled the development of a youth movement for Boys based on militarised principles. In sum, the article presented a society

⁷⁹ Ibid, p.103.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid, p.106.

⁸² Stephen M. Miller, "In Support of the Imperial Mission? Volunteering for the South African War, 1899 - 1902", The Journal of Military History, 69, 3, 2005, pp. 691 - 711; p.702.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid, pp. 701 - 702.

where Boys' clubs and other forms of popular culture helped to disseminate militarism to young people of all social classes.⁸⁵ In addition, and more broadly, Miller adds politicians, the press and interest groups to this list in a 2006 article on the same conflict, as cultivating a British public that responded passionately in support of the Second Boer War.⁸⁶ Further, in his 2007 monograph, Volunteers on the Veld, a reiteration of the perspective that British society was "cultivating and developing a heightened martial ethos among its citizens" is presented.⁸⁷ Within this "martial ethos" the Boys' Brigade is listed as a "paramilitary organisation" alongside the Church Brigade and the JLB as promoting the imperial mission of a more militaristic late-Victorian society.⁸⁸ For Miller, militarism was a tool utilised in order to manipulate people on issues relating to the British Empire.⁸⁹ Organisations such as the Boys Brigade, with its use of dummy rifles and military styled uniform, were instruments which heightened a sense of military spirit among young people.⁹⁰ Such an ethos provides a setting for Miller to offer an understanding for the reasons why Britons responded enthusiastically for the call to volunteers for this conflict.⁹¹ This thesis argues that enhancing our knowledge of the Boys' Brigade at this time can develop on the theories of Miller in improving our understanding of the reactions to the South African War in 1899 and can aid in the progression of militarism debates, particularly as this conflict pre-dates the Scouts. The Second Boer War is an important conflict for assessment, providing a connection between the close of the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century. In this thesis, the Boys' Brigade is drawn upon to offer crucial interjections on the cultural and social impact of the war at home, particularly for young people.

Imperialism Debates

Imperialism is another area of broader historical interest where the Boys' Brigade as a case study can enhance our knowledge. There are two areas through which more detailed analysis of this

⁸⁵ Ibid, p.709.

⁸⁶ Stephen M. Miller, "Slogging Across the Veldt: British Volunteers and the Guerrilla Phase of the South Africa War, 1899 - 1902", Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, 84, 338, 2006, pp. 158 - 174; p.159.

⁸⁷ Stephen M. Miller, Volunteers on the Veldt: Britain's Citizen-Soldiers and the South African War, 1899 - 1902, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), p.22.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.29.

⁹⁰ Ibid, pp.32 - 33.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.37.

organisation has the ability to improve our understanding. First, such enquiry can offer much to theories of ‘Four Nation Imperialism’. MacKenzie has asserted that the history of the British Empire requires greater analysis and understanding in terms of the four separate constituent regions of the British Isles.⁹² The case of the Boys’ Brigade has a considerable amount to offer within these debates particularly as a movement born in Glasgow, the second city of the Empire.⁹³ There is a paucity of investigation into the link between the Brigade and its origins in a city deemed to be of such Imperial character and, moreover, the national variances in approach. Although focusing attention on two of the four constituent parts of Britain, this thesis works within the framework of the four nation approach by offering a comparative examination of the movement in England and Scotland. This thesis has opted to exclude examples from Welsh or Irish cities due to limitations of extant data when compared to London, Glasgow, and Bristol. By focusing on the capital, and two great provincial cities, this thesis is able to provide a comparative assessment within the British Isles, thus encouraging further discussion in the field. The second trend in imperial historical discourse where the Boys’ Brigade can enhance our knowledge is on new imperial histories. The literature reviewed here contemplates the implications of imperialism on society and the cultural concerns. James Thompson commented in an article from 2007 that “lively disagreement” surrounds debates regarding the cultural significance of Empire for Britain.⁹⁴ By presenting the Boys’ Brigade more prominently within these debates it is possible to improve our understanding through a fresh case study offering insight into the cultural implications of imperialism for Britain and its constituent parts. The review of the literature on imperialism here also assesses the work of and responses to Bernard Porter, arguably the most ardent sceptic of ‘new imperialism’ and a scholar who has dominated debates in the last decade.

The idea of a four nations approach to the history of the British Empire can be attributed first to J. G. A. Pocock in his ‘plea for a new subject’, published in 1975. In this the idea of historical national identity is significant, with Pocock arguing that histories of Britain are primarily histories of the English, with the narratives of Welsh, Irish, and Scottish peoples deemed to have been

⁹² John M. MacKenzie, “Irish, Scottish”, pp. 1244 - 1245.

⁹³ John M. MacKenzie, “The Second City of the Empire. Glasgow - Municipal City”, in Felix Driver and David Gilbert (eds.), *Imperial Cities. Landscape, Display and Identity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 215- 237; p.216.

⁹⁴ James Thompson, “Modern Britain and the New Imperial History”, *History Compass*, 5, 2, 2007, pp. 455 - 462; pp. 457 - 458.

peripheral or recorded as separate entities entirely.⁹⁵ For Pocock, “it is evident that we are studying three, and in some ways more than three, interacting histories”.⁹⁶ Therefore, it is difficult to study the British Empire as one single entity, given the distinctive nature of the constituent nations. This thesis presents the Boys’ Brigade as offering a clear example of this, with the application of the model implemented differently in Scotland and England. The issues in question were progressed by Linda Colley in an article in the Journal of British Studies published in 1992 as part of a series that considered ‘who are the British anyway?’. Colley has regarded a four nation approach to British studies as too simplistic and urged caution on such a method.⁹⁷ Her perspective on this methodology can be summarised as follows:

I would argue that the Four Nations approach, if pushed too hard or too exclusively, is an incomplete and anachronistic way to view the British past and, also, a potentially parochial one. It conceals...the fact that the four parts of the United Kingdom have been connected in markedly different ways and with sharply varying degrees of success.⁹⁸

Another historian whose work has progressed the four nations approach is MacKenzie. This historian is one of the most vehement advocates of this methodology, asserting the view that the four nations had their own relationship with the Empire and the ways people in the four nations interacted with the Empire was differing.⁹⁹ For MacKenzie, the construction of the United Kingdom was so loose at this time that it enabled the various ethnicities within the four nations to flourish and, as a result of the enterprise of Empire, their identities were enhanced.¹⁰⁰ MacKenzie has utilised this methodology to enhance the status of Scottish nationalism and identity within British studies. In a 1993 article on Scotland and the Empire, MacKenzie claims that the Empire was “a means whereby Scotland asserted her distinctiveness in relation to England” through the dissemination of evidence from existing histories of Scotland and the Empire.¹⁰¹ He mentions

⁹⁵ J. G. A. Pocock, “British History: A Plea for a New Subject”, The Journal of Modern History, 47, 4, 1975, pp. 601 - 621; pp. 603 - 604.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.605.

⁹⁷ Linda Colley, “Britishness and Otherness: An Argument”, Journal of British Studies, 31, 4, 1992, pp.309 - 329; p.315.

⁹⁸ Ibid, p.314.

⁹⁹ John M. MacKenzie, “Irish, Scottish”, p.1252.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, pp.1254 - 1255.

¹⁰¹ John M. MacKenzie, “Essay and Reflection: on Scotland and the Empire”, The International History Review, 15, 4, 1993, pp. 714 - 739; p.738.

examples of the suffusing of Empire with Scottishness, thus strengthening Scottish identity, but the case of the Boys' Brigade is a notable absentee from his discussion despite providing an unequivocal case to support his notion, as this thesis highlights. In a later article on Empire and national identities the theory is presented that the British Empire "enabled the sub-nationalisms of the United Kingdom to survive and flourish".¹⁰² This time the case of the Boys' Brigade is present in his assessment:

The Boys' Brigade, founded by William Alexander Smith in Glasgow in 1883 and destined to expand throughout Britain and the Empire, as well as to spawn many imitations among other denominations and religions, had a distinctly imperial tone and inevitably venerated the Scots imperial heroes.¹⁰³

However, despite this rhetoric, this is the extent to which the Boys' Brigade is utilised by MacKenzie in the three articles listed here on the four nation methodology. The above quote is indicative of the way the Boys' Brigade case is utilised by academics, with the tone providing the impression that knowledge of the organisation is limited to names and dates. This is a significant oversight, particularly considering the "distinctly imperial tone" of the movement. Attention therefore should be given to the ways in which it carried this imperial tone and also, on considering the four nations methodology, the way such an organisation was "imperial" at a national, sub-national, or regional level. Through the case studies of this thesis it is argued that the application of the Brigade model was applied differently across varied spaces and places and therefore in the different nations of the United Kingdom.

Bernard Porter has questioned the extent to which the British Empire shaped the history of Britain and has challenged the perspectives of 'new imperial history'. Porter argued in 2012 that displays of loyalty to the Empire, such as 'mafficking' of the Boer War, or the "ceremonial puffery" of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee were "nervous reactions" to an Empire that was

¹⁰² John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and National Identities: The Case of Scotland", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 8, 1998, pp. 215 - 231; p.230.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.224.

“coming to seem under threat”.¹⁰⁴ In The Absent-Minded Imperialists, published in 2004, Porter offered a response to historians who he felt “simplified and exaggerated the impact of ‘imperialism’ on Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries”.¹⁰⁵ In his book imperialism is offered as a concept that did not need to have deep roots in British society in order to acquire and rule, and did not have to influence culture in order to succeed.¹⁰⁶ Within his book, Porter assesses the influence of Empire on young people and utilises the case of uniformed youth organisations to support his assertions. Through analysis of the Scouts, Porter argues that working-class children were attracted to the movement, not because of a conviction for any ideological values, but for the activities they offered, with the most appealing of these being camping.¹⁰⁷ It was, as he puts it, “for the sugar.. not the pill”.¹⁰⁸ Porter draws upon the memoir of Battersea Boy Edward Ezard as an example to support his theory. However, his selective use of this material is deployed in isolation to support his notion that young people joined youth movements for outdoor activities, especially camping.¹⁰⁹ As chapters six and seven of this thesis emphasise, outdoor pursuits and camping were available to few members of the Boys’ Brigade. Therefore, to overstate its appeal in attracting young people to youth movements is to miss the role of this within the lived experience of membership at the local level.

The Absent-Minded Imperialists received a vibrant response from supporters of the ‘new imperialist’ school. Antoinette Burton was one scholar who was critical in her review of the text from 2005. She writes that Porter had a “determination to prove that the British Empire had a negligible effect on Britons at home” adding that Porter's assessment was that “Britons rarely saw empire: when they did they scarcely took notice of it”.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Burton asserts that “*The Absent-Minded Imperialists* is trapped in a cul-de-sac, unable to challenge the new imperial history”.¹¹¹ Richard Price is another historian who highlighted difficulties with the book. In particular, Price is critical of Porter because “the evidence for empire’s presence in culture is more

¹⁰⁴ Bernard Porter, “Cutting the British Empire Down to Size”, History Today, 62, 10, 2012, pp. 22 - 29; p.24.

¹⁰⁵ Bernard Porter, “Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness”, The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 36, 1, 2008, pp. 101 - 117; p.101.

¹⁰⁶ Bernard Porter, The Absent, p.24.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, pp. 208 - 211.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 208.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.211.

¹¹⁰ Antoinette Burton, “Review . Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*”, Victorian Studies, 47, 4, 2005, pp. 626 - 628; p.628.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

mixed than he allows”.¹¹² In addition, Price points out that “one gets the sense that his hammering of the new imperial history left him with no energy to explain how he might envisage the linkages”.¹¹³ One further scholar who has challenged the perspective of Porter is MacKenzie. For MacKenzie, it “is a book which is powerfully argued, superbly sourced, and very well presented. That should not delude the reader into thinking that it is right, for in many respects it is profoundly wrong.”¹¹⁴ Furthermore, MacKenzie notes that “his book contains many silences” particularly in areas which MacKenzie considers he has already shown the bonds between imperialism and culture, such as in working men’s clubs and the music hall.¹¹⁵ By utilising the case of the Boys’ Brigade this thesis casts doubt on Porter’s key concept of the ‘sugar not the pill’, emphasising the difficulties in approaching youth movements in broad homogenous terms.

Troy Boone provides a further instance of a historian who has considered the role of the Scouts within the context of the British Empire. In his analysis of the relationship between sport and the ideas of “hegemonic imperialism”, published in Youth of Darkest England in 2005, Boone discusses the ways through which the Boys’ Brigade was founded on the principles of *esprit de corps* and how the movement was a vehicle for training working-class Boys in middle-class values through soldiering and sports.¹¹⁶ However, rather than expanding on this case, Boone analyses the Scouts in order to consider the ideas of elementary school style activities of youth movements as a method to improve class friction. This is in addition to a whole chapter devoted in his monograph to Baden-Powell’s creation in relation to “hegemonic imperialism”, a notion that “English people of all classes identify with one another as members of an imperial nation”.¹¹⁷ Much in the same way as Porter, Boone approaches youth movements in broad, homogenous terms, thus overlooking the national and regional variances that are perceptible in the lived experience of membership of a youth movement as shown through the three case studies of this thesis.

¹¹² Richard Price, “One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture”, Journal of British Studies, 45, 3, 2006, pp. 602 - 627; p.619.

¹¹³ Ibid, p.620.

¹¹⁴ John M. MacKenzie, “Review. Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*”, The Round Table, 94, 2005, pp. 280 - 283; p.281.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p.282

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p.136.

¹¹⁷ Troy Boone, Youth of Darkest England. Working-Class Children at the Heart of Victorian Empire, (London: Routledge, 2005), p.117.

In contrast to the perspective of Boone, Jim English has opted to utilise the example of Empire Day in Britain as observed in working-class autobiographies, to illustrate the prevailing nature of “an imperial consciousness in the minds of working-class children”.¹¹⁸ In an article from 2006, English considers historians’ approaches to Empire Day in a very similar way to which this thesis believes the case of the Boys’ Brigade has been treated by academics; “Although often referenced or mentioned in passing, Empire Day rarely occupies historians for more than a paragraph”.¹¹⁹ What the research of English illustrates is that there is scope for progression of debates in this area through the utilisation of groups, movements, and individuals who have previously been mentioned regularly but to a limited extent. More recently, Beaven has drawn upon Empire Day as a case to emphasise the difficulties in approaching attitudes to Empire in homogenous terms. Through an examination of the application of Empire Day celebrations in Portsmouth, Coventry, and Leeds, Beaven highlighted - through a dissemination of articles in the local press - the complexities of a uniform experience of celebrations across the country in his 2012 book Visions of Empire.¹²⁰ This thesis draws on Beaven’s notion of regional variances and, through the case of the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow *vis a vis* the English cities of Bristol and London, emphasises the national differences perceptible in the lived experience of membership of a youth movement.

Religiosity and Secularisation Debates

The final historiographical area of concern this research considers is the role of the Boys’ Brigade within wider debates relating to secularisation. The aim of this research is to introduce the example of youth movements into discussion regarding secularisation and different modes of expression of faith. While the previous two areas of historical interest mentioned above have utilised the case of uniformed youth movements, this particular debate on religion and secularisation has not been concerned with uniformed youth as a case study to the same extent. There has been a tendency by historians examining organisations in this period to focus on aspects such as militarism which have resulted in religious characteristics of such organisations being neglected. For example, Boone largely overlooks the religious aspects of the Salvation Army

¹¹⁸ Jim English, “Empire Day in Britain, 1904 - 1958”, The Historical Journal, 49, 1, 2006, pp. 247 - 276; p.248.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Brad Beaven, Visions, pp. 174 - 175.

in a chapter on the movement in his study, mentioning religious rhetoric only six times.¹²¹ This is despite the organisation being one strongly Christian in outlook and purpose. The religious aspects of the Boys' Brigade have also been neglected to an extent, with issues relating to militarism coming to the fore within discussion on the movement. Therefore, this research brings to prominence issues relating to religiosity debates at this time and, in particular, theories relating to secularisation. This research can assist in redressing the balance and return religious discourse to debates relating to organised youth movements. As a Christian organisation, the Boys' Brigade can be viewed in two contrasting ways, leading to questions regarding the strength of religion during the Victorian and Edwardian period. On the one hand, the movement can be seen as an expression of the pomp and strength of religion; a bold and powerful expression of the role of Christianity in society. However, the alternative view may be to see the organisation as a reaction to a decline in faith, with the movement a response to declining interest in religion, particularly with young men. This thesis maintains that the Boys' Brigade illustrated changing attitudes to religion from the late nineteenth century onwards, with the organisation offering an example of an alternative mode of expression of faith that was applied in different ways by Officers of the movement across varied spaces and places.

The work of Callum Brown in the last few decades has altered approaches to secularisation theories in Britain and has led many to question perspectives within this field of research. Brown has asserted that there existed a "buoyancy of Christian culture" which continued "largely unabated until the outbreak of war in 1914".¹²² However, Brown later comments that "The Edwardian religious horizon was...confused – outwardly optimistic, but inwardly clouded with doubts and confusions".¹²³ This poses questions as to how a buoyant Christian culture could exist alongside confusion and doubt. The Boys' Brigade, as an organisation that was an expression of Christian culture, has the ability to offer clarity to this contradiction. In his monograph, Brown makes reference to the Boys' Brigade. However, within his chapter on faith in society between 1900 and 1914, the movement is considered within the context of "the BBs", being regarded in the same bracket as the JLB an organisation which, when considered within religiosity debates, is a

¹²¹ Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest*, pp. 86 - 105.

¹²² Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain*, (Harlow: Longman, 2006), p.40.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p.48.

very different group altogether. Strangely, the case of the Boys' Brigade is also neglected in his article on faith in the city of Glasgow. Brown asserts that from the 1850s onwards church attendances were on the rise in the city and utilises the case of Glasgow and its all-time high levels of Sunday school attendances as illustrative of thriving Christianity.¹²⁴ However, by passing over the case of the Boys' Brigade, Brown misses an opportunity to assess a group which is intrinsically Glaswegian in its origins and can act as an expression of thriving Christianity in this city.

The Boys' Brigade can therefore progress the arguments made by Brown. It also acts as an instrument to improve our understanding of the wider discourse relating to secularisation and a 'crisis of faith' in the late Victorian and Edwardian era. In a 2011 article "reassessing" these theories, David Nash commented that "In the past decade, the implications of historiographies that uphold the victory of the secular have been subject to considerable critique."¹²⁵ In his reassessment of the historiographical consensus, Nash comments on conclusions that religious beliefs could, and did, exist outside the traditional church base. In his article, Nash offers an assessment of the work of Grace Davie and Sarah Williams to support his claim of religion thriving outside of "conventional religious outlets".¹²⁶ The Boys' Brigade is clearly an expression of religious convictions outside the parameters of the conventional, and greater analysis of this organisation offers much to our understanding of the ways in which religion was experienced outside the traditional church setting. With regards to secularisation theories, Nash is of the opinion that there was a "sense of moral uncertainty that afflicted late Victorian England" and that the historiography of a 'crisis of faith' versus a 'crisis of doubt' limits our understanding.¹²⁷ Another historian who has reassessed the secularisation debates is Jeremy Morris. In his 2003 article Morris was critical of the approach of Brown in shifting the chronology of secularisation debates:

He has simultaneously rejected more strenuously...the long tradition of British historiography that sought to apply the concept of secularization to the late nineteenth and early twentieth

¹²⁴ Callum Brown, "Faith in the City?" *History Today*, 40, 5, 1990, pp. 41 - 47; p.44.

¹²⁵ David Nash, "Reassessing the 'Crisis of Faith' in the Victorian Age: Eclecticism and the Spirit of Moral Enquiry", *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 16, 1, 2011, pp. 65 - 82; p.65.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p.66.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p.82.

centuries, and at once reapplied the concept exclusively and dramatically to the last forty years.¹²⁸

Morris is critical of the ways in which a number of historians have “grossly oversimplified” secularisation in Britain, with this complex discourse being incomplete.¹²⁹ Introducing the Boys’ Brigade within these debates assists in this discourse through considering the role of religion in popular culture and in outlets outside of the traditional church setting.

Conclusion

The historiographical themes considered in the review of existing literature above will inform the chapters to follow. The concepts of militarism in British society, imperial identities, and discourse relating to a decline in faith have often been considered in separate spheres. However, it is evident that the Boys’ Brigade can act as a vehicle to improve our understanding, with its unique characteristics providing a distinctive link between these three core thematic areas that shaped British society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Discourse on militarism has been to the fore of existing debates on the role of youth movements in British society, with Kennedy asserting that this question is central to discussion of the involvement of uniformed youth groups in the First World War.¹³⁰ The succeeding chapters of this thesis embrace these debates as a frame of reference. However, where this chapter differs from the literature above is by relating the notion of militarism in society at the local level and applying existing discourse to the regional context in order to maintain that experience was not uniform geographically. Linked to this is Beaven’s assertion that imperial cultures were not generic and were a representation of local circumstances.¹³¹ Beaven’s model of three case studies that place the city space at the centre of discussion is a structure that is embraced in the chapters to follow, with this thesis drawing upon the examples of Glasgow, London, and Bristol. Moreover, by considering the experience in Scottish cities *vis a vis* English cities, the chapters of this thesis offer the Boys’ Brigade as a vehicle

¹²⁸ Jeremy Morris, “The Strange Death of Christian Britain: Another Look at the Sectarianism Debate”, *The Historical Journal*, 46, 4, 2003, pp. 963 - 976; p.964.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p.975.

¹³⁰ Rosie Kennedy, *The Children’s*, p.91.

¹³¹ Brad Beaven, *Visions*, p.208.

to improve our understanding of the national variances in approach to the themes considered above. Finally, notions of a decline in faith and secularisation are an important frame of reference in the chapters to follow. The Boys' Brigade is drawn upon in this thesis to offer a regional example in the city space to support Nash's conclusions that religious beliefs thrived outside of the conventional space of the church.¹³² Therefore, it is evident that closer examination of the Boys' Brigade has the ability to improve our understanding of notions of militarism, imperialism, and religion within the city. In addition, by applying the lived experience of the movement at the grassroots level, the chapters of this thesis offer a case for exploring the practical application of these themes.

¹³² David Nash, "Reassessing", p.66.

Chapter 2

Cities in Context: Placing the Boys' Brigade within the City space

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the strength of the Boys' Brigade in Britain lay in its towns and cities. In the first five years of its existence the movement grew most rapidly in the urban space. Between 1883, where the Boys' Brigade consisted of one Company, and 1888, where 206 were in existence, over half the Companies formed in Scotland were located in the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh.¹ The situation in England was similar - albeit spread amongst a greater number of locations - with the majority of the fifty five Companies south of the border found in major cities including London, Oxford, Liverpool, and Plymouth.² Therefore, it is evident that from the outset the Boys' Brigade was an organisation that found its feet in the towns and cities of the country. This chapter places the Boys' Brigade firmly within the context of the urban setting to argue that the relationship between the movement and the cities in which it flourished was critical and varied geographically. The chapter opens with an assessment of demographic and industrial changes in London, Glasgow, and Bristol - the core case studies of this thesis - before providing an analysis of existing historiography on the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade in the city. The chapter then moves to consider attitudes towards youth movements more broadly in the urban space and the religious outlook in these cities. The chapter then progresses to examine civic character and the celebration of local identity in these case study cities and closes with an examination of urban degeneration and its correlation with militarism. Through this structure, the Boys' Brigade is drawn upon to act as a vehicle to improve our understanding of the differences in identity in cities across varied spaces and places. By considering the way the organisation interacted in the local setting - in this case, through the workings of the movement in three key cities for the organisation - it is possible to deliver a history of the movement that is more grounded by presenting the practical application at the local level. However, this chapter has more to offer than a glimpse into the story of the movement in the three case study cities. What this chapter presents are the wider implications of the character of the Boys' Brigade for each city. Therefore, this chapter exhibits

¹ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.47.

² Ibid. p.48.

the ways in which the character of the movement differed from city to city and became a reflection of the civic character and identity of a place.

The City in Context: Glasgow, London, and Bristol. Demographic and Industrial Change.

The major British cities of Glasgow, London, and Bristol have been selected as the case studies in this thesis due to their position as areas of strength for the Boys' Brigade. However, the cities themselves provide us with an understanding of the prevailing social climate in the urban setting and changes occurring through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. As a consequence, they can be viewed as representative of wider issues of British cities at this time. All three cities experienced similar demographic changes, despite their divergent geographical positions. From 1891 to 1911 all three cities experienced rapid population growth, altering the dynamics of the city. In Bristol, the population grew from 296,356 in 1891 to 357,048 in 1911, marking it as the greatest percentage increase in population of the three cities at 20.48%.³ In comparison, Glasgow's population rose from 565,839 in 1891 to 577,559 in 1911 (an increase of 2.07%), with London - by far the largest of the three cities - growing from 4,227,954 to 4,521,685 (6.95% growth) during the same years.⁴

These cities shared economies that were centred on trade to and from the Empire and beyond, with their proximity to the water and their ports an important characteristic of their industrial character. All three cities had a historical connection with the trans-Atlantic slave trade. However, Bristol's association with trans-Atlantic slavery did not prove to be a springboard for dramatic growth and development in the nineteenth century, unlike in Glasgow that experienced a golden age at this time.⁵ By the early twentieth century, Bristol's elite was preoccupied with promoting trade with the Caribbean, with sugarcane processed in the city and bananas imported through Avonmouth Docks.⁶ However, this position contrasted to Glasgow which, through the

³ See Appendix 1.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ David Richardson, "Slavery and Bristol's 'Golden Age'", *Slavery and Abolition*, 26, 1, 2005, pp. 35 - 54; pp. 49 - 50.

⁶ Madge Dresser, "Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol", *Slavery and Abolition*, 30, 2, 2009, pp. 223 - 246; p. 226.

course of the nineteenth century, became a city of enterprise and industry and the “indisputable workshop of the world”; the second city of the British Empire.⁷ In the Victorian and Edwardian era Glasgow was a city of burgeoning industrial growth, with shipbuilding on the Clydeside an important industry.⁸ It was within this atmosphere of industrial progress and entrepreneurship that William Alexander Smith came to the city in 1869, entering into his uncle’s business of wholesale dealers in ‘soft goods’, with South Africa the principal market.⁹ Similarly, the economy of London was based on its position as the capital of the Empire, with exports from around the world often passing through the city.¹⁰ Therefore, these cities have a shared experience of industrial and demographic growth from the nineteenth century and are representative of wider changes in British society. In addition, the centrality of an export economy and importance of ports make these cities useful for comparison.

The Lived Reality of the Boys’ Brigade in the City: a Critique of Existing Historiography

There exists a broad historiography on the relationship between the Boys’ Brigade and life in the urban space. Historians including Springhall, Meller, and Humphries have all considered the ways in which the Boys’ Brigade existed within the context of the urban setting. However, these histories have presented a view of the movement that largely focuses on the perspective of the founder and authorities without fully appreciating regional variances. Although Springhall (through the example of Enfield¹¹) and Meller and Humphries (both exploring Bristol¹²) have examined the movement within the context of the city space their perspectives lack a comparative element or have taken the character in a particular place to be representative of the movement as a whole. Similarly, Melanie Tebbutt has assessed the movement at a local level, although her study differs from earlier histories as the case study provided is of a more personal nature (of her father, Les) and it is acknowledged by Tebbutt that youth cultures are not

⁷ Nick Morgan, “Enterprise and Industry”, *History Today*, 40, 5, 1990, pp. 34 - 40; p.34.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 34 - 35.

⁹ F. P. Gibbon, *William A. Smith of the Boys’ Brigade*, (London: Collins, 1934), p.15.

¹⁰ Theo Barker, “Workshop of the World, 1870 - 1914”, *History Today*, 44, 6, 1994, pp. 30 - 36; p.36.

¹¹ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, pp. 85 - 93.

¹² Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City, 1870 - 1914*, (London: Routledge, 1976), pp. 171 - 172; Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 - 135.

homogenous and that locality is important for the formation of identities.¹³ Through the case studies of Bristol, Glasgow, and London this chapter expands upon the method of Tebbutt by appreciating the importance of locality to the character of youth culture whilst introducing a comparative element within the realm of the city space.

The reach of existing historiography has been challenged by Rosie Kennedy in her 2014 history of the role and experience of children during the First World War. The book brought to light the limitations of much of the histories that have focused on the intentions of the founders of youth movements and the position of headquarters.¹⁴ This thesis supports this perspective and expands on it by presenting a case that, on the one hand, appreciates that the position of those at the top of the organisation is vital to our understanding of these groups, but maintains that the implementation of the Brigade programme often differed from the lived experience for members of youth movements at an individual group basis. As a consequence, a divergence between cities across the country is perceptible. By presenting a case study approach to the history of the Boys' Brigade in the city this chapter offers a fresh comparative perspective to regional theories whilst bringing to the fore the argument that the youth movements in these cities acted as a representation of the character of their respective homes. Moreover, this method brings to the fore the notion of contrasting cultural differences found in cities in England and Scotland.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the historiography relating to youth movements broadly, but specifically on the Boys' Brigade, was dominated by the perspectives of Meller, Springhall and Humphries. These historians examined the ways in which the movement interacted with life in the city space, leading to a consensus that purported that the activities of drill and Bible class pursued by the movement were largely endured in order to attain access to the more attractive activities of camp, sports, or the band.¹⁵ Although these histories considered the relationship between the movement and life in the city their examples were presented in isolation. They were

¹³ Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, p.19.

¹⁴ Rosie Kennedy, *The Children's*, p.91.

¹⁵ Springhall argues that camp was by far the greatest attraction available to members of the Boys' Brigade. John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, p.98; Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, p. 171; Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 - 135.

also presented as being broadly illustrative of wider societal attitudes towards the organisation. Springhall provides perhaps the most comprehensive assessment of local youths as members of the Boys' Brigade in Youth, Empire, and Society. In his book, Springhall offers the case of youth movements in Enfield as an example of local youth and their experiences of life in the Boys' Brigade and the Scouts as a way of illustrating how youth organisations fared in practice outside the theoretical intentions of founders'.¹⁶ Enfield was chosen "not simply because of the survival of records relating to local Boys' Brigade Companies and Boy Scout troops, but also for its interesting social and economic history between 1880 and 1914".¹⁷ The case of the movement in this area is distinctive, with an article from The Boys' Brigade Gazette in 1906 viewing the 3rd Enfield as "a representative Company, for its career, like that of many Companies, may be thus briefly described: initial inexperience and consequent failure, doggedness and perseverance, leading with fuller experience to ultimate success".¹⁸ Therefore, Enfield offers a novel insight into the lived reality of membership in a Boys' Brigade Company, albeit in one that was successful in terms of participation in local and regional competitions. In his case study Springhall provides an assessment of the social dynamics in Enfield that enabled the movement to become established. Through this, Springhall focuses on class interests and the social background of Officers and Boys, which he concludes saw middle-class Officers, with the support of wealthy non-conformist backers, dominate the local scene.¹⁹ The case of Enfield offers an intriguing introduction into how the movement fared in practice. However, as an isolated instance it lacks the comparative element that brings to the fore regional and national variances perceptible within the movement. Moreover, Springhall's focus on class aspects, and the social dynamics of Boys and Officers, overlooks the activities undertaken at a local level that provide a clearer insight into life in the cities that reflected the wider identity of the place. This notion will be explored in greater detail in the following chapters, but it is relevant to note here that the application and emphasis on contrasting elements from both in and outside the position of the Brigade authorities was markedly different within the three case study cities of this thesis.

¹⁶ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p.85.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Representative Companies", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 14, 6, February 1906, pp. 83 - 84; p.83.

¹⁹ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p. 87.

In contrast, Meller and Humphries assess the role of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol. In Leisure and the Changing City Meller poses the question "How was it that the Boys' Brigade particularly was able to gain such a response here?"²⁰ Meller concludes that the movement had "some obvious attraction and excitement to offer" in the form of army organisation coupled with the status gained from processions in the street.²¹ It was also argued that the object of the movement in practice had little appeal and that drill was endured in order to gain access to football facilities, the use of a gymnasium, and participation in a summer camp.²² However, Meller fails to consider the specific character of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol that can account for the success it found, and draws instead on broader aspects of the movement that drew Boys in. A similar perspective is given by Humphries. Through testimonies from the BPOHP, Humphries asserts that youths were duped into submission, with drill a "tiresome concession" in order to attend camp, participate in sports, or play in the band.²³ Through these oral testimonies the Boys' Brigade in Bristol is presented as being indicative of wider views relating to the movement. Once again, much in the same way as Meller, the assessment overlooks the specific character of the organisation in Bristol. Although these examples offer a frame of reference for the lives of Boys' Brigade members in the city, in isolation they fail to appreciate key elements of the movement that illustrate how the organisation reflected life in urban spaces. Moreover, to conclude that the experience is representative of wider attitudes neglects the variances on a region-by-region and, additionally, at the national level, of the lived reality of membership of a Boys' Brigade Company.

The principal historiographical consideration that runs through existing histories is the position of headquarters or founders of youth movements in relation to how individual Companies behaved. In his chapter, "Building Character in the British Boy", Springhall asserts that local Brigade records can contradict "the more bland pronouncements of Headquarters", suggesting that a more colourful perspective can be obtained from considering the activities of groups at the local level.²⁴ Recent historiography has illustrated the propensity for existing histories to

²⁰ Helen Meller, Leisure and the Changing, p.171.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, p.134.

²⁴ John Springhall, "Building Character", p. 60.

focus on the perspective of those at the top of the movement to the detriment of the situation at the grassroots level, with Kennedy the most ardent critic of the current consensus. Kennedy noted that “despite the strong and charismatic leadership of both Baden-Powell and William Alexander Smith, the huge scale of the movements they spawned meant that uniformity of practice at local level could never be achieved”.²⁵ Kennedy asserted that the histories of local associations show that the experience of individual groups could be markedly different from the official position of the movement.²⁶ Kennedy refers to the decision by the Boys’ Brigade Executive in March 1917 to poll all Companies for opinions on Cadet Corps recognition as evidence of the disparity between the position of Headquarters and the attitude of local branches of the movement.²⁷ Kennedy comments that “By allowing the individual companies to accept recognition, the Boys’ Brigade created an association with the state’s military muscle that was to prove unpopular in the post-war years as many parents’ reaction to the war turned to revulsion”.²⁸ For the authors of the official history of the Boys’ Brigade this issue led the movement to “wrestle with its conscience”, concluding that the decision to allow individual Companies to determine whether they would receive Cadet recognition in 1917 was made in order to protect the movement from the growth of secular groups that challenged the movement.²⁹ Kennedy acknowledges that the decision for Companies to decide on Cadet recognition highlights the variances of experience for Brigade members on a region by region basis. The 1917 poll showed that 53% of Companies favoured Cadet recognition, with 18% against, and 29% failing to reply to the circular.³⁰ This emphasises the differences in approach perceptible in the movement and demonstrates that more than half of Companies were confident on an issue that Brigade authorities struggled with. Therefore, this instance offers an indication that the lived reality for members of the movement in the city frequently differed from the position the founder and the authorities of youth movements that has dominated existing historiography.

²⁵ Rosie Kennedy, *The Children’s*, p.96.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p.91.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 92.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.107.

²⁹ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, pp. 115 - 116; John Griffiths has recently provided an example of a similar challenge for the Boys’ Brigade and Scouts in Antipodean Cities. Griffiths has noted that compulsory military training “devastated” the Boys’ Brigade after its introduction in New Zealand and Australia in 1909, providing an interesting comparison to the situation the Boys’ Brigade faced at home with Cadet Status in 1917. See John Griffiths, *Imperial Culture in Antipodean Cities, 1880 -1939*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p.132.

³⁰ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.116.

The role of the Boys' Brigade in the urban space has been assessed within the context of the First World War by Gerard De Groot and Richard Kyle. De Groot considered the Boys' Brigade as a reaction to urban wastrels and an attempt to occupy Boys in their early teens to counter temptations in the city.³¹ However, the position presented is that of Smith as founder of the movement, and De Groot supports the historiographical consensus that the ideological aspects in the form of "Christian indoctrination and some innocent drill" were "a small price to pay for the opportunity to play a good game of football on a real pitch with a real ball".³² Kyle also considered the movement as a response to the challenges of the city space in the years up to and including the First World War. Kyle highlights the role of the club room as a diversion from the streets and as a direct challenge to the evils found within the city space.³³ In his assessment, Kyle presents the perspective of the founder to this branch of Company work, noting that Smith considered club rooms to be "a crucial keystone which, if removed, allowed all other building blocks to fall, or at very least significantly, reduced their efficacy".³⁴ Kyle draws on statistical data to emphasise the role of this branch of Company work within the context of the movement as a reaction to life in the city space. He notes that between 1907 and the outbreak of the First World War, between 37% and 41% of all Companies had club rooms, asserting this as evidence of the popularity of this activity.³⁵ Although figures of this kind show that this activity was popular generally, it fails to appreciate the regional variances within these numbers. In a later piece Kyle notes that the guidance offered to Officers in a different pursuit - this time the summer camp - was provided, but no model "was proposed or actively policed".³⁶ This demonstrates the extent to which the lived experience of Boys' Brigade membership at a local level often differed from the stance of headquarters. However, it is important to note that the chapter by Kyle focused primarily on contemporary geographies of the Boys' Brigade camp, and accounts of leaders of the movement from a later period, with the historical perspective having more of a minor role in his analysis. Nevertheless, his perspective has an important function in

³¹ Gerard J. De Groot, *Blighty. British Society in the Era of the Great War*, (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 36 - 37.

³² *Ibid*, pp. 37 - 40.

³³ Richard G. Kyle, "Familiar Rooms", p.187.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 186.

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 184 - 185.

³⁶ Richard G. Kyle, "Inside-out", p.24.

the consideration of the lived reality of the Boys' Brigade away from the gaze of the executive or the founder's stance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Tebbutt offers a further case of the Boys' Brigade in the urban space within the context of the inter-war period and attitudes of young people at this time. In Being Boys Tebbutt utilises diary accounts of her father, Les, to illustrate the perspective of a former member of the movement in contrast to the position of Brigade authorities. Tebbutt presents the personal experience of her father whereby the Boys' Brigade helped "shy" Les build friendships with more confident Boys.³⁷ Tebbutt draws upon Les's experiences in the Boys' Brigade in the 1930s as a mode of expression for a reserved Boy to express himself during his formative years.³⁸ This example provides a unique insight into the ways in which a member of the movement experienced the organisation from below. Tebbutt asserts that Boys' Brigade activities, such as the camp, built up the confidence of more reserved Boys, through providing a space for independence and autonomy.³⁹ However, such conclusions are based on the solitary experiences of her father and, as a consequence, lack a comparative element. Despite this, Tebbutt acknowledges that youth culture was not homogenous and that local landscapes were integral to working-class Boys' identities.⁴⁰ Tebbutt also noted that leisure cultures in large cities differed "significantly", commenting that more studies on the experiences in Scotland "particularly" are required.⁴¹ This thesis builds on the ethos of Tebbutt by recognising the importance of regional perspectives whilst providing the comparative perspective on youth culture in Scotland through the example of Glasgow. Considering these histories highlights that the perspective of headquarters and founders did not necessarily translate into the lived experience for members in the city. What is argued here is that the comparative assessment of the experiences in Bristol, Glasgow, and London show differences across the country in the interpretation of the Brigade model and that the urban environment can be drawn upon to explore the character of the Boys' Brigade.

³⁷ Melanie Tebbutt, Being Boys, p.15.

³⁸ Ibid, pp. 112 - 118.

³⁹ Ibid, pp. 73 - 74.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 233.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp. 265 - 266.

From an assessment of existing historiography it is clear that the role of the Boys' Brigade in the urban space has an established role within wider themes. However, what is evident is that much of this historiography has focused primarily on the position of headquarters or the founders of youth movements. Whilst some histories have provided an assessment of the lived experience of the movement in the city these have been presented in isolation without considering the variances across the country. By evaluating the experience of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol, Glasgow, and London it is possible to comparatively assess the experience of Boys' Brigade members in these three key cities. By delving deeper into the motivations of individuals in these cities, and the activities they participated in, it is possible to illustrate that the Boys' Brigade reflected the civic identity and aspirations of the place in which they grew. More recent historiography has highlighted that the position of the founder or headquarters of the youth movement was not necessarily replicated at the local level.⁴² The case studies of this thesis draw upon this theme whilst using the regional manifestations of the movement as a vehicle to improve our understanding of the wider urban environment.

Attitudes Towards Youth and Approaches of Uniformed Youth Movements in the City

In order to establish the character of Boys' Brigade Companies in the three cities of this thesis it is important as a point of comparison to determine the nature of similar youth movements in the urban space. The key organisation to act as a comparison to the Boys' Brigade is the way the Scouts developed in the city space in the early decades of the twentieth century. When likened to the Scouts, the Boys' Brigade can be viewed as an organisation more accustomed to the circumstances and needs of youths immediately in the urban space as opposed to the Scouts with its predilection to view the city as abhorrent to the welfare of young people. With its focus on outdoor pursuits, the activities of the Scouts removed Boys from the challenges of city life. In contrast, many of the branches of Company work in the Boys' Brigade - including drill parades, scripture classes, and the club rooms - embraced the opportunities available in the urban space. Therefore, in terms of an organisation that grew in the city, it is perceptible that the Boys' Brigade provided a more grounded representation of the lived reality of life in the city in

⁴² Rosie Kennedy, *The Children's*, p.96.

contrast to the Scouts, who adopted outdoor pursuits including woodcraft and camping. Therefore, the Boys' Brigade in the city drew on the opportunities available in the city space and, as a consequence, came to embrace the identity of the city it existed in.

Prevailing histories of youth movements have often drawn comparisons between the Scouts and the Boys' Brigade. These arguments have habitually centred on debates relating to militarism and youth. The nature of the militarism debates that have focused on the character of the Scouts has been summarised by Beaven who noted that "although revisionist historians, through a close reading of Baden-Powell's thoughts and memoirs, deny the militaristic nature of Scouting, the movement from its inception was regarded by many as a paramilitary organisation".⁴³ By placing these organisations within the context of the city for a comparative critique it is noticeable that the Boys' Brigade was more of an urban organisation when contrasted to the Scouts, which had a more rural inclination. Meller described the Scouts as providing "the most violent reaction against the militarism of the Boys' Brigade and the habits of blind obedience that they were supposed to inculcate" adding that it represented a turning "against the city environment as the suitable conditions in which to nurture children".⁴⁴ Pryke addressed this by commenting that "The Scouts principal rival, The Boys' Brigade, did not have the same rural orientation of activity and were more likely to drill boys in the street than organize camps and have cookouts in the woods".⁴⁵ Similarly, Boone noted that the Scouts were "apt to evoke images of camping, woodcraft, and the nostalgic view of the countryside" familiar with a number of stories for young people in the Edwardian era.⁴⁶ Although such a perspective overlooks the role of camping within the Boys' Brigade - which will be considered in greater detail in later chapters of this thesis - and fails to appreciate the examples of localised co-operation between the two organisations, the notion that the movement lacked a 'rural orientation' is nevertheless important when considering its character.

Of the three cities that form the case studies of this thesis, the city of Glasgow was the location where the Boys' Brigade came to dominate the local scene for organised youth movements. As

⁴³ Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship*, p.97.

⁴⁴ Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, pp. 171 - 172.

⁴⁵ Sam Pryke, "The Popularity", p.321.

⁴⁶ Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest*, pp. 122 - 123.

the birthplace of the organisation it is perhaps unsurprising that the movement was strong in this city. The influence of the Boys' Brigade over the Scouts within the location of the Glasgow Battalion was visible from the inception of the Scouts in the region, through the years of the First World War, and into the 1920s. In Bearsden and Milngavie there existed a symbiotic relationship between the Scouts and Boys' Brigade. In Bearsden a situation developed where "many of the boys joining the Scouts right up to the end of the First World War were, and remained, members of the Boys' Brigade".⁴⁷ Dual membership became established whereby Scouting activities were arranged so as not to conflict with membership of the Boys' Brigade, with Scouts meeting on a Saturday in order not to disrupt the drill parades on a Friday of the local Boys' Brigade.⁴⁸ Moreover, the dominance over the Scouts by the Boys' Brigade is indicated in that attendance at Boys' Brigade meetings was considered by Scoutmasters to be an acceptable reason for absence from Scout gatherings.⁴⁹ In addition, in Milngavie - where the Scouts were absent until the mid-1930s - 'B.B. Scouts' were formed in connection with the 1st Milngavie under the Stewardship of Captain Wilson.⁵⁰ A 'B.B. Scout Troop' was also formed in association with the 76th Glasgow, although this branch of Company work only briefly existed for the Company in 1911.⁵¹ Therefore, at the local level, within the sphere of influence of the Glasgow Battalion, it is perceptible that the Boys' Brigade took precedence over the Scouts on the local scene. It is arguable that one contributing factor for this was the notion of the Boys' Brigade as a Scottish movement, with the Scouts a creation of Englishmen south of the border.

In contrast, the situation in London for youth movements was notably different, with a plethora of uniformed groups for young people existing in the capital. Springhall noted that the "Scottish prototype" of the Boys' Brigade emerged in London with the CLB, JLB, and Catholic Boys' Brigade (CBB) all founded in the city between 1891 and 1896.⁵² The Scouts were also prevalent in the capital. The contrast in strength of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow and the Scouts in London is clear when considering membership figures of the respective organisations in each

⁴⁷ Alec J. Spalding, The 24th. 1908 - 1988. A History of the 24th Glasgow (Bearsden) Scout Troop, (Glasgow: Brown, Son and Ferguson, 1988), p.3.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.4.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 3 - 6.

⁵¹ Anon, 76th Glasgow Company. The Boys' Brigade 1887 - 1937, (Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1937), p.29.

⁵² John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p.37; John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, pp. 68 - 69.

city. Although nationally the smaller organisation, the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow numbered over 7000 by the end of 1910 and over 9500 at the start of the 1920 session.⁵³ In contrast, the Scouts in London numbered 20000 in 1910, growing to 50000 by 1920.⁵⁴ In addition, the location of headquarters of the two organisations indicates where the perceived home of each movement resided, with the Scouts based in London and the headquarters of the Boys' Brigade remaining in Glasgow, despite vocal calls for a move to the capital, until the 1914 - 1915 session.⁵⁵

Membership figures in London emphasise the hold the Scouts had over other youth movements in the capital. Tebbutt has noted that in the 1930s one in six Boys aged fourteen to eighteen in London belonged to youth movements.⁵⁶ This exhibits the significant role organised youth movements had in the leisure pursuits of young people in the city. However, figures by Boone approach such numbers with a degree of caution, commenting that under 10% of London Boys aged ten to twenty belonged to the Scouts, Boys' Brigade, or CLB in 1935.⁵⁷ However, by extending the age bracket, Boone brings into the equation young men and children who were outside the intended remit of youth movements by including those either too young or too old to be involved with many youth organisations. Nevertheless, it is visible that the Scouts dominated the local scene, with London Scouts averaging fifty seven Boys per 1000 in the capital, far outstripping the Boys' Brigade which had a hold of an average of sixteen per 1000 in London.⁵⁸ Furthermore, it has been argued by Proctor that the relationship between rival youth movements in London was strained, with 'B.B' Scouts in East London viewed as infringing on Scout terrain.⁵⁹ This is in stark contrast to the amicable relationship between these two youth movements in Glasgow.

In contrast to London, that "yields perhaps the most substantial information on membership figures"⁶⁰, there is a paucity of extant data on the Scouts in Bristol. As a consequence, it is more difficult to ascertain the character of the movement in this city. However, it has been recorded

⁵³ Glasgow City Archives. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. 25th Annual Report, 1909 - 1910*; Glasgow City Archives. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. 36th Annual Report, 1920 - 1921*.

⁵⁴ P. B. Nevill, *Scouting in London 1908 - 1958*, (London: London Scout Council, 1966), pp. 133 - 144.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.1; Keith Robbins, *Nineteenth-century Britain: England, Scotland and Wales. The Making of a Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.94.

⁵⁶ Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, p.79.

⁵⁷ Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest*, p.126.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*.

⁵⁹ Tammy Proctor, "(Uni)forming", p.113.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p.110.

that a Scout troop was formed in the Ashton area of the city in 1908, meaning that Bristol was one of the first places in the country to adopt this model of youth work.⁶¹ It is also possible to infer that the Scouts were of notable size in the city by the time of the First World War, with the Chief Scout, Baden-Powell, inspecting a large group of Scouts from the city in 1916.⁶² From this, it is possible to discern that Bristol was one of the pioneer regions for the Scouts. In addition, it is possible to infer that the movement here was of sufficient status to warrant a visit from the founder only eight years after the appearance of the first Scout troops.

Despite the disparity in numbers of members, there exist instances of Scout Troops and the Boys' Brigade Companies adopting similar activities outside the remit of their respective headquarters within the same region. This illustrates the difference between the perspective of headquarters and the lived reality of membership of a youth movement. For the Boys' Brigade and Scouts rifle shooting was not promoted as a regular branch of Company work. Despite this, examples of shooting by members of youth movements in the capital are apparent. For the Boys' Brigade, shooting activities were most actively pursued by Companies in Enfield, but were also observable in Companies such as those affiliated to the Upper Tooting Wesleyan Church, as well as the multiple Companies that carried mock rifles as part of the requirements for the main London drill competition.⁶³ This was despite shooting not being recognised as a branch of Company work by headquarters and a weapon capable of firing never being sanctioned by the Boys' Brigade.⁶⁴ Despite this, Brigade authorities were careful in their wording regarding the issue, stating that regulations only prevented Boys from carrying a rifle capable of shooting for *drill* purposes.⁶⁵ Similarly, Scout troops in London undertook shooting activities as part of their work. Kennedy noted that the 1st Chiswick Scouts undertook shooting as a form of training and to build character during the First World War.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that this Scout troop was located not far from Wandsworth where the Upper Tooting Companies were trained to shoot.

⁶¹ "The First Troops", The Scout Information Centre Pamphlet, March 2008, p.3.

⁶² "Baden-Powell Inspects Boy Scouts, 1916", British Pathe, last accessed 17 September 2015, www.britishpathe.com/video/baden-powell-inspects-boy-scouts.

⁶³ WHS, D124/10/3. "Minutes of a meeting of Bazaar Executive Church Committee, Church Parlour, 16 November 1923", Point 'F', p.19; "The Boys' Brigade", The Enfield Gazette and Observer, 21 May 1915, p.6; EBBCR, 3rd Enfield B.B. Membership Card, 1914 - 15; EBBCR, "3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No. 7", 1 December 1923.

⁶⁴ F. P. Gibbon, William A. Smith, p.47.

⁶⁵ "Head-Quarters Notes", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 23, 6, February 1915, pp. 81 - 82; p.81.

⁶⁶ Rosie Kennedy, The Children's, p.94.

Shooting activities in London were not unique to the Scouts and Boys' Brigade, with the JLB rifle range considered to be "very popular" in the 1910s.⁶⁷ The promotion of rifle shooting by these youth movements in London illustrates that the application of the theoretical perspective of headquarters was applied differently at the local level. As a consequence, this emphasises that the practical application of the lived experience differed from the perspectives at the apex of the movement, thus presenting further problems with a homogenous approach to youth organisations.

A Decline in Religiosity? The Religious Outlook in the City

As an organisation with the primary object of 'the advancement of Christ's Kingdom amongst Boys' it is important to consider the role of the Boys' Brigade within the context of the religious character of the three case study cities of this thesis. Broader historiographical assessment on the nature of religion in the city has argued that a secularisation of society was perceptible in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁸ For young working-class citizens in the urban space religion has been viewed by historians such as Humphries as a tedious duty, irrelevant to everyday life, which resulted in a gradual decline in membership of religious bodies.⁶⁹ However, a reassessment of the nature of religion in the cities of Bristol, Glasgow, and London illustrates that attitudes towards religion were not uniform in practice. Furthermore, the Boys' Brigade in these cities provides evidence of changing approaches to religion and expressions of worship outside of the conventional church setting as has been advocated by Nash.⁷⁰

Of the three cities comprising the case studies of this thesis, the city that can arguably be viewed as the least religious was London. Comparison of the religious censuses of 1886 - 87 and 1902 - 03 show an overall decline in churchgoing of 23% in the capital.⁷¹ In addition, Brown argues that oral accounts reveal that church attendance in Britain was lowest in London.⁷² These figures

⁶⁷ Richard A. Voeltz, "...A Good Jew and a Good Englishman: The Jewish Lads' Brigade, 1894 - 1922", *Journal of Contemporary History*, 23, 1, 1988, pp. 119 - 127; p.122.

⁶⁸ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850 - 1914*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 177 - 178.

⁶⁹ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 33 - 39.

⁷⁰ David Nash, "Reassessing", p.66.

⁷¹ Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society*, p.178.

⁷² Callum Brown, "Faith in the City", p.46.

are representative of church going rates in London that were lower than most of the rest of Britain in the late nineteenth century.⁷³ However, these broader trends in the large city space hide the variances within the urban setting. McLeod has noted that working-class districts had the lowest levels of church attendance, with 18.5% church-going registered in the 1902 - 03 census.⁷⁴ However, in wealthier suburbs, such as Enfield, church-going was notably higher. In this part of the city a wealthy non-conformist elite came to dominate local culture and politics with the recreational activities promoted characterised by religion.⁷⁵ It is therefore unsurprising that the Boys' Brigade found success in this area of the capital. In contrast, Bristol can be viewed as a place that was broadly more receptive of religion, despite the claims of Humphries that suggest a disaffection with Christianity. McLeod has commented that Bristol provides an example of one of the "more church going towns" where both working-class and middle-class church attendances were higher, which was, in part, due to higher levels of rural church going in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁶ In addition, Meller has written that church attendance in Bristol was higher than in towns of comparable size.⁷⁷ This brings into doubt claims that church participation was in decline in all areas of the country and that disaffection towards religion in the city was increasing. The character of religion in Bristol, and the way in which religion was practiced, was indicative of the nature of the city. Compared to London, Bristol had a higher rate of churchgoers attending non-conformist congregations in the 1880s.⁷⁸ Moreover, the percentage of the church going population in Bristol who were members of the Salvation Army was also high, with 15.4% of all church attendees belonging to this branch in 1881.⁷⁹ Therefore, citizens were already familiar with religion in uniform by the time the Boys' Brigade was introduced to the city in 1888, and the higher rate of non-conformist church going - where many Boys' Brigade Companies found a home in the formative years of the movement - may provide an answer to Meller's question of how the movement was particularly able to gain a response in Bristol.

⁷³ Callum Brown, The Death of Christian Britain. Understanding Secularisation, 1800 - 2000, (London: Routledge, 2009 [first edition 2001]), p.142.

⁷⁴ Hugh McLeod, Religion and Society, p.178.

⁷⁵ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, pp. 87 - 88.

⁷⁶ Hugh McLeod, Religion and Society, pp. 61 - 62.

⁷⁷ Helen Meller, Leisure and the Changing, pp. 79 - 80.

⁷⁸ Hugh McLeod, Religion and Society, pp. 27 - 28.

⁷⁹ Helen Meller, Leisure and the Changing, p.84.

In contrast to these two English cities the case of Glasgow provides an example of a city where religion was a crucial element in the make up of the identity of the place. Glasgow was dubbed the ‘Gospel City’ for its evangelical energy, with a myriad of religious organisations operating throughout the city.⁸⁰ Despite a rapidly growing population, access to a church became easier for Glasgow citizens in the late nineteenth century, with church building growing at a faster rate than the expanding population, with one church available per 3500 citizens in 1851 being reduced to one church per 2100 citizens by 1891.⁸¹ Religious participation for young people was also high, with Sunday school attendance reaching an all-time peak in 1890.⁸² Therefore, much in the same way as Bristol, the character of the local religious community created favourable conditions for the growth of the Boys’ Brigade. The particular strength of the organisation in Glasgow is indicative of the evangelical energies that existed in the city.

Therefore, of the three cities of this thesis it is apparent that the religious aspects were less to the fore in the capital when compared to Bristol or Glasgow. The Boys’ Brigade is indicative of this trend and the way in which drill-based activities came to the fore of the work by the movement in London is evidence of the wider context of the city. In contrast, in Bristol and Glasgow the social climate was more conducive to the Boys’ Brigade as a religious organisation. In Bristol, the prevalence of non-conformist church congregations and the standing of the Salvation Army in terms of church going set the scene for the Boys’ Brigade to grow as an expression of religion in uniform with a muscular Christian tone. Furthermore, in Glasgow, the environment in the city was one where religion came to the fore, with the success the Boys’ Brigade found in Glasgow illustrative of the wider character of the city.

Public Spirit and Civic Character: The Celebration of Local Identity

In *Visions of Empire* Beaven has written that a public sense of identity in the city was expressed through military parades and elaborate public displays as a way to “embody a public sense of

⁸⁰ Callum Brown, “Faith in the City”, p.43.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid, p.44.

identity and social position in the city”.⁸³ In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a significant expression of civic identity, and perhaps the most elaborate of public displays, were found in the large scale international exhibitions. From the late 1880s onwards the great exhibitions were dominated by an imperial theme, representing what MacKenzie described as the conscious and unconscious approaches to imperial propaganda.⁸⁴ The great exhibitions became representative of the character of the city and portrayed an image of how the city wished to be viewed on the global stage. Perilla and Juliet Kinchin have written that “many characteristics of the city have found an outlet in its Great Exhibitions” which included manufacturing, trading, and industry,⁸⁵ aspects that were crucial to the fabric of the three case study cities of this thesis. It has been argued by these historians that “the special driving force behind Glasgow’s Exhibitions” was “to project the city’s identity and enhance its prestige”.⁸⁶ For Glasgow this was spurred by civic rivalry with other cities that launched major exhibitions including Manchester in 1887 and, most notably in terms of inter-city rivalry in Scotland, Edinburgh in 1886.⁸⁷ The exhibitions in Glasgow in 1888, 1901, and 1911 were, therefore, an expression of the confidence of the city.⁸⁸

Considering the role of an international exhibition as a forum for the expression of civic identity on the global stage, it is significant to note the role of the Boys’ Brigade at Glasgow exhibitions. At the 1888 and 1911 exhibitions in Glasgow members of the Boys’ Brigade were actively involved in proceedings and, as a consequence, the promotion of the identity of the city to the outside world. Over 3000 members of the Glasgow Battalion lined the route inside the exhibition grounds at the opening of the 1888 exhibition, with more than 5000 lining almost two-thirds of the route within the grounds at the opening of the 1911 exhibition by the Governor-General of Canada, the Duke of Connaught.⁸⁹ Therefore, when presenting itself on a global stage, the Boys’ Brigade was utilised as an expression of the identity of the city and an

⁸³ Brad Beaven, *Visions*, pp. 23 - 25.

⁸⁴ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire. The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880 - 1960*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 97.

⁸⁵ Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions, 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988*, (Bicester: White Cockade, 1988), p.13.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.17.

⁸⁸ Keith Robbins, “The Imperial City”, *History Today*, 40, 5, 1990, pp.48 - 54; pp. 52 - 53.

⁸⁹ F. P. Gibbon, *William A. Smith*, p.85; J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow Battalion of the Boys’ Brigade, 1883 - 1983*, (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1983), p.10.

indication of the importance of the movement to the civic persona of Glasgow. In addition, at Glasgow exhibitions, music had an important role in proceedings. For example, in 1888 a band contest was held at the end of the exhibition in October that drew over forty bands to the city.⁹⁰ Furthermore, for the 1901 Exhibition the music budget was over £20000, much of which was allocated to band music.⁹¹ This is indicative of the broader role of music to the formation of a civic character in Glasgow. The Boys' Brigade provides an example of this, with music having a prevalent role in Brigade activities in Glasgow, which will be explored in greater detail in the chapter to follow. This extends further into the dance band craze of the 1920s in Glasgow and a local dance culture based on Scots traditions that saw Glasgow have more dance halls per head of population than anywhere else in the country.⁹²

International exhibitions were also important to the promotion of London as the centre of the Empire. The Wembley Exhibition of 1924 was, according to MacKenzie, perhaps the greatest of all imperial exhibitions in terms of participation and popular appeal.⁹³ However, in London it was the Scouts who were drawn upon to promote approaches to youth in the city, with the Scout Jamboree of 1924 held in association with the exhibition, stressing the role of Scouts in Empire building.⁹⁴ In Bristol the scale of exhibitions was not of the same magnitude as in its counterparts of London and Glasgow, with the 1914 exhibition at Ashton Meadows representing the most significant. The international exhibitions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were an important expression of the promotion of a sense of identity in the city. In Glasgow this involved the participation of the Boys' Brigade, thus emphasising the importance of this organisation to the identity of the city. In contrast the Scouts were drawn upon in London in a similar capacity as a representation of approaches to youth in the city on the global stage.

Another expression of a grand sense of civic character on a large scale is perceptible through arrangements made to celebrate youth organisations. By contrasting the 1933 Jubilee

⁹⁰ Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great*, p.5.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p.88.

⁹² Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, pp. 210 - 214.

⁹³ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda*, p.108.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p.110.

celebrations of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow with the 1924 Scout International Jamboree it is possible to present the notion that these two cities had different approaches to youth. Whilst many citizens of Glasgow embraced the Boys' Brigade as a uniquely Scottish antidote to urban youth, London was more inclined to draw upon the Scouts. This is evident in the broad and elaborate public displays celebrating the respective movements. Brown has written on the religious preaching of the American Christian evangelist Billy Graham noting that "nothing like it had been seen before in British Protestantism, and nothing like it has been seen again" when 100,000 worshipers packed Hampden Park football stadium for a religious service in 1955.⁹⁵ However, his assessment overlooks the religious features that were integral to the proceedings of the 1933 celebrations of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow. In September 1933 130,000 people witnessed the open-air service conducted for the Jubilee of the Boys' Brigade by the Reverend Langhlan Watt at Hampden Park football ground, with an additional 40000 people outside, unable to get to the ground, far outstripping the numbers for the preaching of Graham at the same location decades later.⁹⁶ Therefore, in his assessment, Brown has overlooked this important event in the history of public Protestant religious displays in Glasgow thus bringing into question his claims that the preaching of Graham in 1955 had seen "nothing like it" previously.

Glasgow was a city that, according to a former Secretary of the movement, never forgot it was the birthplace of the Boys' Brigade and was ready to rise to any Brigade occasion.⁹⁷ Therefore, the organisation became important in public displays of civic identity, such as at the international exhibitions and at large scale Brigade events. In contrast, the Scout Jamborees in London illustrate the strength of the movement in the capital, providing an expression of youth more aligned to the Empire than the Scottish roots of the Boys' Brigade. The first International Scout Jamboree was held in the capital in 1920, with much of the work for this event falling on members from the 50000 Scouts residing in the city.⁹⁸ However, it was the Jamboree at Wembley Stadium in August 1924 that truly provided a pronouncement of the imperial

⁹⁵ Callum Brown, *The Death*, p.6.

⁹⁶ "30,000 Boys on Parade", *The Daily Mirror*, 11 September 1933, p.7; Anon, *The Boys' Brigade Jubilee Book*, (London: The Boys' Brigade, 1933), pp. 28 - 30.

⁹⁷ Roger Peacock, *Pioneer of Boyhood, Story of Sir William A. Smith, Founder of the Boys' Brigade*, (London: Boys' Brigade, 1954), p.141.

⁹⁸ P. B. Nevill, *Scouting*, pp. 142 - 144.

confidence of London as expressed through its Scouts. The Jamboree was overtly imperial in tone, being held under the auspices of the international exhibition held at the same time.⁹⁹ Therefore, both London and Glasgow drew upon its ranks of youth in uniform in order to assist in portraying an image of itself to the wider world. Whereas London utilised its substantial membership of Scouts to present itself as the powerhouse of the Empire, elaborate public displays in Glasgow were supported by members of the Boys' Brigade. Through these organisations London and Glasgow presented an image of its civic character to the world, highlighting the importance of these respective youth movements to the identity of the city. More broadly, at a time of anxieties relating to the future of the Empire, it is important to note that both London and Glasgow drew upon its young citizens to present its civic identity to the wider world.

Urban Degeneration, Drill, and the Second Boer War: Attitudes Towards Youth and the Military in the City

Victorian and Edwardian fears of the city space were familiar to all three cities that make up the case studies of this thesis. As large cities, with growing populations at the turn of the twentieth century, the three cities of this thesis are representative of expanding industrial city spaces in Britain at this time.¹⁰⁰ However, it is important to our broader understanding of approaches to young people - and the role of the Boys' Brigade to the specific needs of young people in each of these cities - to consider the notions of degeneration in the city. Later chapters provide an assessment of how different branches of work came to the fore in each of these cities as Officers of the movement drew upon activities considered most appropriate for Boys in their city. These were utilised in order to promote the aims of the movement at a local level. Much has been written on the internal threats and contemporary fears that developed as a result of conditions in the urban space. It is widely appreciated in existing histories that the modern city was the cause of cultural degeneration, physical and moral deterioration, and was hostile towards

⁹⁹ Scott Johnston, "Courting Public Favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907 - 29", *Historical Research*, 88, 241, 2014, pp.508 -529; p.522.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix 1.

the notions of living a Christian life.¹⁰¹ More specifically, at the end of the nineteenth century urban youths were identified as a significant social problem warranting a response to counter contemporary fears.¹⁰² The Scouts have been identified as an important actor in response to the challenges of the urban space. The perspective of Baden-Powell as leader of the Scouts has wide currency in existing historiography. Meller has commented that Baden-Powell turned against the city environment as containing suitable conditions to nurture children.¹⁰³ In addition, Pryke has noted that internal fears of the city, and their direct or indirect influence on physical and moral decline, regularly appeared in the writings of the founder of the Scouts.¹⁰⁴ More recently, Boone noted that Baden-Powell lamented the 1000s of young Boys in large industrial cities that were left to drift into the ranks of a hooligan element.¹⁰⁵ However, these assessments overlook the application of Baden-Powell's views at the local level and the responses at the grassroots towards the challenges prevalent in the urban space. Closer assessment of the Boys' Brigade at the local level has the ability to enhance existing historiography by providing a history from below that considers responses to the concerns of the city environment that embraced the ethos of the lived reality of the higher proclamations of the founders of youth movements. These case studies offer an example at the local level to support the notion of Beaven and Griffiths that the early twentieth century saw the promotion of patriotic duty and masculine traits through the promotion of discipline in leisure.¹⁰⁶

The Boys' Brigade was an organisation that carried a distinctly military tone with its uniform, drill, and military styled bands. Drill and discipline were at the forefront of the regular weekly sessions carried out by Companies from cities across the country. This image has led historians to describe the movement as being paramilitary¹⁰⁷ or quasi-military¹⁰⁸ in nature. However, when placed in the context of the city space, it is evident that the Boys' Brigade was an organisation

¹⁰¹ Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, p.122; Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest*, p.113; Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, "Creating the Exemplary Citizen: The Changing Notion of Citizenship in Britain, 1870 - 1939", *Contemporary British History*, iFirst Article, 2007, pp. 1 - 23; p.6.

¹⁰² Rosie Kennedy, *The Children's*, p.85.

¹⁰³ Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, p.172.

¹⁰⁴ Sam Pryke, "The Popularity", p.312.

¹⁰⁵ Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest*, p.116.

¹⁰⁶ Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, "Creating", pp. 6 - 7.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Blanch, "Imperialism, Nationalism and Organized Youth", in J. Clarke, C. Critcher, and R. Johnson (eds.), *Working Class Culture*, (London: Hutchinson, 1979), pp. 103 - 120; p.106.

¹⁰⁸ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, p. 134.

that was born and grew in an atmosphere where the military pervaded a number of facets of everyday life and where drill and physical training exercises were a regular component of the school curriculum for a number of Boys. This emphasises that the methods implemented by the Boys' Brigade in the city space were not unusual but rather a reaction to the confines of the urban setting. For the authorities of the Boys' Brigade drill had a clear role within the aims of the movement as a whole. The preface of the 1915 Boys' Brigade Drill Book exemplifies the place drill had within the object of the organisation:

While Drill is not the *object* of The Boys' Brigade, it is laid down in the Constitution that in every Company 'Military organisation and drill shall be used as a means of securing the interest of the Boys, banding them together in the work of the Brigade, and promoting among them such habits as the Brigade is designed to form.'¹⁰⁹

Therefore, drawing on the perspective of Springhall, military aspects were a means to attract Boys to the organisation and a method of achieving the aim of presenting Christian teaching as more masculine and appealing.¹¹⁰ However, by placing the Boys' Brigade in the context of the city space it is evident that drill had wider implications, particularly for Boys in the capital. Alan Penn has written on the prevalence of drill in the activities of young people, most notably within the setting of elementary schools. He considers what can be viewed as the more practical reasons why drill was adopted by youth groups, schools, and uniformed youth organisations at this time. Penn has commented on the benefits of drill on the physical health of young people, noting that few alternative forms of exercise were available in the late nineteenth century.¹¹¹ Moreover, in the crowded city, space was at a premium so drilling and physical training exercises represented one of the limited opportunities for exercise for young people in the city with access to playing fields for sports restricted.¹¹² Therefore, what the Boys' Brigade had achieved was taking drill from classrooms of the city space and turning it into a "popular leisure activity for boys and young men".¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ *The Boys' Brigade Drill Book*, (Glasgow: The Boys' Brigade Executive, 1915 [1916 Revision])

¹¹⁰ John Springhall, "Building Character", p.56.

¹¹¹ Alan Penn, *Targeting*, p.44.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.11.

¹¹³ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation*, p.81.

Of the three case study cities of this thesis the place where drilling of young people was arguably most prominent was in London. It is apparent that drilling Boys on a large scale in London was established in the classroom long before the introduction of the Boys' Brigade to the capital. This provided a base for the growth of drill within the Boys' Brigade in this city space. In Targeting Schools, Penn provides a comprehensive assessment of the extent to which drill dominated physical training and exercise in London schools. The London School Board (LSB), with active support from the Society of Arts (SOA), promoted drill in London schools and children were prepared for large scale annual drill reviews.¹¹⁴ The drill displays of the LSB were on a grand scale, similar to the displays to be undertaken by the Boys' Brigade in the capital that will be examined in Chapter Four. For example, the second annual drill review of the LSB in Regent's Park in 1876 was undertaken by 9500 Boys, with the SOA awarding a banner for excellence in drill.¹¹⁵ In addition, when the prominent philanthropist Lord Meath approached the LSB in 1875 with a view to consider teaching military drill in schools it was evident that this was already "familiar ground" for the LSB.¹¹⁶ Therefore, the Boys' Brigade was following in the footsteps of the LSB and its model of training and educating Boys in drill based pursuits. Moreover, the large scale drill parades and awards presented by the SOA provided a base of familiarity which the Boys' Brigade developed on, with the Daily Telegraph Shield (DTS) becoming the premier event of the calendar for the movement in the capital similar to the prestige of the LSB annual drill parades. Furthermore, the prominence of drilling with rifles and shooting exercises that were prevalent for youth movements in the capital also had a grounding in the London schools. For example, the formation of a School Rifle Association in Lewisham saw forty of the forty three elementary schools join the programme for shooting of miniature rifles by Boys after the age of twelve.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the extent to which drill based pursuits came to dominate the character of Boys' Brigade Companies in London had a grounding in the approaches to physical training by the LSB and SOA.

¹¹⁴ Alan Penn, Targeting, p.50.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 53 - 57.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 84 - 85.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, p.136.

On further aspect related to militarism in the city space is the influence of war in the urban setting. The city space provides a context for considering the reasons why the Boys' Brigade experienced significant growth during the years of the Second Boer War. Existing interpretations focus on the role of the founder as a patriot who drove the movement forward during these years, and the wider and more generalised context of Boer War euphoria coupled with a heightened sense of military spirit bringing new members into the organisation.¹¹⁸ This was perhaps most evident in the celebrations in cities following the relief of Mafeking, which saw "the streets in the cities... filled with 'mafficking' crowds".¹¹⁹ It is interesting to note that in London - a place where the more militaristic tendencies of the Boys' Brigade came to the fore - the press recorded involvement of the movement in the celebrations at the heart of the capital following the relief of Mafeking. For example, "London's roar of jubilation" was accompanied by a band from the Endell Street Boys' Brigade, who "became the centre of a great demonstration" when marching down Shaftesbury Avenue.¹²⁰ Therefore, at the heart of the Empire, the Boys' Brigade was found in a prominent position amongst the crowds gathered to celebrate the occasion. In addition, although it was away from the centre of the city, The Boys' Brigade was at the forefront of the celebrations in Nailsea, a town on the outskirts of Bristol and closely affiliated to the Bristol Battalion through its summer camps. The news of the relief of Mafeking reached the town on the Saturday morning and "caused much excitement" and Captain Kevill - the Nailsea Boys' Brigade leader - organised a demonstration for the evening with the drum and fife band of the local Company parading with a large crowd assembled for the spectacle.¹²¹ In contrast, the role of the Boys' Brigade in the celebrations in Glasgow is less clear. Local reports in The Glasgow Herald recorded scenes of "extraordinary enthusiasm" by citizens of Glasgow on receiving the news from South Africa.¹²² However, despite reports of the Boys' Brigade being heavily involved in the celebrations elsewhere in Scotland - including in Oban, Bathgate, and Ladybank - it is notable that the press coverage for Glasgow makes no

¹¹⁸ Austin E. Birch, The Story of The Boys' Brigade, (London: Frederick Muller, 1959), p.49; Donald M. McFarlan, First For Boys. The Story of The Boys' Brigade 1883 - 1983, (London: Collins, 1982), p.42; Stephen M. Miller, "In Support", pp. 701 - 702; Stephen M. Miller, Volunteers on the Veldt, p.20.

¹¹⁹ M. D. Blanch, "British Society", p.217.

¹²⁰ "Relief of Mafeking" and "London's Roar of Jubilation", Daily Mail (19 May 1900) in Sally Ledger and Roger Luckhurst (eds.), The Fin De Siècle. A Reader in Cultural History, c.1880 - 1900, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 149 - 153; pp. 152 - 153.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² "Mafeking Relief. The Rejoicings in Britain", Glasgow Herald, issue 121, 21 May 1900, p.8; "The Pretoria Rejoicings", Glasgow Herald, issue 135, 6 June 1900, p.8.

reference to the participation of the Boys' Brigade in the celebrations in the city.¹²³ This contrasts the situation in London where the marching band of the Boys' Brigade in London was at the forefront of the scenes in the capital as recorded in The Daily Mail. Therefore, in London - a city where drilling of young people had an established record through the LSB, and where drill was a prominent activity for the local Boys' Brigade - the organisation was eminent in the jubilant scenes at the heart of the Empire when celebrating the relief of Mafeking.

Conclusion

This chapter has brought into focus some of the limitations of existing histories relating to youth organisations that have considered the movements in isolation. By placing the Boys' Brigade within the context of the city space it is possible to reassess the historiographical consensus that relies heavily on the position of founders of youth movements and those at the apex of the organisation. It has been shown here that where regional studies exist these are often presented in isolation.¹²⁴ A comparative city based approach of the organisation, and how it acted in the urban setting, is therefore critical to our understanding of the lived experience of membership of a uniformed youth organisation. Therefore, the chapters to follow will use the Boys' Brigade to explore our understanding of the urban environment and, conversely, will assess the urban setting to examine the character of the Boys' Brigade itself. Comparisons between the Scouts and the Boys' Brigade highlights that the latter was arguably more accustomed to using the city space itself to improve the situation for adolescent Boys rather than providing a form of leisure that idealised the rural space. Therefore, the Boys' Brigade provides a unique vehicle to improve our understanding of how young people engaged in the urban space through membership of uniformed youth movements. It is evident through religious participation, displays of civic celebration, and attitudes towards the military that the three case study cities that form the base of this thesis each had their own unique characteristics, yet remain representative of wider issues in contemporary society. By drawing on the example of the Boys' Brigade as an organisation that grew in the specific context of the confines of the city

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, pp.85 - 90; Helen Meller, Leisure and the Changing, p. 171; Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp. 134 - 135.

it is possible to assess both the lived experience of life in the city for a number of young people and how cities held their own sense of civic identity.

Chapter 3

The Boys' Brigade in Glasgow: Scottish Pride in the Second City of the Empire

Throughout the first fifty years of its existence Glasgow was the largest area of numerical strength for the organisation. This notable success makes closer examination of the movement in this city important to our understanding of how the Boys' Brigade interacted in the urban space. This chapter presents an examination of the character of the organisation from its inception in 1883 to the extensive celebrations that marked the Golden Jubilee in 1933 and is the first of three regional case studies that are the focus of this thesis. It is argued here that the Jubilee events marked a clear culmination of the growing importance of the organisation in Glasgow and the sense of civic pride surrounding it. What made the movement different in Glasgow, when compared to Bristol or London, was the extent to which the organisation became crucial to the broader civic culture in the city. At the core of this was the role of the Boys' Brigade as an agent promoting a sense of 'Scottishness' and as a vehicle for advancing Scottish nationalism. This was an aspect absent from the character of the movement in English cities and the elemental difference between the nature of the organisation in Scotland and England. At the core of this was the development of pipe bands in the Glasgow Battalion that corresponds with MacKenzie's notion of a cultural awakening of Scotland - grounded in his four nations approach to the British Empire - in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹ Martial music was a prominent feature of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow and provided Boys in this city with an alternative way to play as a soldier when compared to the eminence of military drill pursuits in London. This chapter argues that through the role of pipe bands in particular, the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow contrasted to English cities and is illustrative of MacKenzie's view of a movement that had "a distinctly imperial tone and venerated the Scots imperial heroes".² In sum, this chapter maintains that the unique urban environment in Glasgow enabled the growth of this distinctly Scottish organisation that became a reflection of the confidence of the second city of the Empire.

¹ John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and National", p.224.

² Ibid.

The Boys' Brigade in the City of its Birth

The idea of banding together adolescent Boys in military styled uniforms, with the object of encouraging young men to attend religious services, quickly took hold of the imagination of men from the Established and Free Churches in Glasgow who saw the value of its methods. The growth of the organisation in the city was distinctive and vastly outstripped that of other locations in the British Isles in its first fifty years. When the annual report of the Glasgow Battalion was submitted in 1886 – two and a half years after the first meeting of the movement – there existed twenty-five Companies in Glasgow, comprising over 1000 Boys and seventy eight Officers of whom “no fewer than 72 have served or are serving in Her Majesty’s Forces”.³ Two years later the number of Companies had risen to 89, with 300 Officers and over 4000 Boys on the roll of the movement in Glasgow.⁴ An article appearing in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette in 1896 commented that “Glasgow is the ‘Second City’ of the British Empire may not be admitted by all. That the Glasgow Battalion is the premier Battalion of the Boys’ Brigade is a fact which nobody can deny”⁵. It was, therefore, both the largest and first born and these factors were cited as contributing to its status.⁶ By the 1932 – 33 session - that saw the organisation prepare for the celebrations to mark its Golden Jubilee – the Glasgow Battalion had expanded to a total of 253 Companies and comprised over 12000 members who were led by 1539 Officers.⁷ To act as a comparison – and to put into perspective the scale of the organisation in Glasgow – the Bristol Battalion had, during the same session, 142 Officers and 1224 Boys, numbers dwarfed when compared to those of the pioneer Battalion.⁸ These crude figures illustrate the way in which the Boys’ Brigade struck a chord with many citizens in Glasgow who sent their children to the movement in droves. Rapid growth and adoption of the Boys’ Brigade was not unique to Glasgow, nor to Scotland, as will be outlined in the succeeding chapters. However, the scale of operations in Glasgow in the numbers of Boys, Officers, and Companies was unique and far greater than any other city in the British Isles or throughout the Empire.

³ William Nicholl, “The Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 235, 1 Oct 1886, p.4.

⁴ “The Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 247, 15 October 1888, p.4.

⁵ F. P. R. F., “Our Battalions. Glasgow”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 5, 1, September 1896, p. 12 – 13; p.12.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Glasgow City Archives (GCA), “The Boys’ Brigade Annual Report, 1932 – 33”, pp. 79 – 85.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 74 – 75.

The reception of the Boys' Brigade by citizens of Glasgow contrasts the experience felt during the early years of the movement in Bristol and London, to be explored in detail in the chapters to follow. Whilst the organisation eventually became strong in both these areas it was not on the same scale as the reception and growth in the city of its birth. By 1913 the Glasgow Battalion "had established a reputation in ecclesiastic, civic and industrial Glasgow which was creditable to all, and its growth in efficiency and in the variety of its activities was welcomed by the citizens."⁹ The magnitude of the movement was reported in The Milngavie Herald which commented that there was "scarcely a Sabbath school in the city and neighbourhood which has not its Company of the Boys' Brigade".¹⁰ These differences can, in part, be attributed to the notion that the Boys' Brigade was considered as *the* Glasgow movement and aligned to a sense of Scottish national pride. As a consequence it was most suited to addressing the challenges of youth in that city. This idea was pursued by influential Glasgow citizens at public events. For example, in September 1893 J. Carfrae Alston – President of the Boys' Brigade – spoke at the annual meeting of the Brigade Council where he considered this belief. During his address he stated that "there was a common misapprehension that the Boys' Brigade was purely a Glasgow movement" adding "it was founded in Glasgow ten years ago, but it was now a national movement. In addition, when the Glaswegian philanthropist Sir John Stirling-Maxwell opened the Glasgow Boys' Brigade Bazaar in March 1891 he commented on this same sentiment, suggesting that the movement "so peculiarly belonged to Glasgow".¹¹ Therefore, the idea that the Boys' Brigade was intrinsically linked to the city of its birth, and was closely associated with the fabric of the city, contributes to the success it found in Glasgow. This indicates that the movement was characterised by its Glaswegian and Scottish origins and, as a consequence, was received differently in English cities.

Public Appearances of the Movement

Perhaps the most visible manifestation of the scale of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow came when the Battalion held its annual drill inspection and church parade. These occasions were the largest

⁹ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.36.

¹⁰ "Inspection of Boys' Brigade", Milngavie Herald, 2 May 1902, p.3.

¹¹ "Glasgow Boys' Brigade Bazaar", Glasgow Herald, issue 56, 6 March 1891, p.9.

public displays held by the movement in the city and, not only brought thousands of its members out on parade, but saw citizens of Glasgow witness the events en masse. The attendance of residents from the neighbourhood indicates the level of support for the organisation and illustrates the degree of civic pride felt for the city and this movement of unequivocally Scottish origins. The prestige of the annual inspection was enhanced by the appearance of a high-ranking member of the armed forces as the inspecting Officer of the parade. Once the inspection was completed comments on the drill manoeuvres undertaken by the battalions of Boys would be offered. 1886 was the first year these special public events were undertaken and the inspection was considered to be “a modest affair of nineteen Companies and 684 All Ranks”.¹² However, prior to the First World War, the combined drill inspection and church parades of the Glasgow Battalion grew with increased importance throughout the period.¹³ When Major-General Gildea of the Royal Scots Fusiliers was chosen as inspecting Officer in April 1888 he commented that “Glasgow may be well proud of the Boys’ Brigade” and offered words of support for the work of the movement.¹⁴ His sentiments appear to have been taken up by sections of the Glasgow citizenry who, at the inspection the following April, were said to have taken a “growing interest” in the movement and “always turned out in large numbers to witness any demonstrations they have made”.¹⁵ The church parades were of a similar scope, with a total of over 3500 Boys present at the combined church services held at St. Andrews Hall and City Hall in April 1889.¹⁶ Therefore, the combined religious and militaristic aspects of the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow were clearly present during the drill inspections held by the Battalion in its early years which fundamentally contrasts with the experience in Bristol or London. This unique combination was characteristic of the movement and was afforded support by citizens of Glasgow. This provides clear support to MacKenzie’s notion which asserts that the Scots dominated two prominent areas of imperial life: the military and the missionary.¹⁷ Although he considered these aspects within the context of imperial campaigns overseas, the Boys’ Brigade offers an instance of the development of imperial life at home as

¹² J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p.6.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ “The Boys’ Brigade – Glasgow Battalion”, *Glasgow Herald*, issue 81, 4 April 1888, p.6.

¹⁵ “The Glasgow Boys’ Brigade”, *Glasgow Herald*, issue 97, 23 April 1889, p.3.

¹⁶ “The Boys’ Brigade”, *Glasgow Herald*, issue 96, 22 April 1889, p.4.

¹⁷ John M. MacKenzie, “Essay and Reflection”, p.726.

expressed through these facets that were intrinsic elements of the movement and were wholeheartedly embraced by citizens in the place of the movement's birth.

The annual inspection provided an opportunity for the citizens of Glasgow to show their support for the organisation. The inspection held in 1891 was witnessed by “many thousands of interested spectators” and it was written that “the movement has always received a generous amount of public favour”.¹⁸ The following year it was apparent that the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow was increasing in popularity, with large numbers of sympathisers indicative of this when over 4500 spectators were present at the inspection.¹⁹ Such was the level of interest in the movement at the time of the annual inspection it overshadowed other events held in the city. For example, in 1894 The West of Scotland Cricket Club postponed their sports day, commenting in the Glasgow Herald that “Unfortunately the inspection of the Boys' Brigade takes place the same afternoon... and the presence of General Wolseley, combined with the growing popularity of that institution, is bound to operate prejudicially on the attendance.”²⁰ The nature of the premier drill event in Glasgow contrasts significantly to the final of the DTS which was the principal drill competition in London. The DTS was a city-wide drill contest held in the capital, with the final of this competition acting as the centrepiece of the annual display of the Boys' Brigade in London at the Royal Albert Hall. In Glasgow the annual drill inspection was a public affair, with thousands of spectators witnessing the event in the open air on a parade ground. In contrast, whilst the final of the DTS was able to attract high ranking military officials to inspect, it was an insular affair, with the final of the DTS held behind closed doors in the Royal Albert Hall. From this it is apparent that the Boys' Brigade was embraced to a greater degree in its Scottish birthplace than in the English capital. In his Four-Nation approach to the history of the British Empire MacKenzie noted that Scotland embarked on a cultural revival in the second half of the nineteenth century; “a time when Scots were beginning to throw off their submission to English dominance”.²¹ The Boys' Brigade is a crucial element in this cultural revival, with the public displays of drill an expression of a uniquely Scottish method to missionary work and the encouragement of discipline amongst young people. Moreover, when

¹⁸ “Boys' Brigade Inspection”, Glasgow Herald, issue 100, 27 April 1891, p.8.

¹⁹ “Glasgow Boys' Brigade Inspection”, Glasgow Herald, issue 99, 25 April 1892, p.9.

²⁰ “Special Notes on Sports”, Glasgow Herald, issue 91, 16 April 1894, p.9.

²¹ John M. MacKenzie, “Irish, Scottish”, p.1248.

the method was replicated in London, it was apparent that the process was more reserved and less of a public celebration than in Glasgow.

Throughout the first few decades of the Battalion inspections a number of prominent Officers of the armed forces acted as inspecting Officer. By attracting individuals such as Lord Roberts and Lord Wolseley - who both held the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces - in the 1890s, and Major-General Baden-Powell for the 1904 inspection, the Glasgow Battalion illustrated the pull of the movement and its appeal to men considered to be the epitome of military heroes of Empire. Furthermore, these events – and the men who travelled to add to the stature of the occasion – provide further support to the notion of a strong imperial orientation of Glasgow and the Clyde region.²² MacKenzie commented that the Boys' Brigade had “a distinctly imperial tone and venerated the Scots imperial heroes”.²³ The appearance of men of the standing of Baden-Powell conveys the notion that the honouring of imperial heroes in the Boys' Brigade was not restricted to those of Scottish roots. There was, rather, a sense of pride in the military achievements of men such as Baden-Powell and this was celebrated by citizens of Glasgow and the members of the movement at the annual inspection. When Baden-Powell surveyed the Battalion in 1904 - at a time when he was forming plans for his scouting methods for Boys - there was a distinct sense of imperialist fervour. A correspondent for the Milngavie and Bearsden Herald commented on the parade and the reception of the citizens of Glasgow for Baden-Powell, illustrating the celebrity status of the hero of Mafeking:

Glasgow can turn out big crowds, but it takes an occasion of much more than ordinary interest to bring out such a big crowd as assembled within and without the great enclosure on Saturday. The streets in the neighbourhood were blocked with people, every window was overcrowded, and everybody more than anybody else wanted to see Baden-Powell.²⁴

For this inspection an estimated 10000 citizens were spectators at the parade, who witnessed a spectacle that Baden-Powell unassumingly commented was “most satisfactory”, with martial

²² John M. MacKenzie, “Empire and National”, p.224.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Boys' Brigade Inspection”, Milngavie and Bearsden Herald, 6 May 1904, p.4.

bands playing “exceedingly well”, and each Boy endeavouring to “do his duty on parade”.²⁵ The crowds are not only illustrative of Baden-Powell’s growing stature in light of his military accomplishments during the Second Boer War but are indicative of the degree to which the military had made an impression on broader civilian life. Therefore, the annual drill inspections demonstrate the attraction of military heroes to many citizens of Glasgow, with the parades offering an outlet for the celebration of the Empire in a distinctly Scottish tone. Furthermore, it is discernible that the inspections of the Glasgow Battalion offered an unrivalled opportunity for citizens to see their imperial heroes and created a circumstance for young members to be inspected by men of high standing in the armed forces, thus engraining a sense of Scottish imperial identity with the Boys’ Brigade at its core.

The appearance of a hero of the Empire at the annual drill inspection of the Glasgow Battalion was certainly a major attraction and, whilst parents were eager to see their sons appear on parade, the arrival of a high ranking military Officer was an opportunity not to be missed. When Baden-Powell inspected the Battalion in 1904 the Milngavie and Bearsden Herald covered the story by commenting that, although parents were anxious and proud to see their sons on parade, “the fathers and mothers were not so particular about seeing their own budding offspring on military duty as of being able to say afterwards, ‘I saw him’ – meaning Baden-Powell”.²⁶ Not only does this provide further evidence of Baden-Powell’s increasing fame but the reference to ‘military duty’ is a clear indication of the extent that the military penetrated civilian life. Preparations for the inspection were meticulous and preliminary drill competitions were held prior to the event. The pinnacle of this was the Garroway Cup for drill that determined the ten Companies that would comprise the first Battalion on the parade ground. In 1904 a record forty-nine Companies entered, with the 1st Glasgow emerging victorious.²⁷ Such was the importance of the parade that letters appeared in the local press from Brigade Officers weeks before the event requesting that employers allow their Boys leave from work to take a part in the inspection.²⁸ At the parade Boys undertook a number of military manoeuvres with the support

²⁵ “General Baden-Powell on The Boys’ Brigade”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 12, 10, June 1904, p.157.

²⁶ “Boys’ Brigade Inspection”, Milngavie and Bearsden Herald, 6 May 1904, p.4.

²⁷ “Battalion Jottings”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 12, 9, May 1904, pp. 136 – 137; p.137.

²⁸ H. A. Wilson, “The Boys’ Brigade, (Glasgow Battalion) Annual Inspection”, Milngavie and Bearsden Herald, 29 April 1904, p.2.

of an increasing number of bands throughout the pre-First World War years. In 1904, the parade numbered over 7000 who were considered to be “playing at the serious game of soldiers, and playing it so well... many of whom may be the real warriors of the future.”²⁹

The drill undertaken by the Boys’ Brigade has close historical connections with the Volunteers, an association that developed from the unique circumstances in Glasgow when the movement was founded. The Volunteers were an unpaid part-time army who were one of the military forces of the Crown alongside the Militia, Yeomanry, and Regular Army.³⁰ From the outset, the organisation in Glasgow had an affiliation with Volunteer Regiments. The founder was considered to be “an enthusiastic young officer in the Volunteers” and used the ethos of drill and parade ground discipline in order to control the Boys of his Sunday school.³¹ Bailey has written that the Volunteer Force was at the heart of the convergence of militant Christianity and militant patriotism that were crucial for the development of the distinctive origins of the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow.³² Although not considered by Lord Wolseley to be one of the most important Volunteer centres in the Kingdom, he commended Glasgow for being home to the largest battalion of the Boys’ Brigade, viewing this as part of the wider concerns for the welfare of the Volunteers.³³ The young members of the Boys’ Brigade were often looked upon as providing the future rank and file of the Volunteer forces. This sentiment was expressed early in the history of the organisation where the movement was considered in the pages of the Glasgow Herald as providing Boys “who may be expected by and bye [sic] to take their places in the ranks of our Volunteer corps”.³⁴ In addition, in his address following the annual inspection of the Battalion in 1900, Colonel Rawlins commented that “might he dare utter the hope that many of these boys would find their way into the ranks of the Volunteers?”³⁵ A similar ethos was also evident in London and Bristol and will be explored in detail in the chapters to follow. The idea that Boys’ Brigade members would succeed their fathers by entering into Volunteer Regiments was addressed at the time of the Golden Jubilee. In a programme for the celebrations it was

²⁹ “Boys’ Brigade Inspection”, Milngavie and Bearsden Herald, 6 May 1904, p.4.

³⁰ Michael Blanch, “British Society”, p.215.

³¹ Donald M. McFarlan, First For Boys, p.13.

³² Victor Bailey, “Bibles and Dummy”, p.7.

³³ “Lord Wolseley”, Glasgow Herald, issue 49, 26 February 1894, p.9.

³⁴ “Tuesday Morning, April 7”, Glasgow Herald, issue 83, 7 April 1885, p.4.

³⁵ “Inspection of Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 97, 23 April 1900, p.4.

written that “it is easy to explain the rise of The Boys’ Brigade at home. Every second man was a Volunteer – the greatest of all the social institutions of Britain in the ‘eighties and nineties”.³⁶ Therefore, it is evident that the Boys’ Brigade and Volunteers had a close relationship that was born in Glasgow in the 1880s with the involvement of men in both organisations. This is illustrative of Paris’s notion of a ‘pleasure culture of war’, whereby war was viewed as a normal aspect of daily life, with the youth of Britain imbued “with the martial spirit” and convinced that “war was natural, honourable and romantic”.³⁷ The Boys’ Brigade – with its links to the Volunteers and large public drill inspections – was a key component of this notion in the city of Glasgow where the relationship between these two institutions was particularly evident.

International exhibitions provided another instance where the Boys’ Brigade took a prominent place in civic life in Glasgow and utilised their drill and discipline in the public sphere. For MacKenzie these exhibitions from the 1880s onwards became “striking examples of both conscious and unconscious approaches to imperial propaganda” whereby “the imperial propaganda cannot have failed to rub off”.³⁸ The first of these exhibitions the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow was involved in, and held an important role, was at the 1888 exhibition in the city. This event attracted 5.7 million visitors which, for MacKenzie, indicated the degree of its popular impact.³⁹ Moreover, he views the exhibition as an example of Scottish identity in relation to the empire, whereby Scotland – past and present – was on display to the world.⁴⁰ For the recently formed Glasgow Battalion the exhibition was its first experience of participating at a royal occasion, with 3649 members of the Brigade lining the route inside the exhibition grounds at Kelvingrove Park when the event was opened by the Prince of Wales on 8 May.⁴¹ The event – considered by a former editor of The Boys’ Brigade Gazette to be “the most notable event of session 1887 – 88” – saw Boys from a total of 78 companies from the Glasgow area take part and at the time was the largest turnout of the Battalion on record.⁴² This emphasised the growing strength of the movement and the importance of the Battalion within civic life.

³⁶ GCA. Mitchell Library, G/267.7BOY – 520677, “The Boys’ Brigade. Jubilee Week Programme. Sunday, 3rd, to Monday, 11th September, 1933”, September 1933.

³⁷ Michael Paris, Warrior Nation, p.82.

³⁸ John M. MacKenzie, Propaganda, p.97.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 101.

⁴⁰ John M. MacKenzie, “Empire and National”, pp. 226 – 227.

⁴¹ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.10.

⁴² F. P. Gibbon, William A. Smith, pp. 84 – 85; “The Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 247, 15 October 1888, p.4.

Moreover, the involvement of the Battalion at the 1888 International Exhibition was considered in the first history of the organisation, written in 1891, as “a red-letter day in the history of the Glasgow Battalion” with the matter “taken up with enthusiasm by the boys”.⁴³ The history also considered the wider implications for the Battalion, noting that such public demonstrations were important reminders for the members of each company that they were part of a wider whole.⁴⁴ Therefore, the Boys’ Brigade had a significant role to play in the opening of the exhibition, providing a platform to promote the movement, raise its profile, and present to visitors of the exhibition the work of the organisation. Furthermore, the Boys’ Brigade – as a Scottish invention – was a key actor in promoting the imperial propaganda of the exhibitions, bringing imperialistic principles to thousands of young Boys in Glasgow whilst at the same time emphasising the role of Scotland in the missionary and military life of the Empire.

The special nature of the Boys’ Brigade was also drawn upon for the 1911 Exhibition in Glasgow. For the third great exhibition in the city the Battalion lined almost two thirds of the route within the grounds, with 5472 all ranks present.⁴⁵ Therefore, the organisation was overtly visible for the opening ceremony. This is crucial when considering the broader context of this exhibition in particular. This exhibition was an occasion where Scottish national pride was to the fore of proceedings, with Glasgow laying its claims for the cultural leadership of Scotland.⁴⁶ By inviting thousands of Glasgow Boys’ Brigade members it is evident that the movement was seen as a critical actor in the promotion of this growing sense of Scottish cultural energy and the way in which the organisers wished to present an idealised image of the nation. The role of the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow as a religious organisation, largely affiliated in Scotland to the Established and Free Churches, is particularly significant within this context. Neil Curtis, commenting on the 1911 exhibition, wrote that the role of religious history was an important aspect of Scottish identity at the time of the exhibition, with the event highlighting the importance of church history to Scotland.⁴⁷ However, although an emphasis was placed on religious moderation this

⁴³ Anon, The Boys’ Brigade. History of the Glasgow Battalion and Notes on the Bazaar 1891, (Glasgow: Carter and Pratt, 1891), p.19.

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 19 – 20.

⁴⁵ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.10.

⁴⁶ Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, Glasgow’s Great, pp. 96 - 97.

⁴⁷ Neil G. W. Curtis, “A Place of History, Literature and Politics in the 1911 Scottish Exhibition”, Scottish Literary Review, 7, 1, 2015, pp. 43 - 74; p.61.

was not extended to Catholicism, with exhibition displays dismissing the Catholic contribution to Scottish history.⁴⁸ In addition, Curtis argued that the exhibition of 1911 papered over religious divisions to portray a Scottish identity allied to the Union, Protestantism, and self-improvement.⁴⁹ The thousands of Glasgow Boys' Brigade members who appeared at the opening ceremony provides us with an unequivocal representation of these ideas as it was an organisation that embraced the idealised image of the Scottish nation the exhibition organisers desired. Furthermore, this provides another clear illustration of the critical differences that existed between the movement in English and Scottish cities in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Musical Performances of the Glasgow Boys' Brigade

Many of the public displays of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow were undertaken with the support of martial music. This element of the Brigade programme became central to its identity in Glasgow, providing it with a distinctive character when compared to the movement in English cities. Marching bands became an increasingly important part of the work undertaken by a number of Companies in the city and their bands were a visible presence at civic events. The importance of a band to the work of a Company was quickly appreciated by a number of Companies in the city. For the 76th Glasgow the "value of a Band was early realised, and a Flute Band was started in the second year of the Company's existence".⁵⁰ J. Berend Shaw, a former member of this Company, commented on the popularity of martial music, noting that the band "offered an activity dear to the heart of many Boys" who were able to enjoy marching "amid the admiring gaze of the Glasgow public".⁵¹ The growth of bands within the regular programme of activities grew in strength over a short period of time. The first drum and pipe band appeared in Glasgow in 1884 – soon after the inception of the organisation – and "bands quickly became an integral part of the Boys' Brigade".⁵² The first annual report of the Battalion Executive

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.62.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p.68.

⁵⁰ Anon, *76th Glasgow*, p. 26.

⁵¹ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, pp. 14 – 15.

⁵² John Neil (Ed.), *The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion Centenary Celebrations Book, 1883-1983*, (Glasgow: Hamilton, 1983), p.27.

Committee in April 1886 showed that Glasgow had two bands, both of which were flute.⁵³ By 1892 bands were already considered to be elemental, with Lord Aberdeen - the Irish Viceroy - commenting on the significance of this branch of Company work at an inspection of the 1st Glasgow Company.⁵⁴ By 1895 the Battalion was home to thirty-nine bands from a total of thirty-five Companies.⁵⁵ By 1903 the number of bands in the Battalion had risen to sixty, a number that became a “source of considerable difficulty at Battalion parades” in order to accommodate each band in the programme.⁵⁶ During the formative years of the movement the band, in many instances, operated on separate terms to the rest of the Company.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, this branch of work was adopted by several Companies in Glasgow and became an essential feature of both the regular weekly sessions and at parades.

A band provided a dual role for a Company. First, it added a sense of purpose and impetus to regular drill parades. Second, it afforded the opportunity to enhance the appearance of a Company or the Battalion at public events. The rise of bands within the Glasgow Battalion came at a time that has been considered as one of a cultural reawakening for Scotland, where music had an important function in the promotion of this identity. MacKenzie asserts that this was expressed through the rising popularity of pipe band competitions alongside Highland games.⁵⁸ The experience of the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow provides a clear demonstration of this and expands on this notion to consider the wider role of pipe music generally. The Glasgow Battalion held their own band competitions and for members of the 76th Glasgow this contest was considered to be the highlight of the winter programme and “none who took part will ever forget the excitement of the occasion”.⁵⁹ As well as providing a contest to promote the increasing number of bands in the Battalion this branch of Company work was considered to have a positive influence on recruiting new members. The ability of a band to add to the strength of a Company and to confer an attraction to drill was taken on by Companies in the Glasgow area. For the 1st Bearsden the introduction of a band was considered a great addition to

⁵³ William Nicholl, “The Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 235, 1 Oct 1886, p.4; GCA, “The Boys’ Brigade Glasgow Battalion. First Annual Report, 1885 – 86.

⁵⁴ “Lord Aberdeen and the Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 96, 21 April 1892, p.3.

⁵⁵ “Battalion Jottings”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 4, 1, October 1895, pp. 22 – 24.

⁵⁶ “Review of Battalion Reports”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 11, 6, February 1903, pp. 86 – 88; p.87.

⁵⁷ Anon, Banging the Drum. The Story of Boys’ Brigade Bands, (London: Boys’ Brigade, 1980), p.7.

⁵⁸ John, M. MacKenzie, “Essay and Reflection” p. 737.

⁵⁹ Anon, 76th Glasgow, p.27.

the Company and was viewed as a means of further increasing its numbers.⁶⁰ Moreover, the first report of the 116th Glasgow in 1902 expressed a desire to form a band as “Drill without music of some kind would be wanting in many respects”.⁶¹ By 1914 the Company band was considered by one correspondent for The Boys’ Brigade Gazette to be “One of the most attractive features of a Company... from the Boys’ point of view” tapping into the inherent love for martial music – the sort that Boys were considered to be particularly susceptible – and popularising the Brigade with the public.⁶² This provides a further indication of the extent to which the military had penetrated civilian life. Pipe bands were thought to be particularly effective in “inspiring the rank and file to march with a swing” with bands a source of honour and credit to the Company they were associated with.⁶³ By the time of the Golden Jubilee celebrations in Glasgow in September 1933 the “heart of Christ” of the movement was said to be kept beating by the melody of “its marching music”.⁶⁴ It is apparent, therefore, that within the Glasgow Battalion martial music became an important asset to a Company, with bands enhancing Brigade work during a time when music had a significant role in defining a uniquely Scottish imperial identity in contrast to the experience in England.

The bands attached to Companies in Glasgow often performed in the public parks in the city. Carole O’Reilly has presented the case of musical performances in Edwardian Manchester and the crowds who attended as indicative of the popularity of music, especially brass bands.⁶⁵ The appearance of Boys’ Brigade bands in the parks of Glasgow illustrate that music was popular in public parks in the Victorian city and, moreover, the prominence of pipe bands in particular points to regional and national variances. For the founder, the invitation for Brigade bands to perform in Glasgow public parks was evidence of the high standard of playing the Boys had attained, with the City Authorities considering Brigade bands “worthy of a place in their summer programme for music in the public parks”.⁶⁶ When the Town Council committee for music met in 1889 some questioned if the Boys from the 1st and 6th Glasgow bands would be up to the

⁶⁰ “1st Bearsden Coy., Boys’ Brigade”, Milngavie Herald, 2 May 1902, p.3.

⁶¹ “The Boys’ Brigade”, Milngavie Herald, 16 May 1902, p.2.

⁶² “Old Tales Re-Told”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 23, 3, November 1914, pp. 38 – 39; p.38

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.39.

⁶⁴ Anon, The Boys’ Brigade Jubilee, p.90.

⁶⁵ Carole O’Reilly, “From ‘the People’ to ‘the Citizen’: the Emergence of the Edwardian Municipal Park in Manchester, 1902 - 1912”, Urban History, 40, 1, 2013, pp. 136 - 155; p.141.

⁶⁶ John Neil, The Boys’ Brigade, p.27.

occasion of a public performance.⁶⁷ However, the young members were said to have entered into the combined band with “great spirit”, with the performance witnessed by an enthusiastic audience of 15000 citizens.⁶⁸ These recitals afforded Boys an opportunity to experience public performances of their music under the gaze of the residents of the city. As a consequence, this enhanced the profile of the organisation in Glasgow in a way unique to the movement when compared to Bristol or London. During the late nineteenth century the bands that performed were largely pipe or brass, with little role for the bugle and flute bands that had limited scope and required less skill to play. Pipe bands regularly performed during the ‘music in the parks’ events that were a series of public musical concerts held across the city during the summer months. In August 1897 the 55th Glasgow pipers played alongside the band of the 3rd V.B.H.L.I. in Queens Park.⁶⁹ Queens Park also hosted the pipers of the 102nd Glasgow who performed alongside the Springburn Temperance band in June 1898, with the 58th Glasgow pipers playing in Kelvingrove Park the same year.⁷⁰ In addition, the pipe band of the 113th Glasgow was to be found performing at Springburn Park in August 1900.⁷¹ Brass bands also played their music in the parks, and bands from the 63rd, 91st, and 93rd Glasgow all performed at various parks across the city during these same years.⁷² The appearance of Boys’ Brigade bands at these summer events during the late 1890s shows both the improving musical ability of the bands and illustrates the sense that civic authorities could rely upon these bands to attain a similar standard of other performers from groups such as the Volunteers. This presents the growing influence of the movement in civic society with bands at the centre of this. MacKenzie has commented that pipe band competitions were important in the cultural reawakening of Scotland in the late nineteenth century.⁷³ However, the broader implications of pipe music generally should not be overlooked in the context of the wider sense of a Scottish cultural reawakening, with the performances of pipe bands by Glasgow based Boys’ Brigade Companies at the turn of the century a pivotal facet of this.

⁶⁷ “Company Items”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 1, 3, September 1889, pp. 50 – 53; p. 51.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ “Music in the Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 197, 18 August 1897, p.4.

⁷⁰ “Music in the Glasgow Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 154, 29 June 1898, p.6; “Music in the Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 156, 1 July 1899, p.6.

⁷¹ “Music in the Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 196, 16 August 1900, p.5.

⁷² “Music in the Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 156, 1 July 1899, p.6; “Music in the Public Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 150, 23 June 1900, p.7; “Music in the Parks”, Glasgow Herald, issue 160, 5 July 1900, p.7.

⁷³ John, M. MacKenzie, “Essay and Reflection”, p. 737.

With bands proposed as offering an enhanced experience at drill parades it is to be expected that martial music took pride of place at the annual drill inspection of the Battalion. The annual inspection was the principal drill event of the session for the movement in Glasgow akin to the final of the DTS at the Royal Albert Hall for the London District. The inspection saw thousands of members of the movement undertake military manoeuvres on a drill ground, with bands performing a supporting role to the Battalions of Boys. When 78 Companies paraded in April 1893 at Cathkin Park – the drill ground of the 3rd Lanark Rifle Volunteers (L. R. V.) – twenty-two bands took part in the inspection overseen by Lieutenant-Colonel Wavell, adjutant of the 2nd Battalion, the Black Watch.⁷⁴ By 1896 the number of bands involved with the annual inspection had almost doubled, with forty bands divided into five columns contributing to the overall parade strength of more than 3600 who massed at Yorkhill drill ground.⁷⁵ When the annual inspection was held at Yorkhill in 1902 a total of 5367 Boys were on parade with 831 band Boys and additional support from seventy-two band-sergeants.⁷⁶ For this inspection – undertaken under the gaze of Sir Archibald Hunter, general Officer commanding the Scottish District - the Boys were divided into nine Battalions, with each having its own band to offer music.⁷⁷ These examples illustrate the increasing role of martial music at the inspections of the Glasgow Battalion which is in significant contrast to similar events held in London. The scale of bands at these events increased further with the introduction of massed bands in the first decades of the twentieth century. April 1905 saw the first appearance of a massed brass band “of over 200 performers”, with the first instance of a massed pipe band occurring in 1912, when a march past of 250 pipers was part of the inspection that year.⁷⁸ The appearance of bands was not restricted to the large Battalion inspections, as bands supported individual Company inspections, thus adding variety to the programme. For example, when the 1st Milngavie were inspected by Major R. Jeffray Douglas of the 1st L. R. V. in April 1904 the pipe band played ‘Scotland the Brave’ and ‘Over the Water to Charlie’ on the appearance of the inspecting

⁷⁴ “The Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 97, 24 April 1893, p.11.

⁷⁵ “Lord Roberts’s Visit – The Inspection of the Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 99, 24 April 1896, p.6.

⁷⁶ “Inspection of Boys’ Brigade”, Milngavie Herald, 2 May 1902, p.3.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.7.

Officer, with ‘Highland Laddie’ performed during the march past.⁷⁹ Such musical selections evidently carried a Scottish nationalistic tone, adding further gravity to the role of the Boys’ Brigade in the Scottish cultural reawakening and consequent strengthening in the years leading to the First World War.

The situation was markedly different at the principal drill event of the London District - the final of the DTS. For this event drill was not accompanied by music, with the military manoeuvres the focus of proceedings. Bands had a separate role in the programme for the evening at the Royal Albert Hall, with musicians from across the Brigade invited to perform. However, such an occasion provided a platform for the promotion of the uniquely Scottish tone of the Boys’ Brigade from Glasgow. Bands from Glasgow were invited to perform at these displays, with pipe bands from the city adding to the diversity of the programme. At the 1914 display – when the 62nd London and 3rd Enfield Companies contested for the DTS – the 86th Glasgow pipe band performed.⁸⁰ The appearances of items from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales at the demonstration, including the pipe band from Glasgow, were considered by a correspondent to The Daily Telegraph to be a “source of special interest”.⁸¹ In addition, the 102nd Glasgow pipe band performed at the display in 1921 when the principal drill event was contested between the 18th South Essex and 83rd London Companies.⁸² This comparison illustrates the prominence of music at the foremost drill event of the Glasgow Battalion when compared to that of the London District. While bands had a role at the Royal Albert Hall display it was limited to the performance of two or three bands and existed separately from the drill in the programme. In contrast, the inspection of the Glasgow Battalion saw massed bands form and march alongside the detachments of Boys. The London demonstration invited bands from across the country to perform at the event. This provided an opportunity for Glasgow Boys to perform their distinctively Scottish music in the English capital.

⁷⁹ “Milngavie Boys’ Brigade”, Milngavie and Bearsden Herald, 22 April 1904, p.5.

⁸⁰ 3rd Enfield Boys’ Brigade Company Records (EBBCR), “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 7 May 1914.

⁸¹ “The Boys’ Brigade. Albert Hall Demonstration”, The Daily Telegraph, 24 March 1914, p.14.

⁸² EBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 4 May 1921.

Unquestionably the largest display of drill manoeuvres undertaken during the first fifty years of the organisation came at the time of the celebrations for the Golden Jubilee of the Boys' Brigade. In September 1933 Glasgow became the nexus of the movement as the city played host to a series of displays, inspections, and numerous other activities. The Jubilee celebrations included a camping expedition to Tighnabruaich – the site of the very first Brigade camp – and a Conventicle open air religious service attended by in excess of 100,000 people with tens of thousands more experiencing the events from outside the grounds of Hampden Park as the service was relayed to those unable to gain access to the football ground.⁸³ The celebrations – and the enthusiastic reception from citizens of Glasgow – illustrated the regard and appreciation felt towards the organisation in the city. Reflecting on the Conventicle service on the Sunday it was written that “Glasgow citizens turned out in such numbers that they created a traffic problem... and took part in the largest open-air religious service ever held in this country”.⁸⁴ Glasgow was, as Dr J. Martin Strang, Captain of the 1st Bearsden Company would later write, “completely B.B. minded for that week-end”.⁸⁵ Music was to the fore of the events for the Jubilee – with bands and choirs included in a BBC Programme leading up to the celebrations to whet the appetite for those heading to Glasgow later in the year.⁸⁶ At the Jubilee meeting, held at St. Andrews Hall on 9 September 1933, music was again prominent in the programme which included brass and pipe bands, a performance by a Company choir, and Gaelic mouth music.⁸⁷ Moreover, the large open-air service at Hampden Park was opened with the sound of music when “a burst of bagpipes heralded the opening of the dramatic service”.⁸⁸ The reception of citizens of Glasgow – as hosts of the celebrations – shows the civic pride felt for an organisation born on its streets and displays a clear nationalistic difference between the movement in England and Scotland. Therefore, it is perceptible that Scottish music was an important asset to the Jubilee programme, with bands, Gaelic singing, and pipe music enhancing the celebrations in this city.

⁸³ Anon, The Boys' Brigade Jubilee, pp. 28 – 30; “30,000 Boys on Parade”, The Daily Mirror, 11 September 1933, p.7.

⁸⁴ Anon, The Boys' Brigade Jubilee, p. 60.

⁸⁵ Dr. J. Martin Strang, After Fifty Years. 1st Bearsden Company The Boys' Brigade 1898 – 1948, (Bearsden: Bearsden Boys' Brigade, 1948); p. 39.

⁸⁶ Anon, The Boys' Brigade Jubilee, p. 13.

⁸⁷ GCA, Mitchell Library, G/267.7BOY – 520672, “The Boys' Brigade. Programme of the Jubilee Meeting. Saint Andrews Hall, Glasgow”, 9 September 1933.

⁸⁸ “Splendour and Sincerity – The Service Described”, The B.B. Jubilee Bulletin. Glasgow. September 1933. The Official Newspaper of the Celebrations, 11 September 1933, p.27.

Although the Conventicle service was the culmination of the events held in Glasgow over the Jubilee weekend, the Royal Review and inspection of Boys by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was the nucleus of the programme. The Jubilee Review comprised 32,520 Boys (which equated to one quarter of the total strength of the movement⁸⁹) drawn from all parts of the British Isles. The numbers in the crowds witnessing the review were also in the tens of thousands, with 50,237 spectators present at Queen's Park for the parade.⁹⁰ On the parade ground the difference between Scottish and English Boys was clearly perceptible, with English members of the movement distinguishable by their field hats.⁹¹ This once again emphasises the clear nationalistic differences between the application of the Boys' Brigade north and south of the border. Music, and in particular pipe bands were at the centre of the display. The Jubilee Review programme opened with music in front of the saluting base from 14.15 to 15.20 with the brass band of the 6th Glasgow and pipers from the 69th Glasgow playing a number of selections as the spectators entered the grounds.⁹² Moreover, as each of the seventeen Battalions undertook the march past, each was accompanied by a brass or bugle band.⁹³ There was, however, no place for pipe bands in this element of proceedings. This was because their role had a separate place in the parade, providing the prestigious prelude to the finale. The massed pipe performance was recorded in a book produced by the Brigade to mark the events of the Jubilee and illustrates how the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow resonated with a deeper sense of Scottish national pride that was absent in English cities:

The deep roll of drums and the skirl of the pipes heralded the approach of the massed pipe bands. The blood coursed quicker in our veins as they came, **637** pipers with tartan ribbons streaming in the breeze to mingle with the strains of 'Highland Laddie'. Past they went amid a tumult of cheering, and gradually faded as they reached the end of the parade front and counter-marched. Again the lilting music of the pipes swelled out in volume as they passed

⁸⁹ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p. 58.

⁹⁰ Anon, *The Boys' Brigade Jubilee*, p. 41.

⁹¹ "Prince Reviews 30,000 Boys", *The B.B. Jubilee Bulletin*. Glasgow. September 1933. *The Official Newspaper of the Celebrations*, 11 September 1933, p.26.

⁹² GCA. Mitchell Library, G/267.7BOY – 520678, "Programme for Jubilee Review. Glasgow, 1933", 9 September 1933.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

the Prince, the roll of a hundred drums that followed, then faded, faded. In a cloud of dust they disappeared.⁹⁴

The scale of the massed pipe band at the Jubilee Review clearly illustrates the importance of music to the organisation at this time and emphasises the sense of Scottish identity connected to the organisation in Glasgow, with the pipers at the centre of this overtly Scottish persona. As awestruck as contemporaries were with the massed band it was considered, in an article appearing in the B.B. Jubilee Bulletin, to have been “doubly impressive if the boys had been in kilts”.⁹⁵ Such inherently Scottish cultural attire would, therefore, have further enhanced the sense of Scottish identity embraced by the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow. The Jubilee Review was an expression of Scottish cultural identity, with Glasgow providing the focus of Brigade celebrations that witnessed a vibrant return of the movement to the city. Moreover, the positive reception of citizens of Glasgow emphasises the support and pride for the organisation which was embraced by communities within the city. This is in striking contrast to the situation in Enfield, where Springhall commented that the organisation “represented the alien intrusion of a military discipline and militant evangelism that owed more to a revivalist Scottish Presbyterianism than to suburban middle-class English Nonconformity.”⁹⁶ Therefore, it was the uniquely Scottish character of the movement that made it fundamentally different when applied to the churches of Scotland and England.

Boys’ Brigade Bands in Glasgow: A Quantitative Assessment

The scale of massed bands and public displays illustrates the prominent role of music in enhancing the visibility of the organisation in Glasgow. In the first quarter of the twentieth century music developed into an important branch of Company work. In 1908 the bugle badge was introduced and was followed in 1921 by a badge awarded for pipe playing.⁹⁷ In addition, a wider band badge was launched in February 1914 to recognise the work of other band Boys and to provide an alternative qualification for the conditions required in order to attain the King’s

⁹⁴ Anon, The Boys’ Brigade Jubilee, p. 43.

⁹⁵ “Prince Reviews 30,000”, p.26.

⁹⁶ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p.88.

⁹⁷ Anon, Banging the Drum, p.10.

Badge, the premier award in the organisation.⁹⁸ Music was a branch of Company work that was embraced by the Glasgow Battalion and, as a consequence, a band committee was formed in 1894 to provide guidance and control to the increasing number of bands in the Battalion.⁹⁹ Statistical data from the early twentieth century clearly shows how bands, and in particular pipe bands, grew in numbers in Glasgow, further emphasising the Scottish cultural revival which continued from the late nineteenth century. Table 3.1 illustrates that, in the years between the Second Boer War and the First World War, the Glasgow Battalion accounted for between 11 and 12 percent of the total Companies of the Boys' Brigade in the British Isles.

Table 3.1. Number of Companies in the Glasgow Battalion Against the Number of Companies Nationally.

Session Report	Glasgow Battalion	National Organisation
1905 - 06	131	1237
1909 - 10	149	1386
1913 - 14	158	1360

Sources: Glasgow City Archives. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Report.* 1905 – 06, 1909 – 10, 1913 – 14; John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Steadfast*, p.258.

However, the share Glasgow had of bands during these same years was far greater, and demonstrates the value of martial music to the movement in the Second City of Empire. Table 3.2 shows the number of bands in the Glasgow Battalion compared to the number of bands existing in the movement nationally. The share of bugle bands in Glasgow was comparatively low – at 7% in the sessions 1905 - 06, 1909 – 10, and 1913 – 14 respectively. Bugle bands were the most popular type of marching band organised by Companies at this time as they were considered the most suited to the needs of its members and could be readily mastered by the average Boy.¹⁰⁰ This can, therefore, account for the lower share by the Glasgow Battalion.

⁹⁸ “Boys' Brigade. The King's Badge”, *The Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1914, p.5.

⁹⁹ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p.15.

¹⁰⁰ “Old Tales Re-Told”, *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 23, 3, November 1914, pp. 38 – 39; p.38.

However, the number of Brass Bands in Glasgow was much higher; with twenty-five percent of the forty-four Brass bands in the movement in the 1905 – 06 session present in Glasgow.

Table 3.2.¹⁰¹ Musical Bands in the Glasgow Battalion Against the Number of Bands Nationally.

Session Report	Glasgow Battalion			National Organisation		
	Pipe Bands	Brass Bands	Bugle Bands	Pipe Bands	Brass Bands	Bugle Bands
1902 -03	19	12	27	55	39	335
1905 -06	24	11	32	83	44	451
1909 -10	36	12	38	100	50	559
1913 -14	50	12	36	132	48	551

Glasgow City Archives. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Report.* 1902 - 03, 1905 – 06, 1909 – 10, 1913 – 14; Anon, Banging the Drum, p.19.

This was matched on the eve of the First World War, with one quarter of the forty-eight Brass bands registered nationally existing in Glasgow for the 1913 – 14 session. However, it was with the pipe bands where the Glasgow Battalion truly dominated the national picture. In the 1905 – 06 session, the Glasgow Battalion – which at the time accounted for 11% of the total Companies – was home to 29% of the pipe bands in the movement. This number increased to 36% during the 1909 – 10 session when the Glasgow Battalion was once again home to 11% of the total strength of Companies. Moreover, during the 1913 – 14 session the Glasgow Battalion was the home of fifty of the 132 pipe bands in the Boys' Brigade, equating to 38%. Pipe bands were, therefore, a prominent feature of the band work undertaken in the city and illustrative of the extent to which this branch of Company work was particularly strong in Glasgow when compared to the situation of the movement as a whole. Therefore, the high percentage of Glasgow-based pipe bands is characteristic of the wider notion of Scottish cultural identity at

¹⁰¹ Glasgow City Archives. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Report.* 1902 - 03, 1905 – 06, 1909 – 10, 1913 – 14; Anon, Banging the Drum, p.19.

this time and clearly shows how important pipe bands were to the character of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow.

Closer analysis of the growth of bands in the Glasgow Battalion between the late 1890s and 1930s illustrates the development of band work in the city and the increasing popularity of pipe bands. In the early years of the organisation flute bands were the most popular and almost all Company bands were of this type.¹⁰² Appendix 2 shows how this image was mirrored in the Glasgow Battalion. Here, flute bands dominated the scene between 1891 and 1898 – reaching a peak of twenty-one flute bands during the 1894 – 95 session before numbers fell to zero during the First World War, with only a brief return of a flute band visible again during the first fifty sessions in 1928 – 29. At the time of writing his biography of the founder in 1934, F. P. Gibbon wrote that “to-day a flute band is a *rara avis* in the B.B.”¹⁰³ This was certainly the case in the Glasgow Battalion. Appendix 2 clearly demonstrates that the decline of flute bands corresponded with the rise of two other types of marching band - bugle and pipe. The former grew rapidly in the late 1890s and outnumbered pipe bands in Glasgow in every session up to 1910 – 11. Bugle bands were considered to be the preferable form of band and it was the most common type of band in the Brigade in the early years, so its eminence in Glasgow during the germination of bands is expected. The growth of pipe bands in the Glasgow Battalion was steady and constant, save for a small number of sessions in the late 1920s and 1930s when numbers fell away slightly. Appendix 2 shows that peak numbers of pipe bands were obtained in the 1926 – 27 session when 110 of the 173 bands in the Glasgow Battalion were pipe; more than double the number of bugle bands. The growing number of pipe bands can be attributed to an extent to the increased level of competition that resulted in a new pipe band contest. The Boys' Brigade Gazette covered the introduction of this competition in Glasgow with the following words:

With the view of encouraging Bagpipe playing, the Glasgow Highland Club has kindly presented a shield for competition. The competition, which is for bands of six pipers and

¹⁰² F. P. Gibbon, William A. Smith, p.85.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

three drummers, is sure to create keen interest and do much to raise the standard of playing throughout the Battalion.¹⁰⁴

By having a band competition of its own, the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow strengthened its place within the wider Scottish cultural revival with pipe music a key characteristic in the notion of 'Scottishness'. In contrast, the number of brass bands remained in single figures until the turn of the twentieth century and from then on numbers remained between ten and nineteen per session, with this number marking the highpoint of brass bands in the 1907 – 08 and 1935 – 36 sessions respectively. Brass bands offered the greatest scope for variety but were the most expensive to run, thus inhibiting its numbers to an extent.¹⁰⁵ It is apparent from the annual reports of the Battalion that the opportunity to play in a band was afforded to many Boys in Glasgow and was widely taken up. This was most apparent in the twenty-second annual report for the 1906 – 07 session where it was noted that the 1121 performers in the 83 Company bands were figures that "clearly indicate the popularity of the Company Band".¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the musical training Boys received in the city ensured that the next generation inherited the skills and knowledge required for the continuation of the quintessentially Scottish art of pipe playing.

Citizen Training and Company Work

Musical training was not the only instruction Boys from Glasgow received aside from the regular programme of scripture and drill classes. Within the Glasgow Battalion a diverse programme of citizen training was engaged in that encompassed health, morality, and an ingrained sense of Scottish national pride distinct from the experience in English cities. The organisation in Glasgow provided a variety of activities for its young members with the view to improving their character in order to become useful citizens. One of the key leisure pursuits undertaken in Glasgow was swimming. Swimming was an established form of recreation in the city and by 1886 the Town Council had agreed special rates for the use of the city baths.¹⁰⁷ In 1889 The Boys' Brigade Gazette published a comprehensive review of the first swimming gala of the

¹⁰⁴ "Battalion Jottings", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 7, March 1909, p.109.

¹⁰⁵ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.15.

¹⁰⁶ GCA. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Twenty-Second Annual Report. 1906 – 07.*

¹⁰⁷ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.21.

Glasgow Battalion. It was noted that “since the formation of the Glasgow Battalion, swimming has always been recognised as part of the work to be engaged in and encouraged in the Companies”.¹⁰⁸ Its role was embraced by the convenors of the Battalion, who noted that “they can encourage no healthier or more useful form of recreation among the boys than that of swimming”.¹⁰⁹ The swimming gala was the centrepiece of this branch of Company work, with the first gala held at Gorbals Baths on 27 September 1889 when a total of 181 entries were received.¹¹⁰ Such was the uptake for the event that preliminary competitions were held on 24 September, with the main programme containing races, exhibitions of life saving, and “scientific and ornamental swimming”.¹¹¹ In addition, proceedings were enlivened with selections by Company bands, with the 47th Glasgow playing at the first swimming Gala.¹¹²

Swimming has been considered as a valuable skill for the welfare of the future of the British Empire, with its benefits to the health and physical improvement of young people. Christopher Love has noted that the activity was encouraged in the Scouts in order for its young members to undertake their duty as citizens.¹¹³ Love noted that the Boys’ Brigade – amongst a “proliferation of associations” including the Guides and the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) – promoted swimming in the Edwardian period.¹¹⁴ However, in the case of the Glasgow Battalion, it is perceptible that the societal advantages of this activity were obvious to the leaders who encouraged the training of this skill from the late 1880s and beyond, thus emphasising the pioneering role of the Boys’ Brigade within the broader field of youth work in the urban setting.

When the Brigade Executive introduced a ‘Cross for Heroism’ in 1902 the movement solidified its support for swimming as a desirable skill to be taught to its members in order to undertake their duties as active citizens. William Alexander Smith wrote in an unpublished draft article that the Executive had desired to minimise the granting of awards as they wished to “cultivate the

¹⁰⁸ “Glasgow Battalion Swimming Gala”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 1, 4, November 1889, pp.66-67; p.66.

¹⁰⁹ Anon, *The Boys’ Brigade. History*, p.28.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.27; “Glasgow Battalion Swimming”, p.66.

¹¹¹ “Glasgow Battalion Swimming”, pp. 66 – 67.

¹¹² Ibid, p.67.

¹¹³ Christopher Love, “Swimming”, pp. 682 – 683.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 689.

idea of doing duty for its own sake".¹¹⁵ However, this award was introduced to celebrate exceptional cases, with the regulations for the award stipulating that "The cross may be awarded to any Boy who, being a member of The Boys' Brigade, has performed a signal act of self-sacrifice for others, shown heroism in saving life or attempting to save life, or displayed marked courage in the face of danger".¹¹⁶ As it transpired, several of these bronze crosses were awarded to young men who attempted to save others from drowning when they found themselves in difficulty on water. These acts of civic heroism reaffirmed the importance of swimming as a branch of Company work and provide examples of young members undertaking civic duty within their communities.

Members of the Boys' brigade in Glasgow were among the first recipients of the award for heroism. In February 1914 Private William Winton of the 106th Glasgow was presented the Cross for Heroism for saving a child from drowning at Drumfork.¹¹⁷ In addition, Eddie Gow, of the 76th Glasgow, was presented with the decoration in 1921 for rescuing a seven year old Boy who had fallen into water near the football pitch at Anniesland.¹¹⁸ These instances provide examples of acts of heroism by Boys where their ability to swim enabled them to undertake their duty. Although these instances are from a later date, and the Cross for Heroism was not introduced until the Edwardian era, it is perceptible that the foundations of these acts of civic heroism were laid in the Glasgow Battalion in the late nineteenth century when swimming was promoted as a desirable skill and successes in this field were celebrated at the annual swimming gala. This emphasises the special character of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow that promoted a diverse programme of activities in order to enable Boys to undertake duties as active citizens.

In addition to swimming a number of Boys in the Glasgow Battalion were afforded the opportunity to undertake a variety of other physical pursuits. Within the Battalion several sports leisure activities were on offer, providing Companies with the chance to find a niche for their members. Arguably the most popular of these was football. The Battalion Executive hoped this

¹¹⁵ GCA, The Boys' Brigade D4 1st Glasgow, Folder 'G1', 13.2, "The Boys' Brigade' By Sir William A. Smith, Founder and Secretary." Annotated draft article, n.d.

¹¹⁶ "The Boys' Brigade Cross", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 11, 1, September 1902, p.17.

¹¹⁷ "The Boys' Brigade – Many New Companies Enrolled", The Daily Telegraph, 3 February 1914, p.7.

¹¹⁸ Anon, 76th Glasgow, p.31.

activity would provide an opportunity for friendly competition between teams, culminating in 1909 of a league of forty-eight teams.¹¹⁹ Not only did football create a degree of competition between Companies in Glasgow, it also led to a number of inter-city fixtures. In 1894 a side from Glasgow was entertained by the Edinburgh Battalion at Hibernian Park, followed by visits by teams from Sheffield and Perth, with the Glasgow Battalion victorious in all fixtures played.¹²⁰ During this session football was considered to be “flourishing” in the Battalion, with twelve senior and sixteen junior teams competing in league competition.¹²¹ Perhaps the fixture that evoked the greatest sense of difference between the Boys’ Brigade in Scotland and England came when a football team drawn from Companies in London was entertained by a side of Glasgow Boys. When the fixture was contested in 1914 – resulting in a 3 – 2 victory for the London team – the correspondent for The Daily Telegraph emphasised the “international” nature of the fixture, claiming it to be the first fixture of its kind.¹²² The differences between the two teams were clearly visible through the way in which they entered the playing field. Whilst the English team came onto the playing ground behind a brass band to the tune of ‘The British Grenadiers’ the Glasgow Boys were headed up by a pipe band.¹²³ This not only reiterated the importance of martial music to the movement broadly but displays the clear differences in the character of the Boys’ Brigade in England and Scotland.

Another sporting pursuit that illustrated national differences in character was cricket. This was considered to be a “popular sport in the Brigade” but was more extensively adopted in English cities than elsewhere.¹²⁴ The founder was aware of this, and commented in an interview published in The Boy’s Own Paper that Boys in Scotland “are not so keen on cricket”.¹²⁵ Despite this, the Glasgow Battalion ran a cricket league, which was said to be “played with much enthusiasm”; providing an activity to usefully fill Boys’ time during the summer months.¹²⁶ This

¹¹⁹ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, pp. 19 – 20.

¹²⁰ “Edinburgh Boys’ Brigade v. Glasgow Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 109, 7 May 1894, p.10; “Special Notes on Sports”, Glasgow Herald, issue 313, 31 December 1894, pp.7-8; p.8; “Football”, Glasgow Herald, issue 3, 3 January 1895, p.7; “Saturday’s Football”, Glasgow Herald, issue 102, 29 April 1895, p.10.

¹²¹ “Special Notes on Sports”, p.8.

¹²² “Boy Scouts and Boys’ Brigades”, The Daily Telegraph, 6 January 1914, p.4.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.64.

¹²⁵ T. C. Collings, “A Chat with Major W. A. Smith, ‘The Founder of The Boys’ Brigade’”, The Boy’s Own Paper, issue 1039, 10 December 1898, pp. 174 – 175; p.174.

¹²⁶ “Battalion Jottings”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 8, 1 September 1899, pp. 12 – 13; p.13.

sport was most enthusiastically adopted by the 76th Glasgow who, by 1913, had won the Battalion Cricket Cup sixteen times out of the nineteen competitions held.¹²⁷ However, this is indicative of the niche nature of cricket in Glasgow given that one Company was in a position to win so consistently. This same Company also claims to have introduced basketball to the British Isles when the Company Captain discovered the game whilst on a business trip to America in 1897.¹²⁸ Sporting activities were, therefore, an important asset to the work of a Company. Moreover, they also provide an example of the clear and distinct differences in character between the organisation north and south of the border in the chief cities of the British Empire.

In addition to musical and sporting pursuits, Companies in the Glasgow Battalion offered a number of other leisure pursuits supplementary to scripture and drill class for the improvement of their members as active citizens. The variety of activities available in the city afforded an opportunity for Companies to find their niche, allowing for the advancement of character traits for the promotion of good and useful citizenship. For Baden-Powell and the Scouts sound health was an important asset in order to defend against the ills of the modern city, with Scouting for Boys promoting ways in which to improve physical health.¹²⁹ This included advice on the frequency of brushing teeth, walking speed, bowel movements, and warnings against smoking.¹³⁰ Prior to the publication of Scouting for Boys Baden-Powell promoted his programme of good physical health for the undertaking of duties for citizenship when inspecting the Glasgow Battalion in 1904. At this display Baden-Powell commented on the pleasure he gained from learning that a number of Boys in the Battalion had stated a determination not to smoke until aged over eighteen.¹³¹ Baden-Powell noted that “smoking is liable to do a great deal of harm to a lad while he is growing, and Boys should try to do everything to make themselves strong and healthy, so as to become able-bodied citizens when they grow up”.¹³² An anti-smoking league was established in Glasgow in the early years of the twentieth century, with a membership of 500 in January 1903.¹³³ In the following month the

¹²⁷ Anon, 76th Glasgow, p.33.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.31.

¹²⁹ Troy Boone, Youth of Darkest, p. 128.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ “General Baden-Powell on The Boys’ Brigade”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 12, 10, June 1904, p.157.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ “Battalion Jottings”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 11, 5, January 1903, p.73.

league was said to be “meeting with a considerable amount of favour and support” with the 1300 members of the anti-smoking league experiencing “an appreciable effect in contesting the evil it was instituted to check”.¹³⁴ For some Companies this branch of work was an important aspect of their programme, with this element of the regular programme occupying “a prominent place in the life” of the 76th Glasgow.¹³⁵ This Company in particular emphasised good citizenship of its members, with addresses at the regular weekly drill sessions including talks on ‘how to visit a museum’, ‘politeness’, and ‘gambling’.¹³⁶ Therefore, the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow was promoting good health for the purpose of Boys being in a position to undertake their duties as citizens.

The citizen training Boys received in the Brigade in the early years of the twentieth century ultimately found a forum for practical application during the First World War. Here a number of parallels can be drawn between the experience of members and ex-members alike in Glasgow and London. Former members of the movement from the London District commented that the training they received as young men in the Brigade enabled them to serve their country with distinction. This supports the notion of Beaven and Griffiths that a sense of duty and discipline characterised the nature of citizenship in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹³⁷ The war saw a number of former and existing members of the Brigade in Glasgow contribute to the war effort. The culmination of this was the formation of the 16th Highland Light Infantry (H. L. I.). This Battalion - which became known as ‘The Boys’ Brigade Battalion’ - had close bonds with the movement in Glasgow, comprising significant numbers of ex-members, and commanded by David Laidlaw, formerly Captain of the 60th Glasgow and was the only instance of a Battalion formed entirely of men with links to the Boys’ Brigade.¹³⁸ Ex-members responded earnestly to the call for volunteers in the early years of the war, with “a very large and enthusiastic meeting of officers and ex-members” taking place in Glasgow in 1914, resulting in many recruits for the Territorial Regiments and 500 volunteers for service in Voluntary Aid Detachments.¹³⁹ Despite taking its toll on members and ex-members alike, the Great War was remembered in the 50th

¹³⁴ “Battalion Jottings”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 11, 6, February 1903, pp. 90 – 91; p.90.

¹³⁵ Anon, *76th Glasgow*, p.30.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p.14.

¹³⁷ Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, “Creating”, p.6.

¹³⁸ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, pp. 37 – 38.

¹³⁹ “The Country’s Call”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 23, 1, September 1914, p.2.

anniversary book of the 76th Glasgow as providing “many examples of duty well and bravely done”.¹⁴⁰ During the First World War the Victoria Cross was awarded to eleven former members of the Boys’ Brigade, with two from Glasgow - W. Ritchie of the 44th Glasgow and James Richardson of the 2nd Rutherglen.¹⁴¹ It is intriguing to note that these men were military based musical personnel, with Richardson a piper in the Manitoba Regiment of Canada and Ritchie a drummer in the Seaforth Highlanders.¹⁴² This adds further credence to the notion of the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow being characterised by its martial bands. Although it is not possible to ascertain for certain if these two men played in Boys’ Brigade bands, it is apparent that they were members of the Glasgow Battalion during a time when there was a distinct culture that encouraged the playing of musical instruments.

During the conflict The Boys’ Brigade Gazette told of the sacrifices made in defence of the country. The ‘Head-Quarters Notes’ for the start of the 1915 – 16 session noted that the organisation was teaching Boys that “The battleship and the battlefield tell of heroism and cheerful sacrifice and devotion to duty”.¹⁴³ The sense of duty was relayed to the Boys who were reminded of the sacrifices made by those in the armed forces. This was particularly the case when the 1st Bearsden held their annual inspection in 1915. At the inspection – with William Alexander Smith’s son Stanley in the audience – the Boys were told of the “national service to this country” that the Boys’ Brigade undertook.¹⁴⁴ Boys were reminded that many ex-members were serving in the forces, several of whom would be in the trenches on the night of their inspection.¹⁴⁵ Of these men it was said that “they were proud of them, and they owed that very much to the fine, national, patriotic spirit that had been instilled into them by their officers in the Boys’ Brigade”.¹⁴⁶ Therefore – much in the same way that ex-members of the movement in London recognised their training in the Boys’ Brigade assisted in undertaking their duty during the First World War (to be explored in greater detail in the next chapter) – it was also the case for those men who had progressed through the ranks in Glasgow.

¹⁴⁰ Anon, 76th Glasgow, p.2

¹⁴¹ Austin E. Birch, The Story, pp. 87 – 89.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 87 – 88.

¹⁴³ “Head-Quarters Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 26, 1, September 1915, pp. 1 – 2; p.1.

¹⁴⁴ “Bearsden Boys’ Brigade Inspection”, Milngavie and Bearsden Herald, 2 April 1915, p.8.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an illustration that the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow offered a diverse programme of citizen training to its members. This encompassed pursuits based on promoting positive health and morality that were ingrained with a sense of Scottish national pride that made it distinctive from the application of the organisation in English cities. The sense of Scottish identity embraced by the movement in Glasgow manifested itself most clearly through the prominence of pipe bands to the broader work of the Battalion. This indicates that the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow was not just a youth movement but an organisation that resonated with a deeper feeling of Scottish pride that was absent in English cities where the movement was somewhat of an unknown entity. This unique sense of 'Scottishness' enabled a wider appeal in Glasgow when compared to successes in England. Therefore, it is questionable whether youth movements should be regarded as promoting a homogenous ideology as Boone has suggested when he considered the Scouts.¹⁴⁷ The case of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow provides a clear indication that regional variances existed in the lived experience of membership of a uniformed youth organisation. The Boys' Brigade, as a movement with an unequivocally Scottish character, was implemented differently in English and Scottish cities with the variances in the nature of bands north and south of the border providing a clear example of this.

¹⁴⁷ Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest*, p.117.

Chapter 4

Urban Culture in the Capital: The London District of the Boys' Brigade

When the first Boys' Brigade Companies formed outside of Scotland some of the earliest branches were found in London. Roger Peacock, former secretary of the movement in the capital, saw this as a "landmark in B.B. history" that "gave promise that the new movement was not to remain purely a Scottish one" and was "an event which almost guaranteed a far wider extension to follow".¹ The case of the organisation in London provides a compelling instance to contrast the circumstances in Glasgow explored in the previous chapter. Despite its position as one of the strongest areas for the Boys' Brigade nationally, the movement in London has received little attention in existing historiography. In Youth, Empire and Society, Springhall assessed the role of uniformed youth movements in the London suburb of Enfield, presenting an examination of the socio-class dynamics of the Officers and Boys.² This chapter advances the work of Springhall by bringing the movement in Enfield - a crucial area for investigation due to the abundance of surviving records - into the wider context of the capital as a whole, and offers a detailed consideration of the lived experience of the movement through an assessment of the regular weekly sessions. This chapter asserts that militaristic attributes - such as drill competitions and rifle shooting - were to the fore of the work undertaken by Companies from London. Not only does this emphasise the regional variances in approaches of youth movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but highlights the problems in assessing uniformed youth organisations as homogenous entities. The chapter begins with an examination of the relationship between militarism and the movement in London before assessing the development of the Boys' Brigade in the capital. The chapter then moves to investigate the special role of rifle work and drill to the organisation in London before examining the impact of early twentieth century wars on the movement in the capital and the experience in the post-war years. Through this, the example of the Boys' Brigade in London is offered to provide an insight into the lived reality of membership of a youth movement at the local level and to advance our understanding of existing notions of militarism in the city.

¹ Roger S. Peacock, Pioneer of Boyhood, p.54.

² John Springhall, Youth, Empire, pp.85 - 90.

Militarism, Drill, and the Movement in London

Before providing an assessment of the specific character of the Boys' Brigade in London it is crucial to place the movement within the context of prevailing debates relating to drill and militarism in British society. The concept of militarism is often associated with the Boys' Brigade during this era which was in part due to the Boys taking part in military style drills and competitions. Militaristic values are intertwined with the idea that the movement either fostered a warlike spirit or encouraged young men to become members of the armed forces and this idea held currency in London. Peacock has argued that William Alexander Smith did not make enough effort to explain himself and his methods. Although thought to be clear in his own mind what he wanted to achieve, Peacock suggested that it was a "little suspect" that "a man known to be of military stock and himself under military training, actually started to drill boys".³ This demonstrates one of the challenges the Boys' Brigade had in defending itself against charges of militarism, with subsequent historians finding difficulty in assessing the relationship between the Brigade and militarism. Victor Bailey had argued that Smith aimed to popularise the military *generally*.⁴ However, Stephen M. Miller asserts that the founder was aware of the power his movement had in supplying the Volunteers with possible recruits, maintaining he "was committed to the cause of popularizing military service".⁵ In addition, the authors of Sure and Stedfast have further blurred the recording of this history. In one section of the book the authors state that the movement did not set out to popularise the military.⁶ However, they later concede that the organisation *may* have helped popularise the idea of military service generally.⁷ By providing a local example of the character of the Boys' Brigade in the capital, this chapter endeavours to provide a sense of clarity.

The Boys' Brigade provides us with a clear indication of the extent to which the military came to influence civilian life with focus on the movement in London advancing our existing

³ Roger S. Peacock, Pioneer of Boyhood, p.33.

⁴ Victor Bailey, "Bibles and Dummy", p.9.

⁵ Stephen M. Miller, "In Support", p.702.

⁶ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.26.

⁷ *Ibid*, p.107.

understanding. Anne Summers commented that military influences were pervasive in society at this time, claiming that it would not have been possible for organisations such as the Scouts to exist in “a cultural vacuum” absent from the influence.⁸ Similarly, Alan Penn viewed youth movements including the Boys’ Brigade as the symbol of military sentiments at this time.⁹ For some it was the ability of the Boys’ Brigade to encompass this military ethos that made it a popular organisation. Such rhetoric can be applied to Michael Paris’s notion of a ‘pleasure culture of war’, whereby war became a normal part of everyday life for young people, with a martial spirit imbued on the youth of Britain by the early twentieth century.¹⁰ Paris considers the Boys’ Brigade as providing the model for paramilitary organisations.¹¹ However, he does not apply his theory of a ‘pleasure culture of war’ directly to the movement itself. The Boys’ Brigade in London is presented here as a case to enhance our understanding and by applying the concept of the ‘pleasure culture of war’ to the local situation it advances Paris’s notion.

A theme connected with war and the military which is regularly associated with the Boys’ Brigade at this time is the idea that the movement tapped into the enjoyment Boys had at playing at soldiers. J. A. Mangan asserted that young men were addicted to this type of entertainment.¹² The Boys’ Brigade appeared in the late nineteenth century in London as an agency that tapped into this ‘addiction’ and through this gained support for its project. Paul Wilkinson claims that the Boys’ Brigade was “extraordinarily successful in gaining voluntary support from boys” as its activities – such as drill – worked within the parameters of the enjoyment gained from “playing at soldiers”.¹³ In addition, the 1983 article on the Boys’ Brigade by Bailey commented that “new recruits delighted in playing at soldiers”.¹⁴ It is therefore clear that the ability of the movement to secure interest of Boys by enabling them to play at soldiers was important to its success and this was particularly the case in London. Paris has commented that the activities of this kind were deeply embedded in British popular culture.¹⁵ With large

⁸ Anne Summers, “Scouts, Guides”, p.943.

⁹ Alan Penn, *Targeting*, p.166.

¹⁰ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation*, p.73-82.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.81.

¹² J. A. Mangan, “The Grit of Our Forefathers: Invented Traditions, Propaganda and Imperialism”, in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp.113-139; p.126.

¹³ Paul Wilkinson, “English Youth”, p.5.

¹⁴ Victor Bailey, “Bibles and Dummy”, p.6.

¹⁵ Michael Paris, “Boys’ Books and the Great War”, *History Today*, 50, 11, 2000, pp.44-49; p.49.

numbers of members from the Volunteers involved with the Brigade Kenneth Brown drew a connection, claiming that “the Volunteer was for the adult male, and the youth movement was for the adolescent, the toy soldier was for the younger boy”.¹⁶ It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that playing at soldiers was a successful method for the Brigade. The words of Henry Drummond - writer on theology and avid supporter of the Boys’ Brigade - from 1891 provide an understanding of why the movement utilised this method to engage its members:

Call these boys, *boys*, which they are, and ask them to sit up in a Sunday-class, and no power on earth will make them do it; but put a five-penny cap on them and call them soldiers, which they are not, and you can order them about till midnight.¹⁷

This idea offers clear support to Paris’s concept of a ‘pleasure culture of war’. Although Paris included brief reference to the Boys’ Brigade in this the case of the Brigade remained undervalued in his assessment. Moreover, the idea of Boys enjoying playing at soldiers was accorded less attention in relation to the movement and his assessment afforded little consideration for the lived experience of this at the local level. By presenting a regional example of youth playing as soldiers, this chapter advances Paris’s hypothesis by providing an enhanced understanding of how the ‘pleasure culture of war’ was put into action by youth movements at the local level rather than assessing the broader theoretical aims of the organisation from above.

Through the use of military styled drill, camping, and exercises with dummy rifles and bayonets, the Boys’ Brigade undertook a programme of training for the young male citizenry in London. This training, often conducted for the moral and physical improvement of Boys, was coordinated within the prevailing atmosphere where military practices were to the fore. The nature of the training within the Scouts, an organisation similar in many ways to the Boys’ Brigade, has been maintained by some academics to be for the educational improvement of young people. Allen Warren contested that “Scouts were identified as contributing to the

¹⁶ Kenneth D. Brown, “Modelling for War? Toy Soldiers in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain”, Journal of Social History, 24, 2, 1990, pp.237-254; p.244.

¹⁷ Henry Drummond, “The Boys’ Brigade” Good Words, 32, 1891, pp. 93 - 100; pp.94-95.

education of the future citizen rather than as a trainee soldier or territorial".¹⁸ Martin Dedman presented a similar case, arguing that "Scouting was an educational movement aimed at character development and citizenship-training, firmly grounded in contemporary psychological theory and educational methods".¹⁹ If the Scouts are to be regarded as an agent of education outside the setting of the school then the Boys' Brigade may also be assessed within this context. With drill at the core of the educational training delivered by the Brigade and prominent in schools, it is possible to approach its methods with military systems perceived as beneficial and for educational advancement. In his 1998 article "The Blessings of War" Glenn Wilkinson argued that "warfare was not seen as a destructive or anti-social activity, but as the desirable inculcation of proper behaviour and reason, acting as a positive means of social control."²⁰ Wilkinson drew on Michael Blanch's argument that increasing connections between school and military discipline illustrated this means of social control and education.²¹ The Boys' Brigade is an extension of this theme; taking drill from the school into a form of popular leisure. In a letter to the Editor of The Times in April 1902 Major General J. M. Moody, formerly of the Royal Marines Light Infantry, responded to an article on the advantages of military training for Boys by bringing attention to the Boys' Brigade alongside other similar movements including the JLB and the CLB, as agents offering such training.²² The training, described as "physical, moral, and religious", was thought to be advantageous as it inculcated discipline through military methods.²³ In addition, William Alexander Smith wrote that the Brigade should make for better soldiers although, according to the founder, this was not the primary aim of the movement.²⁴ However, what was, according to Smith, was the educational training that would produce young men who were "well prepared, physically and morally, for the battle of life".²⁵ Considering life as a 'battle' is a compelling choice of metaphor by Smith and his selection of words offer strength to connections between education of young men and warfare.

¹⁸ Allen Warren, "Sir Robert", p.395.

¹⁹ Martin Dedman, "Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904-1920", Twentieth Century British History, 4, 3, 1993, pp.201-223; p.218.

²⁰ Glenn Wilkinson, "The Blessings", p.108.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "Military Training for Boys", The Times, 15 April 1902, p.13.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ William Alexander Smith, "The Boys' Brigade", Quiver, 44, 7, 1909, pp.659-663; p.660.

²⁵ Ibid.

As well as being thought of as an activity that could benefit the spiritual character of the Boys, drill was also viewed to be valuable for the physical well-being of members of the Brigade. At the time of the inception of the movement, and during its early growth in London, moves were made for the physical development of young people in cities across the country. Penn has written on the nature of physical training for school children between the years 1875 and 1899, commenting that military styled drill became commonplace in elementary schools at this time.²⁶ This was due in part to few alternatives existing during this age for the physical advancement of young people.²⁷ In the early years of the twentieth century the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration considered the role of drill and physical improvement of young people, with Douglas Eyre - Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Twentieth Century League - commenting that the Boys' Brigade was one of several organisations "for the promotion of physical drill" with the object to save young people from "contaminating influences physically and morally".²⁸ Drill for the Boys' Brigade should therefore be examined within these wider national and political concerns. Contemporary accounts in the London and Enfield press illustrate that this aspect of drill was not lost on the Brigade in the capital. For example, at the public display of the United Enfield Companies in March 1900 the secretary for this group gave an address which spoke of the physical benefits of drill to its members.²⁹ A similar tone is demonstrated by R. G. Hayes, President of the movement in London, who wrote in the same year that Boy's bodies were being trained through their performance in military drill.³⁰ Despite its nature as a parade ground pursuit by members of the Volunteers and armed forces, drill was a prominent activity for the physical improvement of young people. As a consequence, the Boys' Brigade in London provides an example of this activity being extended from the school playground or army parade fields into a leisure pursuit. This activity was one that was of benefit to the physical prosperity of its members, as well as being thought of as enhancing their moral fibre.

²⁶ Alan Penn, *Targeting*, p.40.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p.44.

²⁸ Parliamentary Papers, *Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration*, vol. II, 1904, p.151.

²⁹ "The Boys' Brigade", *Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser*, 30 March 1900, p.8.

³⁰ "Letters to the Editor", *The Daily News*, issue 16930, 28 June 1900, p.6.

The use and popularity of regular drill as an aspect which drew young men into the movement was the subject of intense and widespread debate. In the pages of The Morning Post during the closing years of the nineteenth century a series of articles were published on this theme. In May 1888 an article was printed to mark the first annual inspection of the London Battalion at Hendon³¹. The piece, which commented on the inspection and address to the Boys by former Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Donald Stewart, “regarding their military and other duties”, included reference to “drill being used as the means of securing the interest of boys”.³² Over a decade after this article was published the issue of military drill for young men was subject to intense debate and discussion through letters to the editor of the newspaper. The letters, instigated by Lord Meath, considered the formation of an organisation with the function of teaching military drill to young men.³³ There were several distinguished advocates of Meath’s scheme. These included Lord Methuen, the Deputy Adjutant-General in South Africa, who was in favour of “any scheme tending to encourage a Military spirit in the youth of England”, and was the reason he held an active role in the CLB.³⁴ Another prestigious supporter was George Henty – a Vice-President of the Boys’ Brigade – who encouraged the proposals and wrote of the “excellent work” of the movement in instilling discipline in young men through drill.³⁵ However, some involved with the discussion approached Meath’s proposals of compulsory military drill with caution. The secretary of the West London Battalion was said to “seem anxious” about the proposals³⁶, whilst Lord Chelmsford – another supporter of the Brigade – was concerned that Meath’s plans did not do enough to encourage the existing Brigades.³⁷ Moreover, Stanley Benham – a Boys’ Brigade Officer from Clapham – wrote of seeing “very small benefit to be derived” from Meath’s scheme.³⁸ Benham was perturbed that Meath’s scheme would take away from Boys their desire to drill and, from his experience in the Boys’ Brigade, commented that the plans would have “a most prejudicial effect on subsequent enlistment in either the Regular Army or the Volunteers, as to the average boy the mere obligation would drive away the

³¹“The Boys’ Brigade”, The Morning Post, issue 36170, 22 May 1888, p.2.

³² Ibid.

³³ “Military Drill for Boys”, The Morning Post, issue 39474, 10 December 1898, p.6.

³⁴ “Military Drill for Boys”, The Morning Post, issue 39514, 26 January 1899, pp.5-6; p.5.

³⁵ “Military Drill for Boys”, The Morning Post, issue 39516, 28 January 1899, p.2.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ “Military Drill for Boys”, The Morning Post, issue 39515, 27 January 1899, p.2.

³⁸ “Military Drill for Boys”, The Morning Post, issue 39519, 1 February 1899, p.6.

fascination of Military drill.”³⁹ The issue of military drill and young people was a theme that engaged a number of notable contemporaries, particularly in London. It would appear that as well as producing possible benefits relating to discipline and order it was evident that many viewed drill as an activity which was enjoyed by young men who were members of uniformed youth organisations.

Development in the Capital: Contemporary Perspectives and the Royal Albert Hall Displays

Drill was an important method of social control for Boys around the turn of the twentieth century and was a central element of the programme of work for the Boys’ Brigade. However, it was particularly prominent in London where it came to the fore in local Brigade events and competitions. The first instance of a Boys’ Brigade Company forming in the capital was with the enrolment of the 1st London on 23 November 1885 at the Pembroke Road Sunday School, Kilburn.⁴⁰ This pioneer Company paved the way for the brisk progress of the Brigade in the capital that was matched only by cities in Scotland. Within the first ten years from its inception, London was the strongest area in England for the movement.⁴¹ When the Lord Mayor of London inspected a contingent of 200 Boys from the London Battalions in April 1896 there were 2500 Boys from the capital signed up to the organisation.⁴² By 1901 there were six Battalions in London, comprising 112 Companies which accounted for 10% of the total in the United Kingdom.⁴³ The numbers for the six Battalions in the London District at this time are comparable to the single Battalion of Glasgow, which had 108 Companies registered for the 1901 - 02 session.⁴⁴ In 1909 the total membership of the Boys’ Brigade stood at over 60000 with the introduction of the Scouts in this year arguably contributing to a fall in numbers to around 55000 members.⁴⁵ This was felt most noticeably in the capital, where 20000 Boys were enrolled

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Wandsworth Heritage Service (WHS), D132/13, “London Centenary Day Programme”, 9 July 1983.

⁴¹ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.48.

⁴² “The Boys’ Brigade”, *The Morning Post*, issue 38647, 20 April 1896, p.2.

⁴³ WHS, D132/13, “London District 1907-1983”, *The London Display 1983 Programme*, 1983, p.14.

⁴⁴ GCA. *The Boys’ Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Seventeenth Annual Report. 1901 – 02.*

⁴⁵ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.103.

in the Scouts in London by the end of 1910.⁴⁶ In contrast, by May 1910, when London hosted its annual demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall, the Boys' Brigade in London was home to 200 Companies and around 10000 Officers and Boys.⁴⁷ It is clear from these figures that London was a numerically robust locality for the organisation during this era and a critical place for the movement on a national scale. As a consequence, the case of London is significant to the wider understanding of the nature of the organisation as well as to broader historiographical concerns relating to the militarisation of youth. In addition, London provides a unique instance where comparisons can be drawn with the organisation in Glasgow as membership figures were similar.

An important Battalion within the London District was Enfield, an area that experienced solid growth during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The location was subject to examination by Springhall in *Youth, Empire and Society* where he drew upon the comprehensive surviving records of the organisation in Enfield to display the local application of the movement.⁴⁸ Before the London District came into existence in 1913, when large regional units formed in the capital, the Boys' Brigade in Enfield stood alone as the 'United Enfield Companies', later becoming the Enfield Battalion when the sixth Company was formed in 1903.⁴⁹ The first Company in Enfield was formed by Dr J. J. Ridge in 1888 after attending a Sunday school conference in London hosted by William Alexander Smith.⁵⁰ According to comments made in a 1939 Jubilee publication for the 2nd Enfield despite "mistakes, blunderings, and flounderings" others in Enfield were ready to follow the lead of Dr Ridge; people "who saw the future possibilities of the Boys' Brigade in Enfield as a real movement for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ among Boys."⁵¹ The Boys' Brigade in Enfield experienced marked growth over a short space of time, making it a notable case for examination. At the 1892 Whit Monday inspection sixty members of the Companies in the area took part in the display.⁵² However, by the 1901 inspection the 1st Enfield alone had forty nine Boys in attendance, with

⁴⁶ P. B. Nevill, *Scouting*, pp. 133 - 134.

⁴⁷ EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 5 May 1910.

⁴⁸ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, pp. 85 - 90.

⁴⁹ WHS, D132/13, "London Centenary Day Programme", 9 July 1983, p.3; John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, p.88.

⁵⁰ Peter Williams, *The First*, p.9.

⁵¹ 2nd Enfield Boys' Brigade Company Records, "Jubilee Scrapbook. (Facts, scraps, odds and ends, bearing on the History, life, and Progress, of the 2nd Company of the Enfield Battalion of the Boys' Brigade)" c.1939, p.6.

⁵² "The Boys' Brigade in Enfield", *Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser*, 10 June 1892, p.6.

the overall number amounting to 240 Boys.⁵³ As well as providing numerical strength, The Boys' Brigade in this area of north London was renowned in District for their competence at drill, with the Companies in particular "famous for their display of bayonet exercises" that were often presented at the demonstrations at the Royal Albert Hall.⁵⁴ It was the prominence of drill in London that made the movement here particularly distinctive, especially when compared with the application of the Brigade model in Glasgow. The role of military styled drill, rifle shooting, and bayonet exercises that the Enfield Companies became famed for were largely overlooked by Springhall in his examination of the movement in this area. This is despite providing a clear and distinctive characteristic when compared to other locations, highlighting the limitations with Springhall's isolated example of Enfield and the lack of a comparative case in his assessment.

An assessment of newspaper articles on the Boys' Brigade in London offers improved clarity on the role of militaristic values within the organisation in the capital. Through letters to the Editor it is possible to gauge an understanding of how the values expressed in the movement were viewed by members of the public. Through an examination of a range of newspapers, Glenn Wilkinson was able to assert that the image of warfare was perceived in similar ways from individuals from a myriad of social backgrounds.⁵⁵ A similar evaluation of the Boys' Brigade advances this theory by offering an indication of how militaristic principles and tendencies of the movement were received in relation to young people. News articles and letters provide a notable insight into the ways the Boys' Brigade was thought of by those outside the movement. As a consequence, this provides an indication of broader societal attitudes towards the organisation and the role of the movement within civic society. One individual who was an active supporter of the Boys' Brigade in the first few decades of its existence was Field Marshall Lord Roberts, who became an honorary Vice-President of the Brigade.⁵⁶ He approved of its military form and was quoted in The Daily News, hoping that it would "promote a military feeling in the best sense of the phrase".⁵⁷ Another person of high standing in the armed forces who gave backing to the expansion of the movement was Lord Wolseley. In a letter sent to the

⁵³ "The Boys' Brigade", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 31 May 1901, p.6.

⁵⁴ Donald M. McFarlan, First for Boys, p.83.

⁵⁵ Glenn Wilkinson, "The Blessings", p.115.

⁵⁶ John Springhall, Brian Fraser and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁷ "London, Saturday, May 19", The Daily News, issue 15018, 19 May 1894, p.4.

Brigade Secretary, subsequently printed in The Standard, Wolseley spoke of the “great aims” of the movement, adding that the “military exercises” and training undertaken “will enable them as men to defend our country against the attacks of all enemies”.⁵⁸ Moreover, contributors to The Spectator gave their support to the aims of the Boys’ Brigade, with one article in 1900 urging both the War Office and the public to show their support for the organisation.⁵⁹ These instances offer a clear indication that the drill-based programme of the Boys’ Brigade, which was to the fore of the movement in London, had a base of support from noteworthy contemporaries, paving the way for other organisations such as the movement for national service.

The militaristic values, and support thereof, of the Boys’ Brigade were evident through articles in the local press in Enfield. In the north of London several contributions to Meyers’s Observer commented on the militaristic values and character of the movement. This came to the fore in a series of letters exchanged in May and June 1891. These letters vigorously debated the Boys’ Brigade and its military styled principles, offering depth to Springhall’s claims of opposition to the Boys’ Brigade in Enfield as an alien intrusion. The first of these letters applauded the organisation for recognising “the necessities of the age in which we live” adding that the founders of the movement in Enfield – including Rev Storer Toms – had the object of protecting the country against foreign invasion in their minds with the work they undertook.⁶⁰ This is a similar tone as expressed by Roberts and Meath and emphasises the role of the Boys’ Brigade within the wider drive for drill during these years. In response, Storer Toms thanked the author for his words of support, although he suggested that the object was not to act as a nursery for the armed forces, and was no more militaristic than the Salvation Army.⁶¹ To this the following response was offered: “whatever may be the object which our friends have in view in forming these corps, there can not be any doubt as to the effect which must inevitably be produced on the minds of the boys that join.”⁶² These letters resulted in a letter from ‘A Churchman’ who passed comment on the involvement of high ranking members of the armed

⁵⁸ “Lord Wolseley and the Boys’ Brigade”, The Standard, issue 19286, 6 May 1886, p.3.

⁵⁹ “Compulsory Physical Training v. Conscription”, The Spectator, 3 February 1900; pp.8-9.

⁶⁰ “The Boys’ Brigade Movement”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 29 May 1891, p.6.

⁶¹ “The Boys’ Brigade”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 5 June 1891, p.5.

⁶² “The Boys’ Brigade”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 12 June 1891, p.5.

forces, such as Wolseley, that he thought raised suspicions for many members of the clergy.⁶³ Further, the letter urged local churchmen to “relinquish such a craze in favour of Christian work promoted by methods which are beyond suspicion.”⁶⁴ This provides a distinct reaction to the ways in which the Established and Free Churches in Glasgow embraced the Boys’ Brigade, clearly illustrating the national differences between the movement in England and Scotland. It was not until William Alexander Smith and Alan J. Ridge of the 1st Enfield wrote letters that the correspondence was terminated. Both men defended the movement, with the latter reasoning that the organisation did not encourage a military spirit and that the methods were used primarily to hold the interest of the Boys.⁶⁵ Therefore, for the founder to come to the defence of the movement in Enfield it is clear that Smith was concerned about the charges against the movement. This series of letters illustrate the inherent challenges that the Boys’ Brigade had in defending itself from opposition in London. It also displays the convergent interpretations of the movement in various spaces and places. While Officers appeared to be clear in their reasons for utilising the Boys’ Brigade method to engage young people, to outsiders the movement was one which presented conflicting messages, with the notion of the Boys’ Brigade as a ‘Scottish’ creation an additional aspect in English cities.

Springhall noted that the Boys’ Brigade in Enfield experienced opposition to its methods during its formative years and ascertained that this was the result of the movement being viewed as an “alien intrusion of a military discipline and militant evangelism”.⁶⁶ Springhall argued that this was more akin to Scottish Presbyterianism than the suburban Nonconformity on the outskirts of London.⁶⁷ It was this sense of ‘Scottishness’ that made it distinctive between English and Scottish cities and was the crucial difference in the application of the Brigade model north and south of the border. When Dr J. J. Ridge announced that a Boys’ Brigade Company was to be formed in the district there was some strong opposition from local people “who were horrified at the thought of combining religious training with disciplined activities on a military scale”.⁶⁸

⁶³ “The Boys’ Brigade”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 19 June 1891, p.5.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ “The Boys’ Brigade”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 26 June 1891, p.5; “To the Editor of Meyers’s Observer”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 26 June 1891, p.5.

⁶⁶ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p.88.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Peter Williams, The First, p.9.

During the first meeting it was said that a particularly hostile group bombarded the windows, and one group is believed to have been so fierce in its opposition that the Boys were forced to defend their uniform with their fists.⁶⁹ This is in contrast to the reception of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol, where oral testimonies assert a more positive reaction to the movement in the city.⁷⁰ This opposition extended into letters to the local press, with one contributor presenting the case that some considered the movement as a "fad... hatched at the War Office" by Wolseley and the Duke of Cambridge.⁷¹ For the 3rd Enfield the chief reason for Boys leaving was that "as soon as the Parents realised the boys were doing Military drill, they thought it was only a means of getting Recruits for the Army".⁷² However, some were said to have left "as soon as the novelty wore off, whilst others vanished immediately when they were made aware that they could not lark about as they wished or smash things up generally".⁷³ However, an article appearing in The Enfield Gazette and Observer in May 1929 to mark thirty years of the movement in the area, commented that "several gentlemen who had objected to the brigade as 'militaristic' had been moved by its good work to become active supporters of it".⁷⁴ The example of Enfield shows that, whilst the Officers were sure of their objectives, there were significant questions about the organisation from those observing from outside. However, supporters were quick to defend the methods, and on many occasions William Alexander Smith replied to letters in the London press about perceived militarism of the movement.

An occasion when militaristic tendencies and drill came to the fore of Company activities in London broadly was at displays held in the Royal Albert Hall. Here the final of the premier drill competition, the DTS, was the chief attraction at the event. In his history of the Boys' Brigade, Donald McFarlan recalled the display items performed by London Boys at the first demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall:

Ambulance work by the North London Battalion

Gymnastics by the West London Battalion

⁶⁹ Ibid, pp.9-10.

⁷⁰ See Chapter Five.

⁷¹ "The Boys' Brigade", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 19 June 1891, p.5.

⁷² EBBBCR, "3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No. 7." November 1921.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ "The Old Brigade", The Enfield Gazette and Observer, 31 May 1929, p.12.

Physical Drill by the City and East London Battalion
 Dumb-bell Exercises by the West Kent Battalion
 Bayonet Exercises by the United Enfield Companies
 Company Drill by the South London Battalion
 Battalion Drill and Trooping the Colours by the united London battalions.⁷⁵

This provides a clear indication that drill and military styled ventures were to the fore of the demonstration in London, highlighting the value of this branch of Brigade work in the capital. The character of drill in London was enhanced when the Daily Telegraph donated a shield to be awarded to the leading Company in the capital, with special emphasis placed on excellence in drill.⁷⁶ The DTS became the focal point of the Royal Albert Hall demonstrations from the start of the twentieth century and came to define the character of the movement in London. On writing on the first year the DTS was competed for, Captain Chopping of the 3rd Enfield recalled a “keenness shown all over London to win this handsome trophy for the first time, especially as the Final was to be drilled off at the Royal Albert Hall”.⁷⁷ The DTS therefore acted as the pinnacle of Brigade activities in London with drill the core attraction. This is in contrast to the inspections of the Glasgow Battalion where musical performances were the crucial element, highlighting the differences in approach to the Boys’ Brigade geographically.

An aspect of the Royal Albert Hall display that made it distinctive when compared to Glasgow was the role of music during proceedings. Although the drill competition was the primary focus of the London displays at the Royal Albert Hall, the appearance of bands added to the variety of the programme. In order to provide an indication of the character of the bands a sample set - carried in Appendix 3 - has been taken from the available programmes of the Royal Albert Hall display from the records of the 3rd Enfield. These comprise the performances of all bands from twenty two display nights from 1903 (the first display night) to 1938 (the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the movement in Enfield) where the 3rd Enfield or 1st Enfield Companies appeared in the programme. This sample provides a broad indication of the character of the

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.42.

⁷⁶ EBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 2 May 1907.

⁷⁷ EBBCR, “3rd Enfield Company – Weekly News Sheet. No.11.”, 2 February 1925.

bands that performed, offering a contrasting perspective to the nature of bands in Glasgow. During the displays of this sample, a total of ninety five individual performances were recorded.⁷⁸ This number includes the twenty two teams of orderly buglers who had a role in ensuring proceedings ran on time, the bands that performed when the audience assembled, and those who performed during the main body of the programme which incorporated the Companies who competed for the Devonshire cup for bugle bands from 1923. The majority of performers were from English Companies (eighty three bands), with nine from Scotland, two from Wales, and one from Ireland.⁷⁹ From this, forty nine of the performances were by bugles, twenty two by brass bands, five were drum and fife, ten pipe bands, two choir performances, and individual instances of hand-bell ringers, a trumpet band, and one performances by drummers appearing from the sample. There were also an additional four massed bands who appeared in the twenty two displays of this sample. From this it is evident that the music of the Boys' Brigade in England as displayed at the Royal Albert Hall was characterised by brass and bugle bands, contrasting the situation in Glasgow where pipe bands were prominent at the annual inspection. This highlights the national differences in approach to music in the Boys' Brigade in Scotland and England. These differences became more evident when assessing the origins of the pipe bands who performed at the Royal Albert Hall. From the total of ten pipe band performances of the sample, five were by Companies from Glasgow, with three additional bands from Scotland performing at the London displays from Dundee, Leith, and St. Andrews.⁸⁰ In addition, eight of the nine total performances by Scottish bands at the Royal Albert Hall from this sample were by pipe bands, with the Aberdeen Battalion brass band at the 1923 display providing the only instance of a band other than pipe from the Boys' Brigade in Scotland.⁸¹ Therefore, when representing itself as a Scottish Company in England, the pipe band was crucial to the identity of a Company from Scotland, making it distinctive from its counterparts in England. Furthermore, the only example of a pipe band performance from an English Company came from the 5th East Surrey, who performed at the 1929 and 1935 displays. This illustrates a clear and distinct difference between the bands of Companies from Scotland

⁷⁸ Appendix 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 2 May 1923.

⁸¹ EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 1 May 1929; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade Silver Jubilee Display. Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 2 May, 1935.

and England, thus emphasising the national and regional variances in approach to the Brigade model in different spaces and places and the sense of caution that should be attributed when viewing youth movements in homogenous terms.

Dummy Rifles and Drill Based Pursuits

Critical to the connections between war, a military ethos, and the Boys' Brigade in London, and an aspect which has a clear militaristic tone, is the use of dummy rifles by the movement for drill purposes. Dummy rifles were added to the repertoire of Brigade activities during the 1885-86 session, with the view to enhancing the aesthetics of drill parades.⁸² Peacock thought that rifles "added to drill's attractiveness in the Boys' eyes since the early days".⁸³ Rifles can be considered a part of what made the movement appeal to young members, embracing the 'pleasure culture of war', with mock rifles crucial in enabling Boys to play as soldiers. A correspondent for The Daily News, writing on the annual meeting and demonstration at the Exeter Hall in May 1894, surmised that the imitation musket as a part of the uniform was "not the least attraction".⁸⁴ Furthermore, the military character was described at the Queen's Hall demonstration in the same newspaper in May 1898 as having objectors, but added "there can be no doubt of its popularity among the lads themselves."⁸⁵ Despite proving a popular addition to the accoutrements of many Companies in London, by the 1920s the use of dummy rifles on drill parade was in decline. For example, the 3rd Enfield News Sheet from January 1924 commented that 100 Companies gave up the use of rifles during the course of the previous year.⁸⁶ However, the tone of the article demonstrates that the change in policy was not the choice of the members, but a reaction by Officers in light of the "Horrors of War", of which the Boys could not comprehend.⁸⁷ The subject of the use of rifles arose in this context for the 3rd Enfield when it was decided that the discussion topic set by Boys' Brigade Headquarters for the N.C.O.s' Conference – 'The Use of Rifles in the B.B.' – was not suitable in the mind of Captain Chopping. Chopping held the belief that Boys favoured rifles on parade, commenting that "I

⁸² WHS, D132/13, "Let's Tell How Boys won Liberty", p.3.

⁸³ Roger S. Peacock, Pioneer of Boyhood, p.129.

⁸⁴ "London, Saturday, May 19", The Daily News, issue 15018, 19 May 1894, p.4.

⁸⁵ "Young Warriors at Queen's Hall", The Daily News, issue 16260, 7 May 1898, p.4.

⁸⁶EBBCR, "3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No. 11.", 5 January 1924.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

daresay 98 out of a hundred off hand would vote for their use".⁸⁸ The dummy rifle therefore had an enduring appeal to the members of the movement in London throughout this period. Furthermore, it illustrates that the militaristic characteristics of the Boys' Brigade were a popular attraction for Boys who joined the organisation in the capital during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The use of rifles as part of the drill-based activities was perhaps the most contentious element of the Boys' Brigade with regards to its perceived militaristic tendencies. Although not compulsory, dummy rifles were carried by a number of Companies up to the First World War, with the post-war years witnessing a decline in their use. The pioneer Company, the 1st Glasgow, abandoned their use in 1921 and as a consequence many others followed voluntarily as a result.⁸⁹ By the 1920s rifles would be forbidden by Brigade regulations, as the rifle caused "considerable prejudice against the movement"⁹⁰ with the use of rifles eventually outlawed by Brigade Authorities from the end of the 1925 - 26 session.⁹¹ However, discussions prior to the decision to discard use of the rifle were heated, with ardent opposition appearing from Officers of the London District in particular. In 1924 the Brigade Executive met and concluded that "while believing that the Rifle has a certain value for drill purposes, are of opinion that the time has now come when its use is detrimental to the extension of the Brigade, and it should be discountenanced".⁹² Moreover, it was decided that new Companies formed would be prohibited from their use.⁹³ Critics of rifles argued that changing attitudes of young people in the post-war years meant it was no longer an item of interest, and pointed to the case of the Birmingham Battalion where six Companies failed to form in the 1923 session due to local churches being opposed to mock rifles.⁹⁴ However, supporters feared that without the rifle Companies would become "mere clubs for Boys", with several of the more passionate advocates attached to Companies in London.⁹⁵ Officers from Barnet were particularly vocal when the matter was

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ WHS, D132/13, "Let's Tell How Boys Won Liberty", The B.B. Jubilee Bulletin, Glasgow, September 1933. The Official Newspaper of the Celebrations, 11 September 1933, p.3.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.48.

⁹² "The Use of the Rifle", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 32, 10, June 1924, p.132.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ "The Model Rifle", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 33, 2, October 1924, pp. 27 - 30; p.27.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

discussed at the Executive, with Lieutenant Green of the 1st Barnet arguing that Companies who found the rifle helpful should not be interfered with, and expressed a concern that the abolition of the rifle would be followed by the end of drill.⁹⁶ In addition, Captain Ridge of the 1st Enfield was quoted saying “I use rifles and shall continue to do so as long as I think fit”, with the Captain of the 1st Barnet fearing that “the great idea of our Founder will be destroyed” if rifles were outlawed by the Executive.⁹⁷ Therefore, the subject of the rifles provides a clear indication of the differing approaches to the movement across varied spaces and places. Not only does the issue emphasise the importance of rifles to the work of Companies in London - most notably in the north of the city - but provides another instance where viewing youth movements as a homogenous entity should be approached with caution.

Not only were mock rifles central to the programme for Companies in London but the use of live guns became increasingly prominent in the early decades of the twentieth century. Central to the idea of a ‘pleasure culture of war’ is the view that youth movements were preparing the youth of the nation for military service in a future conflict.⁹⁸ A key element to the equipment of a soldier was the rifle and the ability to successfully wield this tool. The experience of the Boys’ Brigade in London clearly illustrates how the training provided by the organisation in the capital can be seen to be preparing young men for this action. London was a city where youth movements engaging in the firing of rifles were not unusual. Richard Voeltz commented that by 1914 all British youth groups “augmented with an increased emphasis on rifle shooting”.⁹⁹ In the JLB it is claimed that “practically every boy” was “exposed to rifle shooting”, with the rifle range in London “very popular, with over 30,000 rounds being fired in less than a year”.¹⁰⁰ However, from the example of the Boys’ Brigade it is apparent that this pursuit was particularly evident in certain areas. During the First World War, the Boys’ Brigade in Enfield was engaged in a programme of shooting activities. In the 1914-1915 session the 3rd Enfield held musketry classes at the Territorial Drill Hall every Tuesday.¹⁰¹ When the Company held its annual inspection in May 1915 it was said that this activity was a “privilege” for the Boys, with an article in the

⁹⁶ Ibid, p.28.

⁹⁷ Ibid, pp. 28 - 30.

⁹⁸ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp.107-108.

⁹⁹ Richard Voeltz, “...A Good Jew”, p.122.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ EBBCR, 3rd Enfield B.B. Membership Card, 1914-1915.

Enfield Gazette noting that musketry was held on the same evening as the signalling class although the former was preserved with the latter discarded, thus highlighting the prominence of this activity within the broader programme.¹⁰² The extent to which musketry grew within the broader activities of the Company became evident during the 1915- 1916 session. During this session Boys competed for a musketry trophy – an inter-squad prize for shooting – which was contested for by teams of four Boys.¹⁰³ The membership card for this year commented that Boys over the age of fourteen engaged in this, with ‘marksman badges’ awarded to boys scoring in competition sixty-five out of a possible seventy marks.¹⁰⁴ This activity incentivised rifle shooting for the Boys in a way that was absent from the programme in Glasgow. Therefore, the activities of the 3rd Enfield during the First World War clearly embraced the ideals of the ‘pleasure culture of war’, providing a local level case to advance Paris’s notion. On one side the musketry class illustrates a method of the Brigade tapping into the enjoyment Boys gained from playing at soldiers whilst emphasising the practical skills of shooting in the rifle range which furthers Paris’s claim that youth movements were preparing adolescents for war by providing a local example of the lived experience of his theory.

The use of mock rifles was one of the most visible elements of drill in the Boys’ Brigade before the 1920s, and an aspect which carried powerful militaristic imagery. The use of this accoutrement was clearly observable in the drill conducted in London from the late 1880s up to the mid-1920s, when the use of dummy rifles was abandoned by Boys’ Brigade Headquarters as precondition for the amalgamation with the Boys’ Life Brigade in 1926.¹⁰⁵ Photographs in a scrapbook from summer camps of the 74th and 83rd London Companies at the turn of the twentieth century demonstrate the prominence of mock rifles in the activities undertaken. The summer camp of 1903 at Reigate shows Boys lined in formation, with one side formed up with mock rifles.¹⁰⁶ The camp of these Companies in the following summer, this time held at Swalecliffe, shows ‘Baker Shooting’.¹⁰⁷ There are also a series of pictures from this camp that show the use of the dummy rifle in military styled scenarios. One of these images in particular

¹⁰² “The Boys Brigade”, The Enfield Gazette and Observer, 21 May 1915, p.6.

¹⁰³ EBBCR, 3rd Enfield B.B. Membership Card, 1915-16.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.123.

¹⁰⁶ WHS, D132/2, “Photograph Album”, 1902-1906.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

has distinctly militaristic implications. The image titled ‘The Execution’ follows pictures of ‘The Arrest’ and ‘Hearing the Sentence’.¹⁰⁸ ‘The Execution’ shows a group of Boys stood against a tent with a ‘firing squad’ of four youths, aiming dummy rifles at the ‘prisoners’, acting out the execution.¹⁰⁹ Further to this, the 1906 camp photographs include images of Boys ‘Defending the Camp’, positioned behind defences with dummy guns raised in anticipation.¹¹⁰ The role and use of mock rifles were distinctive to the character of camps from London, particularly when compared to those of Companies from Glasgow, and this will be explored in greater depth in the chapters to follow. Despite their prominence on camp, the use of rifles was not limited to the campsite or the pre-First World War era. Minutes of the meeting held in the church parlour at Upper Tooting Wesleyan Church for the 1923 Bazaar illustrate that the Boys’ Brigade Company affiliated to this church were to be “responsible for a rifle range” alongside the more traditional cake weight judging competition.¹¹¹ The photographs of Boys holding mock rifles and carrying them in the manner of a soldier have strong militaristic connotations. Furthermore, coupled with the descriptions in the scrapbook, it is evident that the activities of the Boys’ Brigade in London were aligned to a strong sense of military spirit. When compared to the character of the movement in Glasgow it is evident that London Companies were much more receptive of the use of the mock rifles, indicating a contrast in attitudes between the two cities.

Drill and the military character as important attractions for Boys joining the organisation are apparent through analysis of the Boys’ Brigade in Enfield. Although Springhall offered a case study of the organisation in Enfield his analysis offered limited assessment of the activities undertaken, focusing primarily on the socio-economic and class based dynamic of the movement in the area.¹¹² It is argued in this thesis that the character of the regular weekly sessions - which were structured around drill parades and Bible classes but extended into a multitude of musical, sporting, and other recreational pursuits - were crucial in establishing the unique character of the organisation, thus enabling regional and national variances to come to the fore. At a public meeting of the three Companies in Enfield held in January 1891 the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ WHS, D124/10/3, “Minutes of a meeting of Bazaar Executive Church Committee, Church Parlour, 16th November, 1923”, Point ‘F’, p.19.

¹¹² John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, pp. 85 - 90.

Secretary of the London Battalion, Mr. J. Robson, spoke of simple drill making Boys efficient, whilst teaching discipline and obedience.¹¹³ It was commented that the Boys' Brigade "appealed to a boy's imagination", with the Reverend H. S. Toms – a prominent leader of the Boys' Brigade in the area – stating that "Boys were attracted to this military organisation as they were attracted to nothing else".¹¹⁴ Alan J. Ridge, another prominent figure of the Boys' Brigade in Enfield, wrote to the local press with the view of enhancing the image of the movement; "Boys are inherently fond of soldiering and drill" adding that Officers took "advantage of this to enlist their interest".¹¹⁵ For Norbert Storer Toms, author of a number of articles on the Boys' Brigade that appeared in Meyers's Observer around the turn of the century, the success of the movement was a result of the attractiveness of military drill with strict order and discipline.¹¹⁶ In addition, it was said that "This appeals to the majority of boys, and a company where the strictest discipline is enforced will invariably be found doing the best work."¹¹⁷ Therefore, it is evident that for a number of leaders of the movement in Enfield, the activities of the Boys' Brigade appealed to Boys as a method of playing as a soldier, reacting to the particular circumstances in Enfield where the organisation flourished.

By the mid-1900s the Enfield Companies had attained a reputation in both London and the National movement as being a dominant force in all drill competitions. A news sheet of the 3rd Enfield from the late 1920s reflected on this, commenting that the Company had a proud history and was known throughout the movement for its competence at drill.¹¹⁸ For the author of the history of the 1st Enfield, the 3rd Enfield under the captaincy of T. R. Plowman "became the masters of drill" from 1906 and "dominated the drill scene both in Enfield and London".¹¹⁹ This dominance was covered in the local press, with an article in Meyers's Observer in 1908 commenting that the 3rd Enfield were the premier Company for drill after celebrating a third consecutive success in the DTS.¹²⁰ One element of the drill of this Company that made it distinctive and gain a reputation were the bayonet exercises which the Company became known

¹¹³ "The Boys' Brigade", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 23 January 1891, p.6.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ "To the Editor of Meyers's Observer", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 26 June 1891, p.5.

¹¹⁶ "Boys' Brigade – Enfield Battalion", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 7 November 1902, p.3.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ EBBCR, "3rd Enfield Company The Boys' Brigade. Company Magazine. Vol.1. No.8.", 13 March 1929.

¹¹⁹ Peter Williams, The First, p.39.

¹²⁰ "The Enfield Boys' Brigade", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 22 May 1908, p.5.

for.¹²¹ The 3rd Enfield, alongside other Companies from the area, presented their bayonet displays at a number of prestigious Brigade events including the 1900 demonstration at Queen's Hall and the 1901 Royal Albert Hall demonstration.¹²² Therefore, when presenting an image of itself to the wider Brigade community, the use of mock rifles were crucial for Companies from Enfield. The Enfield Companies regularly appeared in public carrying dummy rifles. Appendix 4 shows the 1909 inspection of the Battalion that saw dozens of young men on parade carrying their mock guns and the 1918 public inspection by Major P. W. Leggatt, of the Honourable Artillery Company, that provides an illustration of the prominence of dummy rifles to the work of Companies in Enfield. Although it is difficult to ascertain a formal connection between the two, in a community where the Enfield rifle was produced at the Royal Arms Factory it is plausible that this proximity had an influence on the nature of local Boys' Brigade Companies. Furthermore, such emphasis on this activity in Enfield in particular, and the way in which it defined the identity within the movement as a whole, supports the notion that the local environment conditioned the character of these Companies.

Annual statistical results for the 3rd Enfield Company provide us with a unique insight into the lived reality of membership of this Company. Records illustrate that drill was the key element to Brigade activities for the 3rd Enfield. Appendix 5 displays attendance at drill and Bible class for the Company between 1890 and 1909.¹²³ This clearly exhibits that the average attendance at drill class outnumbered that at Bible class for each session during these years with the exception of the 1902-03 and 1905-06 sessions respectively. Considering that these are the two central elements of the work of the Brigade it is crucial to note that attendance was noticeably higher at one branch of Company work - drill class - and, moreover, considerably so between the years 1892 and 1898 when the Company was establishing itself within the local community. This provides evidence that, for the 3rd Enfield at least, the military styled element of the movement was more popular with members than the religious aspect. However, this position appears to have altered in the years after the First World War. Whilst Officers were enthusiastic about drill it appears that challenges existed in maintaining the interest of Boys in this branch of Company work.

¹²¹ Donald McFarlan, *First for Boys*, p.38.

¹²² EBBCR, 3rd Enfield B.B. Membership Card, 1911 – 12.

¹²³ Appendix 5.

Comments in 3rd Enfield news sheets from the 1920s show discipline as an irksome point, with it a challenge to keep Boys keen about drill and an acceptance that Boys may get fed up with this aspect of Brigade work.¹²⁴ This is in contrast to attitudes of Captain Chopping and other past members from the pre-war years who, when reflecting on their time in the ranks at the beginning of the century, spoke of the enthusiasm and keenness of Boys for the drill competitions in Enfield and of the eagerness to perform well in the DTS.¹²⁵ In addition, writing in 1925, Chopping was eager to evoke the memories of 1910 when the 3rd Enfield were holders of the DTS and performed for the Brigade Council at the Brighton Dome as a way to inspire Boys to “reach the High Standard of past years” adding that Boys would need to “do the thing we do not want to do sometimes, even to denying ourselves an evening at the Pictures”¹²⁶. It is apparent that for the 3rd Enfield there was a change in attitude about drill over time by members with a difference in attitude perceptible in the years prior to and following the First World War. However, for Chopping and his fellow Officers at the turn of the century, it is evident that drill and the military character of the movement struck a chord with the earlier generation. Despite this, drill classes remained the most attended of the core branches of Company work.

Within the London District emphasis was placed on the value of drill but particularly the value of high standards of performance in drill. During the early years of the movement in London many Officers were past or present members of the Volunteers and had some knowledge of drill as a consequence.¹²⁷ This reflected the situation in Glasgow at the same time. For those who lacked the necessary training in drill the Brigade printed several articles in the Boys' Brigade Gazette on parade-ground discipline and drill, providing guidance for Officers who had not received any military training.¹²⁸ Some Officers in London joined the Volunteers in order to improve their knowledge of this branch of Brigade work. For example, David Hunter, Captain of the 5th London in the late 1880s, joined the London Scottish Volunteers with the intention of

¹²⁴ EBBCR, “3rd Enfield Company Weekly News Sheet. No.1.”, 20 October 1923; EBBCR, “3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No.4.”, 10 November 1923.

¹²⁵ EBBCR, “3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No.24.”, 12 April 1924; EBBCR, “3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No.11.”, 2 February 1925.

¹²⁶ EBBCR, “3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet. No.12.”, 9 February 1925.

¹²⁷ “The Boys' Brigade”, Daily News, issue 13142, 22 May 1888, p.6.

¹²⁸ Don West, “The BB Gazette 1889-1989”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 97, 3, 1989, pp.58-59; p.58.

learning drill.¹²⁹ The emphasis placed on standards of drill is evident in the experience of the enrolment of the 2nd and 3rd Enfield Companies. The application for the enrolment of these Companies was deferred because those responsible for the proposed Companies were not able to assure Headquarters that they possessed sufficient knowledge in drill to ensure that this aspect of Brigade work could be carried out satisfactorily.¹³⁰ This prominence placed on drill in London is particularly perceptible in the DTS. For the authors of the history of the 5th London “there was never any doubt in anybody’s mind that of all the London District competitions, this was the one that mattered the most”.¹³¹ The provisions for this contest required regular weekly training and preparation in order to compete in this prestigious drill competition.¹³² The regulations of the DTS demanded the carrying of a dummy rifle and was retained as a part of the criteria even after the First World War when its use was in decline elsewhere. Furthermore, whilst they were determined to resist rifle work returning to the Brigade programme generally, Captain Chopping conceded that a small number of Boys in the 3rd Enfield would receive rifle training to accommodate the criteria of the DTS.¹³³ These instances illustrate that competence at drill was critical to the Brigade in London and the quality was expected to be of parade ground standard.

The Boys’ Brigade in London and the Impact of War

The theatre of war has been viewed in previous histories as being important in attracting Boys to the Boys’ Brigade.¹³⁴ A conflict where the relationship between war and the Boys’ Brigade was evident in London was during the Second Boer War and in the years immediately following. Summers commented that the “sense of disaster averted... lay behind the tremendous interest in things military in Edwardian Britain”.¹³⁵ In addition, Blanch wrote that the war created conditions where “paramilitary boys’ movements gained ground”.¹³⁶ The authors of the official

¹²⁹ G. V. Thompson and A. G. Watts, All Smuvvered in marmalade (A Hundred Years of the 5th London Company, The Boys’ Brigade), (Illford: Robert Odcombe, 1987), p.86.

¹³⁰ 2nd Enfield Boys’ Brigade Company Records, “Jubilee Scrapbook”, p.6.

¹³¹ G. V. Thompson and A. G. Watts, All Smuvvered, p.11.

¹³² *Ibid*, p.10.

¹³³ *Ibid*.

¹³⁴ Stephen M. Miller, “In Support”, pp. 701 - 702.

¹³⁵ Anne Summers, “Militarism in Britain”, p.111.

¹³⁶ Michael Blanch, “British Society”, p.230.

history of the Boys' Brigade noted that membership of the movement increased in the first year of the century by 6000 "in the midst of Boer War euphoria".¹³⁷ More recently, Stephen M. Miller remarked on the same figures and also accounted for this growth as being "in the 'euphoria' of the war's first year".¹³⁸ The sense of 'euphoria' was particularly discernible in the experience of the Boys' Brigade in Enfield at this time. For Peter Williams, commenting on the 1st Enfield, the South African War "caused a great deal of unrest and excitement" which "seemed to add to the interest in the Brigade".¹³⁹ The growth of the movement broadly during these years was not missed by the local press who, when covering the church parade of the 2nd Enfield in December 1902, included reference to the seventeen new Companies enrolled in the previous month.¹⁴⁰ The war illustrated an instance where Officers and former members were keen to put their training in the Brigade to use in order to support their country. Correspondence in The Standard in the first months of the twentieth century included an offer of support from Frank Richards - a self-titled organiser of the Boys' Brigade in Liverpool - to utilise the skills of "trained youths" in the form of a special corps derived from past and present members of the Boys' Brigade.¹⁴¹ However, this offer was subsequently declined by the War Office.¹⁴² As was often the case William Alexander Smith was quick to respond to articles in the press that he deemed to be in opposition to the aims of the movement. In his letter to the Editor of The Standard, Smith expressed his thoughts that the offer by Richards was an unauthorised proposal that did not have the support of the Brigade Executive.¹⁴³ However, the founder added that "it is to the credit of the Boys' Brigade that we hear from many quarters of our officers and 'old boys' taking their places at this time in the defensive forces of the Empire".¹⁴⁴ Smith himself was said to have expressed an expectation that he would have taken part in the war had he not had a family to support.¹⁴⁵ It is therefore perceptible that membership swelled during the years of the Second Boer War, with a number of scholars pointing to the conflict and the 'euphoria' surrounding it as explaining the rise in numbers. Additionally, at the local level, it is evident that the war had an

¹³⁷ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.94.

¹³⁸ Stephen M. Miller, "In Support", pp.701-702.

¹³⁹ Peter Williams, The First, p.15.

¹⁴⁰ "Enfield and the Boys' Brigade", Meyers's Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 16 May 1902, p.8.

¹⁴¹ "Return of the Wounded", The Standard, issue 23566, 6 January 1900, p.2.

¹⁴² "Offer from the Boys' Brigade", The Standard, issue 23598, 13 February 1900, p.8.

¹⁴³ "To the Editor of the Standard", The Standard, issue 23601, 16 February 1900, p.2.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ WHS, D132/13, G. Stanley Smith, M.C. "My Father by G. Stanley Smith, M.C.", The B.B. Jubilee Bulletin. Glasgow. September 1933. The Official Newspaper of the Celebrations, 11 September 1933, p.3.

influence on the Boys' Brigade in Enfield particularly, with numbers at the 3rd Enfield alone rising from forty-eight before the war to sixty-one in the 1903 - 04 session.¹⁴⁶

Despite this, the 'euphoria' surrounding the Boer War it was not the sole influence on rising membership figures at the turn of the century. One considerable occurrence that brought the organisation into the public domain, particularly in London, and greatly raised its profile in the capital, was the 1902 Coronation Review, which the authors of Sure and Stedfast viewed as providing publicity for the organisation.¹⁴⁷ In The Windsor Magazine, Edmund Spender wrote in the same year that "never before this year has the Boys' Brigade received such public recognition" adding "it was singularly fitting that its patron, H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, should have commenced the Coronation proceedings by inspecting young England on the 14th of June".¹⁴⁸ The Coronation Review in London of the Boys' Brigade, alongside members of other uniformed youth movements, resulted in increased recognition in the national press. In February 1902 The Daily Express announced the plans for the review in Hyde Park where "thousands of embryo warriors muscular Christians in process of development" were to parade before the Prince of Wales.¹⁴⁹ This announcement made "exclusively" in The Daily Express was expected to "produce one of the most popular and interesting features of London's Coronation celebrations".¹⁵⁰ The parade of around 11000 Boys was to be gathered, according to a letter appearing in The Times, as "a testimony to the loyalty of the boys of the nation to their sovereign on his Coronation".¹⁵¹ Therefore, not only were militarised drill pursuits crucial in raising the profile of the organisation in London they were also critical to the way the capital marked the Coronation celebrations. This emphasises how drill-based activities came to characterise the movement in London in contrast to the application of the organisation in Glasgow.

The 1902 review received attention in the local press in Enfield, with a report in Meyers's Observer commenting that fifteen Boys from the 3rd Enfield had been given permission to

¹⁴⁶ EBBCR, "Annual Statistical Returns", 1890 - 1909.

¹⁴⁷ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.94.

¹⁴⁸ Edmund Spender, "The Boys' Brigade", The Windsor Magazine, 16, June to November, 1902, pp. 563 - 574; p.574.

¹⁴⁹ "H.R.H and Boys' Brigades", The Daily Express, 12 February 1902, p.1.

¹⁵⁰ "Cadets and Royalty", The Daily Express, 8 March 1902, p.5.

¹⁵¹ "Coronation Review of Brigades for Boys", The Times, 17 March 1902, p.7.

attend.¹⁵² The article was part of a trend in this publication during 1902 that saw an increase in coverage on the movement in Enfield. This reached its zenith in the latter part of the year with a series of articles printed to provide readers with a more intimate understanding of the workings of the Brigade in Enfield and how its objectives were attained.¹⁵³ These articles are indicative of the increased interest in the organisation in 1902. The overriding historiographical interpretation has been to consider the growth of the movement in this year as a reaction to the ‘euphoria’ of the Boer War.¹⁵⁴ However, this interpretation overlooks the outstanding nature of the influence resulting from the Coronation Review and the publicity resulting from the inspection at Horse Guards Parade in London that raised the profile of the movement. However, what is evident is that the facets that increased interest in the Boys’ Brigade in London at this time were indicative of broader societal trends that saw an increase in the appearance of the military in civilian life.

The theatre of war in Europe in 1914 provided another field for young men to put to use the training they had received in the London Boys’ Brigade. For Stephen Roberts military service was a familiar concept for British people at the outbreak of war in 1914, with young men as members of organisations such as the Boys’ Brigade helping to “explain why so many people were ready to serve their country”.¹⁵⁵ Bailey commented that the First World War – and the call to arms – provided confirmation of the movement’s support of militaristic values, where 400,000 Officers and old Boys “flocked to the colours”.¹⁵⁶ In addition, the former Secretary of the organisation in London viewed the days of war as an occasion where “the spirit of service infected the Boys”.¹⁵⁷ This spirit was intelligibly visible through the actions of a number of young men who were members of the Enfield Battalion. At the 1915 inspection of the 3rd Enfield, held at the British Hall, Chase Side, involvement of its members past and present in the war was a central theme to the proceedings. It was estimated that 600 former members of the

¹⁵² “Enfield and the Boys’ Brigade”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 16 May 1902, p.8.

¹⁵³ “Boys’ Brigade – Enfield Battalion”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 7 November 1902, p.3; “Boys’ Brigade – Enfield Battalion”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 14 November 1902, p.5; “Boys’ Brigade – Enfield Battalion”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 21 November 1902, p.8; “Boys’ Brigade – Enfield Battalion”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 28 November 1902, p.8; “Boys’ Brigade – Enfield Battalion”, Meyers’s Observer and Local and General Advertiser, 5 December 1902, p.8.

¹⁵⁴ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.94; Stephen M. Miller, “In Support”, pp. 701 - 702.

¹⁵⁵ Stephen Roberts, “Did the British People Welcome the Declaration of War in August 1914?”, History Review, 52, 2005, pp.48-52; p.51.

¹⁵⁶ Victor Bailey, “Bibles and Dummy”, p.9.

¹⁵⁷ Roger S. Peacock, Pioneer of Boyhood, p.127.

Enfield Boys' Brigade were on active service, with the value of the training they had received in the organisation proving "of great utility in the present crisis."¹⁵⁸ However, Officers of this Company expressed concerns about some of their existing members responding to the call to arms. In his annual report, Captain Plowman commented that "one rather disquieting feature during the past six or eight weeks had been the craze among their elder lads to enlist" adding "although only 16 years old, and far too young, six of them had left and joined the army".¹⁵⁹ Therefore, the fervour of the war had taken hold of Boys from this Company. This is unsurprising considering the prominence of rifle-based pursuits at the regular weekly sessions for this Company in particular.

Although deemed too young to enlist by their Company Captain, members of the Boys' Brigade in Enfield engaged in a number of other activities to support the troops and their nation during the war. Boys of the 1st Enfield took part in a 'Tank Day' where £15 was raised towards National War Bonds and Boys with bugles assisted with air raid services.¹⁶⁰ In addition, in a section titled "The Boys' Brigade in the War" in the programme for the 1920 Royal Albert Hall display, it was reported that the movement had "at a cost of over £5,000 provided, equipped and maintained three recreation huts for Troops at home and abroad."¹⁶¹ The training received within the Boys' Brigade also received recognition from commanding Officers on the front line. The 50th Anniversary publication of the 70th London commented on the use of drill undertaken, stating that

one member of the 70th, Harold Bird, was glad of this instruction when serving in the Army during the First World War, although he had some difficulty persuading his RSM that he hadn't deserted from another Regiment when it was seen how efficiently he wielded his rifle!¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ "The Boys Brigade", The Enfield Gazette and Observer, 21 May 1915, p.6.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Peter Williams, The First, p.34.

¹⁶¹ EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 5 May 1920.

¹⁶² 70th London Boys' Brigade 'Old Boys' Archive', "Fifty Years of the 'Seventieth' 1908-1958", 70th London Company, The Boys' Brigade, p.4.

There was a similar experience from members of the movement in Enfield. In September 1915 Dr Ridge, of the 1st Enfield, received correspondence from H. L. Nathan, Captain of the 1st Battalion in Gallipoli. In this the Captain wrote of the old Boys, commenting that they “have all done infinite credit to their training in the Brigade” adding that the former Boys of the 1st Enfield were “among the best men in the Company” and “helped to form its backbone”.¹⁶³ From these examples of the Boys’ Brigade in the London District it is perceptible that the movement achieved a degree of success in preparing young men for war, thus providing a local example to advance the position of Paris. Although the Officers of the 3rd Enfield displayed a reluctance to support those in the ranks who enlisted aged sixteen it is clear that members were encouraged to be involved at home in the form of fund raising, morale boosting, and duties with air raids. The experience of individuals from the movement in London indicates that the training received within the organisation was to the benefit of their involvement in the war. Whether the explicit intention or not, through embracing the ‘pleasure culture of war’, the Officers of the Boys’ Brigade educated a proportion of the citizenry in preparation for this conflict at the local level.

The Experience in the Post-war Years

Much in the same way as in Glasgow, the pinnacle of the post-war activities came during the celebrations of the Jubilee of the Boys’ Brigade in 1933. The clear differences between the movement in Scotland and England are evident in the ways Glasgow and London marked the Golden Jubilee. The previous chapter illustrated that the celebrations in Glasgow were marked with a distinct sense of Scottish national pride, with the massed pipe band at the Royal Review the pinnacle of this sense of ‘Scottishness’. In contrast, the Jubilee celebrations in London were of a distinctly different tone. From a numerical perspective, the scale of the events in Glasgow were vastly greater than in London. The final parade at the Empire Stadium, that was the main event to mark celebrations in the capital, comprised 2500 existing members and an additional 5000 former members.¹⁶⁴ This was significantly fewer than those for the Royal Review in Glasgow where over 32000 participated, thus illustrating the significance of the organisation to

¹⁶³ Peter Williams, *The First* pp.32-33.

¹⁶⁴ “Boys’ Brigade Jubilee”, *The Observer*, 11 June 1933, p.8; “Boys’ Brigade Jubilee”, *The Observer*, 18 June 1933, p.20.

each city. However, it is through the massed bands where the differences in character between the movement in Glasgow and London are most perceptible. Whilst pipers formed the massed band for the Glasgow Jubilee Review, the band for the celebrations in London was formed of bugles, drums, and fifes drawn from fourteen bands from the capital.¹⁶⁵ This contrasted to the overtly Scottish pipe band in Glasgow. Moreover, the place in proceedings emphasised the importance of music to the broader programme of activities in the respective cities. In Glasgow, the massed pipers performed the prelude to the finale. In contrast, the tattoo of bugles and fifes in London was placed between a display of vaulting horse exercises and an exhibition of Indian Clubs.¹⁶⁶ The places the respective bands found themselves in the programmes for each parade clearly demonstrates the importance of marching bands to the work of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow in contrast to London. It is evident, therefore, that pipe bands were crucial in creating a sense of Scottish national identity in Glasgow, an aspect that was entirely absent from the movement in London, providing an indication of the critical difference between the organisation north and south of the border.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the case of the Boys' Brigade in London as a regional example to advance Paris's notion of the 'pleasure culture of war' by implementing this theory in a local context. This chapter has placed the movement in the capital within the situation of the prevailing climate in London that saw a prevalence of militaristic tendencies and a promotion of drill for young people. In contrast to the character of the organisation in Glasgow, where the Boys' Brigade became identified by its connections to a sense of Scottish identity that was most clearly evident through the prominence of pipe playing, the movement in London pursued a programme focused on drill-based exercises. The pinnacle of this came at the annual display at the Royal Albert Hall where the final of the DTS was the apex of the Brigade calendar in London. The character of this display, in comparison to the annual inspection of the Glasgow Battalion, highlights the nationalistic difference between the application of the movement north and south of the border. Whilst pipe playing was to the fore of proceedings in Glasgow the

¹⁶⁵ EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade Jubilee Celebration, 1933", Programme and Timetable of Events, p.14.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

bands on display in London focused on bugle and brass bands. Moreover, the ways in which the organisation in these two cities marked the Jubilee in 1933 provides further evidence of the national differences perceptible in the movement, with a massed pipe band characterising the celebrations in Glasgow whereas a fife and bugle band was on display in London. Rifle exercises provide a further indication of the prevalence of militarised activities in the capital. Although Springhall offered an assessment of the experience of the movement in Enfield - a critical case for investigation due to the abundance of surviving records - his examination overlooked the lived experience visible through the regular weekly sessions. By considering the activities undertaken by the Companies in this region it is evident that rifle exercises were crucial to the identity of the movement north of the city, thus advancing the case initiated by Springhall. This adds further credence to the notion that the movement became a reflection of the local societal conditions and presents further evidence to bring into question homogenous approaches to the character of youth movements.

Chapter 5

The Boys' Brigade in Bristol: A Reassessment of the Humphries Orthodoxy

The third and final of the three case study cities that form the spine of this thesis focuses attention on the character of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol. In contrast to the larger examples from London and Glasgow the case of Bristol provides a smaller scale instance of success for the movement in a major British city. In England there were only a few places outside of the capital where the Boys' Brigade was a significant actor in the urban environment by the late nineteenth century, with many of the earliest Companies in England surviving for only a few sessions.¹ Bristol offers an instance where the movement took hold through the combination of an impressive Company survival rate and several new groups appearing over a short space of time. Not only does Bristol itself provide a useful frame of reference but there is also an existing historiography relating to the Boys' Brigade in this city. Chapter Two illustrated that there is a paucity of existing regional studies on the Boys' Brigade. However, two of those that shape our current understanding focus attention on Bristol. Despite this there are significant gaps in these existing studies and for this reason it makes Bristol a crucial city to consider. Helen Meller's survey of leisure in the late Victorian and Edwardian city observed the role of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol. However, despite posing the question "how was it that the Boys' Brigade, particularly was able to gain such a response here?" the question remained unanswered.² This chapter endeavours to tackle this question head on. With this broader question in mind this chapter provides a critique of Stephen Humphries assertions relating to the Boys' Brigade in Hooligans or Rebels, opening with an assessment of his methodological approach. Through a more thorough examination of the BPOHP it is illustrated here that Humphries' approach to the testimonies was selective and the conclusions reached were based on predetermined positions that are difficult to support from the wider patterns of the interviews. It is crucial for a reassessment of the Humphries orthodoxy as his work has influenced subsequent histories relating to youth and leisure in the urban space. The claims that the Boys' Brigade was 'jeered' or 'mocked' in the streets, and that certain aspects of the programme were 'endured' by members

¹ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, pp. 48 - 49.

² Helen Meller, Leisure and the Changing, p. 171.

of the movement, have come to dominate much of the subsequent historiography. Therefore, it is important for our broader understanding of issues relating to youth, militarism, and leisure within the context of the urban setting to provide a more measured examination of the BPOHP that was at the core of Humphries' conclusions. Therefore, the case of Bristol provides us with a valuable study for the re-examination of the existing historiographical consensus relating to youth in society that the Humphries orthodoxy has heavily influenced.

A Reassessment of Humphries and the BPOHP

In order to critically examine the Humphries orthodoxy it is fundamental to consider how the interviews in the BPOHP were used by Humphries, who organised the project as an augmentation to postgraduate studies he had conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s.³ The BPOHP was an archive created by Humphries, alongside graduates who conducted many of the interviews, with the resulting records forming many of the views presented in Hooligans or Rebels.⁴ According to Humphries, “the project involved collecting the spoken and written recollections of childhood and youth of approximately two hundred working-class people in Bristol and the West Country born between 1890 and 1925”.⁵ Humphries outlined the scope of the project as “concentrating on schooling, family life, youth movements and work experiences. In particular, we are focusing on various forms of deviance and resistance to authority, and on the relationship between generational and class consciousness.”⁶ Therefore, the objective of this chapter is not in conflict with the original intentions of the BPOHP, with the emphasis here being placed on youth movements. Supplementary to this, in his review of Sure and Stedfast, Humphries was critical of the authors for providing only “a sprinkling of oral history” as “interviews with old members of the brigades would have enabled the authors to have written a more grounded history”.⁷ By revisiting the interviews of the BPOHP this chapter addresses this

³ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, p.269.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Stephen Humphries, “Current British Work in Oral History: Bristol”, Oral History, 7, 2, 1979, p.84.

⁷ Stephen Humphries, “Review, John Springhall”, p.77.

challenge and provides the perspective he sought “from the point of view of the boys in the ranks”.⁸

Humphries’ assessment of the testimonies of the BPOHP have been subject to scrutiny, with challenges from academics being two-fold. First, while there are advantages of analysing this area of historical enquiry through the use of oral testimonies there are problems with approaching the history of working-class youths through the use of these accounts alone. The documentation used by Humphries was largely obtained from collections of oral accounts from Manchester, Bristol, and Essex meaning that the conclusions made are limited within the parameters of oral history.⁹ Second, there are challenges to Humphries that allege that the nature of the testimonies chosen was selective, raising questions over his interpretation of the material. In his review of Hooligans or Rebels Donald Read borrowed W. L. Burn’s term ‘selective Victorianism’ and applied it to Humphries who he deemed to have fallen into the trap of taking evidence to suit preconceptions through his use of oral history.¹⁰ In a similar vein, John R Gillis stated that “there are major problems arising out of the documentation and Humphries’ use of it.”¹¹ Furthermore, Frank Coffield commented that “Nowhere is the reader invited to consider alternative interpretations of, or exceptions to, the one and only explanation favoured by the author”.¹² Therefore, it is apparent that Humphries’ approach to the testimonies was selective and narrow in focus.

The representation of the Boys’ Brigade in Hooligans or Rebels provides us with a valuable example of the difficulties with Humphries’ perspective. John Springhall found problems with the way Humphries utilised oral testimonies in order to present an image of the Boys’ Brigade and the relationship between the movement and young people. In a chapter appearing in J. A.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ The Manchester collection comprises over one thousand tapes of interviews formed by Bill Williams in the 1970s. The Bristol archive is the result of the Bristol People’s Oral History Project organised by Humphries in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The Essex collection, pioneered by Paul Thompson and Thea Vigne, is a collection of 444 interviews from the county of Essex undertaken in the 1970s. See Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp.269 – 270.

¹⁰ Donald Read, “Review. Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939*”, Urban History, 10, 1983, pp.214-215; p.214.

¹¹ John R. Gillis, “Review. Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939*”, Journal of Social History, 17, 1, 1983, pp.170-171; p.170.

¹² Frank Coffield, “Review. Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939*”, British Journal of Education Studies, 31, 2, 1983, pp.166-167; p.167.

Mangan's Manliness and Morality, Springhall outlined issues with Humphries' use of accounts when assessing attitudes towards the Boys' Brigade.¹³ Springhall presents the possibility that the testimonies in Humphries' BPOHP may provide an alternative view of the movement than had previously been demonstrated. In his critique Springhall draws on the case of Frank Thomas - a labourer born in the Easton area of Bristol in 1901 - whose experiences of his youth in this city during the first few decades of the twentieth century are recorded in the BPOHP.¹⁴ Springhall uses this testimony as an example to bring into question the confidence of the claims made by Humphries relating to attitudes towards organised youth movements. For Springhall, the views of Thomas show "a positive enthusiasm for the physical training classes the Boys' Brigade offered".¹⁵ It is claimed by Springhall that Humphries faced inherent challenges as he was engaged in the creation of this raw data; "It is one of the temptations of oral history...to make selective use of evidence to corroborate a particular interpretation, but where the historian is himself...engaged in creating raw data as well as in making sense of it, the temptation that has to be resisted is all that much greater".¹⁶ Springhall professes that the case of Thomas is "one particular case" to dispute the assertions of Humphries.¹⁷ However, by choosing only one transcript to challenge Humphries, Springhall presents the same selective approach to the testimonies. Where this chapter differs from the approaches of these historians is through a more thorough consideration of the broader attitudes towards the Boys' Brigade as depicted in a wider cross-section of transcripts. This chapter examines the broader patterns from the first one hundred of the 162 spoken and written recollections recorded in the BPOHP housed at the Bristol Central Library (BCL). By doing so, the enquiry here goes beyond the previous analyses of Humphries and Springhall to provide a more measured assessment of the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol.

By returning to oral testimonies as an archived resource this chapter draws upon a source of information that has thus far been neglected. In a recent article appearing in Oral History, April Galloway claimed that oral history archives existing in the United Kingdom were being under-

¹³ John Springhall, "Building Character", pp.60-61.

¹⁴ BPOHP, Interview No. R015, BCL.

¹⁵ John Springhall, "Building Character", p.61.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

used and encouraged increased exploration of this type of qualitative data.¹⁸ Gallwey's article reflected on her approach in employing archived oral records and re-use of data available in the Millennium Memory Bank in order to assess the social history of single motherhood in England from the post Second World War era to the 1990s.¹⁹ It was argued that much can be acquired from returning to oral testimonies held in archives and research of this kind not only provided "unanticipated historical insights" but the use of such data also "yields more than we might first expect".²⁰ Therefore, the preconceptions of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol based on Humphries' perspective can be brought to task through analysis of these archived oral testimonies through a more thorough dissemination of the wider patterns. However, drawing upon archived material is not without obstacles, with concerns relating to the ethics of utilising this type of qualitative data. Joanna Bornat has presented the case for revisiting interviews held in archives with a fresh perspective in order to give such accounts a new context.²¹ Bornat commented that ethical caution needs to be built into the process of approaching archived oral accounts, especially in cases where the secondary analysis is related to contentious issues such as race or ethnicity, especially when searching for what were termed "hidden narratives".²² However, this research on the Boys' Brigade is not necessarily interpreting the material in a new context, and it is not searching for any concealed details. Rather is it an attempt to bring into greater focus elements of the BPOHP that were considered peripheral to the aims of the original project. Furthermore, because the BPOHP has been handed over to the BCL, as a public archive, it provides a sense of public ownership.²³ Therefore, this evades concerns relating to use as the BPOHP is an example where "ownership is being handed over by all concerned, researcher and researched, as is ownership of future interpretations."²⁴

Humphries' approach to the oral interviews conducted, use of the information gathered, and conclusions reached, are subject to a number of hazards of the use of oral testimonies as

¹⁸ April Gallwey, "The Rewards of Using Archived Oral Histories in Research: the Case of the Millennium Memory Bank", *Oral History*, 41, 1, 2013, pp.37-50; p.37.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp.38-39.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.48.

²¹ Joanna Bornat, "A Second Take: Revisiting Interviews with a Different Purpose", *Oral History*, 31, 1, 2003, pp.47-53; p.47.

²² *Ibid*, pp.48-51.

²³ *Ibid*, p.52.

²⁴ *Ibid*.

identified by Alessandro Portelli. Portelli noted that “the content of the oral source depends largely on what the interviewer puts into it in terms of questions, stimuli, dialogue, personal relationship of mutual trust or detachment” adding “it is the researcher who decides that there will be an interview. Researchers often introduce specific distortions... therefore such interviews tend to confirm the historian’s previous frame of reference”.²⁵ It is evident that Humphries’ use of the testimonies from the BPOHP and his subsequent dissemination through Hooligans or Rebels carries some of these characteristics. For example, both the frequency of questions posed to respondents related to the Boys’ Brigade in the testimonies, and the tone of the questions asked when they appear, have a clear mark of attempting to confirm a previous frame of reference. This is most clearly evident in the tone of questions when the interviewer asks if the Boys’ Brigade was ‘mocked’ or ‘jeered’ in the streets. These are questions that patently present a specific distortion in order to support a predetermined position. In order to challenge the perspective of Humphries relating to the Boys’ Brigade as depicted in Hooligans or Rebels this chapter has returned to the oral testimonies that formed the basis of his findings. A sample of the first one hundred interviews was taken, equating to fifty one available transcripts when loss of transcripts was taken into account. Appendix 6 depicts the breakdown of the gender of the respondents to the BPOHP.²⁶ From the total number of interviews forty four were male, of which twenty three transcripts were available. Fifty two of the respondents were female and of these twenty five transcripts were available. In addition, the sample included two interviews of husband and wife - both of which were available - and two interviews where the gender of the respondent is unknown. In sum, a total of fifty one transcripts were drawn upon from the sample of the first one hundred interviews.²⁷

From the sample of available transcripts from the first one hundred interviews undertaken for the BPOHP the number of questions relating to youth movements broadly, and references to the Boys’ Brigade specifically were measured. This is in order to provide a more representative impression of the attitudes towards youth organisations from residents of Bristol. Appendix 6 shows the breakdown of references made to youth movements and the Boys’ Brigade from the

²⁵ Alessandro Portelli, “The Peculiarities of Oral History”, History Workshop Journal, 12, 1, 1981, pp. 96 - 107; p.103.

²⁶ Appendix 6.

²⁷ Ibid.

transcripts from the sample of the first one hundred interviews. From these interviews nineteen (37.25%) contained a question from the interviewer that related to youth movements broadly. Of these nine were asked of male respondents and eight were put to female interviewees, with both the husband and wife transcripts containing questions from the interviewer relating to youth organisations. This equates to 39.13% of men interviewed for this sample from the BPOHP being posed a question relating to youth movements and 32.00% of women being asked a question of a similar nature. When considering the number of transcripts with questions making direct reference to the Boys' Brigade the numbers for the male respondents changes little, with eight of the twenty three available transcripts (34.78%) carrying a question mentioning the Boys' Brigade explicitly. However, this number reduces significantly for female respondents, with 16.00% of available interviews to female respondents carrying a question related to the Boys' Brigade. Therefore, it is apparent that focus on youth movements was not at the forefront of the questions asked by interviewers in the BPOHP. However, it is visible from the transcripts by male respondents from the sample for this chapter that little difference is perceptible between the questions asked regarding membership of youth movements broadly and those relating to the Boys' Brigade explicitly.

It is significant to note the tone of the questions put to respondents relating to the Boys' Brigade. It has been a criticism of Humphries that his stance in Hooligans or Rebels was formed from predisposed positions. One attestation provided by the oral testimonies selected by Humphries relating to the Boys' Brigade claims that their marches were often met with hostility in the form of "ribald jeers, derisive songs and occasionally stone-throwing by youths, not just in slum neighbourhoods, but also in respectable working-class districts".²⁸ For Humphries, the antagonism towards the Boys' Brigade, as an organisation carrying militaristic attributes, stemmed from a deep-set resistance to being compelled to join the armed forces, either through legal or economic pressures.²⁹ What is presented through these oral accounts is a young working class who were vehemently opposed to the Boys' Brigade, with the movement subject to disruption whilst on parade as an expression of opposition to its militaristic and imperialistic ethos. This is particularly evident in the tone of the questions put to female interviewees relating

²⁸ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp.134-135.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.135.

to the Boys' Brigade. Each of the questions relating to the Boys' Brigade to female respondents were weighted in a way that placed the movement in a negative light based on Humphries' predetermined stance. Transcript R034 carried the question 'Did the crowd ever make fun of the Boys' Brigade and the Salvation Army', R037 asked 'Was the Boys' Brigade jeered when it marched round the streets?', and R073 asked "Can you remember the kids singing jeering songs at the Boys' Brigade?".³⁰ In addition, the interviewer for transcript R061 asked the broad question "Can you remember the Boys' Brigade?" with the follow-up question in response to the affirmative asking "Were they ever jeered by children?".³¹ From the small sample set for this chapter it is apparent that each time a question was put to a female respondent it was weighted towards the notion of the movement being jeered in the streets. This is the position that Humphries presented in *Hooligans or Rebels*, where it was noted that it was through interviews that the notion of Boys' Brigade marches being commonly met with ribald jeers, derisive songs and stone-throwing was evident.³² However, from the sample set here it is difficult to determine how Humphries was able to reach this conclusion. Each of the four transcripts from women who were asked a direct question on the Boys' Brigade which made reference to 'jeering' or 'making fun' provided a different image to that which Humphries presented. For example, in response to this line of questioning, respondent R034 - who had an older brother in the Boys' Brigade and remembered going to see their procession in the streets - stated that "I don't remember that they did" when asked if the crowd ever made fun of the Boys' Brigade when on parade.³³ In addition, it was stated that she was not aware of any parody songs sung about them although did concede that "possibly there might have been".³⁴ Interview R037 recorded a more positive image of Brigade marches on the streets of Bristol. When the question was put to this interviewee about the Boys' Brigade being jeered the response was that "no, they all thought it was lovely. Everybody turned out to watch".³⁵ A similar question was put to the interviewee of transcript R061 and the response resembled the same positive attitude towards the movement: "No they enjoyed it thoroughly" with the transcript noting that the respondent could not remember any derisive songs. Finally, transcript R073 records a similar image of Boys' Brigade

³⁰ BPOHP, Interview No. R034, BCL; BPOHP, Interview No. R037, BCL; BPOHP, Interview No. R073, BCL.

³¹ BPOHP, Interview No. R061, BCL.

³² Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 - 135.

³³ BPOHP, Interview No. R034.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ BPOHP, Interview No. R037.

parades being an event that caused great interest. With a similar line of questioning the respondent commented that “No I don’t think so. They used to be in a parade sometimes but we used to go up and see them march. I daresay some did that I didn’t see it but on the whole no”.³⁶ Therefore, rather than the position that Humphries has maintained that Brigade marches were subject to “ribald jeers, derisive songs and occasionally stone-throwing”³⁷ it is apparent from this sample set that a different image is presented by each of these female respondents to the BPOHP, who remembered Boys’ Brigade parades fondly and with a sense of enjoyment at the experience.

A similar perspective is found when examining the male respondents of the BPOHP who were asked comparable questions. Although each instance of questions relating to the Boys’ Brigade from this sample put to women all asked if the movement was jeered or made fun of, fewer male respondents were approached with this line of enquiry. Of the eight interviews from this sample who posed questions to male respondents relating to the Boys’ Brigade only three asked if the organisation was jeered or faced opposition in the streets when it was on parade. Of these two were former members of the Boys’ Brigade (R087 and R090) with R063 the only male interviewee from this sample who was asked a question relating to the idea of the Boys’ Brigade being jeered in the streets who was not a member of a uniformed youth organisation. Transcript R063 carries the question “Can you remember the Boys’ Brigade being jeered when they marched down the street?”.³⁸ The response to this question from a respondent who described himself as “a bit of a loner” who cited that he did not join a youth movement because he “just didn’t like the organisation attached to it” is comparable to the responses found from the sample of female respondents:

No I think it was a step up in the right direction to belong to something like that. No we liked them, I certainly never heard any jeering or anything like that. No they weren’t looked down

³⁶ BPOHP, Interview No. R073.

³⁷ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, p.135.

³⁸ BPOHP, Interview No. R063.

on or despised for it. Probably I was a bit envious at times when I saw them marching with their uniforms, they didn't have uniforms they certainly had hats.³⁹

Therefore, all five respondents from this sample who were not members of the Boys' Brigade and were posed a question enquiring if the movement was subject to jeers when on a street parade responded with the negative. As a consequence, it is difficult from the sample of the first one hundred transcripts to support Humphries' assertions, with a divergent image of the Boys' Brigade found from the respondents. Instead, the marches of this youth movement raised interest, brought enjoyment, and even a sense of envy to those who were viewing the movement from the outside. This brings into doubt Humphries' assertions that interviews indicated that Brigade marches were "commonly met with jeers, derisive songs and occasionally stone-throwing by youths".⁴⁰ From this sample it is evident that for outsiders of the movement the Boys' Brigade was somewhat of a novelty to the street setting and provided an unexpected item of interest for onlookers.

One of the principal ways Humphries presented a sense of opposition to the Boys' Brigade was through the singing of parody songs mocking the organisation when it was out on street parades. Humphries has argued that:

It was this breadth of opposition within the working class that accounted for the diffusion of the following parody to most parts of Britain. 'Ere comes the Boys' Brigade, All smovered in marmalade, A tuppenny 'a 'penny pill box, An' 'alf a yard of braid.⁴¹

A similar version of this parody was quoted by Hugh Cunningham in The Invention of Childhood as displaying the reaction from those who considered themselves not respectable enough to join a uniformed youth movement, with this breeding ridicule that was expressed towards the Brigade through the words of this song.⁴² However, references to this parody from interviews conducted for the BPOHP that were at the core of Hooligans or Rebels are limited.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp. 134 - 135.

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 135.

⁴² Hugh Cunningham, The Invention, p.209.

From the sample of testimonies drawn upon for this chapter only 5.88% of available transcripts made reference to variations of this parody.⁴³ It is critical to note that in each instance where this parody was mentioned it was made by former members of the Boys' Brigade itself. The marmalade parody was referred to by respondent R015 in response to the question "Were there any boys there do you think that were just there for a good time? Perhaps they didn't believe in it and made fun of it?"⁴⁴ The response as recorded in the transcript - in full - is as follows:

No, no, I can't remember anything like that. (He could remember other boys that weren't in the Brigade making fun of them)... oh yea, they used to sing out didn't they. 'Here comes the Boys' Brigade all covered in marmalade, or something', 'The t'uppenny ha'penny pillbox'... It didn't worry us, didn't worry us. (It never came to a point where they had to fight).⁴⁵

Therefore, for this former member of the Boys' Brigade, the marmalade parody was not something that caused any concern and never came to a point where a fight occurred. A similar tone is recorded in transcript R087. This respondent was a former member and Officer of the movement and all the questions posed to this interviewee were related to his involvement with the Boys' Brigade. Reference to the marmalade parody was made by this respondent to the question "Did other children ever make fun of the B.B.?"⁴⁶ The response to this question as written in the transcript was:

There [was] an old saying you know which went to one of the bugle march tunes as a matter of fact - 'Here comes the Boys' Brigade all covered in marmalade a tuppenny halfpenny pillbox and half a yard of braid'. That was quite common, as a matter of fact we used to enjoy it as much as the other people.⁴⁷

Although this respondent conceded that this parody was "quite common" his response was similar to that displayed in transcript R015 inasmuch as it was not an occurrence that caused any

⁴³ Appendix 6.

⁴⁴ BPOHP, Interview No. R015.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ BPOHP, Interview No. R087.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

sense of concern. In fact, for respondent R087, it was something that was enjoyed by Brigade members whilst on parade. The degree to which this was not a situation that troubled this respondent, as with respondent R015, is displayed in the follow up question. When asked “Why do you think the children took the micky out of them so much?” the response was “Oh I don’t know, just for something to do. I expect you and I would have done the same thing.”⁴⁸

The final reference to the marmalade parody from the sample from the first one hundred transcripts is from interview R090. This respondent was asked “Do you remember the B.B. being made fun of?” to which the response was:

Oh they used to make fun, they used to sing a song to the tune of the bugles ‘Here comes the Boys’ Brigade, twopenny halfpenny pill-box and covered in marmalade’. In those days they used to wear a pill-box and a haversack and a belt and that was full uniform. I think you had to pay nine pence for the lot, course it was a lot of money then... I think they all managed to scrape up their nine pence. In some Companies it was more to join - I suppose the church couldn’t subsidise it, some churches were better off than others, see...⁴⁹

Although this respondent recalled the marmalade parody being sung towards the Boys’ Brigade the focus this interviewee placed was on providing a description of the uniform rather than affording more attention to the parody itself. This is perhaps representative of the feeling that the parody was only worth a passing mention for this respondent.

From the three instances where specific reference to the marmalade parody is made it is clear that this was not indicative of the ribald jeers that Humphries had presented in Hooligans or Rebels. What this sample has shown is that each instance of the marmalade parody being mentioned was from former members of the Boys’ Brigade itself, with no-one outside the organisation making reference to this parody. The sample here has shown that the Boys’ Brigade, although subject to jeers, were good natured in tone and were not taken as troublesome to members of the organisation. Moreover, in contrast to the image presented by Humphries, it

⁴⁸ BPOHP, Interview No. R015.

⁴⁹ BPOHP, Interview No. R090.

is apparent from this sample set that onlookers enjoyed the marching parades of the Boys' Brigade in the streets and local residents came out to view the parades. Therefore, when Humphries suggests that Boys' Brigade marches were "commonly met with ribald jeers, derisive songs and occasionally stone-throwing"⁵⁰ it is against the consensus obtained from the transcripts from the sample of the first one hundred interviews conducted. Therefore, it is evident that by providing the context of the reference to the parody - and the complete quote - a truer image is presented.

The Reality of Membership: Contemporary Accounts and the BPOHP

In order to assess the lived experience of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol it is important to explore its origins and development during its formative years. The 1st Bristol Company was formed in November 1888, only five years after the establishment of the organisation in Glasgow. This first Company was created with Boys from the Hope Sunday schools in the Clifton area of the city with its inaugural meeting held under the guidance of the Reverend F. W. Brown.⁵¹ The Second Company was assembled only two days after the first, with the 2nd Bristol formed at the Victoria Wesleyan Chapel.⁵² By 1891 five Companies had assembled in the city and banded together to form the Bristol Battalion.⁵³ 1891 also saw William Alexander Smith visit Bristol and show his support for the Battalion. However, this was a muted visit where Smith spoke on the finances of the 1st Bristol and hoped that the bazaar he attended would assist in relieving the Company's fiscal difficulties which stood at a deficit of £33 15s.⁵⁴ Perhaps the most conspicuous example of the strength of the movement in the city came in September 1894 when Bristol hosted the 10th Annual Council Meeting of the Boys' Brigade. This saw Brigade delegates from across the World descend on the city to discuss the annual report and present the plans for the forthcoming session.⁵⁵ Such was the status of the movement in the view of the local press that the 11th Annual Council Meeting of 1895, this time held in Dublin, was considered newsworthy

⁵⁰ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 - 135.

⁵¹ "Bristol Volunteer Diary To-Day", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 12640, 15 November 1888, p.5.

⁵² "Bristol Volunteer Diary To-Day", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 12641, 16 November 1888, p.5.

⁵³ Boys Brigade, "Bristol Battalion Diamond Jubilee Brochure - 1889 - 1949", (Bristol: Partridge and Love LTD, 1949), Bristol Records Office, Pamphlet/1042.

⁵⁴ "Bristol Volunteer Diary", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 13572, 11 November 1891, p.5.

⁵⁵ "The Boys' Brigade", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 14461, 15 September 1894, p.3.

and appeared in the pages of The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post.⁵⁶ These events illustrate that the movement was a vibrant agency in the city, with hosting the Annual Council Meeting displaying the high regard Brigade Headquarters had for its work.

The example of the Boys' Brigade experiencing success in its early years in Bristol is given brief attention in the official history of the movement, Sure and Stedfast. In this, the authors considered growth of the movement in this city to be "steady" and "unwavering", with the region of the West Country as a whole thought to be one of the strongest areas of growth in England during the first ten years.⁵⁷ However, Plymouth - a city similar in many ways to Bristol and both sharing membership of the West of England District of the Boys' Brigade - had a different experience, with the Brigade growth in this port city deemed to be "erratic".⁵⁸ For this reason Bristol has been chosen for closer examination over Plymouth. Springhall, Fraser, and Hoare assert that explanations for the inconsistencies in growth cannot be sought through analysing national social and economic trends alone but can be established in particular local circumstances.⁵⁹ Therefore, by focusing attention on the lived experience at the local level through case study analysis of the three cities of this thesis it is possible to consider these inconsistencies and idiosyncrasies. The authors of Sure and Stedfast provided only a brief analysis on this. Bristol – with the highest number of Boys enrolled in England outside of London – is a city of similar size to Edinburgh, but with a character more akin to Glasgow - through its religious vigour, nonconformist philanthropists, and high level of mission activity - "hence possibly its success in having the best company survival rate in England during the early years".⁶⁰ Similarities were also drawn between the first Company in Glasgow and the first in Bristol, with both formed in relatively prosperous areas of the respective cities and hosted by non-conformist church congregations.⁶¹ Furthermore, Bristol had the tools required for the Boys' Brigade to flourish and, like many cities, it possessed the military experience necessary for drill instruction and instilling discipline from an established Volunteer movement, and a background of social outreach and philanthropic missionary activity that provided a base for the

⁵⁶ "The Boys' Brigade", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14766, 7 September 1895, p.6.

⁵⁷ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.48.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.52.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

movement's religious aims.⁶² However, what made Bristol unique and particularly receptive to the Brigade model was its higher church attendance when compared to similar sized cities and, most notably, the significant level of the church-going population affiliated to the Salvation Army.⁶³ Therefore, Bristol was suited to an organisation such as the Boys' Brigade because of the disposition of its citizens and the particular traditions of military and religious social consciousness alive in the area. The rate of growth and Company survival rate demonstrate that local citizens were receptive to the ideas of the movement that had a grounding in the pre-existing success of the Salvation Army as another instance of religion in uniform.

However, the work of Humphries in Hooligans or Rebels challenged the perception that the Brigade was a popular and growing organisation in Bristol, asserting that the movement was often not well received, particularly in the working-class districts of the city.⁶⁴ For Humphries the Boys' Brigade was an organisation that represented middle-class repression of young men from working-class families, with the Officers using Brigade methods to dupe youths into acquiescence.⁶⁵ According to Humphries it was an institution, alongside the Sunday school and Band of Hope, that was disposed to "forms of larking about" from young working-class members, representing resistance and opposition to their aims, particularly those that carried an air of militarism.⁶⁶ Humphries presented the notion that there was extensive scepticism and cynicism felt towards the Boys' Brigade. For its members the sporting activities, camps, or playing in the band were what attracted young men, with drill and military components viewed as "tiresome concessions to authority, to be avoided wherever possible" but necessary in order to take part in these pursuits.⁶⁷ In addition, Humphries maintains that there existed a "cynical detachment" towards the ethos of manliness and the self-importance of the Officers.⁶⁸

In Hooligans or Rebels Humphries commented that the work of Officers in youth organisations was thwarted by Boys "larking about" that "acted as the major obstacle that frustrated the

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Helen Meller, Leisure and the Changing, pp. 79 - 84.

⁶⁴ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp. 134 - 135.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.134.

⁶⁶ Ibid, pp.133-134.

⁶⁷ Ibid, p.134.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

endeavours of uniformed youth movements such as the Boys' Brigades".⁶⁹ Such a position is indicative of the selective nature of Humphries' use of the testimonies. Appendix 6 illustrates that from the nineteen available testimonies with references to the Boys' Brigade from the sample of this chapter only three mentioned larking about in reference to the movement.⁷⁰ In each instance 'larking about' was either a notion that was not evident or was not considered an issue of concern. Interviews from the BPOHP indicate the limited extent to which Boys 'larked about' and disrupted the Officers. The account of Frank Thomas shows his experience with Boys causing trouble, and when being asked "Were there any boys there do you think that were just there for a good time? Perhaps they didn't believe in it and made fun of it?" his response was "No, no, I can't remember anything like that".⁷¹ Testimony R087 offers a similar response to questions of 'larking about' this time specifically during religious services, to which his reply was "Well you know what boys are. But they very rarely do."⁷² This respondent also commented that misbehaviour was not a problem that had to be dealt with often, with those Boys who were reprimanded feeling ashamed, especially if they were expelled.⁷³ Respondent R087 was of the opinion that Boys in the Company he had experience with were generally of good character, and commented that it was very rare to find a member of the Boys' Brigade in front of the Courts for a misdemeanour.⁷⁴ The experiences of respondents R015, R087, and R001 represent the three instances from the sample for this chapter referencing the Brigade and the notion of 'larking about'. These present the case that 'larking about' was not as prevalent an issue within the ranks, or as disruptive to the ambitions of the Officers in the Boys' Brigade as Humphries has suggested. From the sample set of this chapter only three references from nineteen transcripts where the Boys' Brigade was referenced mentioned 'larking about'. In each instance it was not remembered as an issue. Therefore, in the case of the Boys' Brigade, it is difficult to establish how Humphries came to his conclusion, providing further evidence that Humphries presented a predetermined position despite the wider evidence from the BPOHP offering little support for his assertion.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Appendix 6.

⁷¹ BPOHP, Interview No. R015, BCL.

⁷² BPOHP, Interview No. R087, BCL.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Alongside the sense of detachment towards the Officers another related charge made by Humphries against the Boys' Brigade was that it deceived youths into acquiescence through the use of military styled drill and uniforms.⁷⁵ However, evidence indicates that the movement was well-liked with several of the city's young citizens. An increase in numbers of both members and Companies, which was particularly the case in 1894, is cited in local newspapers as an indication of its escalating attractiveness.⁷⁶ Moreover, it is important to emphasise that the Boys' Brigade was a voluntary organisation and membership was not compulsory for those involved. On reporting on the annual inspection of the Battalion of 1894 it was noted that: "It may be mentioned, to show the popularity of the brigade, that over 200 more boys have joined this year, in consequence of which three new companies have been formed".⁷⁷ With additional Companies created there came an increase in competition between Boys in different Companies and regional Battalions. In A Century of Childhood Humphries referred to the instance of John Williams from London who joined the 86th London in 1928.⁷⁸ This example was presented to illustrate the way in which young Boys felt a sense of loyalty towards their own Company, with this former member of the Brigade displaying allegiance to the 86th London in Battalion competitions and gymnastic events.⁷⁹ A similar sense of dedication was evident by members from Bristol. For example, the Battalion camp held at Weston-super-Mare in August 1899 provides an example of the feeling of loyalty Boys had towards their Battalion. The review of the camp in the pages of The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post outlined that Boys enjoyed recreational activities in competition with their counterparts from Newport.⁸⁰ For the reporter the keen rivalry between the groups from Bristol and Newport was especially apparent in sporting contests.⁸¹ This illustrates that – while the uniforms and drill may have instilled discipline and compliance from members – it was also the case that loyalty to the Boys' Brigade, and particularly to a Boy's own Company or Battalion, was the result of wanting to do well for the sake of Company pride and honour. Such loyalty would be hard to attain if Boys were reluctant or deceived into obedience by Company Officers.

⁷⁵ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, p.134.

⁷⁶ "Bristol Boys' Brigade", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14330, 16 April 1894, p.6.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Steve Humphries, Joanna Mack, and Robert Perks, A Century of Childhood, (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988), pp.130-131.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ "The Talk of Bristol", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 16002, 24 August 1899, p.8.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Testimonies in the BPOHP show that comradeship and pride in the Company were important elements in some Boys joining and remaining members of the Boys' Brigade, with three of the five Brigade members from the sample for this chapter - as outlined in Appendix 7 - mentioning this theme.⁸² For example, on responding to a question by the interviewer if he belonged to any youth organisations such as the Boys' Brigade and why he joined, Arthur, who was a member of the 20th Bristol, responded by saying "everybody else joined so I joined."⁸³ This illustrates that this respondent would have been excluded and would be missing out, with 'everybody else' taking part. Testimony R003, of a Bedminster Boy born in 1885, reflected that there was a sense of gratification in being involved with the Boys' Brigade, saying that his reasons for joining were the "same as other lads I suppose, for excitement"⁸⁴. In addition, this respondent commented that he enjoyed the drill and preferred the Boys' Brigade instructors to his school teachers.⁸⁵ This preference was not unique, with four of the five Boys' Brigade members from the sample of this chapter displaying a sense of affection towards the Officers of the movement.⁸⁶ For example, testimony R090 notes that the Officers were strict with their discipline, "but they were very friendly" going on to say that the Brigade evening "was a nice social affair".⁸⁷ In addition, on being asked his thoughts towards the adults who were in charge, testimony R015 notes that "Oh I loved it. Oh they was lovely." and continued by saying that he felt he was treated well.⁸⁸ This particular quote was drawn on by Springhall in his challenge to Humphries that placed emphasis on this statement as "one particular case" of positive enthusiasm for the physical training exercises.⁸⁹ However, a different emphasis on this quote illustrates that rather than being tricked into obedience in the Brigade, some Boys felt fondness towards the Officers who were considered to be more approachable than their teachers at school. In addition, when viewing the movement as a Christian organisation with religious aims it is apparent that the Officers were viewed with fondness for helping to shape the Christian lives of some men. For example, the Company Captain at the 13th Bristol was remembered by Alderman F. C. Williams, Chairman of

⁸² Appendix 7.

⁸³ BPOHP, Interview No. R090, BCL.

⁸⁴ BPOHP, Interview No. R003, BCL.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Appendix 7.

⁸⁷ BPOHP, Interview No. R090, BCL.

⁸⁸ BPOHP, Interview No. R015, BCL.

⁸⁹ John Springhall, "Building Character", p.61.

the Bristol Education Committee in the 1940s and member of the Boys' Brigade in the 1890s, as follows: "I found much encouragement from our Captain, who kept us in remembrance of our promise to be faithful to Christ our Master, and to strive always to be true soldiers of our divine Captain."⁹⁰ These accounts bring into question Humphries' assertion that these men were "recruiting officers" who duped Boys into submission,⁹¹ with the sample set of the BPOHP here offering little support for his claims. Furthermore, remembering the organisation as one with both religious and discipline based objectives produces an alternative interpretation whereby the Officers are remembered fondly for assisting in their Christian development.

Central to Humphries' notion of Boys being "duped into submission" was the use of military styled drill by Officers of the Boys' Brigade in order to discipline Boys and assert their authority.⁹² Humphries states that "interviews suggest that sport, the band and the annual camp were the activities that most attracted members and that drilling and military manoeuvres were usually regarded as tiresome concessions to authority, to be avoided wherever possible."⁹³ This is similar to the premise of Bernard Porter in The Absent-Minded Imperialists, with the idea of young people celebrating Empire Day, reading works by Henty, or becoming members of the Scouts "done for what *else* could be got out of these activities ... for the sugar, that is, not the pill".⁹⁴ Although this was written within the context of imperialism this method of approach could comfortably be applied to Humphries' presentation of the Boys' Brigade. As mentioned above, Springhall quoted from a testimony in the BPOHP to show an instance of a young man who enjoyed the drill and physical training that were intrinsic elements of the Boys' Brigade programme.⁹⁵ However, Springhall provided only one example to counter Humphries' assertion. Further evidence from the BPOHP and supporting evidence from the local press supports the claims of a more enthusiastic participation of drill. From those former members of the Boys' Brigade from the sample set of this chapter 60.00% of respondents expressed that they enjoyed drill based pursuits.⁹⁶ For example, respondent R087 maintained that drill was one of the main

⁹⁰ Boys Brigade, "Bristol Battalion, Diamond Jubilee".

⁹¹ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, p.134.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Bernard Porter, The Absent, p.208.

⁹⁵ John Springhall, "Building Character", p.61.

⁹⁶ Appendix 7.

reasons young men joined the Boys' Brigade, later recalling his experience of the summer camp of 1915 where the Battalion paraded from Ashton Gate to the camp at Uphill, with a stop at Coomesbury, claiming that the Boys enjoyed the march.⁹⁷

Statistical data provides us with a clearer image of the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol and the prominence of drill-based pursuits akin to the experience in London. A report of the second annual inspection of the 7th Bristol in The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post held in May 1893 provides a summary of the average numbers of Boys at each of their classes. It illustrates that the Company was seventy strong and held fifty one drills and parades, fifty bible classes, as well as hosting swimming, football and cricket clubs.⁹⁸ While thirty Boys signed up for the sporting clubs only seventeen joined the Sunday school, and the Company's own Bible class averaged nineteen Boys.⁹⁹ However, the average attendance at the drill classes and parades was forty eight, vastly outnumbering the attendances of both the religious and sporting classes held by this Company.¹⁰⁰ The high participation at drill parades when compared to the numbers that participated in sporting events during this session brings into question the concept that drill was a tedious compromise as it is evident that it was the activity able to command by far the greatest attendance for members of this Company.

Opposition to drill, uniforms, and insulting songs mocking the Brigade were all the result, as Humphries claims, of a "reminder that many working-class army recruits were forced to join up" to the armed forces and that "their primary aim was personal survival, not the patriotic self-sacrifice encouraged by youth movements".¹⁰¹ It is apparent that a close connection existed between the armed forces and the Boys' Brigade through reports in the local press. However, from the sample set of this chapter only one of the nineteen transcripts mentioning the Boys' Brigade made reference to the notion of patriotism or the movement acting as a reminder that working-class recruits were coerced into the armed forces. Testimony R087 describes a view of the Boys' Brigade as supporting men if they chose to become members of the armed forces. He

⁹⁷ BPOHP, Interview No. R087, BCL.

⁹⁸ "Bristol Voluntary Diary", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14033, 3 May 1893, p.5.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, p.135.

notes that the patriotism taught to Boys helped young men to be better soldiers in the First World War and commented that the movement promoted manliness, physical training, and being physically fit.¹⁰² When asked if this encouraged Boys to be better soldiers his reply was: “Well, we’re a non-military organisation but if they do join the forces we’re certain that Brigade training helps them a good bit.”¹⁰³ Furthermore, when asked if the organisation produced “fodder for war” and taught Boys to “accept the propaganda of war” his response was: “Oh no. Oh no, that’s far from what we want. It is to train the Boys to take control of themselves and to put their discipline out to whatever work they’d go to.”¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the testimonies from the sample offer no clear indication to either support or oppose Humphries’ perspective as few transcripts considered this point. This does, however, add credence to the claims that Humphries’ presented a predetermined position regardless of the responses gathered.

Accounts from the local press show that there was a distinct difference between the views of supporters of the Boys’ Brigade, with members of religious circles and military men often presenting divergent sentiments on the movement. Reports of events, including annual inspections and display evenings, provide a clear indication of how the public saw the organisation as it was a moment when the movement was in the public eye and on display to the local community. Members of the local Volunteers or a local regiment were often invited by a Company Captain to oversee the annual drill inspection and pass judgement on the proficiency of the drill. Colonel E. C. Plant of the Bristol Engineers was regularly requested by Companies to inspect their drill and was the inspecting Officer for the third annual inspection of the 1st Bristol in April 1891 where he commented on the steadiness and precision of their drill.¹⁰⁵ On this occasion Plant utilised the stage as an opportunity to encourage Boys to join the Volunteers when they were old enough, assuring parents that only good would come of their involvement that would aid them in developing into better and more useful citizens.¹⁰⁶ Another example of this is from the second annual inspection of the 13th Bristol in May 1894.¹⁰⁷ This inspection was presided over by Captain Charleton of the 1st Volunteer Battalion Gloucestershire Regiment

¹⁰² BPOHP, Interview No. R087, BCL.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ “Bristol Boys’ Brigade”, *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 13385, 7 April 1891, p.8.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ “Boys’ Brigade: Bristol Battalion”, *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 14244, 2 May 1894, p.7.

who urged Boys to sign up to the Volunteers when they became “too big” for the Boys’ Brigade.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, that same month saw Charleton inspect the 7th Bristol where he “spoke very highly of the drill” commenting that it was better than “any company he had seen outside the regular army”.¹⁰⁹ A further example of military men promoting their cause of improving the military strength of the nation is shown at the opening of the Boys club at the Mary Carpenter Memorial House. On this occasion Colonel Graham of the Bristol Engineers was invited to speak and used the stage to bear “testimony to the value of the Boys’ Brigade”, which he suggested “solved to some extent a national question”.¹¹⁰ On this, the correspondent for The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post wrote that:

He alluded to the advantages from a military point of view of training boys and bringing them under discipline, so that in later years they might make valuable acquisitions to the Volunteers, and therefore to the military strength of the country.¹¹¹

These accounts illustrate that members of local Volunteers viewed the Boys’ Brigade as a source for potential recruits, seeing the discipline and drill they received as a stepping stone to the Volunteers when they became too old for the Brigade. However, this is not to say that the Brigade had designs to encourage Boys to join the armed forces as this represents an interpretation by men outside of the organisation. However, it illustrates that the Boys’ Brigade in Bristol placed emphasis on the proficiency of drill. Therefore, the movement in Bristol provided a means for Boys to play as a soldier, with the appearance of high-ranking Officers from the Volunteers adding gravitas to this.

In contrast, when members of the religious community spoke at Brigade events in Bristol they often came to the defence of the movement to counter charges of militarism, vehemently stating they would not be involved with the organisation if its purpose was to encourage Boys to become soldiers. By considering the view of members of the church it allows us to reflect on the Boys’ Brigade as a movement with religious values at its core, a facet that has often been

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ “Mary Carpenter Memorial House”, The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14523, 27 November 1894, p.6.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

overshadowed by debates relating to militarism in previous histories.¹¹² The value of the religious mission of the Boys' Brigade to clergymen is apparent in the address given by Reverend J. D. Figures at the opening of the 18th Bristol in November 1893.¹¹³ In his address Reverend Figures commented that the Boys' Brigade was a useful agent in maintaining the interest of Boys in religious instruction and that the movement needed "soldiers of the cross" and not to implant a desire on the part of the Boys to become members of the armed forces.¹¹⁴ The reporter to The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post added that Reverend Figures was of the opinion that "if the object of the Boys' Brigade was ultimately to add to the army, he would have had nothing whatever to do with it."¹¹⁵ The idea that the Boys' Brigade utilised a military model to attract Boys with the central purpose of promoting its religious ambitions was supported by the Reverend Moffat Logan, who spoke at a Bristol Battalion prize giving ceremony in May 1894.¹¹⁶ He considered the movement as one that brought Boys closer to Christ and "urged that the element of militarism was a means towards and end, for it made the lads interest themselves in work which was congenial to them, and it brought them step by step to that which was true religion."¹¹⁷ This clearly illustrates that playing as a soldier was promoted by the Boys' Brigade in order to attract members to the organisation in order to promote its Christian agenda. One further example of the muscular Christianity of the Boys' Brigade in Bristol is visible during the public demonstration of the Battalion at the Colston Hall in February 1896.¹¹⁸ This demonstration saw the Mayor of Bristol and the Reverend A. S. Rashleigh - who was President of the Bristol Battalion - speak in support of the Christian ambitions of the movement.¹¹⁹ The Mayor said that "The Boys' Brigade was formed on the military system, not with the idea of making soldiers of the boys, but because the military system lent itself very happily to the system upon which the Brigade was working."¹²⁰ In support of this, Rashleigh said they were sometimes told that the movement was not instructing Boys to love their fellow man but to fight him,

¹¹² Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp. 134 - 135; H. J. Hanham, "Religion and Nationality", p.173; Michael Blanch, "British Society", p.230.

¹¹³ "The Boys' Brigade", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14198, 11 November 1893, p.6.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ "Boys' Brigade: Bristol Battalion", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14244, 2 May 1894, p.7.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ "Bristol Boys' Brigade", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14900, 12 February 1896, p.7.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

adding that if that were the case he could not be involved with the organisation.¹²¹ He continued by stating that “The foremost object of the movement was the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ, and the fight in which the boys were engaged was against evil and wrong (applause).”¹²² Therefore, if the Boys’ Brigade acted as a reminder to young men of their forced involvement with the military this was not the way in which the organisation was viewed by members of the religious community in Bristol. Rather, the Boys’ Brigade provided a means of expression for those Boys who actively pursued activities that allowed them to play as a soldier. All these men spoke in support of the religious ambitions of the Brigade and expressed that they would find it practically inconceivable to be associated with the organisation if its ambition was to encourage Boys into the armed forces. Therefore, the dual character of the movement allowed it to be molded to the specific needs of the local situation in Bristol. Although it is difficult to argue, as the authors of Sure and Stedfast did, that the religious ambitions indicate the movement did not foster a war-like spirit,¹²³ it is evident that the organisation was shaped by a prevailing sense of what Paris termed as a “pleasure culture of war”.¹²⁴

The promotion of Christian values appears as a recurring theme in all aspects of the work of the Boys’ Brigade as shown in both the local press and in testimonies from the BPOHP, with a number of supporters of the movement in Bristol advancing its religious aims. For Victor Bailey, the religious ethos of “Christian militarism” underpinned the movement and gave it social and moral justification, with a “cult of Christian Soldiers” underlying the growth of the Boys’ Brigade.¹²⁵ However, when Humphries measured the interaction between youths and religious organisations the Boys’ Brigade was not considered within this context. For Humphries the relationship between young people and the church was two-fold. First, Humphries presents the postulation that religious organisations witnessed a decline at this time as a result of a conscious rejection of religion rather than the result of apathy.¹²⁶ In response to assertions that religious organisations saw dwindling numbers at this time the Boys’ Brigade, as an alternative expression of faith, acts to counter this consensus. The authors of Sure and Stedfast pointed to Bristol as

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p. 249.

¹²⁴ Michael Paris, Warrior Nation, pp. 73 - 82.

¹²⁵ Victor Bailey, “Bibles and Dummy” p.8.

¹²⁶ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp.38-41.

one of the strongest areas of growth for the Boys' Brigade in England, experiencing "unwavering progress" in its formative years.¹²⁷ Figures show that at the close of the 1891-92 session the Boys' Brigade in Bristol had nine Companies with thirty three Officers and a total of 406 Boys.¹²⁸ This had risen to sixteen Companies by 1892 - 93 with the number of Officers almost doubling to 62 and the total number of Boys standing at 884.¹²⁹ Moreover, by June 1894 Battalion membership was around 1000, with the number of Companies growing to twenty six by February 1896.¹³⁰ Although the growth was not 'unwavering' as the authors of Sure and Stedfast had suggested - with 1898 a particularly challenging year for the organisation in Bristol¹³¹ - it is evident that the Boys' Brigade provided a new mode of expression of faith, challenging Humphries' notion of a rejection of faith.

The second claim introduced by Humphries in relation to the decline of religious organisations was the suggestion that there was deep disaffection towards the church amongst younger working-class people. This was, in part, the consequence of a combination of what was perceived to be incongruous preaching and an observation that religion was unrelated to everyday life for a number of people.¹³² Humphries comments that many children sensed a contradiction between moral rhetoric and reality.¹³³ He selects the following recollection from the BPOHP to support this claim:

On Empire Day we used to all go to the Parish hall, sing Flag of Britain, and all the rest of it. We had a Vicar, I won't mention his name, I remember him keeping on to us about the German Navy, the strength of the German navy, and why shouldn't our navy be equipped with bigger guns, talking to us and as I say, I was pretty bright and I thought it was pretty cheap at the time. For a man of God to talk to us about our navy not being armed with big enough guns.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.48.

¹²⁸ "Bristol Volunteer Diary", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14328, 13 April 1894, p.5.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ "The Talk of Bristol", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14375, 7 June 1894, p.8.; "Bristol Boys' Brigade", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14900, 12 February 1896, p.7.

¹³¹ "Local News", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 15789, 17 December 1898, p.4.

¹³² Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp.34-39.

¹³³ Ibid, p.28.

¹³⁴ BPOHP, Interview No. R039, BCL.

However, despite this, over three quarters of the transcripts of the sample drawn on in this chapter made reference to attending Sunday School, Bible Study, Band of Hope, or going to church on Sunday.¹³⁵ Therefore, in terms of participation, it is evident that the majority of respondents to the BPOHP spent time at a religious meeting of some sort, bringing into question Humphries' claims of disaffection.

This leads on to consideration of the ideas relating to the religious mission of the Boys' Brigade and possible failings of this operation, a subject Humphries felt required greater scrutiny than was attributed in Sure and Stedfast.¹³⁶ Part of this religious mission is the Boys' Brigade acting as an agent in response to what Callum Brown has termed "the crisis of male leadership in existing evangelical organisations."¹³⁷ However, it is imperative not to overlook the Object of the Boys' Brigade when taking into account the achievements of its religious undertaking. The Object was "The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness" with the word "Obedience" added a decade after the original was penned in the 1880s.¹³⁸ With this in mind, possibly the most appropriate way to determine the success or otherwise of the religious mission of the movement is to consider the words from members of the church. As the leaders of the local church communities, clergymen in Bristol were well placed to determine the accomplishments of the Boys' Brigade as a religious organisation with a desire to increase male participation in the churches at the local level, as they are most closely positioned to assess this. The words of the Reverend Moffat Logan have been quoted above to illustrate the view that the organisation in Bristol was not concerned with encouraging young men to join the armed forces. His words also demonstrate that the movement in Bristol was concerned with Christian Manliness, with Boys being brought "step by step to that which was true religion".¹³⁹ Logan also believed the Boys' Brigade was uplifting the Boys, bringing them into living contact with

¹³⁵ Appendix 6.

¹³⁶ Stephen Humphries, "Review, John Springhall", p.77.

¹³⁷ Callum G. Brown, The Death, p.96.

¹³⁸ Donald M. McFarlan, First for Boys, p.14.

¹³⁹ "Boys' Brigade: Bristol Battalion", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14244, 2 May 1894, p.7.

Christ.¹⁴⁰ Such words are similar to those of the Object so in this case the Boys' Brigade in Bristol can be deemed to be true to its religious mission. The spiritual undertaking of the movement in Bristol also received the support of the Dean of Bristol Cathedral who, in a sermon delivered to 600 Boys in attendance for the fourth annual church parade of the Battalion in May 1895, referred to the way Boys would benefit spiritually, physically, and morally through association with the movement, urging them to make the most of the opportunities provided.¹⁴¹ Such comments in support from a clergyman of high status in the city illustrates that the Christian operation of the movement was a success as this level of encouragement would be important for the growth of the organisation, with advocacy from local churches crucial, as each Company had to be affiliated to a church congregation.¹⁴²

The Boys' Brigade in Bristol reflected on the product of its religious aims in a pamphlet created to celebrate the Jubilee of the Battalion in 1949. It noted that "no accurate figures can ever be kept recording the effect of this most valuable side of B. B. activity".¹⁴³ However, a positive result may be measured on retention of Boys as Officers, remarking that "it is encouraging... that most of the present Officers are drawn from the ranks of Old Boys who have reached the age limit of 18, but desire to retain [a] connection with the Brigade".¹⁴⁴ Words of this nature are indicative of what were the overall ambitions of the Boys' Brigade from its inception. It is significant to note that when Smith started the 1st Glasgow it was with the welfare of his Sunday school and church in mind and it was only when other Companies began to form that he started to consider the wider implications and the future of the organisation.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, the religious ambitions of the movement should not be considered within terms of mass change on a national scale, but on their local level influence, with the example of Bristol providing an example of achievement for the movement. The Boys' Brigade in Bristol therefore provides an example of what David Nash has viewed as an expression of changing attitudes and approaches towards religious practice and an illustration of religion thriving outside traditional spiritual outlets.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ "Bristol Volunteer Diary", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 14669, 17 May 1895, p.5.

¹⁴² "Local News", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 15789, 17 December 1898, p.4.

¹⁴³ Boys Brigade, "Bristol Battalion, Diamond Jubilee".

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Roger S Peacock, *Pioneer of Boyhood*, p.47.

¹⁴⁶ David Nash, "Reassessing", p.66.

A theme that is continuous throughout discourse on the Boys' Brigade is the nature and intentions of the training Officers in the movement placed on its members. Aside from the religious or military training that occupied the minds of many contemporaries was the idea that the Boys' Brigade prepared Boys for their life in the workplace. In his review of Sure and Stedfast Humphries commented that the connection between the discipline instilled in the Boys' Brigade and the discipline Boys would encounter in the workplace was neglected by the authors of the official history of the movement.¹⁴⁷ Although the broader sample of the BPOHP offers little to our understanding in this regard, testimony R087 provides an insight into the way in which Officers of the Boys' Brigade viewed their role in providing discipline and training that would serve them well in their working lives. It is important to note that during this time citizen training took on the dual concepts of duty and discipline that were considered by Beaven and Griffiths to be key attributes in combating the causes of cultural degeneration in the city.¹⁴⁸ The Boys' Brigade provides a unique case in this regard. Respondent R087 was aware of the role the movement was engaged with increasing the employability of Boys through discipline, commenting that the comradeship and regulations of the Brigade allowed Boys to gain work and qualities employers desired.¹⁴⁹ When asked if he thought the fair class structure in the Brigade helped working Boys have a better chance of life, he responded by saying "...I think with the training that the boys get in the Brigade it does give them a better chance later on when they have got to face up to the outside world from a working point of view".¹⁵⁰ These words represent an enthusiasm to provide Boys with an improved chance at working life and a key component of this was the discipline that paved the way for preparing Boys for the experiences of work. Although this testimony is the only instance from the first one hundred transcripts where reference to the Brigade and work discipline is made there are broader links between the movement and local businesses in Bristol. It is evident that there were close ties between prominent businessmen and businesses in Bristol and the Battalion with local industry supporting its activities. For instance, the Imperial Tobacco Company presented a trophy to the

¹⁴⁷ Stephen Humphries, "Review, John Springhall", p.77.

¹⁴⁸ Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, "Creating", p.6.

¹⁴⁹ BPOHP, Interview No. R087, BCL.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Battalion for the drill competition in the city, illustrating its support for the Boys' Brigade.¹⁵¹ By backing this particular element of the programme, rather than providing a trophy for sporting endeavours or scripture class, it illustrates an encouragement for the drill and discipline associated with the movement. In addition, Mark Whitwill, who was an eminent Officer in Bristol, was a notable businessman, and represented the Bristol Chamber of Commerce at the 1898 Brussel Exhibition,¹⁵² further emphasising the close ties between local industry and the movement in Bristol. Within this context the drill and order of the Boys' Brigade provides an example of this method of education and training outside the formal setting of the classroom in order to equip young men with the temperament necessary for the work place, with military styled activities a desirable tool for education.¹⁵³

In addition to providing Boys with a programme of discipline to prepare them for their future careers, the Boys' Brigade in Bristol offered other opportunities to its members to afford skills for their development and education. An example of this was the Battalion flower show and industrial exhibition held in the summer of 1895. At this event members from all twenty six Companies in the city took part in a competition displaying flowers and works of industry.¹⁵⁴ The classes in the industrial section of the competition included fretwork, joinery, picture framing, metal work, and drawing, to which the reporter for the local press commented: "To find Boys and young men turning their attention to a hobby that was useful – such as the iron and wood work – was very gratifying, and, with reading, was a very useful occupation for spare hours".¹⁵⁵ Such diversions provided Boys with experience in practical skills that would stand them in good stead for their adult life. It is, therefore, unsurprising that this event was held in Bristol in particular considering its close links to local industry.

¹⁵¹ BPOHP, Interview No. R087, BCL.

¹⁵² Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, p.180.

¹⁵³ Glen R. Wilkinson, "The Blessings", p.108.

¹⁵⁴ "Bristol Boys' Brigade", *The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, issue 14727, 24 July 1895, p.6.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

When Meller enquired as to why the Boys' Brigade was able to gain such a response in Bristol the question remained unanswered. This chapter has illustrated that the movement struck a chord with local citizens from the religious community and from the local Volunteers, as well as with local children. The prominence of non-conformist church congregations in the city and, most notably, the high attendance at the Salvation Army, made Bristol particularly receptive for the Boys' Brigade as an instance of religion in uniform when compared to cities of similar size. Through a more sustained and forensic approach to the BPOHP this chapter has drawn on the testimonies to bring to task the conclusions of Humphries that have come to influence our current understanding of attitudes towards youth movements. Springhall had noted that an alternative depiction of the Boys' Brigade to that of Humphries could be shown from the BPOHP. This chapter has gone beyond the selective approach of these two historians by providing a more thorough examination of the broader patterns of the testimonies. What has been shown here is that the testimonies of the BPOHP struggle to offer support to Humphries' assertions relating to the Boys' Brigade. First, it has been illustrated that the testimonies from this sample offer little support to the notion that Brigade members were subject to jeers when on parade. Rather, the sample here has shown the opposite to be the case, with testimonies depicting a sense of interest and enjoyment at the appearance of a parade. Central to Humphries' claims of hostilities towards Boys' Brigade marches was the marmalade parody. However, this chapter has shown that few testimonies made reference to this parody that was so central to Humphries' conclusions. Additionally, the instances found from this sample all came from members of the Boys' Brigade who viewed the parody with a mixture of amusement and unconcern. Therefore, by providing the context for the quotes it illustrates Humphries' manipulation of the material in order to support his predetermined position. In addition, this chapter has provided challenges to Humphries' attestation that Officers of the Brigade faced difficulty from Boys who would 'lark about' and only endured certain aspects of the programme in order to attend a camp or play at sports. Testimonies from this chapter have illustrated that, not only were Officers viewed fondly by members from this sample set, but the drill based activities - viewed as concessions to authority by Humphries - were enjoyed by Boys. Additionally, it is evident that the notion of 'larking about' had little traction in the sample set,

with few making reference to this concept. In sum, it is clearly evident that the Humphries' orthodoxy is based on assumptions that have little support from the testimonies of the BPOHP. The sample of testimonies for this chapter has outlined that the movement in Bristol was not subjected to the jeers to the extent that Humphries had suggested. Rather was it an organisation that was a source of interest in the local community and provided a unique form of entertainment for local Boys who actively pursued drill-based activities that enabled them to play as a soldier.

Chapter 6

Camping in Context: The Correlation Between the Summer Expedition and the Regular Weekly Sessions

John Springhall wrote in his history of uniformed youth organisations that “to attempt a history of British youth movements without mentioning the subject of camping would be rather like writing a history of nineteenth century China without mentioning opium”.¹ With this sentiment considered, this chapter assesses the role of the summer camp within the context of the wider programme undertaken by the Boys’ Brigade. The chapter opens with an examination of contemporary discourse relating to the role and value of a summer camp before progressing to examine the function of camping within the broader programme of work. Finally, the chapter closes with an investigation into the character of the camps of the 1st Glasgow that pioneered this activity as a leisure pursuit for young people in wider British society. The chapter critiques the prevailing historiographical consensus which purports that the summer camp was the central attraction for young people joining youth organisations during this period. The theory that the summer camp was the key attraction for *most* Boys will be brought into question with this chapter illustrating that the summer camp was far from available to the majority of members. Challenges will also be made to the notion that elements of the regular weekly sessions were tolerated by its members in order to attend a camp, with this chapter maintaining that aspects previously considered as being endured - such as drill and scripture-based pursuits - were elements that shaped the activities on camp. Rather than viewing the summer expedition as a distinct and separate part of the programme of the Boys’ Brigade, this chapter progresses existing historiography on youth movements by presenting the case that camp acted as an extension to the regular programme, providing a platform for the promotion of its core principles. In addition, it is argued here that regional and national variances in the Boys’ Brigade were perceptible through this branch of Company work which is an important notion to our

¹ John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p.98.

broader understanding of youth cultures in the urban space around the turn of the twentieth century.

Contemporary Discourse: The Role and Value of the Summer Camp

Since Springhall identified camping as a critical element to the programme of British youth movements subsequent historians have advanced this theory. The question of camping and youth movements has been considered within a number of contexts, with focus predominantly placed on camping within the work of the Scouts. Therefore, for our understanding of youth cultures at this time, it is important to focus attention on an alternative example to expand our comprehension. Historiographical debates on this activity have centred around four central themes. The first considers the annual camp as a method of improving the physical and moral health of city dwelling adolescents with the second viewing camp as a mode for the release of the frustrated energies of Boys in the urban space. The third strand considers camp as a method to compare different youth movements, with the fourth concerned with the motivations for young people joining youth organisations. By considering each of these modes of enquiry this chapter challenges existing historiography by providing a more grounded history of the rank and file of British youth movements rather than the theoretical perspectives of the higher echelons.

In Youth, Empire and Society Springhall described the notion of camp as providing a “pastoral frame of moral reference for British youth movements”.² The authors of Sure and Stedfast asserted this idea from the differing perspectives of the Officers and Boys, with the former viewing camping as a method of social conditioning, and the latter regarding the pursuit as a break from ills of urban squalor.³ In addition, Bailey made reference to the value of fresh air available to Boys on a camp for the improvement of their physical wellbeing, with Pamela Horn stating that “camping not only improved the boys’ physical health but was credited with moral and social benefits as well”.⁴ Although this first strand of historiographical enquiry is important

² Ibid, p.108.

³ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.65.

⁴ Victor Bailey, “Bibles and Dummy”, p.6; Pamela Horn, The Victorian Town Child, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), p.177.

to our understanding it is critical to place this within the wider context of other aspects of this pursuit and not view camp in broad homogenous terms of socialisation theories.

The idea of the summer camp as providing a setting for the formation of healthy habits and social conditioning is closely linked to the second theme that runs through historiographical dialogue in this area. This second strand asserts that the summer camp provided a mechanism for the release of frustrated energies of urban youth. Not only was living in the city considered by many advocates of youth movements to be detrimental to the wellbeing of adolescent Boys, it was also thought to create tensions and suppress the natural tendencies of young men. The summer camp provided a circumstance whereby the restrictions of city life were removed, providing a break from urban squalor and the pressures of life at home.⁵ This is no more so the case than in the major industrial cities of London, Glasgow, and Bristol. Through the activities undertaken during a week by the sea or in the countryside, these energies could be channelled into something deemed to be positive, all under the controlling influence of the youth organisations' leaders.

The third strand of historiography relating to the summer camp considers the way in which this branch of Company work has been highlighted as providing evidence of the contrasting approaches to issues relating to youth by various youth organisations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Springhall briefly addressed this by considering the ways in which the practice of camping differed among the Brigades, Scouts, and Cadets prior to 1914.⁶ Springhall noted that Scout camps appeared to be "less organized, more flexible and spontaneous" when compared to those held by the Boys' Brigade.⁷ In contrast, camps undertaken by the Boys' Brigade were viewed as more regimented as a result of the degree of military discipline existing in these camps.⁸ Springhall presents a "typical day in a Boys' Brigade Camp" before 1914 through presenting the programme of the 1st Glasgow as representative of the movement; with boating, bathing, and fishing all prominent activities undertaken during an average day on

⁵ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, p.98; John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.65; Pamela Horn, *Pleasures*, p.307.

⁶ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, p.102.

⁷ *Ibid*, p.101.

⁸ *Ibid*.

camp.⁹ This example is compared to the first camp of the JLB from London at Deal in 1897, with the camp routine of this organisation considered to be “slightly different” to that of the Boys’ Brigade, with the main difference being rifle drill undertaken by JLB Boys and their “strictly ‘kosher’ games” and meals.¹⁰ Springhall presents these differences as being the effect of the contrasting methods at camps by various youth movements. However, this perspective overlooks the regional and national variances and differences existing between camps of youth movements in Scotland and England that will be assessed in greater detail in the chapter to follow. Focus on the perspective of one youth movement – in this case the Boys’ Brigade – allows for the unique character of the city and the urban environment, rather than that of the youth movement, to come to the fore. As a consequence, this provides an alternative outlook on the character of camps held by youth organisations in Britain. The difference in perspective was also considered by Sam Pryke who claimed that camping largely originated from the Scouts and were more likely to hold camps and cookouts than their counterparts in the Boys’ Brigade who were more inclined to drill Boys in the streets.¹¹ The assertion by Pryke that camping largely originated in the Scouts is questionable when it is considered that camping was firmly established as part of the programme for Boys’ Brigade Companies decades before the first Scout camp. The contrasting attitudes to the summer camp between British youth movements have, therefore, an established historiographical underpinning. However, what has been largely overlooked - and is the focus of this and the chapter to follow - are the variances perceptible from city to city as opposed to between the contrasts amongst youth movements themselves. This is important for our wider understanding of the application of leisure pursuits - especially for young people - across diverse spaces and places.

The fourth aspect of contemporary discourse is associated with the relationship between camping and the motivations for young people joining youth movements. The overriding historiographical consensus is that camp was the greatest pull youth organisations had to increase their numbers. Springhall, Horn, and Melanie Tebbutt have all claimed that camping

⁹ Ibid, p.103.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Sam Pryke, “The Popularity” pp. 320 – 321.

was the greatest attraction offered by youth movements for *most* Boys.¹² In addition, Hugh Cunningham has presented a more circumspect assessment, when he attested that the key attraction was “perhaps... the annual camp”.¹³ Humphries had gone further, arguing that camp – alongside the band – was the main attraction for young people who sought to join youth movements, with drill and the militaristic aspects of the organisation and its programme viewed as concessions to authority, to be avoided when possible, and only tolerated for what else could be gained.¹⁴ Furthermore, when considering the motivation for young people joining the Scouts, Bernard Porter argued that most Boys joined the movement for camping rather than for any patriotic or idealistic reasons; for the sugar and not the pill.¹⁵ It is this set of historiographical perspectives that this chapter challenges by assessing in greater detail the symbiotic relationship between the regular weekly sessions and the summer expedition. What is maintained in this chapter is that to state that camp was the greatest attraction for *most* members is to overlook the extent this activity was undertaken by Companies. Such an argument as is visible in the historiographical consensus also neglects to consider in sufficient detail the relationship between the summer camp and the regular weekly sessions which this and the chapter to follow seek to address. Furthermore, the position that has been most strongly advocated by Humphries – that drill and military aspects were considered to be concessions – fails to appreciate the nature of Boys’ Brigade camps where these elements were often prominent.

The Benefit and Function of the Summer Camp for Officers and Boys

Before assessing the perspectives to this pursuit by Companies from the three case studies of this thesis it is important to examine the reasons this pastime was undertaken. As the culmination of the year’s activities for a Boys’ Brigade Company, the summer camp provided a multitude of opportunities for Officers to advance the values of the organisation amongst its Boys. Assessment of the perspective of Officers and advocates of the movement during the decades of focus in this chapter provides an insight into the motivations for holding a camp. Moreover, it also exemplifies how the camp – for those Companies who held one – fitted within

¹² John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, p.98; Pamela Horn, *Pleasures*, p.307; Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, p.74.

¹³ Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention*, p.209.

¹⁴ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, p.134; Steve Humphries, Joanna Mack, and Robert Perks, *A Century*, p.75.

¹⁵ Bernard Porter, *The Absent*, pp. 208 – 211.

the broader programme of regular drill and religious classes. This presents the argument that camp was more of an extension of the ordinary weekly programme, rather than acting as a separate entity in itself. It is argued here that the basis of the activities on camp – and the values disseminated – were similar to those expressed during the regular weekly sessions. For Companies who either hosted a camp, or sent Boys to a Battalion or District camp, the summer expedition to the coast or countryside provided an opportunity to advance the weekly programme of scripture, discipline, and moralistic values that were laid outside the summer months. However, the summer camp was not a viable prospect for a large number of Companies. This could be through a lack of experience of the Officers, deficiency in finances, or a Company taking a complete break from Brigade work during the summer months. Not only do these factors bring into doubt existing historiography, but they have a broader significance to our understanding of how these youth movements functioned in practice. Nevertheless, a camp provided a unique opportunity to bring Officers into closer contact with the Boys under their care and to promote the object of the movement which was “the advancement of Christ’s Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness”.¹⁶

By banding Boys together with their Officers for a week away during the summer months a Boys’ Brigade camp yielded a chance for the young subscribers to become better acquainted with their group leaders. For F. P. Gibbon – editor of The Boys’ Brigade Gazette for several years at the beginning of the twentieth-century – the summer camp was “the officers great opportunity... in no other way can a man get to know Boys so intimately, or exert such influence over them”.¹⁷ Therefore, in order for the values of the movement to grow in the Boys it was important for the Officers to learn more about the Boys under their care. This notion is clearly observable when assessing the practical application of the theory at the Company level. During the 1890s camp began to develop as a summer activity for some Companies in England. On reviewing the London Battalion camp at Hayling Island in 1892, the report sent to The Boys’ Brigade Gazette noted that “we know of nothing to equal a well-conducted summer camp as a

¹⁶ “Who We Are”, The Boys’ Brigade, last accessed 25 November 2014, <http://www.boys-brigade.org.uk/howeare.htm>; Donald M. McFarlan, First For Boys. The Story of The Boys’ Brigade 883 – 1983, (London: Collins, 1982); p.14.

¹⁷ F. P. Gibbon, William A. Smith, p.93.

means of bringing officers into close personal contact with their Boys, enabling them to understand them better and, as a consequence, to love and respect them more”.¹⁸ However, the wider impact of this programme was reduced as the number who attended this camp, including the Officers themselves, was only 342 from the membership of the whole city.¹⁹ For Officers from the Bristol Battalion, the camp provided “many opportunities for a quiet chat with the boys about spiritual things”.²⁰ The situation was similar in Scotland where, in 1891, Company camps by the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow were viewed as beneficial through “the impressions produced on young hearts by the close contact into which Officers and boys are brought on such occasions”.²¹ Therefore, the summer camp was viewed as a valuable branch of Company work through the unique way in which Officers and Boys could become better acquainted. As a result, it was hoped by the Officers that they would be more suitably placed to influence Boys’ characters and instil into them morally sound habits. However, the extent to which the camps influenced members of the movement is limited by the numbers of Boys who experienced this activity. This is significant when considering the value the existing historiographical consensus places on this branch of Company work to the overall experience of a uniformed youth movement.

As camping became increasingly established as a branch of Company work, the language relating to the fostering of relationships between Officers and Boys began to alter. As the organisation moved towards its Golden Jubilee the way in which the summer camp was approached in this regard began to change. By 1905 camping was considered in the review of ‘camp notes’ in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette as offering an opportunity for “a feeling of comradeship between officers and Boys”.²² For the 76th Glasgow the summer camps under the stewardship of their Captain – J. B. Shaw – in the 1920s were “an occasion for the deeper mutual understanding of officer and Boy”.²³ In addition, in a review of Company versus Battalion camps in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette in 1923, camp was assessed as providing an opportunity for Officers and Boys “to

¹⁸ “Boys’ Brigade Summer Camps”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 2, 6, October 1892, p.135.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ “Local News”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 15789, 17 December 1898, p.4.

²¹ Anon, The Boys’ Brigade. History, p.32.

²² “Camp Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 14, 1, September 1905, pp. 5 – 11; p.5

²³ Anon, 76th Glasgow, pp. 17 – 18.

become real pals”.²⁴ It is apparent, therefore, that the character of the summer camp evolved during the first few decades of its undertaking. From the examples of Bristol, London, and Glasgow in the 1890s it is discernible that the relationship between Officer and Boy was one sided; with the onus on the leaders to get to know their Boys better. By the 1920s this relationship had altered into one that saw camp as providing a means for the formation of friendships between the two parties. This is indicative of Tebbutt’s broader assertion that “The 1920s saw many former social taboos relaxing, and social relations becoming more informal than had been the case before the war”.²⁵ Therefore, camp within the Boys’ Brigade provides us with a useful indicator of changes in wider British society where the relationship between adults and young people during the first three decades of the twentieth century altered significantly.

One theme that runs through the rhetoric of the summer camp when promoting its value for urban youth is the notion that the summer camp afforded poorer city Boys an escape from the crowded city. Beaven has noted that the belief that the modern city was promoting a weak class of men was widespread in the years before the First World War.²⁶ Moreover, between 1900 and 1918 the city was viewed as a significant cause of urban degeneration, with a reaction to this witnessing greater emphasis on training of young people in forms of leisure that encouraged a sense of duty and discipline.²⁷ The summer camps of the Boys’ Brigade provide an important example of this, with their dual role of removing Boys from urban squalor whilst providing a form of routine on military lines, embracing this ethos unequivocally. For Boys in Bristol and Glasgow the summer camp was seen by Officers as providing an important break from the ills of the city. On reviewing the 1908 camp at Uphill by the Bristol Battalion it was written in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette that

For Boys whose lives for the most part are spent in the more crowded and smoky quarters of a city, a week’s pure air breathed night and day must be good. The benefit goes deeper than the bronzed skin. The mind, too, is influenced by ‘the beauty all around’, and a walk down the

²⁴ A. Earnshaw, “Company V. Battalion Camps”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 32, 4, December 1923, p.55.

²⁵ Melanie Tebbutt, Being Boys, p.194.

²⁶ Brad Beaven, Leisure, Citizenship, p.96.

²⁷ Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, “Creating”, pp. 6 – 7.

lines with the C.O. on one of his tours of inspection shows that method and order form a part of the useful and important discipline of camp.²⁸

Similarly, in Glasgow, camping was perceived as providing an occasion for a number of working Boys who had little chance of leaving the city to experience the “health-giving surroundings of the seaside”.²⁹ However, the idea of removing Boys from the city was viewed as a more pressing concern for Boys in London. This is particularly evident from the correspondence relating to the summer camps hosted by the South London Battalion President, R. G. Hayes. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, and into the first years of the twentieth, Hayes wrote several letters to the local press informing citizens of the special needs of the organisation and the beneficial work conducted at the seaside camps for young people. In a piece appearing in The Standard, Hayes drew attention to the work of the organisation in the south of the city:

In this poor and populous portion of the great City in which we live there is a great work going on of which many of your readers scarcely dream. Nearly every night in the week there are hundreds of poor lads, in many cases of the very roughest type, brought under the influence of discipline, Christian teaching, and all that tends towards true Christian manliness.³⁰

The letter continues by informing the editor that Officers have arranged a summer camp for these Boys where “They will be taken away for eight or nine days, and while having every opportunity for enjoying themselves, will also reap the benefits which a camp carried out on military principles will confer”.³¹ Not only does the letter exhibit the ethos that camp was important in removing Boys from the squalor of London, his comments emphasise the critical role of the regular weekly sessions. The idea of helping ‘the roughest type’ of Boys from a ‘poor and populous portion’ of London is also evident in letters in The Daily News and The Standard the following years where the incalculable benefits of camp on the Boys are conferred to the

²⁸ “The Bristol Battalion at Uphill”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 12 – 13; p.12.

²⁹ “The Boys’ Brigade – Glasgow Battalion Summer Camp”, The Glasgow Herald, issue 125, 26 May 1893, p.1.

³⁰ “South London Boys’ Brigade”, The Standard, issue 23421, 21 July 1899, p.6.

³¹ *Ibid.*

readers.³² These letters demonstrate the importance of providing an outlet for Boys to be removed from the city in order to experience the beneficial influence of the seaside under the influences of military discipline. Moreover, the letters indicate how the work of the Boys' Brigade was seen as important in influencing the lives of young men - prominently from working-class homes - in Christian morals on a weekly basis; with the camp an extension of the regular weekly programme.

The summer camp providing a break for London Boys was also manifest at an inspection of the movement in the capital by the Lord Mayor in April 1896. Here the training of the organisation – including the system of summer camps – was conveyed to the crowds of spectators.³³ These camps were promoted as being beneficial to Boys as they provided an opportunity for lads to leave the city for a healthy and restful week which they would otherwise not have.³⁴

Furthermore, a similar animating principle was discernible in the north of the city, where the camp for Boys from Enfield was promoted as profitable to these Boys by removing them from the urban setting for a week. In a comment piece appearing in Meyers's Observer in November 1902 it was written by a local Officer that “one cannot measure the moral and physical good gained by the Boys, who for at least a week of their lives are away from their usual surroundings – in many instances bad and unhealthy – and are thus brought into the pure atmosphere and under the moral influence of their officers”.³⁵ In addition, the annual display of the movement in London offered another place where the benefits of camp for poor city Boys could be promoted. For example, the programme for the 1905 Royal Albert Hall demonstration contained an article calling for financial support to enable poorer members of the Boys' Brigade in the capital to attend the summer camp.³⁶ It was written that these Boys in particular required a break from the city and would benefit from the “health-giving respite from their daily work”.³⁷ Therefore, for London Boys in particular, but also for young people living in Glasgow and Bristol, the summer camp was viewed as an essential method of influencing a Boy's physical and

³² “Letters to the Editor”, The Daily News, issue 16930, 28 June 1900, p.6; “Letters to the Editor”, The Standard, issue 23714, 28 June 1900, p.4.

³³ “The Boys' Brigade”, The Morning Post, issue 38647, 20 April 1896, p.2.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ “Boys' Brigade – Enfield Battalion”, Meyers's Observer and Local and General Observer, 21 November 1902, p.8.

³⁶ EBBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 11 May 1905.

³⁷ Ibid.

moral health by withdrawing him from the harmful influences of the city. In addition, the call for funds suggests that the Boys' Brigade was more open to working-class children where the Officers, notably in London, were keen to enable their poorest members the opportunity to camp.

Removing Boys from the city was viewed by Officers as important for enhancing the health of young Boys. However, the health-giving benefits of the sea or country air alone was insufficient for this. Boys' Brigade camps provided a series of activities to positively influence Boys' health in the form of promoting beneficial habits through wholesome training. The camps held by Boys' Brigade Companies began to expand at the turn of the century; a time when fears of deterioration of the urban poor – who were exposed to the slum environment and conditions detrimental to physical health and strength – were connected to the unfitness of military service and service to the Empire.³⁸ The health-giving benefits of a Boys' Brigade camp were promoted by advocates of the movement from the 1890s and into the early decades of the twentieth century. This was a reaction by the movement to the perceived ills of urban society on the physical wellbeing of young people. In a letter appearing in The Spectator in July 1911 a number of prominent leaders of the movement – including Roger Peacock and John Moody – commented on the benefits to health of a summer camp as “the proper complement” to the systematic course of exercise and military drill of the winter months.³⁹ This letter, as with many appearing in the press on the issue at this time, was a request for financial support to the Boys' Brigade from those sympathetic to its aims. Those who put their name to the letter commented that it was their ambition to send every Boy in its ranks to camp, with donations to be used to confer “boys a week's experience of camp life in pure air and under proper supervision” as well as supporting “an organization which is working strenuously for the improvement of the manhood of the Empire”.⁴⁰ The letter also stated that the existing level of funds did not allow for more than one-third of the Boys to attend camp.⁴¹ This, therefore, meant that significant numbers of the movement would not have been able to experience the health benefits of the training undertaken on camp. Furthermore, this demonstrates that financial considerations were

³⁸ Troy Boone, Youth of Darkest, pp. 110 – 113.

³⁹ “The Boys' Brigade: Seaside Camps for London Boys”, The Spectator, 22 July 1911, p.141.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

the most pressing barrier restricting the number of Boys able to attend camp and infers that the Boys' Brigade had significant numbers of working-class Boys in its rank and file. The comments also provide evidence of the important relationship between camp and the regular weekly sessions that have been neglected in existing histories. Therefore, financial pressures bring into doubt the certainty of claims that camp was the biggest attraction to young people joining a youth organisation, particularly for those from the poorest families, as it is evident that a significant proportion of Boys' Brigade members were not afforded the opportunity to camp due to financial restrictions.

From the early years of camping by the movement its benefits to the physical health of those taking part was paramount. The review of Company camps in The Boys' Brigade Gazette of October 1890 commented that "It would be difficult to imagine anything more beneficial to Boys, in its moral and physical results, than a well-conducted summer camp".⁴² The open-air exercises, activities including drilling and rowing, as well as an abundance of well-cooked meals, were said to bring enjoyment of "the healthiest kind".⁴³ This notion was visible at camps held by the 1st Glasgow at Tighnabruaich in the summer of 1892, where the camp was described as "truly a Boys' paradise" with each day "big with keen interest and healthy enjoyment".⁴⁴ By 1914 camp was considered to be "one of the most important features of the Boys' Brigade work" where "healthy training" was provided during the summer months.⁴⁵ The health merits of the summer camp continued after the First World War where the changing nature of camps from the 1920s meant that the summer expedition was viewed as more of a holiday. At the annual Brigade Council meeting in 1924 the advantages of camp were discussed, with the rewards of sunlight for the Boys deemed important during "the Boys' ideal holiday".⁴⁶ Therefore, throughout the first few decades of its undertaking, the health benefits of camping were promoted by the Boys' Brigade in a number of Companies during the summer months. Camping became viewed increasingly as an important branch of Company work for the healthy

⁴² "Company Summer Camps", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 1, 8, October 1890, p.135.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ "1st Glasgow Company Camp at Tighnabruaich", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 2, 6, October 1892, p.139.

⁴⁵ EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 7 May 1914.

⁴⁶ "The Ideals and Methods of Camp", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 33, 4, December 1924, pp. 59 – 60; p.59.

enjoyment and training of its members. This is particularly important for our wider understanding of reactions to fears over the inheritance of Empire.⁴⁷

An example of the ways in which Officers became more intimately concerned with the health of the Boys under their care on camp is clearly visible in instances where interest was expressed on Boys' oral hygiene. The issue of care of teeth came to the attention of the editors of The Boys' Brigade Gazette in the early months of 1909, where the subject was discussed by Officers through comment pieces. These debates occurred at a similar time to the publication of Scouting for Boys, where Baden-Powell provided advice on brushing teeth as a method to assist Boys in their defence against the challenges of the modern city.⁴⁸ The concerns regarding oral hygiene are indicative of the ways in which Officers and Boys could become more intimately acquainted whilst on a summer camp. In his letter on the issue to The Boys' Brigade Gazette, Captain Wilson of the 1st Milngavie made reference to "the B.P. Scouts and the advice those boys are given on taking care of their teeth".⁴⁹ Wilson's attention was drawn to the subject on reading an article in The Westminster Gazette which commented on the high number of applicants to positions in the police force of a colonial municipality being rejected on account of their defective teeth, despite otherwise being of excellent physique.⁵⁰ In his letter, Wilson posed a question to his fellow Officers; "How many of us have ever seen a B.B. Boy cleaning his teeth in camp", urging his peers to encourage Boys to take care of their oral hygiene and visit the dentist if necessary.⁵¹ The letter led to a response from Herbert Medill – Captain of the 99th London – who recalled his own experience relating to the issue:

My attention was particularly drawn to this subject three years ago when several cases of severe toothache occurred in camp. On investigation, I found that very few of my Boys ever cleaned their teeth, and certainly there was no tooth brush amongst them in camp.⁵²

⁴⁷ Troy Boone, Youth of Darkest, pp. 110 - 113.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 128.

⁴⁹ H. A. Wilson, "Care of Teeth", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 5, January 1909, p.76.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

⁵¹ *Ibid*.

⁵² "Correspondence", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 6, February 1909, p. 92.

As a consequence, Medill approached a friend who was an ‘eminent’ dentist on returning home from camp who offered to inspect the teeth of all the Boys in his Company.⁵³ In addition to this, lectures on teeth were given at the regular weekly sessions of the 99th London, with the “tooth inspection” becoming an annual event.⁵⁴ This example provides further evidence of the symbiotic relationship between a summer camp and the regular weekly sessions that previous histories have neglected and is important to our broader understanding of how youth movements functioned in practice.

By the 1920s it is perceptible that the cleaning of teeth by Boys on camp had become an established element in the maintenance of personal hygiene on camp. In ‘camp suggestions’ in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette of May 1924, it was advised that “the cleaning of teeth at least once daily should be insisted upon, and camp is the place to start this good habit”.⁵⁵ Considering the accounts from the 1st Milngavie and 99th London it is discernible that without the summer camp the Officers of these Companies would have remained unaware of this particular issue of personal hygiene. By becoming more intimately acquainted with Boys on camp it became possible for Officers to understand the challenges facing Boys. Moreover, the example of care of teeth demonstrates how camp and the regular weekly programme were closely connected, with the experience of camp influencing the attitudes of Officers from these Companies to issues relating to personal hygiene. This was, therefore, a further example of the healthy training encouraged by the Boys’ Brigade on camp. It was hoped that wholesome habits would be formed thus improving the physical well-being of a number of Boys in large urban cities which was a pressing concern in contemporary British society.

As well as concerning themselves with the physical health of Boys on camp, Boys’ Brigade Officers were keen to influence lads’ in a moral and spiritual way. This aspect of camping made the Boys’ Brigade exceptional when compared to other youth movements such as the Scouts, making it an important case for examination. For Baden-Powell’s movement the spiritual elements that were prominent in the Brigade were not to the fore of the programme of work.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Camp Suggestions”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 32, 9, May 1924, pp. 125 – 126; p.125.

Whilst the Scouts were generally favourable of religion it was not a movement concerned with the advancement of Christ's Kingdom, nor for the promotion of any religious or spiritual purpose.⁵⁶ This meant that Officers of the Boys' Brigade would undertake a camp for its spiritual as well as for its health giving advantages. In Glasgow, Bristol, and London the idea of camp acting as a vehicle to advance Christian teaching was particularly evident. From early in the history of camps of youth movements, the notion of a camp promoting Christian values was perceptible. For example, in a review of the Bristol Battalion expedition of 1898 the chaplain on camp was highlighted for providing a "fine example of muscular Christianity" with the camp as a whole affording "many opportunities for a quiet chat with the boys about spiritual things".⁵⁷ Similarly, a joint expedition of the 27th, 29th, and 79th London Companies at Swalecliffe in the summer of 1908 saw opportunities to "awaken or strengthen in many a heart a desire after the discipleship of Christ".⁵⁸ Moreover, for one camp chaplain to a Battalion camp held in the early twentieth century, the value of a summer camp to the spiritual benefit of the Boys in attendance was the result of the influence of the regular weekly sessions where "habits of personal cleanliness and smartness are formed, and the work done on the weekly parade, and at the Bible-class, is seen bearing fruit that would make many teachers and Christian workers quite envious".⁵⁹ Therefore, for Officers of the Boys' Brigade, the summer camp acted as a tool to influence Boys in a moral and spiritual sense. It was this aspect of the Brigade programme that made it characteristically different from the Scouts and as a result the tone of its camps – and their respective attitudes to challenges facing urban youth – was markedly different. Furthermore, the spiritual aspect of camps provides evidence to illustrate the crucial relationship between the summer excursion and the regular weekly sessions.

The notion of the summer camp acting as a vehicle to encourage increased interest in religious matters continued during the years of the First World War and in the following decades. In a March 1915 article to The Boys' Brigade Gazette the chaplain of the 69th Glasgow – the Reverend George Barclay – provided his thoughts on the question 'why run a camp'. Of a camp it was said that "There is no doubt that it's rather a bother. The number of things that have to

⁵⁶ Paul Wilkinson, "English Youth", p.14; Allen Warren, "Sir Robert", p. 388.

⁵⁷ "Local News", Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 15789, 17 December 1898, p.4.

⁵⁸ "Camp Notes", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 3, November 1908, pp. 39 – 43; p.41.

⁵⁹ "Our Battalion Camp", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 20, 9, May 1912, pp. 133 – 134; p.134.

be carefully planned weeks before, the amount of arranging with contractors and farmers and purveyors, and Officers and Boys and parents, is really very considerable”.⁶⁰ Moreover, this was even more evident during the war years, when restrictions by military authorities inflated the challenges of hosting a summer camp.⁶¹ Despite the obstacles, for Barclay a camp was thought to be “gloriously worth while”.⁶² Barclay commented that “the greatest thing in a B.B. camp is the opportunity for what we call ‘The advancement of Christ’s Kingdom’ in its most real and vital sense” adding that “Boys are more easily influenced in Camp than at any other time” with the fresh air, exercise, and unfamiliar surroundings making them “more receptive than usual”.⁶³ Therefore, for Barclay camping had a far greater ability to influence Boys spiritually, with camp prayers said to be received with a greater sense of solemnity than at Bible-classes, and Officers afforded the opportunity to “crown and complete the work begun in a session of Bible-class teaching”.⁶⁴ Consequently, camping was viewed by some Officers to be the climax of the year, providing an opportunity to put into practice the ideals of a Christian life that the regular weekly sessions attempted to instil.⁶⁵ However, the broader influence of this is tempered by attendance figures and was an issue highlighted by Brigade authorities. For example, the annual report for 1922 showed that only one-third of Boys’ Brigade members attended a summer camp.⁶⁶ For those in charge of the movement this was a difficulty and it was noted that “there must be a great many Companies in which the immense moral and spiritual value of a B.B. camp is not yet sufficiently recognised”.⁶⁷ Therefore, the summer camp was a valuable tool for Officers in promoting Christian values on its members in contrast to the situation at Scout camps. It acted as an extension - or crown - of the teaching provided during the regular weekly programme, and was an opportunity to influence Boys in an unfamiliar setting. However, the wider effect of camp on both religious and other aspects of Company work was limited when the broader

⁶⁰ Rev George Barclay, “Why Run a Camp?”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 23, 7, March 1915, pp. 100 – 101; p.100.

⁶¹ By 1916 the Army Council had ordered that camps should not be held in the following areas: Bedfordshire, Berkshire (East of a line through Henley, Reading, and Blackwater), Buckinghamshire, Cambridge, Durham, Essex, Hertfordshire, Huntingdon, Kent, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Northumberland, Nottingham, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Yorkshire North Riding, and Yorkshire East Riding. “London Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 24, 1, September 1915, p.2; “A Battalion Camp in Wartime”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 24, 1, September 1915, pp. 11 – 12; pp. 11 – 12; “Military Regulations for Camps”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 24, 9, May 1916, p.130.

⁶² Rev George Barclay, “Why Run”, p.100.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 100 – 101.

⁶⁵ EBBCCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 7 May 1936.

⁶⁶ “Brigade Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 31, 1, September 1922, pp. 1 – 2; p.2.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

attendance figures of summer camps are taken into consideration. This is important when considering the significance this branch of Company work has been afforded in previous histories relating to youth movements and, crucially, for the overall appeal of these organisations, bringing into doubt the historiographical consensus on this issue.

The final element that can be considered to have contributed to the overall value and role of the summer camp relates to discipline. It was discipline that underpinned all elements of a Boys' Brigade camp and was integral to the running of this branch of Company work. In the early years of its undertaking many Officers had experience of time spent in the armed forces. This often meant that camps were run in observance of military control, with some carried out under strict conformity with the Queen's regulations.⁶⁸ These camps contribute to the trend in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that saw the growth and development of youth training that would introduce discipline into the leisure pursuits for young people for the benefit of the nation and Empire.⁶⁹ Not only was the discipline of a Boys' Brigade camp deemed to be a positive form of training, it was also considered to enhance the enjoyment of camp for Boys. This discipline was, in part, the result of the use of drill to control the Boys. This is in contrast to the less regimented camps of the Scouts who did not include the use of drill due to Baden-Powell's opposition to this form of exercise for what he saw as its detrimental influence on initiative and self-discipline.⁷⁰ Reviews of Company and Battalion camps appearing in articles in The Boys' Brigade Gazette provide an insight into the extent to which the issue of discipline was significant to the arrangement and running of a camp. The relationship between drill and discipline on camp was particularly noticeable in a review of an unnamed Battalion camp published in the The Boys' Brigade Gazette in May 1912. On the subject of drill it was written that "The daily routine of drill and inspection and free time are varied scientifically, so as to preserve the strictest discipline with the largest possible personal liberty, all of which make for the development of individual character".⁷¹ Although the ways in which the time management of camp was approached 'scientifically' were not disclosed, the emphasis on the importance of a

⁶⁸John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, pp. 64 – 66.

⁶⁹Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship*, p.97; Brad Beaven and John Griffiths "Creating", p. 7.

⁷⁰Victor Bailey, "Scouting for Empire", *History Today*, 32, 7, 1982, pp.5-9; p.6; Sam Pryke, "The Popularity", pp. 320 – 323.

⁷¹"Our Battalion Camp", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 20, 9, May 1912, pp. 133 – 134; p.134.

balance between discipline and personal liberty are a mark of a Boys' Brigade camp. This notion was observable at the camp attended by Boys of the 5th Glasgow in 1905 where camp was described as "a joyous, happy time" where "everyone welcomes the sense of freedom, freedom the outcome of that discipline and *esprit de corps* so akin to our organization".⁷² A similar ethos was expressed when reflecting on the joint camp of four Companies from Glasgow at Kingarth in 1899. At this camp, where seventy three Boys were under the care of twelve Officers, it was said that "The strictest B.B. discipline was, as usual, maintained throughout the period of encampment, and this, instead of lessening the Boys' enjoyment of camp life, seems rather to have increased it in every way".⁷³ Therefore, discipline and drill on camp provided a sense of order and regularity to camp; something that was less perceptible in the camps held by the Scouts. In the review of the South London Battalion camp at Paghan – where 400 Boys were under canvas – great pride was expressed in the efficiency of the camp.⁷⁴ Furthermore, for the Bristol Battalion camp, the Boys – who had "that mark of true discipline" – were viewed as having improved in personal character through tidiness, order, and punctuality.⁷⁵ Hence, the drill and discipline of the Boys' Brigade during the regular weekly sessions was also prominent on camp. This brings into doubt the perspective of historians such as Humphries who contest that such aspects were tolerated on a week-to-week basis in order to attend the camp.⁷⁶ Therefore, the summer camp – with drill and discipline at its core – had an appeal in itself to a growing number of Boys who attended camps during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, to suggest that these aspects of the programme could be avoided where possible overlooks their all-encompassing presence at a camp and during the regular programme of activities.

It is discernible that the Boys' Brigade camp was an element of Brigade work that encapsulated a multitude of functions. Much in the same way as other youth organisations at the time, a number of Boys' Brigade Companies utilised a camping expedition for the physical improvement of its members by removing them from the squalor of the cities where they lived.

⁷² "Camp Notes", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 14, 1, September 1905, pp. 5 – 11; p.9.

⁷³ "Summer Camps", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 8, 1, September 1899, pp. 5 – 11; p.8.

⁷⁴ "Camp Notes", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 7 – 12; p.11.

⁷⁵ "Review of Battalion Annual Reports", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 4, 3, February 1896, pp. 59 – 60; p.59.

⁷⁶ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 – 135.

What made Boys' Brigade camps unique, particularly when compared to the Scouts, was the emphasis placed on religious and spiritual aspects of the Company programme of work. For those Officers who took their Boys on camp, the outdoor air and unfamiliar surroundings enabled them to become better acquainted with the members. As a consequence, camp was often viewed as a place to promote and advance Christ's Kingdom amongst Boys as per the object of the movement. The historiographical consensus purports that camp was the key attraction for Boys wanting to join youth movements, with drill and militaristic elements deemed to be concessions to authority that were endured in order to spend a week away under canvas.⁷⁷ However, it has been shown here that a summer camp of the Boys' Brigade – and the values it promoted on camp – were underpinned by drilling and military discipline that were in place to instil order and create efficiency. This was particularly noticeable in the years leading up to and including the First World War. With drill and military duties undertaken on camp and during the regular weekly programme it is difficult to envisage how these features could be avoided on camp. Therefore, considering camps as a branch of Company work utilised to advance the values of the movement, the role of the summer camp was as an extension of the regular weekly sessions, to test if weekly training in Bible-class and on the drill parade were being undertaken correctly, and to act as a bridge between sessions during the summer months. It is within these terms that the camp should be considered and where its value and importance to our broader understanding of youth cultures is found.

William Alexander Smith and the Plans he laid

Analysis of the responses to camp and the benefits it was deemed to have on members of the movement show the ways the activity was utilised on a national scale. However, by considering the approach of the founder to this branch of Company work at his own Company it is possible to illustrate how camping became a significant element of the Brigade programme and, subsequently, to holiday making in early twentieth century British society. By assessing the approach of William Alexander Smith to the camps of the 1st Glasgow between 1886 (the very first camp) and 1913 (the last he attended) it is possible to show how the unique character of

⁷⁷ Ibid; Bernard Porter, *The Absent*, pp. 208 – 211.

Glasgow at the time came to the fore and was visible in the work of Boys' Brigade camps. Although previous chapters have offered an assessment of the limitations of focusing on the perspective of founders, the method here differs to existing histories as it places William Alexander Smith firmly within the lived experience of his own local Company rather than within the parameters of any theoretical perspectives to youth work. Moreover, the records of the 1st Glasgow provide an unrivalled insight into the practical application of the Brigade model at the local level, making it a valuable case for examination. It has been argued by Springhall that "programmes varied in detail in different areas" in camps during the early years.⁷⁸ The variances were at the discretion of the commanding Officer who would decide on the structure of the programme for the week on camp. These variances were apparent in Glasgow through the nautical adaptations on camp. Not only were these a reflection of the original plans of Smith, and his personal passion for recreational activities on the water, it was also an indication of the character of a number of citizens from the city. The nature of these early camps was indicative of the early influences on the movement. Smith viewed camp as a place to provide wholesome conditions for consecrating the hearts of working-class Boys for service to God.⁷⁹ Such an ethos is illustrative of the approach to youth work in the city of Glasgow, where the environment was one that saw extensive evangelical activity amongst competitive church denominations.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the adoption of camping – with its distinctive military connotations – is symptomatic of the effect of the Volunteers on the character of the movement in Glasgow, where large numbers of Officers in the Boys' Brigade during its formative years had experience serving in Volunteer regiments. The discipline of the Volunteers was carried over into Boys' Brigade camps and the ideals set by the founder saw a balance between keen discipline, free time, and enjoyment.⁸¹ These elements provide a further example of how Boys' Brigade camps were uniquely characterised by religious aspects, but retained a sense of militarism that was prevalent in many leisure pursuits for young people and in wider British society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁷⁸ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.66.

⁷⁹ William Alexander Smith, "The Boys' Brigade", p.662.

⁸⁰ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast*, p.44.

⁸¹ Roger S Peacock, *Pioneer of Boyhood*, p.82.

The focus on water-based activities and the prominence of naval manoeuvres at camps of the 1st Glasgow were characteristic of their nature under Smith. Although fishing, bathing, and rowing were different from the regular weekly activities of drill and Bible study, the tone of discipline remained from these classes. Furthermore, the degree of militaristic influence remained – albeit on naval lines – whilst on the summer camp. The water based singularity of the camps of the 1st Glasgow in the years before the First World War came from the passion the Captain had for the sea and sailing. G. Stanley Smith – William’s son – reflected on his father’s avidness for the water in an article written for the celebrations to mark fifty years of the movement. Of his father, G. Stanley Smith wrote “he was never happier than at the tiller of a sailing ship” adding definitively that “he loved the sea and ships”.⁸² In addition, Gibbon noted in his biography of the founder that “He and his wife loved the water... and he taught the boys to share his delight in swimming, rowing and sailing”.⁸³ Furthermore, according to Peacock, Smith was a confident and experienced yachtsman and felt as safe in a rowing-boat as others might in their bed.⁸⁴ Therefore, Smith’s background in water-based activities shaped the way the camps of the 1st Glasgow were undertaken during the first decades of the enterprise. This provided the base for a unique take on the military styled penchant of the Boys’ Brigade and issued an alternative mode of expression for military manoeuvres of the drill parades of the regular weekly sessions.

From its inception the camps of the 1st Glasgow were based on the water. The journey from Glasgow to the campsite at Tighnabruaich was made on the steamship ‘Columbia’.⁸⁵ This is in contrast to journeys to camps by a number of Companies from Bristol and London who often marched to camp, with railways occasionally used for the transportation of Boys and equipment. Such was the importance of boating to the 1st Glasgow camps that Smith provided Boys with orders for boating. The camp orders for the 1913 expedition to Tighnabruaich provide an indication of the role of the boats within the wider programme of the Company. The orders for boating stipulated that “the safety as well as the pleasure of all Boating Expeditions will depend upon all orders being instantly Obeyed” with Officers and NCOs advised to afford special

⁸² G. Stanley Smith, “My Father”, The B.B. Jubilee Bulletin. Glasgow. September 1933. The Official Newspaper of the Celebrations, 11 September 1933, p.3.

⁸³ F. P. Gibbon, William A. Smith, p.68.

⁸⁴ Roger S Peacock, Pioneer of Boyhood, p.80.

⁸⁵ J. Berend Shaw, The Glasgow, p.22.

attention to this instruction.⁸⁶ It was noted that crews should take pride in working smartly in their four-oared boats and that “embarking and debarking will be carried out *quickly* and *quietly*”.⁸⁷ The orders also carried instructions on the code signals for the boats, with coloured flags used to signal forming column of line and other similar naval manoeuvres.⁸⁸ These orders reflected many of the values promoted by the organisation. The boats were under military styled discipline and great importance was placed on obedience to orders. Furthermore, there existed a correlation between enjoyment and respect for authority and instruction in the boats to the structure of the regular weekly sessions. Not only does this demonstrate that duty and discipline instilled during the regular weekly programme continued on camp it also displays that military styled exercises continued from the drill hall of the winter months onto the waters of the week on camp. This further emphasises the prominence of the role of strict military styled discipline in the work of the movement, raising doubts on Humphries’ assertion that drill based pursuits were avoided where possible.

In addition to the boating orders given to the Boys prior to camp, preparatory sessions were held by the 1st Glasgow to ensure that members were sufficiently prepared for the expedition. Prior to the 1913 camp a circular letter written by the Captain was distributed, providing an idea of the planned routine.⁸⁹ This contained details of special parades – including a band practice and additional Bible class, as well as a supplementary final preparatory parade and band practice.⁹⁰ This was followed by a letter of extra orders – issued on the same date as the final practice – that gave instruction to Boys to have a haircut and “a good warm bath before going to camp”.⁹¹ This final letter, again from the pen of the Captain, emphasises the weight Smith placed on the physical bearing and appearance of Boys so as to ensure a positive image of the movement was upheld. When on camp, Boys were reminded to never forget that they were members of the Boys’ Brigade, and to present a favourable impression of the movement, with

⁸⁶ Glasgow City Archives, The Boys’ Brigade D4 1st Glasgow, Folder ‘G1’, “1st Glasgow Company, Boys’ Brigade, Summer Camp. ‘Orders for Boating’”, 1913.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ GCA, The Boys’ Brigade D4 1st Glasgow, Folder ‘G1’, William Alexander Smith, “Circular for 1st Glasgow Company, The Boys’ Brigade. Summer Camp”, 1913.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ GCA, The Boys’ Brigade D4 1st Glasgow, Folder ‘G1’, “Letter – ‘Additional Orders’ for The Boys; Brigade. 1st Glasgow Company Summer Camp, 1913”, 15 July 1913.

this included as a reminder in Smith's standing orders for the 1895 Company camp.⁹² The preparatory sessions, particularly the prominence of band practices, highlights the symbiotic relationship between the regular weekly sessions and camp. Furthermore, this emphasises the particular importance of music to the experience of Boys' Brigade membership in Glasgow.

On camp water-based activities dominated the daily routine and characterised the summer expeditions under Smith. Fishing was one activity that was common place in the camping programme for the 1st Glasgow. At the 1888 camp the fishing parade was one of the first activities undertaken with seven four-oared boats taking to the waters on the first evening.⁹³ This attests that those in charge of the camp were keen to press home the difference between the life in the city left behind for a week, and the new life on the waters of the west coast of Scotland. The camp held in the summer of 1899 also saw fishing expeditions held in high regard, with deep-sea fishing on camp at Tighnabruaich described in a review of the camp as "quite phenomenal", with the boats "bringing in nearly 300 fish, which were greatly enjoyed to breakfast next morning".⁹⁴ As well as providing an activity to act as a break from the routine of the city it is apparent that these fishing expeditions had the additional practical role of contributing food for the morning meal. This added to the sense of adventure of the camp akin to the ethos of the Scout camps that would succeed in the following decade. Furthermore, the camp of 1903 once again saw fishing in boats take on a prominent role in the routine of the week. At this camp the Boys of the 1st Glasgow were afforded the opportunity to undertake fishing parades in boats during the evenings, an experience that was said to bestow the Boys "great fun".⁹⁵ Fishing parades in boats were characteristic of the nature of the camps of the 1st Glasgow undertaken under the stewardship of William Alexander Smith. In addition, these expeditions – that were commonly referred to as 'parades' – carried a distinctly militaristic tone. This is reflective of the style of discipline underpinned by obedience to orders that the 1913 camp orders present. Moreover, the fishing parades – although plainly different to the content

⁹² GCA, First Glasgow B.B. Company. History, Administration Etc. Box 'B', "Reproduction of camp note book kept by Sir William Smith for the 1895 camp of the 1st Glasgow Company.

⁹³ "1st Glasgow Company Camp", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 1, 2, May 1889, pp. 34 – 35; pp. 34 – 35.

⁹⁴ "Summer Camps", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 8, 1, September 1899, pp. 5 – 11; p.7.

⁹⁵ "Camp Notes", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 12, 1, September 1903, pp. 5 – 12; p.5.

of the regular weekly sessions – retained the character of military bearing and the tone of discipline present at the weekly drill parades.

Despite the prominence of fishing at the 1st Glasgow camps in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was the expeditions in boats and the naval manoeuvres undertaken that most clearly illustrated the application of military-styled drill and discipline of the weekly sessions on camp. These naval style manoeuvres were considered by prominent Officers of the movement to be indicative of the character of Smith's camps and a reflection of his own personal pleasures, highlighting the influence Officers had in shaping the camps of their own Company. In his biography of the founder, Gibbon evaluated the camps of the 1st Glasgow under Smith, accompanied by his wife:

Rowing was the chief diversion of camp life. Every squad had its four-oared boat, and the captain's love of discipline and organisation was shown in the system of bugle-calls from his boat, in obedience to which the other boats performed various evolutions and formations. He had discovered from the first what so many men in charge of camps have not yet discovered – that discipline and good organisation enable the leader to provide his boys with twice as many hours of interest and enjoyment as can be had in a slack and ill-disciplined camp.⁹⁶

This accentuates the emphasis of military-styled manoeuvres as a 'chief diversion' of the time spent on camps and underlines the significance Smith placed on the role of discipline and obedience on camp. Similarly, Peacock drew attention to rowing expeditions at 1st Glasgow camps:

From the first, the camp might be termed a sea-faring camp. Each squad had its own craft, and soon the Boys became adept mariners. It was a sight indeed to see a dozen boats being rowed in nautical array on the placid waters of Bute. It was recognised that precautions were necessary, and strict discipline was maintained. Smith himself assumed the very temporary rank of Admiral of the Fleet, and controlled the flotilla by signal from his four-oared flag-

⁹⁶ F. P. Gibbon, William A. Smith, p.115.

ship. Lone and casual operations by single craft were forbidden, but many hours and days were spent on fleet manoeuvres to delectable spots in those glorious waters.⁹⁷

Once again, the value of discipline is to the fore of the operation, with the temporary title of ‘Admiral of the Fleet’ carrying a distinctly militarised tone. Furthermore, G. Stanley Smith – who was a Boy at these early expeditions – recalled the excursions in the boats as “a feature of all the first B.B. camps at Tighnabruaich... the flotilla of ten boats performed sea exercises on naval lines... on the bugle call ‘race for home’ they all rowed like mad for the shore”.⁹⁸ These examples depict the importance of rowing as a central activity that came to characterise the tone of 1st Glasgow camps under the command of Smith. The naval manoeuvres on the waters were a form of drill that was a key element of the regular weekly sessions. Moreover, the core of militarised discipline was applicable on camp and remained from the programme of drill and Bible-class. Therefore, the camps of the 1st Glasgow from the late 1880s to the First World War are indicative of a society that saw a convergence of leisure activities for young people with war-based play. Although the naval adaptations were characteristic of the camps of the 1st Glasgow, the role and value of militarised discipline was indicative of camps by the movement and of broader societal attitudes as a whole.

By the early twentieth century boating became firmly associated with the camps of the 1st Glasgow under the command of William Alexander Smith. This is particularly discernible in the way the camps were reviewed in the ‘Camp Notes’ section of The Boys’ Brigade Gazette. At the 1907 camp at Tighnabruaich, boating was considered to be “as usual, a feature of the camp”.⁹⁹ The same was written in an assessment of the 1911 camp where, on the Monday of the camp, a regatta was held and the Company band played on the Commodore’s steam yacht.¹⁰⁰ Following the death of the founder in May 1914 the camps of the 1st Glasgow continued on a nautical theme during the years of the First World War and up to the Golden Jubilee of 1933. In the summer of 1915 the 1st Glasgow, with support of Officers from other Companies, camped for a week in July at the traditional site at Tighnabruaich. The ‘Camp Notes’ in The Boys’ Brigade

⁹⁷ Roger S Peacock, Pioneer of Boyhood, p.80.

⁹⁸ G. Stanley Smith, “My Father”, p.3.

⁹⁹ “Camp Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 16, 1, September 1907, pp. 5 – 9; p.7.

¹⁰⁰ “Camp Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 20, 1, September 1911, pp. 9 – 12; p.10.

Gazette commented that “The life of the Camp was largely on the water”.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, a notebook of camp orders for the 1st Glasgow between 1928 and 1932 illustrates that the nautical tone remained in the inter-war years. The routine for the week on camp in 1928 saw activities on the water take place every day with the exception of the Sunday, which was reserved for church parades and an inspection of the camp, and the Thursday – which was set aside for a day of sports where teams competed for the ‘Caladh Cup’.¹⁰² The timetable of this camp on Saturday 14 July illustrates the continued prominence of activities on the water for the camps of the 1st Glasgow:

Reveille – 06.00

First Breakfast Bugle – 06.45

Breakfast – 07.00

Morning prayers – 07.30

Warning bugle – 08.00

Quarter bugle – 08.15

Parade, camp inspection – 08.30

Motor boat to Tarbet (weather permitting), squads 1 & 5 – 09.30

Boating and bathing – 10.00

First dinner bugle – 12.30

Dinner – 12.45

Motor boat to Tarbet (weather permitting), squads 3 & 4 – 14.15

Boating and bathing – 14.30

First tea bugle – 17.15

Tea – 17.30

Retreat – 21.00

Evening prayers – 21.15

Tattoo – last post – 21.30

Biscuits and cocoa – 22.00

¹⁰¹ “Camp Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 24, 2, October 1915, pp. 29 – 30; p.30.

¹⁰² Glasgow City Archives, First Glasgow B.B. Company. History, Administration Etc. Box ‘B’ 1/7/24, “Notebook of Camp orders for 1st Glasgow Company, The Boys’ Brigade”, 1928 – 1932.

Lights out – 22.30 ¹⁰³

The theme of motor boat expeditions continued in the camps of 1929, 1930, and 1931 respectively, where expeditions on the water to Tarbet and boating and bathing were to the fore of the weekly routine.¹⁰⁴ The pattern was replicated in 1932 where activities on the water were undertaken on six of the nine days on camp, inclusive of the day of departure.¹⁰⁵ These camps illustrate the lasting legacy of a nautical theme of camps held by the 1st Glasgow after the passing of the founder in 1914. However, it is perceptible that the character of the activities on the water altered during these years. The four-oared boats that were utilised in the pre-war years were replaced with motor boats meaning that the naval-styled manoeuvres present before the First World War were replaced with boating excursions. This provides an example of how the character of camp changed from a military-styled encampment to more of a vacation. Whilst inspections, orderly duties, and church parades remained to uphold the object of the Boys' Brigade, it is observable that – in the case of the 1st Glasgow – a relaxation of military discipline was perceptible. Therefore, whilst the nautical theme of the plans Smith laid in his camps remained, by the 1920s the tone had become less militarised and carried more of a holiday atmosphere than in the decades prior to the First World War.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an examination of existing discourse on the role and function of the summer camp. It has been demonstrated here that previous histories have broadly considered camping in isolation and, as a consequence, have neglected the practical application of the theory at the local level. Moreover, the historiographical consensus has crucially overlooked the symbiotic relationship between the summer camp and the regular weekly sessions of an individual Company. This chapter has argued that camping encompassed a broad range of physical and moral benefits that had a grounding at the weekly programme of activities. In addition, these pursuits embraced the prevailing themes of duty and discipline that Beaven and

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

Griffiths argue dominated approaches to citizen training in the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁶ In this chapter the camps of the 1st Glasgow are shown to provide a clear example where these two notions came together at the local level. However, what made Boys' Brigade camps unique, especially when compared to the Scouts, was the religious programme that promoted the advancement of Christ's Kingdom amongst Boys. Therefore, a Boys' Brigade camp offers further evidence of changing modes of expression of faith in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, offering evidence to challenge Humphries' postulation of a conscious rejection of faith by young people.¹⁰⁷ This chapter has drawn upon the example of the 1st Glasgow as a Company conferring an unrivalled illustration of the practical application of the Brigade model at the local level. What this has shown is that the summer camp was a reflection of the personal pleasures of the commanding Officer and a representation of the prevailing social climate of the city space. This presents a further indication that the lived experience of the Boys' Brigade differed across various spaces and places, adding credence to challenge historians such as Boone who have viewed youth movements in homogenous terms. This chapter clearly demonstrates that the activities on camp were closely aligned to the regular weekly sessions of drill and scripture classes, thus challenging our existing understanding of the role and function of the summer camp for youth movements broadly. It has been displayed here that William Alexander Smith pioneered camping as a leisure activity for young people through his 1st Glasgow Company, providing a creative mode of youth work that embraced the notions of duty and discipline. However, it is crucial for our broader understanding to examine how Smith's model was followed elsewhere and it is this that will form the basis of the chapter to follow.

¹⁰⁶ Brad Beaven and John Griffiths, "Creating", pp. 6 - 7.

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 38 - 41.

Chapter 7

From Military Encampment to a Summer Vacation: the Changing Nature of the Annual Camp, 1886 – 1933

The previous chapter examined the function of the Boys' Brigade camp placed firmly within the context of its role alongside the regular weekly sessions. It was argued that existing histories have neglected this aspect when assessing the role of camping and have afforded too much emphasis on the appeal of camping to the overall attraction of youth movements to Boys in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain. This chapter expands on these themes within the context of the three case cities of this thesis, providing an examination of the lived reality of membership of a youth movement at the local level. The chapter opens with an assessment of how the model of the 1st Glasgow camps were replicated by other Companies in the city. Through an assessment of attendance figures at the regular weekly sessions and on camp this chapter definitively argues that the majority of members of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow more often experienced life in this youth movement at the weekly drill and Bible classes, casting doubt on the historiographical consensus that places significant value on camping to the overall appeal of youth organisations. The chapter moves on to an examination of the application of camping for Companies from London where comparisons to Glasgow make it markedly clear that regional variances existed in the lived reality of membership of a British youth movement. This raises questions on histories that consider the approaches of youth organisations in homogenous terms. Attention then turns to the application of camping by the Bristol Battalion which provides a unique example where the summer expedition was unbroken during the years of the First World War, acting as a regional example to advance Paris's notion of a pleasure culture of war at the local level. Finally, the chapter closes by examining the ways in which the character of camping changed over time and how this branch of Company work altered from its inception in the 1880s to the 1930s. This highlights that, not only were attitudes towards camp far from homogenous geographically, but varied significantly over time, thus emphasising the difficulty in assessing the appeal and role of camp without considering the changes from the late Victorian era to the inter-war years.

How Smith's Model was Replicated in Glasgow

The pioneering camps of the 1st Glasgow under William Alexander Smith were soon copied by other companies in the city. In the words of a former London Secretary, “where the pioneer Company led, there was never a lack of followers” so the example set by the original Company was reproduced with little delay.¹ At the fifth annual meeting of the Brigade Council, held in Glasgow on 26 December 1889, the increasing popularity of camping was mentioned in the report. Discussion was particularly concerned with sleeping arrangements – with many camps held indoors rather than under canvas – and the potential of camps as an opportunity for Officers to influence members of the movement.² The issue of camping was also approached in the first history of the Glasgow Battalion, published in 1891 to coincide with a three-day bazaar at St. Andrews Halls in March of that year. In the 1891 history it was noted that the Battalion had yet to undertake a large scale camp, although several individual Companies were noted as hosting their own, described as being “uniformly successful and have conferred great benefits on all who have participated in them”.³ The following year a Camp Committee was formed in Glasgow and – as a result of the meetings – the first Battalion camp was arranged and subsequently held at Ardneil Bay, West Kilbride, attended by 320 Boys.⁴ However, this camp only provided an opportunity for a little over eight percent of the total membership of the Battalion to experience the benefits of a summer camp.⁵ Therefore, it is discernible that the summer camps of the late-nineteenth century in Glasgow were limited in scope and available to only a small fraction of the thousands of members of the movement in the city. This brings into doubt the historiographical consensus that has placed great emphasis on this element of the programme of British youth movements.

It was not until 1913 that significant numbers attended a Battalion camp in Glasgow, with the expedition of that year attended by 1100 all ranks.⁶ By 1933, when the celebrations for the Jubilee absorbed Glasgow, camping was a significant element of the wider programme of the movement.

A component of the Jubilee celebrations saw a ‘canvas town’ erected for the Jubilee camp at

¹ Roger S Peacock, *Pioneer of Boyhood*, pp. 80 – 83.

² F. P. Gibbon, *William A. Smith*, p.68.

³ Anon, *The Boys' Brigade History*, pp. 31 – 32.

⁴ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p.22.

⁵ GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Ninth Annual Report*. 1893 – 94.

⁶ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p.23.

Dechmont, Kirkhill.⁷ To emphasise the importance of Glasgow to the movement and to the camp, the composition of the tents were arranged to ensure that a Glasgow Boy was in every tent.⁸ Over time camping became an increasingly prominent component of the programme of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow. However, its development in the years preceding the First World War was limited and this is reflected in the sporadic appearance of Battalion camps arranged and the restricted number of Boys who were able to attend those organised.

Although the idea of camping was embraced by the Battalion Council, and its value as a branch of Company work was recognised, its effect was narrow. This is most clearly perceptible through assessment of attendance figures as recorded in annual reports. These show that camping was only available to a fraction of members of the movement in the city. Reports for the decade prior to the First World War, and the ten years following the conflict, clearly demonstrate this point. These reports have been selected due to the comprehensive recording of membership figures during these years. In addition, these records allow for a closer examination of wider issues in British society and perspectives towards leisure pursuits more broadly. By reviewing these figures it is possible to consider changing attitudes in contemporary society before and after the First World War. Appendix 8 shows the relationship between the number of Companies in the Glasgow Battalion against the number of Companies who sent a quantity of their membership on camp.⁹ The graph makes clear the significance of a camp arranged by the Battalion in enabling a greater number of Companies to experience this branch of work. The spike in the number of Companies sending Boys on camp for the 1912 – 1913 session corresponds with the Battalion Camp held in the summer of the session. In addition, the same pattern is perceptible in Appendix 9 where in the early 1920s Battalion authorities made a concerted effort to carry out their own camps in the post-war years as a way to raise morale and set standards for the future.¹⁰ Therefore, without the organisation of a large scale Battalion camp it is evident that the number of Companies who were able to send Boys on camp was markedly reduced, thus inhibiting the draw of this pursuit to the overall appeal of the organisation to Boys in the city.

⁷ Anon, *The Boys' Brigade Jubilee*, p.15.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.28.

⁹ See Appendix 8.

¹⁰ See Appendix 9; J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p.48.

The number of Boys in the Battalion who camped relative to the total membership in Glasgow shows a significant disparity in participation. For example, the twenty-ninth annual report for the 1913 – 1914 session records that the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow had 8294 members.¹¹ However, only 1223 of this number attended a camp.¹² In the eleven annual reports before the First World War the number of members of the movement in Glasgow who did not camp is shown to be over 80%.¹³ Table 7.1 reveals that in five of the eleven of these reports less than 10% of the total membership of the Glasgow Battalion went on a camping expedition, with those not attending a camp as high as 92% of the total membership in the city. The number of members attending camp relative to the overall membership in Glasgow increased in the 1920s at the time when the executive made increased efforts to send a greater number of Boys on camp. However, Table 7.2 shows that, despite the efforts of the Battalion executive and the committee for camping, this still equated to 77% of Boys not attending a camp during the 1920 – 1921 session and 68% not camping the following year, with the report for 1926 – 1927 showing that as many as 82% of members of the Battalion did not camp during that session; a figure similar to pre-war levels of involvement. However, it is important to note that the rise in participation signalled an increase from the numbers from the years prior to the First World War.

Table 7.1 Percentage of Glasgow Boys’ Brigade Members who Attended Summer Camp, 1903 - 1914

Session Report	Boys & NCOs in the Glasgow Battalion	Number of Boys & NCOs Attend Camp	Percentage of members who did not attend camp
1903 - 04	6587	486	92.62
1904 - 05	6652	858	87.10
1905 - 06	6576	609	90.74
1906 - 07	6511	839	87.11
1907 - 08	6839	571	91.65
1908 - 09	7467	845	88.68
1909 - 10	7179	565	92.13
1910 - 11	7217	1005	86.07
1911 - 12	7330	694	90.53
1912 - 13	8288	1509	81.79
1913 - 14	8294	1223	85.25

Sources: GCA. *The Boys’ Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1903 – 04, 1904 – 05, 1905 – 06, 1906 – 07, 1907 – 08, 1908 – 09, 1909 – 10, 1910 – 11, 1911 – 12, 1912 – 13, 1913 – 14.*

¹¹ GCA, *The Boys’ Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Twenty-Ninth Annual Report.* 1913-1914.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ See Table 7.1.

Table 7.2. Percentage of Glasgow Boys' Brigade Members who Attended Summer camp, 1920 – 1930.

Session Report	Boys & NCOs in the Glasgow Battalion	Number Boys & NCOs Attending Camp	Percentage of members who did not attend camp
1920 - 21	9579	2197	77.06
1921 - 22	10289	3276	68.16
1922 - 23	10545	3526	66.56
1923 - 24	11190	2482	77.82
1924 - 25	12282	2986	75.69
1925 - 26	11123	2685	75.86
1926 - 27	11256	1987	82.35
1927 - 28	10489	2127	79.72
1928 - 29	10262	2350	77.10
1929 - 30	10151	3009	70.36

Sources: GCA. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1920 – 21, 1921 – 22, 1922 – 23, 1923 – 24, 1924 – 25, 1925 – 26, 1926 – 27, 1927 – 28, 1928 – 29, 1929 – 30.*

These statistics bring into doubt the historiographical consensus that purports that camping was a major attraction for *most* members as it is discernible that this activity was available to only a limited number of young people in Glasgow. This was even the case at a time when this branch of Company work was given greater attention by the Battalion who arranged several large scale camps in the post war years in an attempt to facilitate the attendance of more of its members.

Contrasting the number of Boys who attended camp with the average attendance at the regular weekly sessions provides support to the notion that it was the work of the drill and scripture classes that primarily mattered more. Although it was an influential recreational activity when undertaken, and certainly an attraction to some young members, camp counted less than the weekly parades and Bible study classes. Between the nineteenth annual report for the 1903 – 1904 session and the twenty ninth report for the 1913 – 1914 session, statistical data was recorded showing the average weekly attendance of the Glasgow Battalion at drill parades and Bible study. Appendix 10 reveals that participation at drill and Bible classes was appreciably greater than the number of Boys who attended camp during the same sessions.¹⁴ Moreover, Table 7.3 shows that during these years the average attendance at drill parades was over 80%, with the average

¹⁴ See Appendix 10.

attendance at Bible-class just under 60%. However, the number of Boys attending camp during these sessions was less than 12%. Therefore, in terms of participation figures, the numbers at the regular weekly sessions were considerably higher than those attending camp. Therefore, during these years a far larger quantity of Boys in Glasgow experienced the Boys' Brigade through its sessions of drill and scripture class. This brings into question the historiography that has placed great emphasis on the summer camp to the overall experience of membership of a British youth movement in the early twentieth century. These statistics clearly demonstrate that thousands of members of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow – the birthplace of the organisation – did not have the opportunity to attend a camp, with their leisure pursuits based firmly at home. Therefore, to overplay its influence on recruitment figures or to the overall appeal of the movement is to understate the participation at the regular weekly sessions. The summer camp should therefore be considered as more of an extension of the regular weekly activities.

Table 7.3. Participation in Regular Weekly Classes Against Figures for Camping, 1903 - 1914.

Session	Boys & NCO	Average Weekly Attendance at Drill Parade	Percentage of Total Membership	Average Weekly Attendance at Bible-Class	Percentage of Total Membership	No Boys & NCOs Attending Camp	Percentage of Total Membership
1903-04	6587	5373	81.57	3299	50.08	486	7.38
1904-05	6652	5549	83.42	3417	51.37	858	12.90
1905-06	6576	5492	83.52	3543	53.88	609	9.26
1906-07	6511	5444	83.61	3623	55.64	839	12.89
1907-08	6839	5633	82.37	3867	56.54	571	8.35
1908-09	7467	6206	83.11	4429	59.31	845	11.32
1909-10	7179	5795	80.72	4340	60.45	565	7.87
1910-11	7217	5926	82.11	4566	63.27	1005	13.93
1911-12	7330	6031	82.28	4727	64.49	694	9.47
1912-13	8288	6746	81.39	5302	63.97	1509	18.21
1913-14	8294	6789	81.85	5495	66.25	1223	14.75

Sources: GCA. *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1903 – 04, 1904 – 05, 1905 – 06, 1906 – 07, 1907 – 08, 1908 – 09, 1909 – 10, 1910 – 11, 1911 – 12, 1912 – 13, 1913 – 14.*

The third chapter of this thesis established that in Glasgow musical pursuits were an important branch of Company work. The role of bands on camp and in particular pipe bands provides evidence to support the notion of camp as an extension of the regular weekly programme. For a number of Companies in Glasgow playing music was an integral aspect of their programme. As a consequence, many camps were characterised by this leisure pursuit. For some Companies the journey from the city to the campsite was made to the accompaniment of bands. For example, when the Boys of the 9th and 32nd Glasgow marched to their camp at Strachur in 1889, they were accompanied by the band of the 9th Glasgow.¹⁵ Similarly, the flute band of the 17th Glasgow headed the parade from the Mission Hall and played selections aboard the steamer en route to their camp at Ettick Bay in 1890.¹⁶ Bands also had an additional role for Companies during church services held in the course of the week at camp. For example, when the 76th Glasgow camped at Shallock Park, Girvan, in 1907, the Company brass band led the praise at the local United Free Church.¹⁷ Similarly, when the 93rd Glasgow camped at Glencloy in July 1908, the evening service on camp was led by the brass band.¹⁸ Furthermore, the 1902 excursion of the 1st Milngavie saw musical performers play a pivotal role on the camp. The camp, which took place on Mechnoch Farm on the Island of Bute, saw “The musical equipment... at full strength, both the bugle and pipe bands being present in full blast”.¹⁹ On the Thursday of this camp the Company made a visit to the campsite of the Engineers where the Milngavie pipe band “played for some time on the ground and attracted a number of spectators”.²⁰ However, the way pipe music characterised the camp is most clearly depicted in the recollection of an event on the Wednesday of the expedition:

The bandmaster of Pollokshaws Coy Mr McTavish, was a great favourite with all, and when he took his departure on the Wednesday the lads, presumably to show their respect and regret, brought out the ambulance stretcher and, tumbling him and his bag into it, escorted him about a mile on his road to Rothsay preceded by a piper solemnly playing a lament.²¹

¹⁵ “Company Summer Camps”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 1, 3, September 1889, p.49.

¹⁶ “17th Glasgow Company”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 1, 8, October 1890, pp.135 – 136; p.136.

¹⁷ “Camp Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 16, 1, September 1907, pp. 5 – 9; p.8.

¹⁸ “Camp Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 7 – 12; p.9.

¹⁹ “Milngavie Boys’ Brigade”, *Milngavie Herald*, 1 August 1902, p.3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

Therefore, much in the same way as music distinguished the nature of the Boys' Brigade in the Glasgow Battalion, it also came to characterise many camps hosted by its Companies. This is indicative of the disposition of the city at a time where music had a significant role in the creation of a civic identity in Glasgow as a whole that was of a distinctly Scottish tone.

If the role of pipe music in a number of Glasgow Battalion camps was indicative of the nature of the movement in the city, then the adoption of boating by numerous Companies was a reflection of the influence of the founder and the standard set by the pioneer Company. After the example of camping was set by the 1st Glasgow it was quickly undertaken by others in the city. For many of these Companies in Glasgow this included the adoption of water-based pursuits similar to those adopted under William Alexander Smith. The 9th and 32nd Glasgow Companies were two of the first in the city to replicate the precedent of the 1st Glasgow into camp. In 1889 the joint camp of these Companies occurred at Strachur, Loch Fynesside, with a review of the expedition commenting that “facilities for boating and bathing [were] admirable”.²² From this it is perceptible that access to suitable facilities for water-based pursuits was crucial in the selection of a campsite. At this camp, much in the same way as 1st Glasgow excursions, the first evening was spent on the water boating and fishing.²³ In addition, the preparations for the 1892 camp of these Companies at the same site as 1889 included the distribution of a circular letter that communicated the centrality of boating to the plans for the camp, with a boat to be provided to each squad, and expeditions by boats and fishing to be undertaken daily.²⁴ Furthermore, the character of the camps of the 74th Glasgow during these formative years of camping illustrated the importance of boating. Much like the 1st Glasgow, the band of the Company was requested to perform on the steamer journey from camp.²⁵ For this Company one of the most exciting aspects of the camp – which appeared in both the local press and the subsequent review in The Boys' Brigade Gazette – was the use of boats on the day of the church parade. On the Sunday of the 1891 camp the Company paraded in line formation in boats under command of Officers on the loch to reach the parish church in Lochgoilied. ²⁶ In the review of the parade it was written that “here we excited the

²² “Company Summer Camps”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 1, 3, September 1889, p.49.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ The Glasgow Stedfast Association Archives, (GSAA), “Copy of the Circular Prepared for the Strachur Camp of 1892”.

²⁵ “Summer Camps. 74th Glasgow Company at Carrick Castle”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 2, 1, October 1891, p.13.

²⁶ Ibid; “Glasgow Boys' Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 173, 21 July 1891, p.5.

curiosity of the natives and villagers, who turned out en masse to view the unusual spectacle”.²⁷ Therefore, in the formative years of camping, boating was a pursuit undertaken by many of the pioneer campers from the Boys’ Brigade in Glasgow, advancing the notion that the model of youth movements was implemented differently across varied spaces and places.

The centrality of boating and water borne leisure activities to camps from Glasgow continued at the turn of the century. The annual report for the 1898 – 1899 session recorded that seven camps were held by Companies from the Battalion during the summer of that session.²⁸ Of these five were reviewed in the September edition of The Boys’ Brigade Gazette and each were recorded as undertaking boating, bathing, or fishing as part of their recreational activities.²⁹ Although the number of camps was relatively low when compared to the number of Companies in the Battalion, it is perceptible that waterborne pursuits were characteristic of the nature of these camps. This illustrates the influence of William Alexander Smith and his prototype 1st Glasgow Company, and shows that Glasgow Companies followed the example set by the founder.

Boating continued to characterise Glasgow camps in the years leading up to the First World War. For example, in 1902 the 1st Milngavie camp had three boats placed at its disposal and several hours were spent boating at Port Bannatyne.³⁰ During the same summer a joint camp was held by four Glasgow Companies at Tighnabruaich. In the ‘camp notes’ in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette of September 1902, the report justified the selection of this site: “The Kyles of Bute is an ideal spot for a B.B. camp as there is every freedom that the Boy nature can wish for – bathing, boating, fishing, and ample scope for all outdoor exercise”.³¹ For the organisers of this camp, it is discernible that to provide ‘Boy nature’ with ‘freedom’ it was necessary to deliver sufficient access to the water. It is evident, therefore, that the ability to undertake boating, bathing, and fishing were important considerations when selecting a suitable campsite. These activities were central to the routine of many Companies in Glasgow who camped and exhibits the influence of William Alexander Smith on the nature of camps in the city and the emphasis that was placed by the Boys’

²⁷ “Summer Camps. 74th”

²⁸ GCA, *The Boys’ Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Fourteenth Annual Report. 1898 - 99.*

²⁹ “Summer Camps”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 8, 1, September 1899, pp. 5 – 11; pp. 8 – 9.

³⁰ “Milngavie Boys”, p.3.

³¹ “Camp Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 11, 1, September 1902, pp. 5 – 12; p.7.

Brigade in Glasgow on water-based camps. Moreover, it shows that in the early years of camping and up to the First World War activities on the water were prevalent at a number of camps by Companies from the Glasgow Battalion.

In the years following the First World War, camping became more of a priority for the authorities of the Glasgow Battalion. The years after the end of the conflict to the Jubilee of 1933 saw increased participation at camps. Focus on this pursuit became more of an integral part of the Glasgow Battalion's response to the post-war world. The attitude of the 76th Glasgow offers a clear indication of these changing attitudes. J. B. Shaw – the Captain of this Company – joined in 1919 and during his time as leader from 1924 to 1931 adapted the Company to the needs of the new generation in what were “the changed conditions of the post-war period”.³² This corresponds to the view of Robert Snape, who wrote “while the war fuelled a sense of a crisis and an impending collapse of civilisation, it also created a desire to create a new and democratic society and re-energised interest in the potential of leisure to nurture a shared active citizenship and social well-being”.³³ It was within this context of renewal and social reconstruction that Shaw led his Company in the inter-war years, with camp central to his plans. The fiftieth anniversary history of the Company noted that Shaw “realised particularly the value of the Company Camp, and, in re-establishing this as the climax of the session, he provided an occasion for the deeper mutual understanding of Officer and Boy and for experiences which remain life-long memories.”³⁴ The change in attitude in the post war years saw Companies in Glasgow attempt camps on their own for the first time. For example, the 1st Bearsden camped alone for the first time in 1923 and the 1st Rutherglen hosted their first solo expedition in 1927.³⁵ These provide examples of Companies willing to camp independently that had previously otherwise sent their Boys to joint or Battalion camps. This move was indicative of the policy of the Glasgow Battalion who, by 1932, had recognised the “primary importance of the Company camp” and pledged to “do everything possible to encourage and foster such camps”.³⁶ Furthermore, it was agreed by the sub-committee

³² Anon, *76th Glasgow*, pp. 17 – 18.

³³ Robert Snape, “The New Leisure, Voluntarism and Social Reconstruction in Inter-War Britain”, *Contemporary British History*, 29, 1, 2015, pp. 51 - 83; p.53.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.18.

³⁵ Dr. J. Martin Strang, *After Fifty Years*, p.21; Anon, *A History of the 1st Rutherglen, 187th Glasgow*, (Glasgow: 1st Rutherglen Boys' Brigade, 1986), p.10.

³⁶ “Glasgow Boys' Brigade Camps”, *The Glasgow Herald*, 30 May 1932, p.9.

for camping that the Battalion should arrange to hold a camp each summer for Boys in Companies that did not provide camping facilities.³⁷ The examples of the 1st Bearsden and 1st Rutherglen are from Companies who had an established programme of activities. Therefore, prior to the 1920s, these Companies focused on the regular weekly sessions and it was through these classes that the majority of their membership experienced the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow.

The change in approach to camping in the post-war years is reflected in participation at camps. From the 1903 – 1904 session to the 1913 – 1914 session the average number of Boys in the Battalion attending a summer camp was under 12%.³⁸ However, Table 7.2 shows that this number more than doubled from the 1920 -1921 and 1929 – 1930 sessions, where an average of over 24% of Boys in the Battalion attended a summer camp. The rise is even more notable when it is considered that the Battalion experienced a momentous increase in membership during these years from 8294 in the 1913 – 1914 session to 10151 in the 1929 – 1930 session.³⁹ Focus on camping and the increase in participation in this branch of Company work illustrates the change in perspective of the Glasgow Battalion to the work of the movement in the city for the post-war youth. Moreover, much in the same way as Scott Johnston has noted that the Scouts' attitudes to Edwardian ideals were re-evaluated, the method of the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow reflects the nature of inter-war Britain more broadly.⁴⁰ Much like Johnston argues the Scouts changed in the post-war years, so the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow also re-invented itself at a time when the British public was re-assessing concepts such as militarism, imperialism, duty, and discipline. For the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow this change was characterised by an increased emphasis on camping, which provided a forum for the expression of Boy nature and a vacation from the crowded city space. Although this was evident in the pursuits of the Scouts before the First World War this change in attitude by the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow indicates the unique application of the Brigade model at the local level. Whereas in the pre-war years, the Glasgow Battalion focused on the regular weekly sessions, the direction in the inter-war years displayed an emphasis on camping that had been evident in London before the First World War. This emphasises the regional variances

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ See Table 7.1.

³⁹ GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Twenty Ninth Annual Report. 1913 – 14*; GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. 45th Annual Report. 1929 – 1930*.

⁴⁰ Scott Johnston, "Courting Public", p.528.

in application of the agenda set by headquarters and the difficulties in assessing a youth movement as a homogenous entity. Whilst camping was undertaken in the pre-war years it was not progressively encouraged by the Glasgow Battalion to the extent it was during the 1920s and 1930s. This is indicative of broader societal attitudes to militarism in the post-war world as camping represented a more fluid branch of Company work than the rigid structure of the regular drill and Bible-classes. Nevertheless, these weekly sessions remained at the core of the programme for the Boys' Brigade in Glasgow, with three-quarters of members still unable to attend a camp.⁴¹ This represents a deviation when considered against the fortunes of the CLB at the same time when Johnston has noted that it was its militarism that accounted for its drastic decline in membership.⁴² Therefore, the experience for youth movements from the pre-war to the post-war world is complex, and is representative of wider society in that it is not one of a linear progression from a militaristic to an anti-war society.

Camping in the Capital

With many of the adaptations to the programme Glasgow took the lead whilst other cities followed. However, it was the London District that led the way in terms of camping on a Battalion scale. The first of these expeditions was held on Hayling Island in the summer of 1890 with the camp attended by 170 Boys from the capital, although the financial implications of hosting this large scale camp were still perceptible later in the year, with debts outstanding in December 1890.⁴³ The economic realities of hosting a camp for Boys in London came to define how camps were promoted, with regular advertisements and letters appearing in the local press, and a London Camp Fund (LCF) established to enable a greater number of poorer city Boys to attend the summer expedition. Whilst water-based pursuits characterised a number of camps hosted by Companies in Glasgow it is perceptible from articles in The Boys' Brigade Gazette and the local press that camps in London were more militarised and were akin to camps held by the armed forces. Drill was an important component to many camps in London, as it was for the regular weekly sessions, particularly in the years before the First World War. Military manoeuvres,

⁴¹ See Table 7.2.

⁴² Scott Johnston, "Courting Public", p.528.

⁴³ "Boys' Brigade Camp", The Standard, issue 20720, 4 December 1890, p.1; Henry Drummond, "The Boys' Brigade", p.98.

tent inspections, and guard duties all featured heavily in the programme. Although pursuits on the water were undertaken these took the form of sailing excursions to naval sites such as Portsmouth Harbour. This adds to the notion that the experience for many campers in London was more militarised than that of their counterparts in Glasgow and is representative of the character of the regular programme of activities. Furthermore, comparing the experience of Boys' Brigade camps in London to those of the JLB in the capital illustrates that a militarised experience of camping was not unique to the former. This indicates that the urban environment influenced the character of the organisation and its camps, something that Springhall's analysis in Youth, Empire, and Society was unable to illustrate.

From the outset of camping by Companies from the capital financial considerations were to the fore of the plans laid. One of the most prominent advocates of camping from London was the President of the South London Battalion – and later Vice-President of the organisation – R. G. Hayes. In a series of letters to the local press by Hayes it is evident that financial matters acted as the largest barrier to precluding greater levels of attendance. Examples of the letters by Hayes are shown in The Morning Post and The Standard from July 1899. In these letters funds to allow the poorest Boys to attend camp were requested from those sympathetic to the aims of the movement.⁴⁴ In these letters the benefits of military principles for the Boys were promoted, alluding to the tone of the camps the Boys were set to attend. Some Companies in London offered resourceful choices to Boys in order to reduce the financial burden a camp placed on its members. For example, for Boys in the 3rd Enfield a camp bank was opened for payments to be made for purchases whilst on camp.⁴⁵ Moreover, for members of the 5th London, regular and punctual attendance at the weekly sessions would see a reduction in the cost of camp.⁴⁶ However, the greatest effort made by the organisation in London to support Boys financially in attending camp was through the LCF. The fund, established in the early years of the twentieth century, was instituted to enable poorer members of the Boys' Brigade in London to attend camp who would otherwise, in the words of the programme notes for the 1905 Royal Albert Hall display, be

⁴⁴ "Boys' Brigade – Seaside Camp", The Morning Post, issue 39665, 21 July 1899, p.2; "South London Boys' Brigade", The Standard, issue 23421, 21 July 1899, p.6.

⁴⁵ EBBCR, "3rd Enfield Company - Weekly News Sheet." Sheet 3, June 1921.

⁴⁶ G. V. Thompson and A. G. Watts, All Smuvvered, p.10.

“unable to benefit from this health-giving respite from their daily work”.⁴⁷ The LCF was widely promoted at annual displays and requests for financial support were made through letters appearing in publications including The Spectator. In a letter appearing in this publication in the summer of 1912 it was noted that fiscal challenges prevented more boys from camping: “There are 9,000 boys within the London District, of whom 3,200 were able to attend camp last year. A sum of £3,500 would be sufficient to enable every boy to attend. Is it too much to hope that this amount may be forth-coming?”⁴⁸ However, the figure of roughly one third of London Boys’ Brigade members attending a summer camp at this time is markedly greater than for Boys from Glasgow, where the amount was less than 15%.⁴⁹ This illustrates that greater emphasis was placed on camping as a branch of Company work in London *vis-à-vis* Glasgow in the years before the First World War and is indicative of the dangers of viewing youth movements as a homogenous entities.

During the inter-war years the movement in Glasgow put greater focus on camps. At this same time the organisation in London continued to pursue camping as a central element to its work. In London grants were made available by the London Committee. These permitted a greater number of Boys to attend, with the LCF continuing to reduce the cost for Boys and bringing camp within the reach of those who would otherwise not experience a week under canvas.⁵⁰ By 1936 camping for London Boys was considered to be “the climax of the whole year’s training” as for “the London Boy, whose days are spent in our great wilderness of bricks and mortar and to whom the beauties of nature are remote, Camp is the supreme joy, and to enable a greater number to attend is the purpose of the London Camp Fund”.⁵¹ Therefore, it is visible that in the major cities of Glasgow and London camping became a key component of the programme of work for the Boys’ Brigade in the post-war years. However, when the experience of Boys in Glasgow is compared to those in London it is evident that the promotion of camping was more established in the capital. It was, therefore, considered a more pressing concern to remove Boys in London from the

⁴⁷ EBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 11 May 1905.

⁴⁸ “The Boys’ Brigade: Seaside Camps for London Boys”, The Spectator, 20 July 1912, p.18.

⁴⁹ See Table 7.1.

⁵⁰ EBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 4 May 1932; EBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 3 May 1934; EBBCR, “Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 7 May 1936.

⁵¹ EBBCR, “Programme Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall”, 7 May 1936

challenges of the urban setting than for Boys from Glasgow. In addition, the extent to which financial considerations prevented many Boys from camping infers that the majority of membership of this youth movement were from the poorest working-class families.

During the early years of camping by the Boys' Brigade in London many of the expeditions were held on Hayling Island. The close proximity to the dockyard in Portsmouth meant that visits were made to the harbour and its battleships. On the first camp on Hayling Island in 1890 a visit to Portsmouth Harbour was carried out in a distinctly militaristic way:

For Portsmouth, the detachment was divided into two parties, land and marine. The land party crossed the ferry, and marched through Eastney into Portsmouth the marine embarked in the fleet, sailed into the harbour, up which they rowed, making valiant efforts... as they passed more experienced crews.⁵²

On arriving into the harbour the Boys boarded HMS Victory, where the “awe-struck youngsters” were said to have crowded around their guide intently whilst attentively examining various relics and artefacts.⁵³ Similar visits to the Victory were made by the United Enfield Companies who “inspected” the vessel during what were described as “interesting and enjoyable visits”.⁵⁴ In addition, a steam launch excursion to Portsmouth Harbour was made by the 76th London in 1908, when the journey was made from their campsite on the Isle of Wight. A review of the expedition in The Boys' Brigade Gazette noted that “A first-class battleship was thoroughly explored from conning tower to engine rooms”.⁵⁵ The visits to Portsmouth Harbour by London Boys' Brigade members were, in some respects, similar to the nautical theme of the camps held by several Companies from the Glasgow Battalion. However, whilst the activities of Glasgow camps – which included boating, naval-styled manoeuvres, and fishing – were evidently nautical in tone, the experience for London Boys was less active, taking the form of educational visits to battleships. Additionally, the visits to Portsmouth Harbour promoted the status of military heroes with the young members becoming acquainted with the working of historically noteworthy ships. Whilst

⁵² “London Battalion Camp on Haying Island”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 1, 8, October 1890, pp. 132-133; p.133.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ “Summer Camps”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 7, 1, September 1898, pp. 8 – 9; p.8; “Boys' Brigade – Enfield”, p.8.

⁵⁵ “Camp Notes”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 7 – 12; p.11.

the nautical theme was observable at camps by both London and Glasgow Companies it is discernible that the tone was more militaristic at London Company camps, where imperial and military heroes and their ships were coveted.

The visits to Portsmouth Harbour were exceptional items of the programme for a week on camp. The regular activities taking place on camp illustrate the importance of drill-based pursuits which were a reflection of both the importance of this item to the movement in London and the prevalence of this activity in wider approaches to youth. Route marches and inspections were key elements of the programme on camp for a number of London-based Companies. For Boys from Enfield, military procedures were visible on camp from the outset, with Boys ‘falling-in’ and marching to breakfast on the first morning on camp in 1902, with the first guard duties assigned and the duty squad marching off to begin their orderly tasks.⁵⁶ Long marches were undertaken by campers from Enfield, with Lance-Corporal C. P. Rudland noting that they returned back on camp “very tired” after a long march on the Sunday of camp in 1904.⁵⁷ Such route marches were not exclusive to the Enfield Companies. For example, the South London Battalion camp of 1907 saw Boys undertake a twelve mile route march from their campsite at Pagham to Chichester, with the 76th London engaging in a twenty-mile tramp on the Isle of Wight whilst camping the following summer.⁵⁸ In addition, some excursions undertook military manoeuvres, with the 1905 City and East London Battalion camp programme including “An afternoon’s outing on the Downs, in which the Battalion was divided into an attacking and defending force, each of which had by scouting to endeavour to get in touch with the other”.⁵⁹ Military styled inspections were common in camps by London Boys’ Brigade Companies. For the 5th London, the camps of the early 1920s were marked by an official inspection by a high-ranking Officer of the armed forces.⁶⁰ In addition, the 1907 joint camp of the 27th, 28th, and 79th London Companies at Swalecliffe saw Major Cairns of the Royal West Surrey inspect the camp, where he “expressed himself as very pleased with all he saw”, with the Boys congratulated on the steadiness of their drill.⁶¹ The 1908

⁵⁶ “Boys’ Brigade – Enfield”, p.8.

⁵⁷ EBBCR, Newspaper cutting. C. D. Rudland, ‘With the Enfield Boys. Prize Letter’, *The Brigadier*, c.1904.

⁵⁸ “Camp Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 16, 2, October 1907, pp. 23 – 26; p.25; “Camp Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 7 – 12; p.11.

⁵⁹ “Camp Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 14, 1, September 1905, pp. 5 – 11; p.11.

⁶⁰ G.V. Thompson and A. G. Watts, *All Smuvvered*, p.10.

⁶¹ “Camp Notes”, *The Boys’ Brigade Gazette*, 16, 2, October 1907, pp. 23 – 26; p.25.

South London Battalion camp provides a further example of an official inspection of a camp, with Colonel W. F. Cavage of the Middlesex Boys' Brigade travelling to inspect the campers.⁶² The prominence of drill-based activities on London camps is in contrast to the experience of some Companies in Glasgow. For example, when the 5th Glasgow camped at Glenashdale in 1905 the only item of drill in the work of the day was at tent inspection.⁶³ Although drill was a key aspect of the regular weekly sessions of the 115th Glasgow, it was less prevalent at camp. The 115th Glasgow afforded great focus on drilling and attained success in competition as the winners of the Battalion drill competition in 1899, performing squad drill at the Glasgow Battalion demonstration five years later.⁶⁴ However, whilst on camp drill was a peripheral activity for the Company, with a review of the 1899 camp explaining that "as drill had received considerable attention throughout the winter, it was not deemed necessary to spend much time upon that at camp".⁶⁵ Therefore, it is perceptible that military-styled activities were more prevalent at camps held by the London Boys' Brigade than in camps of Glasgow Companies. As a consequence, the experience for London Boys was more militarised, emphasising the contrast in attitudes to camping by Companies from these two cities. This demonstrates that a focus on different elements of the Brigade programme was considered to be more appropriate for Boys from one city to another and that it was not a homogenous practice.

A militarised drill-based camp was not unique to the Boys' Brigade in London. Assessment of the nature of JLB camps reveals that camps for this youth movement were also distinguished by a focus on marching and militaristic pursuits. These camps were characterised by the presence of drill and military manoeuvres similar to the prevalence of these activities at the regular weekly sessions of the Boys' Brigade in the capital. Richard Voeltz considered the annual camp at Deal to be the highlight of the JLB calendar, with the 1910 camp of over 1000 Boys marching from the train station to the campsite in a military formation, with mounted Officers, a cycling detachment, ambulance corps, and bands, all forming their part of the line.⁶⁶ In addition, Horn has noted that drill and rifle exercises were a part of the programme on JLB camps with "firm discipline" and

⁶² "Camp Notes", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 7 – 12; p.11.

⁶³ "Camp Notes", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 14, 1, September 1905, pp. 5 – 11; p.9.

⁶⁴ "Battalion Jottings", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 7, 9, May 1899, pp. 138 – 139; p.138; "Glasgow Battalion Demonstration", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 12, 8, April 1904, p.118.

⁶⁵ "Summer Camps", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 8, 1, September 1899, pp. 5 – 11; p.9.

⁶⁶ Richard A. Voeltz, "...A Good Jew", p.123.

“militaristic overtones” characteristic, and discipline beginning even before Boys reached camp on receipt of the camp orders.⁶⁷ Coverage of the 1914 JLB camp at Deal in The Daily Telegraph illustrates the militaristic tone of the camps of this youth movement in London. An innovation for this camp saw a squad of Boys march from the capital to the Kent coast, with a special examination taking place prior to the march to determine the suitability of those who put their names forward.⁶⁸ The squad of young men was to march from London on 28 July, stopping at Maidstone and Canterbury en route, before joining up with the rest of the campers at the site at Deal.⁶⁹ Whilst on camp, Boys were reminded that it was their duty to maintain good conduct on camp, and prizes were awarded to the best disciplined campers.⁷⁰ The focus on the long march to camp by the JLB was similar to the experience for many London Boys’ Brigade members who engaged in extended route marches on camp. This shows the prevalence of drill-based pursuits for members of both these youth movements in London in the years before and during the First World War. In addition, the nature of these camps provides further evidence to counter claims that drill was considered to be a concession and was tolerated in the regular weekly sessions in order to attend camp.⁷¹ Much as in the regular weekly sessions, drill was a principal feature of camps held by Companies in London and was not an activity that would have been easily avoided.

Assessment of the character of Boys’ Brigade camps by Companies from London during the first few decades of its undertaking shows clear differences to the nature of this branch of Company work when compared to Glasgow. The central difference is the emphasis placed on this activity by the leaders of the movement in the respective cities. By the time the movement in Glasgow provided greater attention on camping in the post-war years camping was an established activity in London. This is most pronounced in attendance figures. Whereas the Boys’ Brigade in London witnessed one-third of its members camp before the First World War such levels of participation were not found in Glasgow until the 1920s.⁷² The nature of the activities undertaken on camp by Companies from these two major cities also contrasted. Although campers from both cities

⁶⁷ Pamela Horn, The Victorian, p.178; Pamela Horn, Pleasures, p.308.

⁶⁸ “Jewish Lads’ Brigade. Forthcoming Camp”, The Daily Telegraph, 30 June 1914, p.14.

⁶⁹ “Jewish Lads’ Brigade”, The Daily Telegraph, 14 July 1914, p.14.

⁷⁰ “Jewish Lads’ Brigade. Forthcoming Camp”, The Daily Telegraph, 28 July 1914, p.16.

⁷¹ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, pp. 134 – 135.

⁷² See Table 7.2. An article appearing in The Spectator in 1912 asserted that 3200 of the 9000 Boys in the London District attended a camp in 1911. “The Boys’ Brigade: Seaside”, p.18.

experienced activities on the water, for a number of Boys from London this meant visits to battleships rather than pursuits such as fishing or rowing. Moreover, route marches and drill were a theme running through London camps, contrasting significantly to the approach of some Companies in Glasgow where drill had only a minor role. Coupled with the nature of the camps of the JLB in London, the character of youth movement camps from groups in London points to a more militaristic tone in the capital. Regional variances were, therefore, significant in the nature of Boys' Brigade camps, emphasising that camping was not a homogenous pursuit, with different aspects of camping more applicable for Boys in one city to another. For the Boys' Brigade in London the formation and promotion of the LCF demonstrates the significance of this branch of Company work to the movement in the capital. As a consequence, this meant a larger proportion of Boys had the opportunity to experience camping in London than in Glasgow. This illustrates that the aims and objectives of the movement could be more appropriately promoted through other branches of Company work in the respective cities.

The Camping Experience for Boys from Bristol

Much in the same way as camping formed an important part of the year for a number of Companies in London, the same was true of the Bristol Battalion. From the formation of the Battalion in 1891, camps were a regular feature for the movement in Bristol. Even during the First World War, when camping was impractical or impossible for the majority of Companies, the Bristol Battalion continued to host camps, viewed as an event that was "always eagerly looked forward to".⁷³ Strict military discipline, obedience to orders, and respect for those in authority characterised the camps of Companies from Bristol. These values were upheld through the passionate approach of the commanding Officers, the most notable being Captain H. J. Usher of the 6th Bristol, who held considerable influence over the camps from the late 1890s to the early 1920s. The guidance of Usher on the nature of the Bristol camps is similar to the way in which Smith directed the character of camping in Glasgow. As was the case for the movement in London, drill was a substantial element of the programme on camp for the Bristol Battalion and was indicative of the prevailing social climate in Britain. One feature of camps by Bristol

⁷³ "Camp Notes", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 24, 1, September 1915, pp. 8 – 11; p.8.

Companies that was not perceptible in Glasgow or London was the presence of a competitive element resulting from inter-Battalion camps. This created a degree of rivalry between Battalions that was visible in the work of Glasgow and London in football matches, but not evident on their camps. Analysis of the nature of Bristol Battalion camps provides an alternative case to those from the larger centres of Glasgow and London. This adds further credence to the notion that regional variances were evident in the Boys' Brigade across the United Kingdom, reflecting divergent social and cultural attitudes visible in society.

The camps of the Bristol Battalion provide an instance where the programme and standing orders on camp were run in accordance with strict military principles. The extent to which Bristol Battalion camps could be considered military encampments, rather than holiday camps, was reflected in a review of the 1905 excursion in The Boys' Brigade Gazette, where it was written that "onlookers evidently think that these lads are going to the front, per-adventure to die for their country".⁷⁴ The expectation that Boys would conform to military discipline on camp was evident in the portrayal of the expeditions in the local press. For example, prior to the 1893 camp at Berrow Sands, it was written that the Boys "will be under strict military discipline while in camp", with the nature of the 1894 camp clear when it was commented that "everything is conducted in strict conformity with military discipline."⁷⁵ The prevalence of military discipline on camp was indicative of the approach of leaders of the movement in the city to the work of the Boys' Brigade. For example, Mark Whitwill, who was considered to have a "great enthusiasm for good drill and discipline" and was convenor of the Battalion Drill Committee, acted as adjutant on many Battalion camps around the turn of the century.⁷⁶ However, it was the role of Usher on camp that saw strict military discipline characterise the attitude of the Bristol Boys' Brigade to this branch of Company work. A pamphlet published to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of the movement in Bristol commented on Usher's involvement and approach to camping during his time as Battalion President from 1896 to 1920:

⁷⁴ "Our Camp", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 14, 6, February 1906, pp. 88 – 90; p.88.

⁷⁵ "The Talk of Bristol", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14109, 31 July 1893, p.8; "The Boys' Brigade Camp at Sand Bay", Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14428, 9 August 1894, p.8.

⁷⁶ Boys Brigade, "Bristol Battalion Diamond"

During this period of 24 years H. J. Usher also acted as C. O. of the Battalion camp which became the high-light of the year's activities. He was one of those who believed that stern discipline helped to make an efficient and a happy camp. To modern boys his methods would be most certainly regarded as too drastic, but to thousands of our older citizens, camping with Usher was considered a great holiday.⁷⁷

Usher's support of militaristic elements of the Boys' Brigade was clear in a letter written for The Boys' Brigade Gazette in 1917. In the article Usher wrote on the issue 'where the B.B. fails'. In this he suggested that the uniform was a large attraction for Boys, advocating the adoption of a khaki uniform in order to catch the attention of more members.⁷⁸ Therefore, Usher was unafraid of utilising elements that could be considered militaristic in order to increase membership and further highlights the differences in attitude across varied spaces and places in approaches to youth.

The methods of the Battalion were justified by its Officers through the benefits incurred. These included improved health, regular habits, and the formation of friendships.⁷⁹ The distinctive character of camps under the stewardship of Usher was most clearly discernible in a review of the camp at Uphill from 1908:

For Boys whose lives for the most part are spent in the more crowded and smoky quarters of a city, a week's pure air breathed night and day must be good. The benefit goes deeper than the bronzed skin. The mind, too, is influenced by 'the beauty all around', and a walk down the lines with the C.O. on one of his tours of inspection shows that method and order form a part of the useful and important discipline of camp.⁸⁰

From this it is discernible that strict discipline was crucial for Boys to experience the advantages of the summer camp. Moreover, it is significant to note that this review highlighted the tours of inspection by the commanding Officer as the place where Officers of the movement could

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ H. J. Usher, "Where the B.B. Fails", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 25, 7, March 1917, p. 85.

⁷⁹ "The Bristol Battalion at Uphill", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 12 – 13; p.12.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

establish the influence of the camp and its discipline on participants. This indicates that military regulations were central to the working of Bristol Battalion camps and strict disciplinarians such as Usher and Whitwill ensured that order was maintained. As a consequence, this allowed the full benefits of the camp to be experienced.

For the Boys' Brigade drill was considered an important pursuit in order to instil into Boys a sense of discipline. From the early years of Bristol Battalion camps drill was a chief characteristic of the programme. At the 1893 camp, drill and route marches were found alongside sports, prayers, and sea bathing in a programme that seemingly revolved around food, with a total of five meals occurring on an average day on camp.⁸¹ Drill and military exercises continued to have a role in the programme of Bristol camps into the 1900s. For example, a review of 'our camp' in The Boys' Brigade Gazette in 1906 noted that reveille was sounded at 05.00 with Boys put through a series of physical culture exercises.⁸² Moreover, the Battalion gave a presentation of its full repertoire of military-styled demonstrations during an exhibition at Alexander Gardens, where physical drill, ambulance display, and cutlass exercises were performed.⁸³ Furthermore, the 1908 camp saw an hour of drill a day with an additional ten minutes of physical culture exercises undertaken following morning prayers.⁸⁴ This camp also witnessed the introduction of scouting and dispatch running based on Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys.⁸⁵ In adopting the methods of Baden-Powell, the 1908 Bristol camp provides an indication of the extent to which the founder of Scouting influenced the character of youth work in Britain broadly.

However, it was during the camps held in the years of the First World War that saw overtly militaristic exercises undertaken. Due to the lack of available railway facilities the march from the city to the camps at Uphill – a distance of twenty-two miles – was made over the course of two days.⁸⁶ The camp was attended by Alfred E. B. Price, who recalled the march to camp, noting that

⁸¹ "The Talk of Bristol", The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14109, 31 July 1893, p.8; "The Boys' Brigade Camp at Sand Bay", Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14428, 9 August 1894, p.8.

⁸² "Our Camp", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 14, 6, February 1906, pp. 88 – 90; pp. 88 – 89.

⁸³ *Ibid*, p.89.

⁸⁴ "The Bristol Battalion at Uphill", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 17, 1, September 1908, pp. 12 – 13; p.12.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

⁸⁶ "Camp Notes", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 24, 1, September 1915, pp. 8 – 11; p.8.

Boys enjoyed marching.⁸⁷ Whilst on camp physical drill exercises were undertaken by the whole Battalion each day, alongside various sports and bathing parades.⁸⁸ By the 1916 camp the military exercises more closely resembled those of the concert of war on the battlefields of Europe. Extended order drill was undertaken, with a review of the camp in The Boys' Brigade Gazette commenting on the militarised use of land adjacent to the campsite:

The field was particularly suitable for attack and defence, and the Boys showed considerable keenness in this form of drill and also in manning, firing, and communicating trenches, which were marked out with flags. Opposing trenches, marked out thirty yards apart, brought home to many the danger to which many of our comrades are exposed in France.⁸⁹

The nature of these camps in Bristol during the war years emphasises the all-encompassing effect of the conflict on the leisure pursuits in wider British society. That the Boys' Brigade in Bristol replicated the same exercises engaged in on the battlefields of France and Belgium is indicative of a society that accepted militarised leisure pursuits. In addition, these activities were considered to be embraced by the members of the movement, creating doubt on theories suggesting that military elements of youth movements at this time were unpopular or acted as a reminder that working-class army recruits were forced to sign up.⁹⁰ Members of the Boys' Brigade were not obliged to attend and, crucially, camps – with the financial burden they carried that was most directly felt by working-class Boys – would not be undertaken as a leisure pursuit to be endured.

Although strict discipline, military regulations, and drill were characteristic of Bristol Battalion camps, the programme of these expeditions also contained games and sporting pursuits. The relationship between these two elements of the camp was commented on in an article appearing in The Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, where “The strict discipline of camp orders and regulations will be tempered with cricket and other games”.⁹¹ For Bristol Companies in the late 1890s these sports carried a competitive element in the form of inter-Battalion contests. This contrasts to the

⁸⁷ BPOHP, Interview No. R087, BCL.

⁸⁸ “Camp Notes”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 24, 1, September 1915, pp. 8 – 11; p.9.

⁸⁹ “A Battalion in Billets”, The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 25, 5, January 1917, pp. 57 – 58; p.58.

⁹⁰ Stephen Humphries, Hooligans, p.135.

⁹¹ “The Talk of Bristol”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 15038, 22 July 1896, p.8.

experience of campers from Glasgow and London, where the inter-Battalion aspect was absent from camps, but perceptible during the regular programme. During the 1890s the Bristol Battalion were joined by neighbouring Battalions on camp. In 1894 and 1895 the camp was shared with members from Bath where competitions were held in the form of cycle and foot races.⁹² By the 1898 camp the sense of inter-Battalion rivalries became more pronounced. The Weston-super-Mare camp of that summer saw Companies from Bristol joined by groups from Cardiff and Newport. At this camp what were referred to as ‘annual sports’ were held, with competitions in athletics participated in.⁹³ Sports in connection with the Bristol summer camp were also visible the following summer, when Companies from Bristol and Newport contested a number of athletic events including foot races, throwing competitions, and an Officer’s race.⁹⁴ These inter-Battalion contests not only represent a level of competitiveness between Boys’ Brigade Companies from different cities but displays a level of civic pride as the Boys were not only representing their Company and Battalion but, in this context, were representing their city.

Case study analysis of the way in which camps were run by Companies from Bristol provides an alternative example to the experience of the larger Boys’ Brigade centres of Glasgow and London. The Bristol Battalion held large scale camps through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is in contrast to Glasgow, where Battalion camps were held sporadically until the post-war years and London, where regional camps from Companies within the capital were held. What is most striking about the Bristol Battalion camps is the prevalence of strict military discipline, drill, and military exercises to the programme. In this respect these camps most closely resemble a military encampment, when compared to the camps from Glasgow or London. The attitudes of key individuals from the city – the most notable being Usher – were crucial in the promotion of military discipline on camp. As one of the few regions to continue camping during the years of the First World War, the Bristol Battalion provides a unique insight into the approach to camping by youth movements at this time and of attitudes towards holiday making in Britain at a time of war. What is shown during the war years is an increase in drill and a rise in military

⁹² “The Talk of Bristol”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14375, 7 June 1894, p.8; “The Boys’ Brigade Camp at Sand Bay”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14428, 9 August 1894, p.8; “The Talk of Bristol”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 14690, 11 June 1895, p.8.

⁹³ “Boys’ Brigade Camp”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 15673, 4 August 1898, p.5.

⁹⁴ “Boys’ Brigade Camp Sports at Weston-Super-Mare”, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, issue 15990, 10 August 1899, p.6.

exercises akin to those on the battlefields of Europe. This portrays a desire for Boys to play as soldiers and reveals that adult leaders were complicit in facilitating this type of war game. To conclude from this that the organisation was preparing Boys to become members of the armed forces would be an unfair assessment of the broader aims of the organisation within the context of contemporary British society. The nature of the camps illustrated that military-styled activities were used for the enjoyment of members, and the regularity with which the camps were held is testament to this. Therefore, Usher and his fellow Officers in the Bristol Battalion tapped into a Boy's love of playing at soldiers in order to promote and encourage positive habits of its members.

The Changing Nature of the Summer Camp

The historiographical consensus on the function of camping has been to assess this activity in broad homogenous terms and outside the context of the regular weekly sessions. Previous histories have largely considered the movement in isolation without considering in sufficient detail the environment it developed in. Through assessing the character of camps from the three case studies of this thesis it is observable that the nature of this branch of Company work altered over time and varied geographically. However, what is clear is that a distinct change in attitude to camping occurred in the years preceding and following the First World War. Such an approach was indicative of prevailing social attitudes to youth work and militarism. The first aspect of this concerned the prevalence of a military-styled method to camping in the late Victorian and Edwardian years. This was most marked in the approach to this branch of Company work in the English cities of Bristol and London but was also perceptible north of the border in Glasgow. The second feature of this relates to participation figures. In Glasgow and London – the largest centres of strength for the movement in Britain – participation in this branch of Company work was markedly lower before the First World War than in the years following the conflict. This was reflected in the experience of the organisation nationally. The First World War signalled a watershed for the Boys' Brigade and other youth movements as a whole. The experience of the movement in Bristol – where the organisation was able to continue camping despite military restrictions – saw military exercises and principles on camp reach a zenith. Another characteristic that created a change in attitude was the death of the founder in 1914. As the leader of the pioneer

Company, his vision was influential and his model was replicated throughout the movement. The passing of Smith brought to an end years of military manoeuvres on the waters of the Kyles of Bute for the 1st Glasgow and, although the nautical element was retained in the post-war years, it lost the militarised naval aspect. The demise of a strict adherence to military elements to camp created more of a holiday atmosphere. At the same time, greater emphasis was placed on this branch of Company work, something reflected in both national and regional statistics.

That the majority of camps in the early years had a distinctly military tone is unsurprising considering the influence of serving Officers of the armed forces involved with the movement at the time. In 1886, the first year of camping, 112 of the 136 Officers in the Brigade were involved with the military.⁹⁵ Therefore, it is plausible that these Officers brought their military experience to camps, creating a character with a patently martial demeanour. However, in the pre-war years camping was not the prominent branch of Company work it would become in the post-war years, with the regular weekly drill parades and Bible-classes mattering more. Although the situation in London was slightly different – with camping here actively pursued – statistics for the movement as a whole indicate that participation in this branch of Company work was comparatively low. Table 7.4 reveals that in the closing years of the nineteenth century, participation in camping within the movement as a whole was between fourteen and eighteen percent. These numbers are in significant contrast to the figures for attendance at Bible-Class or Sunday School. For example, in 1898 attendance at Bible-Class was more than double the figure for campers, with Sunday School classes seeing attendance by 86% of members.⁹⁶ Moreover, the following year, 25% of members attended a weekly Bible-Class with 82% present at Sunday School.⁹⁷ Therefore, from the example of the weekly religious instruction - one of the pillars of the movement - it is perceptible that the regular weekly sessions were more widely attended and, as a result, were more important to the work of the movement in the pre-war years. Participation figures indicate that camping was not a majority activity at both the local and national level, particularly in the final years of the nineteenth century. As a result, its influence on the organisation during these years should not be

⁹⁵ “The Boys’ Brigade”, *Glasgow Herald*, issue 241, 8 October 1886, p.9.

⁹⁶ “The Boys’ Brigade”, *The Belfast News-Letter*, issue 25935, 19 September 1898, p.3.

⁹⁷ “The Boys’ Brigade”, *The Belfast News-Letter*, issue 26247, 18 September 1899, p.3.

overstated. This brings into doubt the certainty of claims that camping was the biggest draw youth movements held to retain and attract new members.

Table 7.4. Participation in Camping in the Boys' Brigade Nationally, 1897 – 1900.

	Boys	Campers	Participation
1897	33123	4847	14.63
1898	34209	6011	17.57
1899	35146	6406	18.22
1900	41096	6618	16.10

Sources: “The Boys’ Brigade”, Daily News, issue 16068, 25 September 1897, p.6; “The Boys’ Brigade”, The Belfast News-Letter, issue 25935, 19 September 1898, p.3; “The Boys’ Brigade”, The Belfast News-Letter, issue 26247, 18 September 1899, p.3; “The Boys’ Brigade”, Glasgow Herald, issue 228, 22 September 1900, p.8.

Camping during the First World War was inhibited due to the limitations placed as a result of the conflict. When war broke out in 1914 several Companies were at camp and some soon lost their Officers to the armed forces.⁹⁸ A lack of adult leaders during the war meant that many Companies struggled to hold a summer camp. Some Companies – such as the 1st Glasgow – continued to camp through the support of Officers from other Companies.⁹⁹ The significant reduction of camps was noted in The Boys’ Brigade Gazette in June 1916, when the mouthpiece of the movement had been notified of four camps planned for that summer throughout the movement as a whole, three of which were to be held by Companies in Ireland.¹⁰⁰ Alongside a lack of experienced Officers, military restrictions on locations available for camps also reduced the number of camps held during the First World War. The most notable impact was felt in London, where all counties within access of London were placed within the prohibited area, thus inhibiting the ability of large numbers of Boys’ Brigade members to attend camp.¹⁰¹ Therefore, as in the pre-war years, camping was limited in availability to members of this organisation, thus ultimately restricting its overall appeal and attraction to Boys.

⁹⁸ John Springhall, Brian Fraser, and Michael Hoare, Sure and Stedfast, p.106.

⁹⁹ “Camp Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 24, 2, October 1915, pp. 29 – 30; p.29.

¹⁰⁰ “Summer Camps”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 24, 10, June 1916, p.150.

¹⁰¹ “London Notes”, The Boys’ Brigade Gazette, 24, 1, September 1915, p.2.

Despite the lack of camps, the war years were a time when the Boys' Brigade became an increasingly attractive organisation for a number of young Boys, raising further questions to claims from Springhall, Horn, and Tebbutt that camp was the greatest attraction for *most* Boys.¹⁰² The Boys' Brigade Gazette noted that:

It is a well-known fact that Boys all over the country are just now being very much attracted by anything in the nature of military drill and discipline. Interest in Brigade work can be very easily raised if the proper means are taken in connection with churches where no Company exists.¹⁰³

adding that "Reports from all parts of the country agree that recruiting has been extremely good this season in spite of the difficulty being experienced by many companies owing to a shortage of Officers".¹⁰⁴ Moreover, this was despite a dramatic reduction in the ability for the vast majority of Companies to camp at this time. Therefore, much in the same way as interest in the Boys' Brigade increased during the Boer War, the same was applicable during the First World War. During both conflicts it is notable that Boys were attracted to the movement for its militaristic character and ability to provide Boys with a means of playing as a soldier and, therefore, not necessarily to the possibility of camping. The nature of camps held by the Bristol Battalion during the First World War are indicative of the ways in which the Boys' Brigade catered for an interest from Boys in war and being a soldier at an increasingly militarised time, thus providing a local level example to advance Paris's notion of a pleasure culture of war.¹⁰⁵ The character of camps attended by Bristol Boys during the war – one of the few areas where camps continued to be held despite challenges of organisation – marks a highpoint in the military styled encampments that characterised this branch of Company work. These camps witnessed an increase in the appearance of drill, extended route marches, and the introduction of military styled exercises of the same style to those on the battlefields of Europe. This exhibits the appeal of the Boys' Brigade in a society where militarism was heightened. Additionally, the summer camp had a role in this as a place where military-styled

¹⁰² John Springhall, Youth, Empire, p.98; Pamela Horn, Pleasures, p.307; Melanie Tebbutt, Being Boys, p.74.

¹⁰³ "Head-Quarters Notes", The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 23, 3, November 1914, pp. 33 – 34; p.33.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Michael Paris, Warrior Nation, pp. 73 - 82.

fantasies could be carried out and where some young Boys could play at being soldiers, although this was limited in scope due to lack of access to necessary facilities.

The First World War marked the climax of military-styled camps for some Boys' Brigade Companies. However, the post-war years witnessed a distinct change in attitude by the organisation to this branch of Company work. This marked an adjustment in perspective by the movement as a whole within a society where views towards military-styled activities dramatically altered following the First World War. The most significant example of the Boys' Brigade moving away from its militaristic character saw the abolition of the use of dummy rifles for drill purposes in 1926.¹⁰⁶ Prior to the conclusion of the war the rifle served as a useful item of interest to Boys. It was visible in the pursuits carried out on a number of pre-war camps, an example being those of the 74th and 83rd London Companies where a number of photographs from camps from the early twentieth century included images of Boys playing at soldiers with their mock rifles.¹⁰⁷ However, changed conditions in the post-war years meant that this accoutrement became viewed as an obstacle, rather than an enticement to expansion of the organisation broadly.¹⁰⁸ The post-war years witnessed a revision of the approach to camps within the movement. This saw many militaristic aspects make way for leisure pursuits more appropriate to a summer vacation.

Increased emphasis on camping was an important element in the changed perspective to the needs of the new generation of Boys. This was especially noticeable in the increased emphasis on attendance at camps by Companies from London and Glasgow. Moreover, the picture for the movement as a whole saw greater levels of participation in camping. For example, in 1911 28% of members of the movement attended a summer camp.¹⁰⁹ However, by 1926 the percentage of members camping had increased by 10% on the 1911 figure, with 26695 of the 70932 Boys attending a camp in the 1925 – 1926 session.¹¹⁰ It is evident that camping became an increasingly important feature of the Boys' Brigade in its altered attitude to young people in the post-war world. Brigade camps began to make a transition from military-style encampments up to the First

¹⁰⁶ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow*, p.48.

¹⁰⁷ WHS, D132/2, "Photograph Album", 1902-1906.

¹⁰⁸ "The Model Rifle", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 33, 2, October 1924, pp. 27 – 30; p.27.

¹⁰⁹ "Annual Meeting of Brigade Council at Plymouth", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 20, 2, October 1911, pp. 20 – 24; p.21.

¹¹⁰ "Annual Brigade Council Meetings, Brighton, 3rd to 6th September, 1926", *The Boys' Brigade Gazette*, 35, 2, October 1926, pp. 20 – 26; p.23.

World War years into camps marked by an atmosphere more suited to a vacation. This came at a time when camping became increasingly popular as a mode of vacation for British citizens. The advice published in *The Boys' Brigade Camp Handbook* from the early 1930s made reference to this, noting the wide development of camping by holidaymakers at this time meant that Brigade camps should maintain high standards in order to be a credit to camping generally.¹¹¹ Therefore, the change in outlook to this branch of Company work was not only an important element to an altered perspective to youth work by the Boys' Brigade but was indicative of broader societal attitudes relating to leisure and holiday making.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that previous histories on youth movements have placed too much emphasis on the role of camping to the appeal and strategy of a uniformed youth organisation. It has been advanced here that the perspectives of Tebbutt, Springhall, and Horn - who viewed camp as the greatest attraction for *most* Boys - neglected to appreciate attendance figures on camp when compared to the regular weekly sessions in their assessments. Statistics from London, Glasgow, and the movement as a whole, provide clear evidence that camp was far from available to most members of the organisation during the first fifty years of its existence, with Boys more often experiencing the Boys' Brigade during the regular weekly sessions. Moreover, the lack of camps, particularly before 1914, negates its ability to appeal to members of the movement. This not only raises questions relating to our grasp of how youth movements functioned in practice but also challenges our existing understanding of youth and leisure in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century British cities. It is maintained here that the First World War marked a watershed in attitudes towards camping, with participation in this branch of Company work increasing significantly during the inter-war years. In addition, this chapter asserts that the relationship between the regular weekly sessions and the summer camp was crucial and has often been neglected in the existing historiography. The correlation between these two aspects of the Brigade programme is particularly important in challenging claims from Humphries that certain aspects of the Brigade model were endured by Boys in order to attend a camp. Not only has this chapter

¹¹¹ *The Boys' Brigade Camp Handbook*, (London: The Boys' Brigade, nd. c.1930).

shown that camping was a minority pursuit, and therefore unavailable to many Boys for most of the period in question, it has demonstrated that aspects of the regular weekly sessions were crucial components for a Boys' Brigade camp and could therefore not be evaded. It has been argued here that the character of camps altered from those run in strict compliance to military regulations in the pre-First World War years to more relaxed affairs in the 1920s and 1930s, reflecting broader trends in British society. Furthermore, the variances in the approach to camping highlights that the application of the Brigade model was implemented differently across varied spaces and places, raising questions on approaching youth movements in isolation and emphasising the notion that cities maintained their own civic identity. Therefore, it is crucial to take into account these divergences when considering the wider role and appeal of camping within the context of British youth movements and to our broader understanding of the role of these groups in society.

Conclusion

This thesis has compiled an alternative perspective of the Boys' Brigade within the context of the urban space from the inception of the movement in 1883 to the 1930s. Through a thorough assessment of the Boys' Brigade in the major British cities of Glasgow, London, and Bristol the chapters of this thesis have offered an indication of the practical application and interpretation of the model of the movement set by those at the top of the organisation. Through the findings of this approach, based on evidence from contemporary accounts, this thesis has advanced current thinking in the field by providing an examination of the lived experience of membership of a youth movement. Through this, our understanding of how youth movements interacted with the urban space has been enhanced, thus advancing our knowledge of the socio-cultural implications of life in the city. Moreover, it is evident that regional variances in approach are perceptible between the three cities which raises questions relating to viewing youth movements as a homogenous entity that has been the method of many existing histories. Through the core notions of lived experience and regional variances, this thesis has offered a reassessment of the prevailing historiographical consensus relating to youth organisations as well as introducing these movements into broader areas of historiographical discourse. By placing the Boys' Brigade within the context of the urban setting this thesis has provided a detailed examination of how the movement interacted with the local environment in practice. In addition, through a comparative assessment of the organisation in the three case study cities, this thesis has advanced the position of the prevailing perspectives of Springhall, Meller, and Humphries who considered the role of the Boys' Brigade in wider society but missed regional variances in their assessment.¹

The notion of providing an examination of the lived experience of membership of the Boys' Brigade is important to our understanding of youth movements, particularly as Kennedy has commented that the prevailing consensus largely considers these organisations through the prism of the perspectives of their founders.² The chapters of this thesis have advanced current

¹ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, pp. 85 - 93; Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, pp. 171 - 172; Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 - 135.

² Rosie Kennedy, *The Children's*, p.91.

thinking by presenting a clear indication that the position of local Companies from the 1880s to the 1930s differed - sometimes significantly - from the agenda set at the top of the organisation. This highlights that, whilst the perspective of those at the top of a youth movement is important to our broader knowledge, it is only through a closer assessment of the lived experience at the local level that the practical application of the theoretical agenda set by headquarters can be found. This is particularly significant for determining the motivations for young people joining uniformed youth movements. The historiographical consensus maintains that certain aspects of the programme were more appealing to Boys, with activities including football, the band, and camp regularly cited as the key attractions for *most* members.³ In relation to this, other elements have previously been considered as being endured in order to take part in these pursuits.⁴ However, this thesis has emphasised that the twin-pillars of drill and Bible class were at the core of the work of a Boys' Brigade Company at the local level, were the most well attended when compared to summer activities such as the camp, and formed the core of all other aspects of the Brigade programme. Central to previous histories has been to consider camping expeditions as the chief attraction to draw Boys into uniformed youth organisations. However, previous histories have largely considered this activity in isolation without taking into account the symbiotic relationship this had with the regular weekly sessions. By placing camp in the context of its relationship with the regular programme, this thesis advances our understanding by contesting the view that camp was the greatest attraction for *most* Boys. In this thesis it is argued - through evidence from attendance figures from annual reports - that camp was far from available to the majority of Boys and, when applied, was characterised by the drill and Bible-based pursuits that formed the basis of the regular activities. Therefore, to consider camp as the greatest attraction would be to overstate its value within the broader context of the movement and to disregard its character in practice. This thesis maintains that the majority of members of the Boys' Brigade experienced life in a Company at the regular drill parades and Bible classes that were sufficient enough an attraction to maintain and expand membership from the 1880s to the 1930s. Furthermore, when placing emphasis on the drill-based pursuits of the organisation, this thesis has provided a regional example to support Paris's notion of a 'pleasure culture of

³ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire*, p.98; Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, p.134; Bernard Porter, *The Absent*, pp. 208 – 211; Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention*, p.209; Pamela Horn, *Pleasures*, p.307; Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, p.74.

⁴ Helen Meller, *Leisure and the Changing*, p. 171; Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans*, pp. 134 - 135.

war'.⁵ Here, the Boys' Brigade at the local level is offered as an instance where Boys were afforded the opportunity to play as a soldier, thus placing the theory in the local context.

This thesis has found that regional variances in the application of the organisation were discernible, thus providing an example to support the notions of MacKenzie⁶ and Beaven⁷ relating to the importance of locality to imperial identities, through the example of local youth in uniform. This thesis has demonstrated that local circumstances were important in the formation of the identity of the Boys' Brigade that differed geographically. The emphasis on different branches of Company work in the three case study cities of this thesis brings to light the extent to which citizen training for young people was applied in various ways. Moreover, comparing the situation in London and Bristol with Glasgow through contemporary accounts demonstrates that national variances in approach were discernible in the practical application of the Boys' Brigade in England and Scotland. The four nations approach to the British Empire that this thesis has used as a frame of reference is supported, at least relating to divergent approaches in Scotland and England, through the local level assessment of the Boys' Brigade, with the application of the movement markedly different north and south of the border. Therefore, the Boys' Brigade provides an important case to advance this theory through a focus on the young people who were being molded to inherit the Empire. By examining the activities undertaken at the local level this thesis builds on our existing understanding by providing an indication of the local character of the Boys' Brigade in relation to the themes of militarism, imperialism, and religion as expressed through leisure in the city. This thesis has identified these as key themes that the lived experience of the Boys' Brigade should be considered within. These aspects were important characteristics of the Boys' Brigade at the local level, with the nature and emphasis on these differing from city to city. Therefore, if the Boys' Brigade should not be viewed as a homogenous entity then these concepts that the movement encapsulated should not be considered in such broad terms either. This shows that the lived experience of membership of the movement between 1883 and 1933 was subject to the influences of the local environment and was not uniform across varied spaces and places.

⁵ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation*, pp. 73 - 82.

⁶ John M. MacKenzie, "Irish, Scottish", pp. 1244 - 1245.

⁷ Brad Beaven, *Visions*, p. 208.

Appendix 1

Population figures for Bristol, Glasgow, and London, 1891 - 1911.

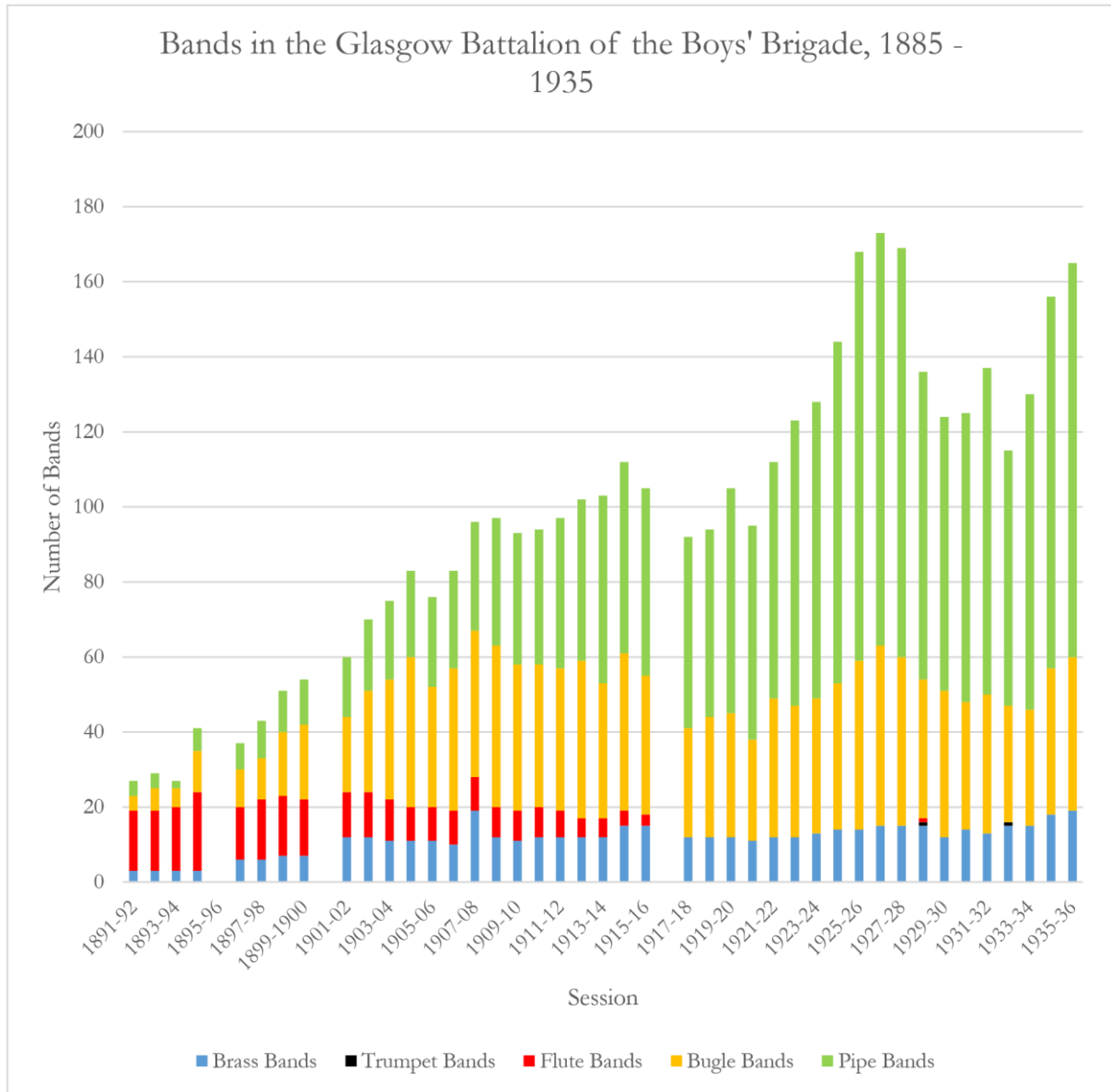
Year	Bristol ¹	Glasgow ²	London ³
1891	296,356	565,839	4,227,954
1901	328,945	571,615	4,536,541
1911	357,048	577,559	4,521,685

¹ “GB Historical GIS/University of Portsmouth, Bristol RegD/Inc through time. Population Statistics. Total Population”, A Vision of Britain, last accessed 18 May 2015, www.visionofbritain.org.uk; Thomas E. Jordan, “Estimating the Quality of Life in Victorian Britain, 1815 - 1914”, *Historical Methods*, 26, 3, 1993, pp. 125 - 141; p.129.

² “GB. Historical GIS/ University of Portsmouth, Glasgow Scop through time. Population Statistics. Total Population”, A Vision of Britain, last accessed 18 May 2015, www.visionofbritain.org.uk; Charles Withers, “The Demographic History of the City”, in W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (eds.), *Glasgow. Volume II: 1830 - 1912*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 141 - 162; p.142.

³ “GB Historical GIS/ University of Portsmouth, London RegC through time. Population Statistics. Total Population”, A Vision of Britain, last accessed 18 May 2015, www.visionofbritain.org.uk; Thomas E. Jordan, “Estimating”, p.129.

Appendix 2



Sources: GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1891 - 92, 1892 - 93, 1893 - 94, 1894 - 95, 1896 - 97, 1897 - 98, 1898 - 99, 1899 - 1900, 1901 - 02, 1902 - 03, 1903 - 04, 1904 - 05, 1905 - 06, 1906 - 07, 1907 - 08, 1908 - 09, 1909 - 10, 1910 - 11, 1911 - 12, 1912 - 13, 1913 - 14, 1914 - 15, 1915 - 16, 1917 - 18, 1918 - 19, 1919 - 20, 1920 - 21, 1921 - 22, 1922 - 23, 1923 - 24, 1924 - 25, 1925 - 26, 1926 - 27, 1927 - 28, 1928 - 29, 1929 - 30, 1930 - 31, 1931 - 32, 1932 - 33, 1933 - 34, 1934 - 35, 1935 - 36.*

Appendix 3

The sample set below carries information for bands as listed in the programme of the annual display of the London District at the Royal Albert Hall between 1903 and 1938 where Companies from the 1st or 3rd Enfield appeared on the programme. A total of twenty two programmes were drawn upon for this sample. Years included are for the performances at the Royal Albert Hall in 1903, 1905, 1907, 1910, 1913 - 1914, 1920 - 1924, 1927, 1929 - 1938.⁴

Orderly Buglers at the Royal Albert Hall (By Country of Origin)

England (Inc. London)	Scotland	Wales	Ireland	London
22	0	0	0	20

Performers During the Assembly of the Audience (By Country of Origin)

England (Inc. London)	Scotland	Wales	Ireland	London
26	3	1	1	15

⁴ EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade. Programme of Demonstration. Royal Albert Hall", 8 May 1903; EBBCR "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 11 May 1905; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 2 May 1907; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 5 May 1910; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration. Royal Albert Hall", 1 May 1913; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 7 May 1914; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 5 May 1920; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 4 May 1921; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade. Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 3 May 1922; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 2 May 1923; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 1 May 1924; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 4 May 1927; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 1 May 1929; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 30 April 1930; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade. Programme of Demonstration. Royal Albert Hall", 6 May 1931; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 4 May 1932; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade. B. B. Jubilee. Programme of Demonstration. Royal Albert Hall", 3 May 1933; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 3 May 1934; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade Silver Jubilee Display. Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 2 May, 1935; EBBCR, "Programme of Demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall", 7 May 1936; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade. Coronation Display. Programme of Demonstration", 5 May 1937; EBBCR, "The Boys' Brigade. Royal Albert Hall Display. Programme of Demonstration", 5 May 1938.

Performers During the Assembly of the Audience (By Type of Band)

Brass	Bugle	Fife	Pipe	Choir
22	2	4	2	1

Other Performers During the Programme (By Country of Origin, Including Performers for Devonshire Cup)

England (Inc. London)	Scotland	Wales	Ireland	London
35	6	1	0	34

Other Performances During the Programme (By Type of Band, Including Performers for Devonshire Cup)

Brass	Bugle	Fife	Pipe	Choir	Handbell	Trumpet	Military Tattoo	Drums
0	25	1	8	1	1	1	4	1

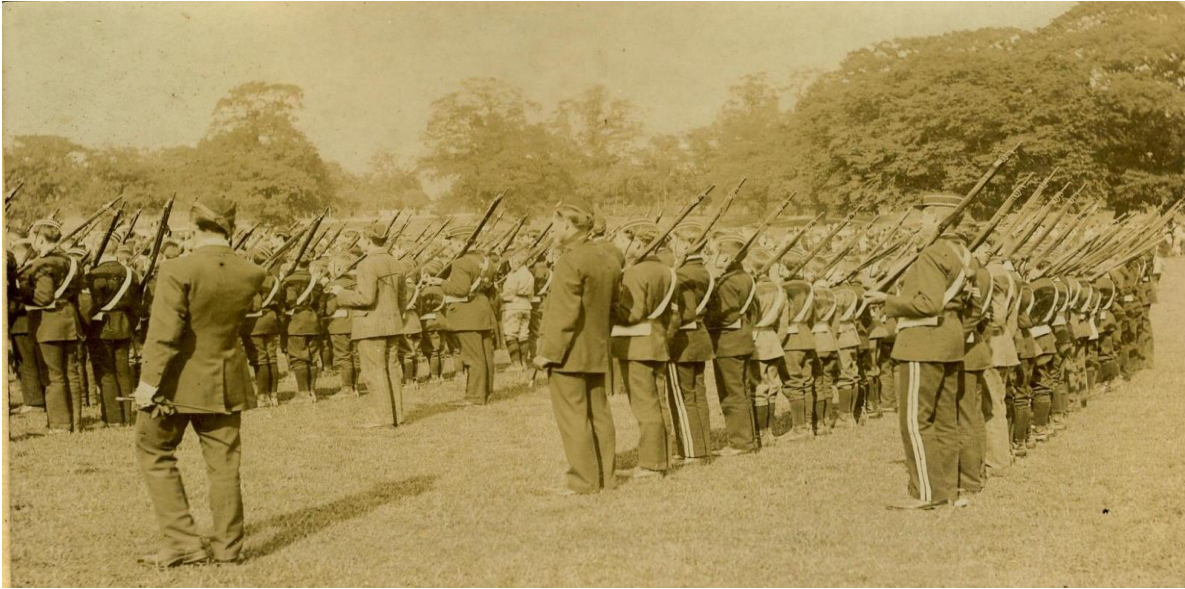
Total Performances (By Country of Origin)

England (Inc. London)	Scotland	Wales	Ireland	London
83	9	2	1	69

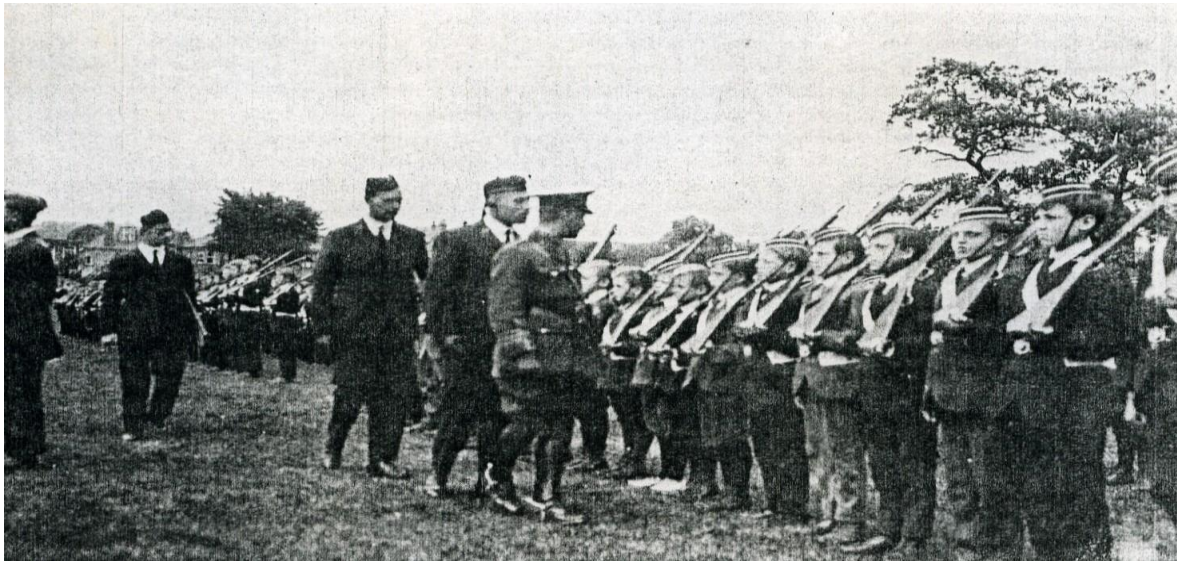
Total Performances (By Type of Band)

Brass	Bugle	Fife	Pipe	Choir	Handbell	Trumpet	Military Tattoo	Drums
22	49	5	10	2	1	1	4	1

Appendix 4



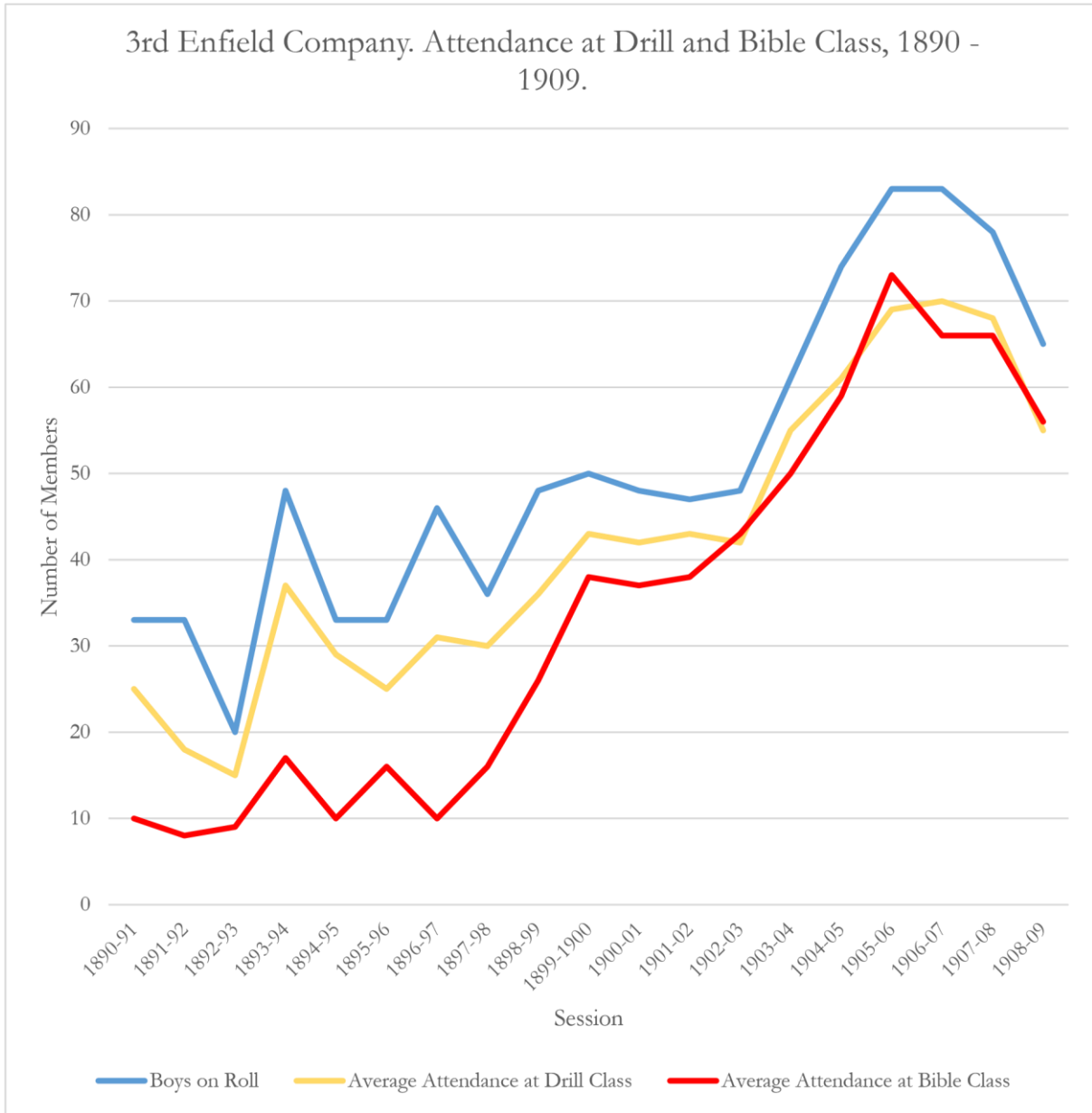
Photograph of the annual inspection of the Boys' Brigade in Enfield, 31 May, 1909.



Photograph of the annual inspection of the Enfield Battalion of the Boys' Brigade, May 1918.
The inspection was presided over by Major P. W. Leggatt.

Source: EBBCR, photograph collection.

Appendix 5



Source: EBBCR, "Annual Statistical Returns", 1890 - 1909.

Appendix 6

Total Interviews R001 - R100 by Gender.

Male	Female	Husband and Wife	Unknown
44	52	2	2

Available Transcripts R001 - R100 by Gender.

Male	Female	Husband and Wife	Unknown	No Transcript
23	25	2	1	49

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. Was a Question Related to Youth Movements Posed in the Interview? (by Gender)

Male Yes	Male No	Female Yes	Female No	Husband and Wife Yes	Husband and Wife No	Unknown Yes	Unknown No
9	14	8	17	2	0	0	1

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. Was Reference to the 'Boys' Brigade' or 'B.B.' made in the Transcript?

Male Yes	Male No	Female Yes	Female No	Husband and Wife Yes	Husband and Wife No	Unknown Yes	Unknown No
10	13	8	17	1	1	0	1

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. Where the 'Boys' Brigade' or 'B.B.' was Referenced, was the Notion of 'Larking About' Raised in the Transcript?

Male Yes	Male No	Female Yes	Female No	Husband and Wife Yes	Husband and Wife No
2	8	1	7	0	1

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. Was reference to the 'Marmalade' Parody Made in the Transcript?

Yes	No
3	48

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. Was reference to attendance at Band of Hope, Church, Sunday School, or Bible Class made in the Transcript?

Yes	No
39	12

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. Was the Respondent a Member of a Youth Organisation? (Male Respondents Only Including Husbands in Joint Interviews).

Yes	No	Unsure/ No Reference
13	2	10

From the Available Transcripts R001 - R100. From the Male Respondents (Including Husbands in Joint Interviews) which Youth Organisation, if any, was the Respondent a Member of?

Boys' Brigade	Scouts/ Sea Scouts/ Cubs	Church Lads' Brigade	Sea Cadets	Not in a Youth Organisation	Unsure/ No Reference
5	6	1	1	2	10

Appendix 7

From the first one hundred available transcripts, thirteen of the twenty five male respondents, including those from joint interviews between husband and wife, mentioned that they were a member of a youth organisation during their childhood. Of these, five commented that they were members of the Boys' Brigade. Below is a summary of these five transcripts relating specifically to their comments relating to the Boys' Brigade.

R003. Born 1885, Bedminster, Bristol. ⁵

This interviewee responded 'yes' to membership of a youth movement like the Boys' Brigade. When asked if he joined for the uniform or the camp he responded that they didn't have a uniform. When asked again why it was that he joined he said it was for the excitement, same as the other lads. This transcript noted that the respondent enjoyed drill and preferred the Boys' Brigade instructors to his school teachers.

R015. Born 1901, Easton, Bristol. ⁶

A question was posed to this respondent if he was a member of a youth movement. Interviewee replied that he was a member of the Boys' Brigade. When asked what attracted him the response was that he had heard a physical training exhibition was being held and that he wanted to be a part of that. Was eventually selected by the Company. Transcript carried reference to Usher. Respondent was asked his opinion on the adults in charge and he responded that they were lovely and treated him well. Interviewee was a member of the 21st Bristol Company and liked drill and the orders given. Was asked by the interviewer if he felt it was like school. The response considered his appearance for drill sessions. Was asked a further question relating to boys attending who did not believe in the values of the movement or made fun of it. Response was that he could not recall anything like that but did remember other boys not in the Brigade making fun. Transcript mentioned the marmalade parody and commented that it did not worry

⁵ BPOHP, Interview No. R003, BCL.

⁶ BPOHP, Interview No. R015, BCL.

the boys in the Company. Finally, when asked if there were favourite things he did when young one of the items he listed was membership of the Boys' Brigade.

R064. Transcript of a husband and wife born in Bristol. ⁷

Respondent mentioned being a member of the Boys' Brigade in part of a response to a question enquiring if children by the age of twelve believed in God or took religion seriously. Respondent mentioned that they had religion in the Boys' Brigade and it was an accepted thing to believe in God. A question was posed by the interviewer on membership of youth movements or Boys' Brigades. The response was that he was a Boys' Brigade man of the 5th Bristol Company when he was small. The following question asked what attracted him to the movement with the response being the uniform; respondent wanted to look posh. Transcript carried a description of the uniform. The next question asked if his mother paid for the uniform. Response was that they were supposed to but did not think he ever paid. The follow-up question asked what the people were like who took the classes. The response was that they were very good and were mostly religious people. Respondent commented that he joined through a Mission and later made reference to his membership of the Church Lads' Brigade.

R087, Born 1899, Redland, Bristol.

This transcript is unique amongst those of the BPOHP as the line of enquiry by the interviewer solely relates to the Boys' Brigade. Over fifty questions were posed to this respondent relating to his involvement in the Boys' Brigade in Bristol over a period of forty seven years. The interview opened with the respondent providing a brief history of the Boys' Brigade broadly before undertaking questions relating to the movement in Bristol. During the interview the transcript illustrated that this respondent was asked a number of questions that are similar to the chief assertions made by Humphries in Hooligans or Rebels. The interview considered the notion of young people taking religion seriously to which the respondent commented that they did. When asked if any boys were larking about during a religious service he commented that they very

⁷ BPOHP, Interview No. R064, BCL.

rarely did. The respondent asserted that religion was the most important part of the Boys' Brigade followed by discipline. It was noted in the transcript that it was not very often that boys misbehaved or larked about and that persistent offenders would be dismissed from the Company. It was also mentioned in the transcript that patriotism was encouraged. Reference was made in the transcript to the marmalade parody after the interviewer asked if other children ever made fun of the Boys' Brigade. It was noted by the interviewee that it was quite common but that members of the Brigade enjoyed it as much as others. Respondent commented that he joined the movement after being encouraged to play the big drum in the band. Recalled stories from camp where marching was one of the key activities. The idea of the movement creating fodder for war was addressed, with the respondent arguing that this was not the case. The use of dummy guns was approached but it was noted that they were dispensed with. The interview closed with a series of questions considering the state of the Boys' Brigade at the time of the interview (1979).

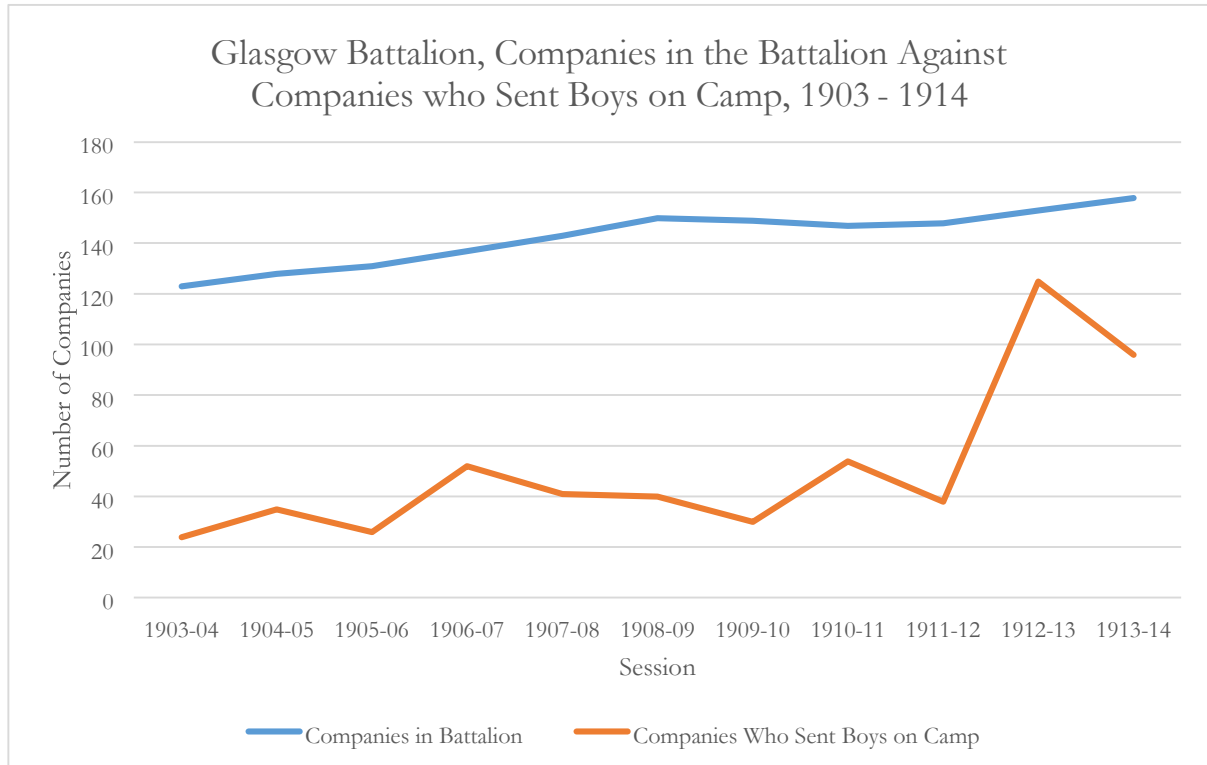
R090, Born 1899, Totterdown, Bristol. ⁸

Respondent commented that he was in the Boys' Brigade between 1911 and 1913 when asked if he was a member of a youth movement like the Boys' Brigade. Respondent commented that he joined because everybody else did. The transcript carried a description of the activities including drill, physical training, and first aid classes. Respondent belonged to the 20th Company from a chapel in Langton Street. Respondent did not go to the Boys' Brigade Sunday School. Comments were made that some Companies had a Bible Class. The follow-up question asked if the adults were strict. The reply was that they were with discipline but were friendly and that it was a nice social affair. It was noted that they always started off with drill, it was from 7 - 9. They had physical training, sometimes from a gymnast, then they would have half an hour doing what they pleased. Mention was made to the gymnastic apparatus available. It was noted that they would be dismissed with a prayer. The follow-up question asked if he recalled the Boys' Brigade being made fun of. The response was that they did make fun, and a song was sung to

⁸ BPOHP, Interview No. R090, BCL.

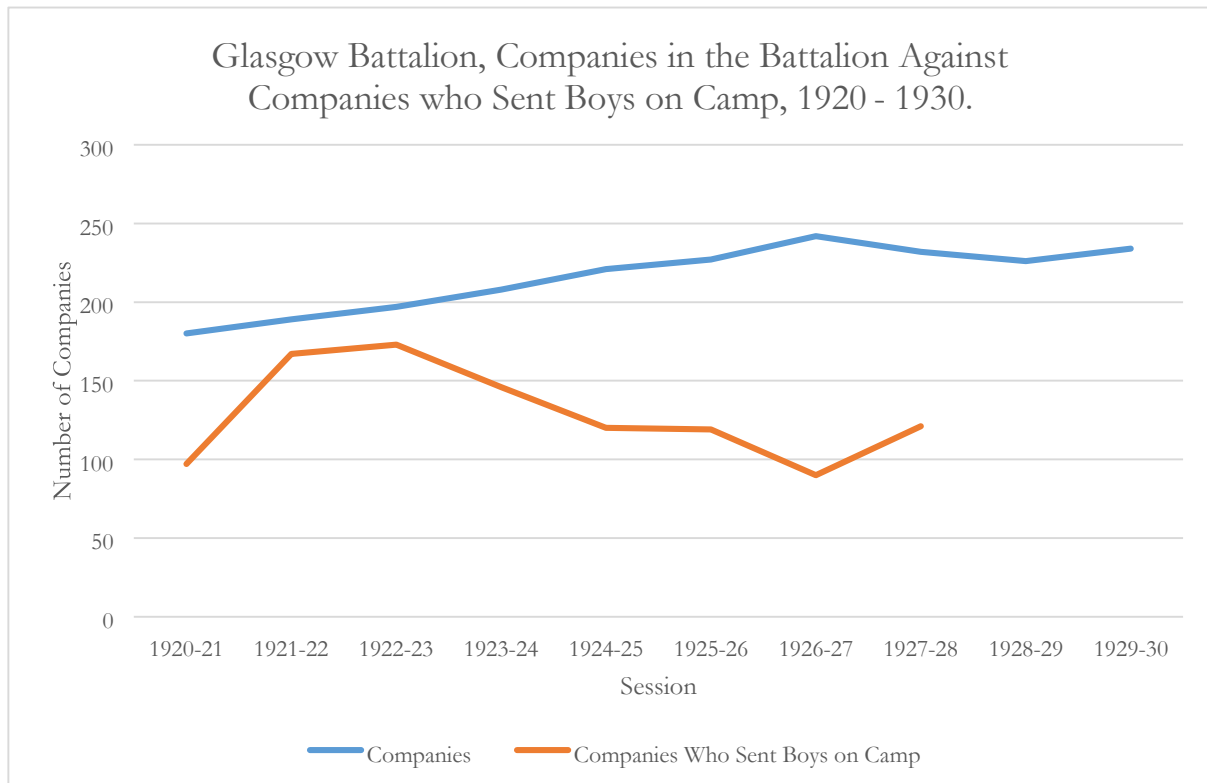
the tune of the bugles (the marmalade parody). This was directly followed by a description of the uniform and its cost.

Appendix 8



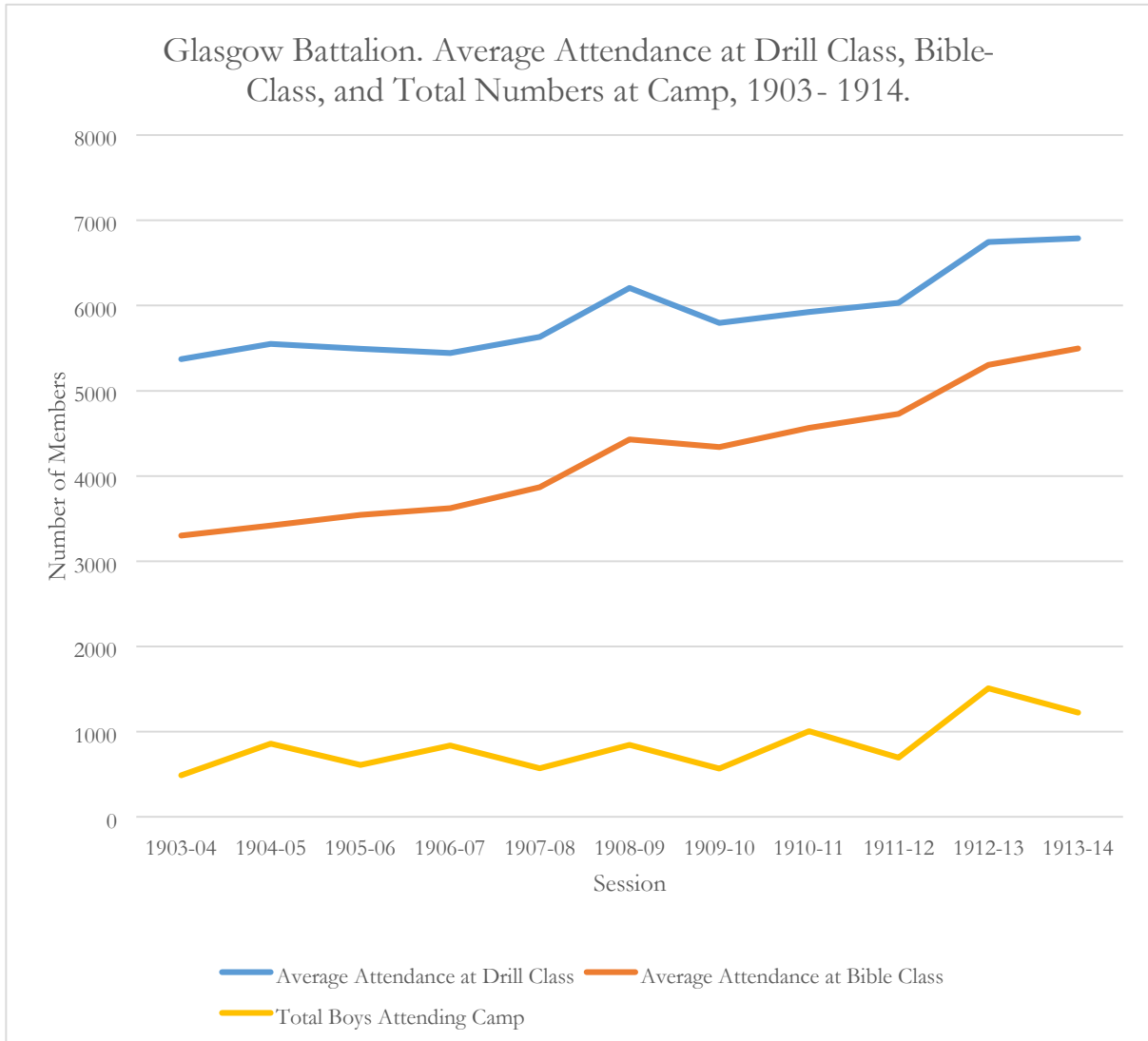
Sources: GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1903 - 04, 1904 - 05, 1905 - 06, 1906 - 07, 1907 - 08, 1908 - 09, 1909 - 10, 1910 - 11, 1911 - 12, 1912 - 13, 1913 - 14.*

Appendix 9



Sources: GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1920 - 21, 1921 - 22, 1922 - 23, 1923 - 24, 1924 - 25, 1925 - 26, 1926 - 27, 1927 - 28, 1928 - 29, 1929 - 30.*

Appendix 10



Sources: GCA, *The Boys' Brigade. Glasgow Battalion. Annual Reports, 1903 - 04, 1904 - 05, 1905 - 06, 1906 - 07, 1907 - 08, 1908 - 09, 1909 - 10, 1910 - 11, 1911 - 12, 1912 - 13, 1913 - 14.*

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