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Muscular Quakerism? The Society of Friends and Youth Organisations in Britain, c.1900-1950*

Many historians have considered the complicated relationship between Christianity and militarism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some focusing in particular on organised youth movements.¹ This period has been seen as one in which early conceptions of muscular Christianity, first popularised by Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley, gave way to a focus on the promotion of athleticism and team sports, associated with aggressive imperialism and preparations for war.² The emergence of uniformed youth movements that participated in ‘building character’ or ‘character-training’ was – according to one interpretation – an outgrowth of this evolution of muscular Christianity.³ Historians have disputed the extent to which Edwardian youth movements, particularly Robert Baden-Powell’s Scouts, promoted militarism among British youth; this echoes contemporaneous disagreements about the intentions and effects of Scouting.⁴ Although other youth movements have not attracted the same amount of scholarly attention, the same theme often arises when historians do consider them.⁵ It is clear that the leaders of youth movements, in both Britain and America, were often engaged in controversy regarding, in David Macleod’s words, ‘sensitive issues such as religion, social equality and militarism’.⁶ Before and during the First World War, Scouts and other youth movements were drawn into national preparations for conflict, generating further controversy, particularly where the organised churches were concerned. The result, according to Clifford Putney, was seen in ‘wild oscillations of opinion with regard to war’ among the Protestant churches: some publicly opposed militarism, but the experience of war often compromised this stance.⁷ Emerging from these oscillations was a statement by the Boy Scouts of America in 1913, which denied that that organisation was militaristic, but emphasised the importance of what it called the ‘military virtues’, including ‘honor, loyalty, obedience, and patriotism’.⁸ For a British youth organisation, the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, the ‘military virtues’ included ‘orderliness, punctuality, prompt obedience to approved authority, [and] precision of concerted movements’.⁹ These virtues were widely recognised, among both militarists and pacifists, as worthwhile qualities to be fostered in young people, especially young men.

The idea of ‘character’ lay behind the ‘military virtues’, and was a central component of the rhetoric of early twentieth-century youth movements. Stefan Collini argued in 1985 that, during the Victorian era, ‘the idea of character ... enjoyed a prominence ... that it had certainly not known before and that it has, arguably, not experienced since’.¹⁰ However, it is now clear that the importance of character persisted into the twentieth century; indeed, the recent re-emergence of ‘character education’ as a policy goal on both sides of the Atlantic has emphasised the persistence of the idea of character.¹¹ Historians of physical education have emphasised how the precepts and language of ‘character-training’ were widespread in the interwar period in Britain.¹² Within the ‘mainline’ American Protestant churches,

Heather A. Warren has shown that the idea of character, which was ‘understood to be the stable arrangement of moral qualities accompanied by the determination to put such qualities into action – a combination of values and will’, persisted into the 1930s before giving way to the more private, inward idea of ‘personality’.¹³ In Britain, the rhetoric of ‘character’ and ‘character-training’ did not entirely disappear: it featured in some youth movements after the Second World War, and even into the 1960s.¹⁴ However, this language was not incompatible with a more spiritual emphasis. As shown elsewhere, some commentators in the 1940s presented character and spirituality as nearly synonymous, using interchangeably the phrases ‘strengthening the national character’, ‘deepening the spiritual life of the nation’ and ‘strengthening moral fibre’.¹⁵ Youth movements that promoted character also trained young people for service; hence, in the United States, as Warren has asserted, Christian progressives’ ‘touting of character climaxed ... with a nationwide effort at character education involving the public schools, young people’s organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls, and religious education’.¹⁶ For this range of organisations, character could have multiple meanings. There was a ‘basic core of qualities’ associated with the idea of character: for Collini, these were ‘self-restraint, perseverance, strenuous effort, [and] courage in the face of adversity’.¹⁷ Yet these could have a range of social implications. Collini explains that they were at the heart of the muscular Christianity promoted in the late Victorian public school, with all its ‘imperial and military resonances’;¹⁸ however, the same qualities were carried through into twentieth-century youth movements in different ways and often by ostensibly different groups. As Neal Garnham has commented, “‘muscular Christianity’ in its various forms was far from a monolithic concept’.¹⁹

This article, focusing on Britain, considers the involvement of one Nonconformist denomination – the Religious Society of Friends or Quakers – in organised youth movements, focusing in particular on organisations that either had, or were perceived to have had, a militaristic dimension. The relationship of Quakerism to such organisations was particularly problematic, because of the Quaker peace testimony, which – in theory at least – rejected armed combat of any kind.²⁰ As Alan Wilkinson has pointed out, the Society of Friends was ‘the only Christian body which corporately bore witness to pacifism’ during the First World War, and as such the relationship of the Society and its members to militarism is of particular interest and importance.²¹ Unlike most of the scholarship on youth movements and militarism, this article goes beyond the First World War, and considers the role of Quakers in Scouting and other youth movements in the 1920s and 1930s, and the response of members of the Society to the organisation of the Youth Service in the Second World War, as well as, more briefly, the emergence of Outward Bound, a neglected avenue of post-war ‘character-training’.²² Although the involvement of Quakers in education has been an important theme in the Society’s history,²³ Friends’ involvement in youth movements has rarely featured in the literature, despite the fact that many Quakers participated enthusiastically in them. There are two reasons for this neglect. First, the Quaker peace testimony has been viewed as restricting Friends’ participation in the more violent activities that have sometimes characterised muscular Christianity. Even team games have been presented as anathema to some Quakers.²⁴ Therefore, historians of Quakerism itself have rarely explored the meanings of Quaker participation in ‘character-training’ activities.²⁵ Second, Quaker historiography has often been pursued in isolation. One historian has fiercely criticised ‘the inevitable parochialism of “in-house” denominational scholarship’.²⁶ Although this is a rather unfair accusation to throw at many historians of Quakerism,²⁷ there is some truth in

Pam Lunn's suggestion that 'Quaker historical narratives ... inevitably tend towards a focus on perceived group distinctiveness and give less attention to commonalities shared with the surrounding culture'.²⁸ This has brought about a situation where some vectors of Quaker influence on the wider society and culture have often been obscured. There was a complex association between Quakerism and organised youth movements, which reflected, and contributed to, the wider relationship between Christianity, education and militarism.

This article shows that, despite the Quaker peace testimony, which was itself reinvigorated during what has been called the 'Quaker renaissance' of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,²⁹ many Friends acknowledged the 'military virtues', and promoted them through organised youth movements. In doing this, they were often willing, and sometimes eager, to allow their anti-war stance to be compromised, and increasingly – during the Second World War in particular – to collaborate with the military state in undertaking youth work. There was, nevertheless, a feeling among Friends that they could make a distinctive contribution to youth movements, and they were apt to emphasise the spiritual aspects of the movements with which they were associated, ahead of some of their more muscular features. Indeed, both Quakers and non-Quakers alike believed that Friends' involvement in certain youth movements served as a useful check on the militaristic influences that might otherwise predominate within them. As for many American Protestants, Scouting and other youth movements could be seen as 'moral equivalents' of war – a term coined by William James in 1906 – rather than preparations for it.³⁰ During the Second World War, a recognition of the very limited scope for the promotion of pacifism within youth movements encouraged accommodation with the state-sponsored Youth Service. Moreover there was a genuine recognition among many Friends that the military side of this work had something worthwhile to offer the nation's youth. Putney has commented that even pacifist Christian groups never 'entirely forgot the old muscular Christian adage that war beget manly character', and the attitudes of many British Quakers demonstrate the enduring power of this adage into the mid-twentieth century.³¹

There has been a long-running and lively debate among historians about the extent to which the Scout movement, established by Robert Baden-Powell in 1907, promoted militarism among British youth. Allen Warren and Martin J. Dedman have both argued that the alleged militarism of the Baden-Powell Scout movement has been greatly exaggerated,³² although this interpretation has itself been severely criticised, especially by John Springhall.³³ As noted above, these historiographical disputes echo those of the Edwardian period itself, when the Scouts were founded: Baden-Powell strongly defended his movement against allegations of militarism.³⁴ Nevertheless, many Edwardian Quakers, as Thomas C. Kennedy has shown, opposed what they saw as 'part of a nefarious conspiracy to militarize the nation's guileless youth'.³⁵ Kennedy points out that some Friends supported the short-lived British Boy Scouts, also known as the National Peace Scouts, established by Sir Francis Vane along the same lines as the Baden-Powell Scouts, but without any of the activities that might be deemed militaristic.³⁶ By contrast, Dedman comments that Baden-Powell Scouting 'had the support of the Society of Friends', although this is supported only by one reference to the *Hampshire Independent* and two to *Scouting for Boys*.³⁷ In fact, even Baden-Powell was far from claiming that 'the Society of Friends' supported Scouting. He wrote, in *Scouting for Boys*: 'The fact that Nonconformists and members of the Society of Friends can recognise the Boy Scouts movement as non-military in its

policy is a great step, and a great encouragement.’³⁸ This recognition by some Friends was a long way from official Quaker endorsement of Scouting. Indeed, notwithstanding Baden-Powell’s comment, it was possible for Quakers to read *Scouting for Boys* and be convinced that Scouting was inherently militaristic, as one Friend claimed to have done in 1931.³⁹ However, aspects of the Scout movement need not be anathema to Friends. Scouting was non-denominational, but it had, in Warren’s words, ‘fundamentally spiritual objectives’, although these were sometimes overlooked in the early years of the movement.⁴⁰

It is true that many Quakers did oppose Scouting, and in 1909 the influential, widely circulated and relatively conservative Quaker periodical *The Friend* adopted an anti-Scouting stance in its editorial, expressing ‘grave doubts as to the wisdom of association by Friends ... with a movement whose tendencies appear to go in the direction of the propaganda of the National Service League’.⁴¹ However, there was a long-running debate, in *The Friend* and elsewhere, among Quakers concerning the acceptability of Scouting: Kennedy underestimates the level of support among Friends for Baden-Powell’s movement. Quaker critics of Scouting conceded that ‘[m]uch of what is done [in the Scouts] ... is excellent and unimpeachable in character’,⁴² while others acknowledged that Britain’s ‘national education’ needed to promote ‘energy, pluck, common-sense, and resourcefulness ... [and] unselfish and chivalrous ideals’, all of which were fostered in the Scouts.⁴³ Some Friends, echoing these endorsements, argued that the character-building aims of Scouting could be achieved without the associated militarism. This was one of the attractions of the National Peace Scouts. The *British Friend* – a monthly publication, less conservative than the weekly *Friend* – reprinted an article by Vane, originally published in the *Westminster Gazette*, implicitly proposing Peace Scouting as a useful outlet for Quaker energies.⁴⁴ Indeed, the National Peace Council, a Quaker-inspired organisation, had two representatives on the council of the Peace Scouts, and prominent Friends, including George Cadbury and T. Edmund Harvey, were involved.⁴⁵ Harvey, who was at this time warden of Toynbee Hall, had encouraged the development of Scouting there, although his successor as warden, Maurice Birley, who was also a Quaker, was less supportive.⁴⁶ Vane himself was not a pacifist, and had been involved with the establishment of a cadet corps at Toynbee Hall in the 1880s.⁴⁷ Quakers were aware that Vane was not a ‘Peace man in the sense in which we understand the term’, and one correspondent to *The Friend* argued that Peace Scouting was ‘even more insidious’ than Baden-Powell Scouting, because its militarism was hidden behind a pacifist façade.⁴⁸ However, this point of view was untypical: more representative was the argument that Peace Scouting offered a Quakerly alternative to military training. As one devotee explained, the movement was ‘based on the splendid Scout law’, but there was no ‘playing at soldiers’.⁴⁹ Vane’s organisation did not last for more than a few years, but in any case, some Friends denied that even Baden-Powell Scouting was militaristic, pointing in particular to the internationalism of the movement. Meanwhile, others argued that the extent of militarism in a Scout troop was down to the taste of the individual Scoutmaster, and therefore appealed to young Friends to ‘become Scoutmasters ... and so check the military spirit from the inside’.⁵⁰

Quaker approaches to other youth movements in this period reflected some of the difficulties presented by Scouting. While concerns about militarism were never far away, Friends emphasised the benefits of uniformed youth organisations for the training of young people’s character. For example, Martha Baker of Willesden argued that the Boys’ Life Brigade (BLB) – *not* the Boys’ Brigade – could ‘supply the elements needed, both as to out-door exercise, physical drill, discipline, brotherliness,

self-sacrifice, and patriotism'. For Baker, the Boys' Brigade 'worked on military lines', and was unsuitable for Friends; however, BLB branches or 'Bands of Peace' (groups promoted by the Peace Society) could be organised by Quakers to foster both pacifism and patriotism among the young.⁵¹ The BLB was founded by a Congregationalist minister in 1899, and Methodists were prominent among its leadership.⁵² For Quakers, Physical drill was not an unwelcome aspect of BLB training, although the military drill favoured by the Boys' Brigade caused concern. Correspondents such as Baker had little sympathy with the insistence of Boys' Brigade leaders that the military drill was not the key feature of the movement, merely an aspect of its activities that supported its main aim of promoting religious devotion and observance among the young. Along with the BLB, the Boys' Brigade refused to participate in the national cadet force scheme, which youth organisations were urged (on pain of penalties) to join in 1910, but they did not fully abandon rifle drill until the 1920s, which precipitated a merger with the BLB. This insistence limited the attractiveness of the Boys' Brigade for Quakers and members of other Nonconformist denominations.⁵³ Other Friends, however, pointed favourably to the work of the Church Lads' Brigade, which was established in 1891 as an offshoot of the Band of Hope temperance organisation, and which *did* join the 1910 scheme; again, the appeal lay in the elements of discipline and character-training.⁵⁴ Many were quite ready to acknowledge the virtues that were, incidentally or otherwise, encouraged by youth movements. Even the anti-Scouting editorial in *The Friend* recognised 'the good effects of discipline, of training in observation, neatness, helpfulness, &c., cultivated in the Boy Scout'.⁵⁵

Some Quakers were happy to endorse even the more militaristic aspects of Scouting. Indeed, it was sometimes felt that a military training was not necessarily the worst thing that could befall a boy or a young man. Writing in 1910, Richard Westlake of Southampton argued that the 'rough lads' who 'hang about our streets' would be better off joining a militaristic group such as the Baden-Powell Scouts: the uniform and drill undeniably appealed to many of them, and the military discipline might even do them some good. For Westlake, youth movements 'instil national pride and feelings of patriotism', and 'teach [boys] to be smart, orderly, respectful and obedient'. He went on: 'One might just as reasonably object to a boy having a toy gun or wearing a soldier hat in his nursery, as being likely to inculcate a warlike spirit in after life, as to the simple rifle practice of the Boy Scouts.'⁵⁶ Westlake was the son of a prominent Southampton Friend, who had been heavily influenced by Victorian muscular Christianity: he had read F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, and was involved with the Young Men's Christian Association.⁵⁷ The revitalisation of the Quaker peace testimony seems to have had little impact on the Westlakes, but, as Brian Phillips has shown, they were by no means the only Friends whose opposition to militarism and imperialism was at best 'tentative' in this period.⁵⁸ A third of all Quakers of military age enlisted during the First World War,⁵⁹ and those who had been involved with the Scouts could use their experiences to good effect. One such Friend was Edmund Yerbury Priestman of Sheffield, a former pupil of Bootham Quaker school and a second lieutenant in the 6th York and Lancaster Regiment, who was killed at Gallipoli in 1915. Priestman's letters home were published in 1916, under the title *With a B-P Scout in Gallipoli*, with a foreword by Baden-Powell and an introduction by another Sheffield Quaker, J. H. Doncaster. According to Doncaster, '[a]ll [Priestman's] spare time was given to work in the Boy Scout Movement and Men's Adult Schools'; there was no apparent incongruity between these two ostensibly very different social and educational movements, the latter closely

associated with Quakerism.⁶⁰ George Cadbury was also closely involved with the adult school movement, as well as supporting the Peace Scouts.⁶¹ Priestman found that Scouting lived up to its motto and prepared him for many of his encounters at war: ‘A fellow next to me raises a wounded arm for me to put on his “field-dressing”, and as I tie the ends of the bandage, I remember how many scouts I have taught to tie that knot in the old club-room at home!’⁶²

Quaker concerns about Scouting re-emerged in the interwar period, but often with a rather different emphasis. Even its detractors would admit that the movement became less militaristic and more internationalist in this period; in Macleod’s words, British Scouting adopted a ‘cautious internationalism’ in the 1920s, and this might appeal to Friends.⁶³ Although the apparently militaristic aspects of uniformed youth movements were sometimes discussed by Friends, the Quaker critique of Scouting in the interwar years was often more concerned with the extent to which ‘self-government’ was, or was not, fostered in the Scouts. The idea of ‘self-government’ had a traditional appeal to Nonconformists, and particularly Quakers, given their denominational rejection of priestly authority.⁶⁴ The ‘autocratic’ structure of the Scout movement sometimes meant that a militaristic approach to character-training was imposed on Scout leaders. In 1931, George W. Smith of Margate announced in *The Friend* that he intended to resign as a Scoutmaster, complaining that ‘I have no effective power whatever outside my own troop’. For example, he had no say in the appointment of the County Commissioner or the Chief Scout. He continued: ‘With such autocratic organisation, it is inevitable that imperialists should be in strongly entrenched positions and pacifists almost entirely excluded.’⁶⁵ Although many other correspondents disagreed that the structure was ‘autocratic’, and others professed not to care whether or not the organisation’s leadership was democratically chosen,⁶⁶ the focus on this aspect of Scouting reflected a distinctive Quaker approach to youth organisations, and to other social movements. The movement with which Friends were most closely and widely associated – Sunday morning adult schools – was, in theory at least, a democratic one, where schools chose their own leaders, and in turn sent representatives to county, regional and national bodies.⁶⁷ As early as 1910, one Friend had asserted that the Peace Scouts differed from the Baden-Powell Scouts, not only in their non-militarism but also in their ‘democratic form of constitution’. As a result, she continued, Quaker adult schools were ‘peculiarly qualified to form and control bodies of boy scouts’.⁶⁸ As noted above, the same individuals, such as Edmund Priestman and George Cadbury, were involved in adult schools and Scouting.

By the 1930s, the balance of opinion in the Quaker press was rather in favour of Scouting, and by the 1940s and 1950s discussion of the movement had largely disappeared from the pages of *The Friend* and other Quaker periodicals. Friends’ own secondary schools often took up Scouting. W. A. Campbell Stewart, a professor of education, could report in his book *Quakers and Education*, published in 1953, that Scouts and Girl Guides ‘for years have been active in Quaker schools’.⁶⁹ At Stramongate school in Cumbria there was a Scout troop during and after the First World War, the Quaker headmaster Francis H. Knight having considered Scouting and decided that he was ‘satisfied about its non-military outlook’.⁷⁰ Sidcot Quaker school had a Scout troop during the First World War, and re-established one in or before 1931: the justification was that it helped to train boys for ‘leadership’, and fostered an international outlook. The headmaster, George W. Hutchinson, admitted himself ‘fully aware that it can be exploited for militarist purposes’, but was ‘convinced that, properly administered, it is one of the greatest forces for international good now existing’.⁷¹ In the late 1920s, Leighton Park school pupils had joined the

Scout troop in Reading, and this was felt to be ‘an extremely useful thing’.⁷² One reason for its usefulness was a long-standing concern about the absence of cadet forces in the Quaker schools, which was sometimes felt to be a weakness when it came to character-training. The headmaster of Leighton Park, Edgar B. Castle, acknowledged in 1929 that ‘[w]e have nothing in our Schools to correspond with the OTC [Officer Training Corps], the existence of which others take for granted.’ Importantly, Castle immediately preceded this remark with regret that Quaker schools did too little to prepare their pupils for wider ‘service’, and followed it with an expression of concern that boys at his school were not being given ‘a clear idea of religion’.⁷³ Thus social service, character-training and spiritual well-being were all interconnected in the Quaker vision of youth work, and it was through this interconnectedness that Friends felt that they were able to make a distinctive contribution to youth movements.

Increasing Quaker involvement in youth organisations reflected the congruence of the language of ‘character’ and ‘personality’ with the main theological tenets of Quakerism. This was widely recognised within the Society of Friends. For example, Knight, who left Stramongate in 1928 to become general secretary of the Friends’ Education Council (FEC), reminded Quakers in a pamphlet in the following year that

[w]e are the one religious body which has always stood for the doctrine of the Inner Light as meaning that no external authority must be allowed to dominate the individual soul. Now, in this twentieth century educational experts are coming round through philosophy to exactly this standpoint. The child must be allowed to develop, to unfold, to express himself completely, to develop his personality to the greatest possible extent unhindered by external discipline or tradition.⁷⁴

Youth movements, according to Knight – who instanced the Scouts, Guides and Boys’ Brigades, among other examples – were the most effective ways for Friends to promote the power of the Inner Light.⁷⁵ Knight was the author of *Choice and Freedom*, issued by the FEC in 1930 and aimed at young Friends and other boys leaving school. Here the Chief Scout – still, at this point, Baden-Powell – was quoted approvingly as an opponent of gambling, and Knight told his readers that ‘[w]e want you to glory in all kinds of self-control, to be masters of yourselves.’⁷⁶ Similarly, the young Quaker Lewis C. Edwards, a member of the Friends Ambulance Unit, writing in a widely circulated pamphlet in 1944, thought the best way to exert Quaker influence on society was through an ‘appeal to something deep down in each person – his soul’, and hence to train the individual ‘personality’. Youth clubs and similar activities, which ‘have for their aim the formation of character’ – Edwards used ‘character’ and ‘personality’ interchangeably – were the best vehicles for ‘further[ing] our beliefs and ideals as Friends’.⁷⁷ However, it was recognised by these writers that, in Knight’s words, some youth organisations aroused suspicion among Friends because ‘they contain elements not altogether in harmony with our ideals’; and for this reason it was doubly important for Quakers to get involved in them and help to shape their policies.⁷⁸ Edwards, writing in *The Friend* in 1944, called for Quaker ‘infiltration into established organisations’, which would enable them to promote an emphasis on ‘service and co-operation’, whereas at present too many youth movements focused on ‘qualities such as patriotism, obedience, reverence and self-control’. The last four qualities were all important, but Quakers could bring something additional and distinctive to these movements.⁷⁹ None of this, however, undermined

the importance of character: Edwards approvingly quoted Herbert Spencer's comment that education 'has for its object the formation of character'.⁸⁰ It would have been difficult for Edwards to disagree with Baden-Powell's definition of character – 'a spirit of manly self-reliance and of unselfishness' – and with his refusal to introduce 'drill'-type exercises to the movement, on the grounds that they 'destroy individuality', whereas the aim of Scouting was 'to develop the personal individual character'.⁸¹ It should be added that even Quaker absolutists who were imprisoned during the First World War went on to endorse Scouting.⁸²

As Derek Edgell has emphasised in an exhaustive study, an alternative to Scouting – which claimed, among many other things, a more open and democratic structure – was available in the interwar period.⁸³ The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry was established in 1916 as a breakaway from the Scouts by Ernest Westlake and his son Aubrey, both Quakers; and 'in its formative period', as was later remembered in *The Friend*, the Order enjoyed some Quaker support.⁸⁴ Francis Knight also recommended Woodcraft as an organisation with which Quakers might work.⁸⁵ Aubrey Westlake had been a conscientious objector during the First World War, but not an absolutist: he did non-military service with Scout troops in Cambridge, and started a troop at his old Quaker school, Sidcot. Influenced by the American Ernest Thompson Seton, an admirer of primitive Native American cultures, Westlake subscribed to a ruralist ideology, drawing heavily on the chivalric ideas of Robert Blatchford, which also influenced other youth movements: for example, one Quaker had earlier noted that an objective of the National Peace Scouts was to 'inculcate the principles of chivalry'.⁸⁶ Like Seton, the Westlakes supported the theory of recapitulation, in which personal and spiritual self-discovery involved acting out various 'stages' of human evolution, including those in which violence and war had been important aspects of racial development. Thus the Quaker leaders of Woodcraft saw some good, or perhaps necessity, in war. According to Edgell, the Westlakes 'were virtually unique amongst Quakers in conceding that warfare in the remote past had been of some value to mankind and served to inject vitality into societies that otherwise were stagnating or regressing'.⁸⁷ For this reason, younger members of the Order – the Trackers and Pathfinders, respectively aged under 15 and 15-18 – were encouraged in 'recapitulation of tribal war and military training', although the Waywardens and Wayfarers, aged 18 and over, should attend to 'higher interests and so discourage militarism'.⁸⁸ Edgell notes that Aubrey Westlake 'was willing to accept that not everything about the current conflict [the First World War] was bad and that there was a "positive" side to the war'; both he and his father accepted 'that the war had triggered acts of heroism and sacrifice on and off the battlefield and had stimulated noble-minded actions by citizens towards one another'.⁸⁹ As a result, training in the 'military virtues' was part of the Woodcraft experience, and the exact phrase was used by the movement.⁹⁰ The importance of Woodcraft should not be over-emphasised: it was never a large movement in any case, and Quakers did not join in large numbers, probably dissuaded, like many others, by its 'obscure and esoteric' activities.⁹¹ The Woodcraft Folk, which was established in 1925 and aimed especially at younger groups, had a more explicitly pacifist agenda, and might have been expected to attract more enthusiastic Quaker support; however, its early associations with eugenics, and involvement with organised labour in the 1930s, as well as the support of many members for Soviet communism, all restricted its appeal.⁹² In any case, members of the Society of Friends who sought practical involvement in a naturalistic outdoors movement were increasingly drawn to the Youth Hostels Association (YHA), founded in 1930, together with associated

organisations that promoted outdoor life with an internationalist flavour. The YHA's first secretary, Egerton St John Catchpool, was a Quaker, as were many of the early leaders of this organisation, as well as the Holiday Fellowship and similar groups.⁹³ These interwar activities represent a different style of muscular Quakerism, and are discussed elsewhere.⁹⁴ However, the notion of 'military virtues' was emphasised again in Quaker responses to youth movements during and after the Second World War, to which we now turn.

On the home front, the Second World War provided another challenge, or opportunity, for members of the Society of Friends in relation to work with children and young adults. The Youth Service was established through a series of circulars issued between 1939 and 1941 by the Board of Education.⁹⁵ Circular 1486 (issued in November 1939) required local education authorities to establish youth committees, on which voluntary youth organisations would be represented, and made some government funding available. In 1941, more worryingly for Friends, circular 1577 required those aged 16 and 17 to register with their education authority. In addition, they were to be offered an (optional) interview, at which they would be advised on productive ways of spending their leisure time; these might include activity in a voluntary youth organisation, or in one of the cadet branches of the armed forces.⁹⁶ Like Scouting, the Youth Service provoked a mixture of Quaker responses. In particular, compulsory registration, and the involvement of the pre-service units, occasioned intense debate within the Society of Friends, many of whose members were involved in youth work, either professionally or in voluntary organisations. There was widespread suspicion within the Society that its members were being asked to co-operate with a pre-recruitment scheme. These suspicions were not unique to Quakers: in Parliament, and within the Board of Education itself, there was clear opposition to the mixing of education and military recruitment,⁹⁷ while in the summer of 1940 the Youth Committee of the Commission of the Churches complained about the neglect of religion in the proposed Youth Service.⁹⁸

Quaker opposition to the Youth Service, particularly the element of compulsion, was not simply a matter of internal importance to the Society of Friends. The Board of Education tried hard, with some success, to persuade Friends of the merits of the service: in P. H. J. H. Gosden's words, the government was faced with 'the problem of supplying an adequate number of trained youth leaders when the nation's manpower was so sorely stretched'.⁹⁹ Aware of the commitment of many Quakers to youth work, and using language that was often heard from members of the Society, Sir Robert Wood, deputy secretary of the Board, addressed a meeting of the FEC at Friends' House in March 1942. He explained that the aim of the service was to respond creatively to 'the present-day urge to provide the nation's youth with every opportunity to develop its body, mind and spirit'.¹⁰⁰ Just a week later, another senior representative of the Board of Education, B. L. Pearson, spoke at a special FEC conference on 'The Service of Youth', reminding his audience that, although a wartime imperative lay behind the Youth Service, it had a wider, and longer-term, ambition: to meet the 'educational and recreational needs' of young people in both war and peace. Pearson expressed the hope that a permanent Youth Service would help to prevent delinquency, provide opportunities for service – not necessarily military – and would become a permanent feature of 'the country's educational policy'.¹⁰¹ These efforts demonstrate the perceived importance to non-Friends of Quaker work with young people, and the hope that they would be drawn more fully into it.

Some members of the FEC were opposed to the scheme, and even its supporters within the Society acknowledged its ‘mixed motives’.¹⁰² At Yearly Meeting – the governing body of the Society of Friends – in August 1942, one speaker asserted that the scheme was clearly pre-service, and claimed that more than 100,000 boys had already been recruited, through it, to the Home Guard; other Friends also opposed the Youth Service at this event.¹⁰³ However, after discussion, Yearly Meeting issued a minute that encouraged members to participate, albeit rather ambiguously:

On the one hand we have been reminded of the recent efforts of the Board of Education to utilise, encourage and co-ordinate voluntary services for the welfare of youth, and that even in war-time this is primarily an educational matter. On the other hand we have noted that these efforts have become increasingly influenced by the prospective demands of war. We hope that Friends generally will not overlook either aspect of this problem ... We wish to encourage Friends who are concerned to help in this service, especially our younger members.¹⁰⁴

As a result of this minute, the FEC established a Youth Committee, to give advice to Friends who wanted to get involved in the Youth Service, or in other forms of youth work. This committee recognised that ‘unreserved cooperation’ with any area of youth work was impossible, because some government-sponsored youth work clearly involved training young people for ‘war service’. For the editor of *The Friend*, this strengthened the imperative for Friends to become involved: ‘to do all they can to prevent the Service of Youth movement deteriorating into anything like a British edition of the “Hitlerjugend”’.¹⁰⁵ However, it was felt that ‘the Government’s proposals show also a genuine interest in the development of character, in the fruitful use of leisure and in social education through its varied forms’.¹⁰⁶ As a result, the committee argued that Friends could work in the Youth Service, but should give careful thought about how to proceed. Emphasising the limited potential Quaker contribution in terms of resources – human or capital – the committee suggested that ‘a distinctive Quaker contribution may be made by the establishment of clubs under Quaker auspices’, and that this might be a better field of service than co-operation with the Youth Service or with other denominations. On the other hand, the ‘completely secular’ outlook of most young people was recognised, and the committee doubted whether explicit Christian instruction would help to bring any of these people to God. The best way to achieve this, it was felt, was through the personal example that Christians could set, and the ‘sympathetic understanding’ that they could share. Therefore, Quakers should involve themselves in non- and inter-denominational ‘Youth Centres and Clubs’, and consider opening their meeting houses for youth club events.¹⁰⁷ Given the widespread suspicions of many forms of youth service within the Society of Friends, the Youth Committee needed to tread carefully in order to avoid alienating their co-religionists.

However, many Friends – including some individual members of the Youth Committee itself – argued more forcefully for active collaboration with the Board of Education scheme. Indeed, many professed to understand the attractions of some of the pre-service branches, and some went so far as to endorse them as suitable activities for young people. Ronald Wraith of Southampton – another committee member – despaired of some Quakers’ negativity towards the scheme, urging that it ‘should be acceptable to the most determinedly suspicious Friend’.¹⁰⁸ At an FEC

‘Service of Youth’ conference in March 1942, Wraith and others acknowledged some of the benefits of the militaristic side of the Youth Service, in which Wraith himself had worked. He praised the commitment and personability of the military men whom he had encountered:

During the last month I have had to be responsible for arranging the business of registration and interviewing under the authority which I serve at Southampton. I have had to see personally every boy who has come ... I have had to get together with the Colonel of the Home Guard, the Commandant of the ATC [Air Training Corps] [and] the Admiral of the Sea Cadet Corps[,] who have been entirely charming people and I realise that they give more of their time, energy and money in the Service of Youth, as they see it, than the corresponding people in the Christian Churches[.]¹⁰⁹

Similarly, another Friend asked rhetorically, ‘What have the Christian Churches to offer’ in place of the ATC and cadet units, acknowledging that there was little point in objecting to training of a ‘national service’ nature if there was nothing that Friends could offer in its place.¹¹⁰ This was partly because of the inherent attractions of the cadet forces. For Monica la Mare, youth organiser of the National Council of Girls’ Clubs, ‘[t]he pre-Service Training groups offer something definite and immediate in the matter of training and there is, in addition, the appeal of service and the glamour of uniform.’¹¹¹ Elsewhere, Elizabeth Sparks, a youth organiser from Hertfordshire, explained that the pre-service groups were more popular than ‘voluntary organisations’ among young people because ‘they worked upon the same ambition, and furthermore, had the advantages of clear purpose and orderly programme and procedure’.¹¹² Another speaker told the FEC conference: ‘The question might ... [be] asked: “Where do we go from here?” and I am left unconvinced that the true answer is not “to the ATC” – where truly most boys want to go.’¹¹³ This claim was certainly not inaccurate: Gosden points out that ‘preservice organisations were the most popular choices among boys’ who were encouraged at their interview to join a youth organisation.¹¹⁴

It was not easy to develop non-military alternatives to the pre-service units: Friends were limited in number, and in any case many potential male youth workers were conscientious objectors, who were often prevented from working for local authorities and unwelcome in many voluntary organisations.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, it was clear to many Friends that even pre-service training could offer significant personal benefits to young men, especially in terms of preventing idleness and delinquency. Wraith admitted:

It is impossible for Friends to work within the pre-Service units but viewing them with unprejudiced eyes we can gain new light from them. The ATC in particular, in meeting some of the physical, mental and spiritual needs of youth is providing an incentive that is not just the glamour of a uniform; in a lot of ways the boys are better off in the ATC with its physical fitness, good discipline and mental training than just drifting, as many of them do, from public house to cinema.¹¹⁶

Although the Board of Education sought to downplay the language of ‘juvenile delinquency’, some Friends saw the attack on delinquency as a positive benefit of the scheme. Bert Campbell, who had spent 30 years in East London, approved of what he

saw as a scheme to prevent the delinquency that had occurred during the previous war. Believing that young people were now more ‘independent’ and less ‘amenable to discipline’ than during the First World War, Campbell saw in the Youth Service a ‘magnificent opportunity’ for Friends and other churches.¹¹⁷ Likewise, the FEC Youth Committee, in an echo of the Edwardian language of Richard Westlake, regretted that Quaker meeting houses often stood empty ‘while boys and girls fill the local cinemas, public-houses, dance halls and billiard saloons, or simply walk the streets’.¹¹⁸ Friends were not hostile to discipline or character-training, and were willing to acknowledge the availability of these attributes in movements and organisations which did not meet with unambiguous Quaker approval in other ways.

Similarly, there was a mixture of Quaker responses to National Service after the Second World War. Many Friends, of course, were fundamentally opposed to peacetime conscription, as they had been in wartime; but the importance, for good or ill, of National Service to the development of young men’s characters was recognised by its supporters and opponents alike. As the Quaker social investigator and confectionary manufacturer Seebohm Rowntree explained to one correspondent, ‘obviously one of the important factors to be taken into account is the effect of National Service upon young men since they are taken for two years when they are at an impressionable age and great good or harm might accrue’.¹¹⁹ Rowntree’s own attitude was rather ambivalent: as an employer, he was interested in the impact of National Service on the fitness of young men for industrial (or any other) employment, and his inquiries into the subject generally convinced him that some good, on the whole, did ‘accrue’ from the experience. He acknowledged that, in view of National Service, the armed forces had ‘a particularly important part to play in the field of character development’.¹²⁰ If nothing else, Rowntree thought, echoing Ronald Wraith’s earlier comments on the ATC, National Service removed many young men from some of the less wholesome temptations to which they were susceptible, and exposed them to more rigorous discipline: this was certainly the view of some of those whom he interviewed on the subject for his social inquiries.¹²¹ Other Quaker employers concurred in this view. For example, Paul Cadbury forwarded to Rowntree a memorandum, written by one of his factory welfare officers at the Bournville factory in Birmingham, which noted that National Service had ‘a beneficial effect on the development of character in most cases’. This correspondent, perhaps for the benefit of his Quaker employer, added that ‘the beneficial effects ... could, no doubt, be better achieved in different ways, i.e. by periods of suitable experience away from home without the service atmosphere’.¹²² Nevertheless, in 1953 the joint secretary of the Bournville Works Youths’ Committee and Youths’ Club reported that the majority of young Cadbury employees ‘have returned from National Service the better for their period in the Forces’.¹²³

Not all Friends, or those associated with them, took the same view. Seebohm Rowntree’s son Philip told his father that the fact that those in charge of National Servicemen were soldiers was alone enough to disqualify them from being the ‘men of high ideals and character’ that were wanted to mould the characters of the young.¹²⁴ Thus Philip Rowntree located the failings of National Service in the context of its impact on character. He argued that the experience was detrimental to the character of young working-class men: many of them spent their two years learning ‘how to idle gracefully’, thereby ‘losing the habit of work’.¹²⁵ Similar concerns were expressed in the pages of *The Friend*, where the juvenile crime epidemic was attributed to violent habits learned during National Service.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, there was some correspondence in support of peacetime conscription. One Quaker who had

done his National Service in the army, and had subsequently joined the Territorials, was ‘certain that the period of two years’ service is a positive contribution to the life of the country’. In the army, it was true that some ‘men of bad character’ might become worse, ‘since individuality is allowed free rein outside parade hours’; however, others would improve, either because of the military discipline to which they were subjected, or because of the opportunities available for education within the armed forces.¹²⁷ There was predictable and fierce opposition to this letter in *The Friend*, but even some of those who disagreed with the correspondent admitted that, while conscription damaged the national character, some individuals may benefit personally from the military experience.¹²⁸

This view was endorsed by some Quakers who did not undertake military service: the ideas of character and leadership that were pursued in non-combatant groups were similar to those emphasised in the forces. A conscientious objector, Roger Cowan Wilson, who led the Friends’ War Victims Relief Service (WRVS) during the Second World War, shared the moral agonies of those who enlisted, and had more sympathy for them than for many conscientious objectors:

Speaking personally as a Christian pacifist, I had a far deeper sense of spiritual unity with those of my friends in the fighting services, who, detesting war as deeply as I did, yet felt that there was no other way in which they could share in the agony of the world, than I had with those pacifists who talked as if the suffering of the world could be turned off like a water tap if only politicians would talk sensibly together.¹²⁹

Wilson recalled that the selection criteria for WRVS volunteers were very strict, and that ‘self-discipline’ was essential among them. The Service ‘distrusted personal ambition or the man “who wanted to get on”’, and Wilson noted that General Eisenhower had the same feelings when he selected his men for the invasion of Europe.¹³⁰ Wilson was later a professor of education and a supporter of the family welfare movement in the 1950s, addressing the problem of ‘juvenile delinquency’ through new forms of youth service.¹³¹ After the Second World War, when many Quakers were involved in the establishment and organisation of youth clubs, often deploying the language of ‘delinquency’, the ongoing influence of the ‘military virtues’ was apparent. As one Quaker youth leader reminded readers of *The Friend* in 1950, ‘young people need excitement and adventure ... the chance to prove themselves in ... a real victory over circumstances’.¹³²

The language of ‘military virtues’ featured heavily in Outward Bound, another movement with which Quakers were associated. Compared with Scouting, Outward Bound has received little consideration from historians, but Matthew Millikan has recently examined it from an American perspective, comparing it with the Scouts, and focusing on the spiritual side of the movement.¹³³ Outward Bound began in Britain in 1941, and involved an intriguing group of military and ex-military men on the one hand, and Quakers and those with Quaker associations on the other. Seebohm Rowntree was the president of the Outward Bound Trust from 1946 until his death in 1954, and his son Peter was a member of the Trust’s council, which also included a number of military leaders as well as Commander Russell Lavers, who was Seebohm Rowntree’s collaborator in social investigations after the Second World War.¹³⁴ Major John Gwynne, a special services veteran, was a salaried official at the Trust, and the Chief Scout, Lord Rowallan, was also a member. The choice of Rowntree as president

reflected a feeling among the trustees that ‘it is important to avoid giving cause for anyone to think that the Trust was interested in mobilising the youth of the country in any form of youth movement’, and for this reason Rowallan was not offered any post other than the vice-presidency.¹³⁵ As Baden-Powell had found, emphasising Quaker involvement was a useful way to deflect accusations of militarism. Directly and indirectly, other Friends were involved in Outward Bound and associated activities. The Quaker Elizabeth Sparks from Hertfordshire, who had praised the cadet forces during the war, was associated with the pioneering work of the German educationalist Kurt Hahn, who was the originator of Outward Bound.¹³⁶ The mountaineer Geoffrey Winthrop Young was a prominent supporter of the movement: although he was not a Quaker, and disliked what he called ‘Quaker swaddlings’, Young had served with the Friends Ambulance Unit during the First World War, in which service he had lost a leg.¹³⁷ John Gwynne’s salary was paid by the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust, and Hahn was eager to claim the support of the Quaker pacifist Philip Noel-Baker for the Moray Badge Scheme, another precursor of Outward Bound.¹³⁸ At the centre of this diverse group was the historian G. M. Trevelyan, another veteran of ambulance service who emphasised the influence of the Quakers with whom he had served during the First World War.¹³⁹ Trevelyan was also the first president of the Youth Hostels Association, with which, as noted above, many Quakers were associated.¹⁴⁰

Outward Bound embodied Hahn’s approach to ‘character-training’, and particularly the idea that the replication of wartime circumstances could draw out the ‘military virtues’. Addressing the speech day at Leighton Park Quaker school in 1956, Hahn asked rhetorically: ‘Can peace recruit those qualities of courage, devotion and self-sacrifice which are called for in war?’¹⁴¹ The Trust promoted character-training among young people by deliberately setting them in situations of adversity; according to Collini, this was also the way in which organised Victorian school sport aimed to develop character.¹⁴² Outward Bound ran a sea school at Aberdovey in mid-Wales from 1941, and a mountain school at Eskdale in the Lake District, which opened in 1950; at these, boys, and from 1951 girls, took part in ‘Short-Term Character Training Schools’, lasting a month. Outward Bound was not a military organisation, but it did arise from a civil imperative generated by war: the first courses were aimed at training merchant navy cadets to survive in the event of a torpedo attack. In Millikan’s words, these courses, led by Hahn, were innovative in that they ‘substitute[d] training in real-life rescue work for traditional competitive sports as the strenuous mechanism for turning boys into men’.¹⁴³ The idea of preparedness, central to Scouting, also underpinned the work of Outward Bound, and, unsurprisingly, critics attacked it for militaristic objectives, sometimes drawing a (wholly unsuitable) comparison with the Hitler Youth.¹⁴⁴ Supporters of the movement did admit to ‘dangers’ in the ‘aspect of its training’ that emphasised the importance of character-building through adversity, and some Quakers, especially in America, were uneasy about Outward Bound,¹⁴⁵ but it never attracted the widespread pacifist opposition that surrounded the Scouts, particularly in the early years of that movement.

Many Quakers found much to admire in Outward Bound: one Friend later remembered that ‘[a] number of individual Friends took a practical interest in the Movement in its early days.’¹⁴⁶ The distinctively spiritual dimension appealed the most. Millikan has noted that Outward Bound was ‘clearly muscular’, but wonders how Christian it really was, suggesting that the phrase ‘muscular liberalism’ encapsulates it more appropriately.¹⁴⁷ However, in Britain there was an explicitly religious dimension to Outward Bound, which was made clear in the first statement of aims; this held that the courses ‘must be ... based on a spiritual foundation’.¹⁴⁸ Many

Outward Bound courses accompanied the physical and mental challenges that they set with a daily prayer session, and self-examination lay at the heart of the Outward Bound experience. There was intense discussion among the British Outward Bound leaders in the late 1940s and early 1950s about how best to present Christianity within the schools – Peter Rowntree took a prominent role in these – but none dissented from the view that it should be a central feature of the movement.¹⁴⁹ The aim of the movement was to draw out the individual's strength of character: Hahn's first course was aimed at 'showing students the depth of their own inner strength'.¹⁵⁰ This resonated with Quaker Inward Light theology, and with the idea of 'self-government', which, as we have seen, many Friends were concerned was absent from the Scout movement. For Millikan, the attributes of character that Outward Bound sought to foster were similar to those promoted by the Scouts, but whereas in that movement 'character was something imposed by the organisation on the individual', in Outward Bound it 'must be unleashed from within the individual'.¹⁵¹ Personal spiritual development was at the heart of the process, and therefore underpinned the value of Outward Bound to members of the Society of Friends. As Seebohm Rowntree and Russell Lavers explained in 1951, Outward Bound schools promoted 'self-reliance, endurance and courage', but

More important still ... is the fact that the training and experience of communal living and effort ... evoke a spiritual response in a large majority of the youths who attend an Outward Bound school, so that in the duration of a course they grow in spiritual stature, and return to their factory, school or home, finer persons and more useful citizens than they were a month earlier.¹⁵²

This emphasis on citizenship and spiritual strength was central to the Quaker conception of education. The importance of inward struggle in the creation of the individual personality had long been an important feature of Quaker educational thought. For example, the prolific Quaker pamphleteer Loofty Levonian used the language of early muscular Christianity in a tract on 'Character and Self-Control', produced under the auspices of the Woodbrooke Quaker college in 1935, and aimed at the youth of the Society. Young men, he argued, had to learn to exercise 'self-control', and he asserted that 'character is something won by serious struggle'.¹⁵³ Muscular youth movements such as Outward Bound helped young people, and especially young men, to achieve this end. Detailed research into the history of Outward Bound has revealed a shift in emphasis by the 1960s, whereby an earlier concentration on the promotion of 'character-training' and education for leadership was replaced by an agenda focusing on 'personal growth' and 'self-discovery'.¹⁵⁴ This can be seen as a return to the 'strenuous moral earnestness and religion' that underpinned the emergence of muscular Christianity in the mid-nineteenth century, reflecting an older belief in the importance of inward moral struggle to the development of character.¹⁵⁵

Three conclusions can be drawn between this examination of the relationship between Quakerism and youth movements in the first half of the twentieth century. First, many Quakers perceived a distinctive role for members of their denomination in youth movements. By the mid-twentieth century this role both reflected and influenced a shift in focus from 'character' to 'personality', and a shift in method from the inculcation of moral qualities to the process of 'self-discovery'. Addressing Yearly Meeting in 1946, John Hoare – an experienced youth worker and former general secretary of the Highway Clubs – remarked that, whereas late nineteenth-century

youth movements aimed to train ‘the habits of obedience and reverence’, the modern ideal was ‘the full and natural development of personality in fellowship’.¹⁵⁶ Hoare downplayed the extent to which Quakers had previously been involved in youth organisations¹⁵⁷ – as this article has shown, many had participated enthusiastically over a fifty-year period – but saw the new ideal as an opportunity for members of the Society of Friends to shape the direction of youth movements in the future. The involvement of many Quakers in the wartime Youth Service and in revitalised post-war youth movements, especially youth clubs, both reflected and influenced the emergence of citizenship and ‘self-discovery’ as key objectives of both formal education and extra-curricular youth movements.¹⁵⁸ The increasing prioritisation of ‘personal growth’ in youth organisations of the second half of the twentieth century resonated with the ‘inner light’ theology of Quakerism, and drew many Friends, usually in an individual capacity, into youth organisations, where they often showed a particular concern for the spiritual aspects of informal education. The detailed history of Quaker work in youth clubs, the family welfare movement and other areas of post-war social service cannot be told here; however, there is no doubt that members of the Society of Friends played an important role in these developments, in keeping with the long tradition of Quaker concern for education. Explicit reference to the ‘military virtues’ was rarer among Friends in the post-war period, although in other respects Quaker commentators echoed contemporaneous social priorities, especially fears about juvenile delinquency.¹⁵⁹

Second, however, in the first half of the twentieth century promotion of the ‘military virtues’ remained a significant aspect of Quaker involvement in youth movements. Even in the 1940s and 1950s, the enthusiastic participation of many Friends in Outward Bound provides evidence that the ‘military virtues’ remained influential, despite the close association of Quakers with opposition to war and militarism. As this article has shown, this theme persists throughout the history of Quakerism in the first half of the twentieth century. Although some Friends maintained the traditional Quaker opposition to uniformed youth movements and to participation in the state-organised Youth Service, many embraced the Baden-Powell Scout movement, especially in the interwar period. This emphasises the diversity of opinion, even within a relatively small denomination (there were 17,346 Friends in 1900, 19,081 in 1925, and 19,673 in 1939),¹⁶⁰ on one of the key aspects of its distinctive Christian witness. Even Quaker opponents of Scouting could acknowledge that the ‘Scout and Territorial movements have many good points about them that appeal to the lads’;¹⁶¹ while supporters could argue that pacifism and Scouting were not incompatible: after all, the fourth section of Scout Law ruled that ‘[a] Scout is a friend to all and a brother to every other Scout.’¹⁶² Although the involvement of Quakers in youth organisations, such as the Scouts and Outward Bound, was sometimes held up by others, not least Baden-Powell himself, as evidence of a non-militaristic ethos, many Friends were willing to acknowledge the benefits of the ‘military virtues’. During the Second World War in particular, many accepted the benefits of the military experience itself in promoting these virtues. The focus of Quaker opposition to youth movements shifted from uniforms and militarism to the lack of ‘self-government’, but this criticism lacked both force and coherence. Thus although John Hoare rejected the Victorian heritage of organised youth movements (the Boys’ Brigade was his explicit target), he still recognised the need for ‘authority’ within youth clubs, and the exercise of enlightened leadership: there was a limit to the extent of self-government that even enlightened Friends thought should be conceded.¹⁶³

The third and final, and related, conclusion relates to the wider place of Quakers in British society. Quaker involvement in youth organisations demonstrates a growing willingness, partly in a reflection of the ecumenical spirit of the interwar years, to work with members of other denominations and, increasingly, those with no religious belief. The history of other social movements with which Quakers were associated also reflects this tendency: the interwar period saw a re-channelling of the energies of the late Victorian and Edwardian ‘Quaker renaissance’ – which was largely concerned with the internal affairs of the Society of Friends itself and with its traditional social concerns – into wider spheres of social action.¹⁶⁴ In doing this, Quakers implicitly subscribed to many elements of the dominant rhetoric and practices of social movements. As a result, the Society of Friends and its members provide good evidence of what Alan Wilkinson called the ‘cultural assimilation’ of the Nonconformist churches into the mainstream of British life during the interwar period. Referring to the Primitive Methodists, who in contrast to the Society of Friends did not bear corporate witness against the First World War, Wilkinson remarks: ‘That such a quintessentially dissenting group ... should so easily succumb to the prevailing pressures of the period, reveals the persuasive power which English society can exercise on various types of dissenter.’¹⁶⁵ While the Quaker peace testimony emerged stronger from the First World War – despite the participation of many young Friends in the military services – the experience of frontline work with the Friends Ambulance Unit and other relief services encouraged many Quakers to participate in organised youth movements during the interwar years. The ‘self-restraint, perseverance, strenuous effort, [and] courage in the face of adversity’ required on the ambulance front were also promoted in youth organisations.¹⁶⁶ The energetic pursuit by Quakers of the ‘moral equivalents’ of war reflects the difficult position of a small but disproportionately influential Nonconformist denomination with a distinctive reputation and religious outlook, and in the case of the Society of Friends a reputation for involvement in education. Acknowledging the attractiveness of uniformed movements to many young people, Quakers were willing to work with these organisations – and, during the Second World War, with the state – in pursuit of their own calling to the service of society. They also discerned scope for the exercise of a particular kind of influence within youth movements, especially in the directions of spirituality and fellowship. In doing so, they fostered a distinctive, and often rather complex, version of muscular Christianity that played a significant role in twentieth-century British culture and society.

* I am grateful to Susannah Wright for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ C. Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America 1880-1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001); D.I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA and Their Forerunners 1870-1920* (Madison, Wisc., 1983); A. Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945* (London, 1986).

² J.J. MacAloon, 'Introduction: Muscular Christianity after 150 Years', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, xxiii (2006), 687-700.

³ Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, esp. chapters 4, 7; Macleod, *Building Character*.

⁴ See J.O. Springhall, 'The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908-1930', *International Review of Social History*, xvi (1971), 125-58; M.J. Dedman, 'Baden-Powell, Militarism and the "Invisible Contributors" to the Boy Scout Scheme 1904-1920', *Twentieth Century British History*, iv (1993), 201-23; A. Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain c.1900-1920', *ante*, ci (1986), 376-98; J. Springhall, A. Summers and A. Warren, 'Debate', *ante*, cii (1987), 934-50; Macleod, *Building Character*, 178-83; T. Jeal, *Baden-Powell* (London, 1989), 409-23.

⁵ D. Edgell, *The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry 1916-1949 as a New Age Alternative to the Boy Scouts* (2 vols, Lampeter, 1992), i, 121-43, 303-23; O. Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain', *ante*, lxxxvi (1971), 46-72, at 66-7; J. Springhall, 'Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents 1880 to 1914', in J.A. Mangan and J. Walvin (eds), *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940* (New York, 1987), 52-74; Springhall, 'Boy Scouts', 129-30 (on the Boys' Brigade), 142ff (on the Church Lads' Brigade).

⁶ Macleod, *Building Character*, 175-6.

⁷ Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 163.

⁸ Macleod, *Building Character*, 179.

⁹ Quoted in Edgell, *Order of Woodcraft Chivalry*, 313; see also 308-10.

¹⁰ S. Collini, 'The Idea of "Character" in Victorian Political Thought', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xxxv (1985), 31.

¹¹ See J. Arthur, *Education with Character: The Moral Economy of Schooling* (London, 2003).

¹² See for example F. Skillen, "'A Sound System of Physical Training": The Development of Girls' Physical Education in Interwar Scotland', *History of Education*, xxxviii (2009), 403-18; see also Scottish Education Department, Advisory Council, *Report on Character Training in Schools* (1931): National Archives of Scotland, ED 8/15.

¹³ H.A. Warren, 'The Shift from Character to Personality in Mainline Protestant Thought, 1935-1945', *Church History*, lxxvii (1998), 537-55, quoted at 538-9.

¹⁴ K. Roberts, G.E. White and H.J. Parker, *The Character-Training Industry: Adventure Training Schemes in Britain* (Newton Abbot, 1974).

¹⁵ M. Freeman, "'Britain's Spiritual Life: How Can It Be Deepened": Seebohm Rowntree, Russell Lavers and the "Crisis of Belief" c.1946-54', *Journal of Religious History*, xxix (2005), 25-42, at 33-4, 42.

¹⁶ Warren, 'Shift from Character to Personality', 539.

¹⁷ Collini, 'Idea of "Character"', 36.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁹ N. Garnham, 'Both Praying and Playing: "Muscular Christianity" and the YMCA in North-East County Durham', *Journal of Social History*, xxxv (2001), 402. The phrase 'muscular Quakerism' was used by A.L. Underhill in *The Missing Link in Modern Spiritualism* (New York, 1976 [1st edn. 1885]), heading to chapter 8.

²⁰ See P. Brock, *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660 to 1914* (York, 1990).

²¹ Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?*, 53.

²² On Outward Bound see M. Millikan, 'The Muscular Christian Ethos in Post-Second World War American Liberalism: Women in Outward Bound 1962-1975', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, xxiii (2006), 838-55; D. James, ed., *Outward Bound* (London, 1957). There are a number of short historical accounts of Outward Bound in Britain, mostly written by 'insiders': the fullest is J.M. Hogan, *Impelled into Experiences: The Story of the Outward Bound Schools* (Wakefield, 1968). For a consideration of youth movements in the interwar period, see T.M. Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain 1908-1939', *History Workshop Journal*, xlv (1998), 103-34.

²³ On Quaker schools see W.A.C. Stewart, *Quakers and Education, as Seen in Their Schools in England* (London, 1953). On adult education see M. Freeman, *The Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust:*

A Study in Quaker Philanthropy and Adult Education 1904-1954 (York, 2004); P. Lunn, 'Woodbrooke in Wider Context: The Enduring Thread of Adult Education', *Quaker Studies*, xi (2007), 204-23.

²⁴ Stewart, *Quakers and Education*, 157.

²⁵ T.C. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community* (Oxford, 2001), 288-91, discusses the importance of 'Quaker tramps' in the Edwardian period, but does not place them in a broader context of muscular Christianity.

²⁶ B.D. Phillips, 'Friendly Patriotism: British Quakerism and the Imperial Nation 1890-1910' (Univ. of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1989), abstract, 1, 10, 59.

²⁷ See Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 262 n. 18.

²⁸ Lunn, 'Woodbrooke in Wider Context', 206.

²⁹ Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, chapter 8; idem., 'The Quaker Renaissance and the Origins of the Modern British Peace Movement', *Albion*, xvi (1984), 243-72.

³⁰ D. Shi, 'Ernest Thompson Seton and the Boy Scouts: A Moral Equivalent of War?', *South Atlantic Quarterly*, lxxxiv (1985), 379-91; Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 169-70. W. James, *The Moral Equivalent of War and Other Essays* (New York, 1971), 3-16.

³¹ Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 169.

³² Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell'; Dedman, 'Baden-Powell'.

³³ J. Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?', *ante*, cii (1987), 934-42.

³⁴ R. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (9th edn., London, 1920 (1st edn. 1908)), 302, 318-19. See also G.R. Searle, *A New England? Peace and War 1886-1918* (Oxford, 2004), 511-12, 515-16.

³⁵ Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 299.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Dedman, 'Baden-Powell', 215. Dedman (pp. 209-10) also notes that Scout-type camps were held at Bootham Quaker school well before Baden-Powell's Brownsea Island camp in 1907.

³⁸ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 303. Baden-Powell also noted in *The Times* (25 Sept. 1909, 3) that there were Quakers among his Scouts: 'we have boy scouts of the Greek, Mahomedan, Society of Friends, Jewish, as well as of Protestant and Roman Catholic creeds'.

³⁹ See for example *The Friend*, 9 Jan. 1931, 41: letter from George E. Hartley.

⁴⁰ A. Warren, 'The Founder', in *75 Years of Scouting* (London, 1982), 11.

⁴¹ *The Friend*, 19 Nov. 1909, 776. The weekly circulation of *The Friend* in the late Edwardian period was around 5,000; there were around 18,000 Quakers in Britain at this time. This suggests that a high proportion of members of the Society of Friends read the publication. See Phillips, 'Friendly Patriotism', 350.

⁴² *The Friend*, 24 Sept. 1909, 648; see also 8 Oct. 1909, 680.

⁴³ *British Friend*, Feb. 1910, 35.

⁴⁴ *British Friend*, Mar. 1910, 77-8. The journal, however, while acknowledging the advantages of Baden-Powell Scouting, agreed that its 'advantages ... are too dearly bought at the price of militarising our boys': *British Friend*, Feb. 1910, 36.

⁴⁵ C.B. Rowntree, 'The Adult School and the Boy Scout', *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, xlv (1910), 327; Kennedy, *British Quakerism*, 299.

⁴⁶ A. Briggs and A. Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: The First Hundred Years* (London, 1984), 79-80.

⁴⁷ Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 403. On this cadet corps see J. Savage, *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture* (New York, 2007), 20-1.

⁴⁸ *The Friend*, 15 Apr. 1910, quoted in Rowntree, 'Adult School', 326.

⁴⁹ I. Midgley, 'Scouting for Boys', *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, xlvi (1912), 449.

⁵⁰ *The Friend*, 1 Oct. 1909, 665; 22 Oct. 1909, 680-1. See also Rowntree, 'Adult School', 327.

⁵¹ *The Friend*, 8 Oct. 1909, 680-1.

⁵² J. Springhall, B. Fraser and M. Hoare, *Sure and Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade* (London, 1983), 70-1.

⁵³ Ibid., 97-100, 115-18, 123-8.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 68-9; *British Friend*, Mar. 1910, 77; Savage, *Teenage*, 21.

⁵⁵ *The Friend*, 19 Nov. 1909, 776.

⁵⁶ *British Friend*, Mar. 1910, 77.

⁵⁷ *The Friend*, 25 June 1915, 499. On Westlake junior, see Phillips, 'Friendly Patriotism', 72: Phillips calls him a 'young Southampton Friend', although he was born in 1861.

⁵⁸ Phillips, 'Friendly Patriotism', 66 and *passim*.

⁵⁹ Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?*, 53.

- ⁶⁰ J.H. Doncaster, introduction to E.Y. Priestman, *With a B-P Scout in Gallipoli: A Record of the Belton Bulldogs* (London, 1916), vii-ix.
- ⁶¹ A. G. Gardiner, *Life of George Cadbury* (London, 1977), chapter 4.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 183.
- ⁶³ Macleod, *Building Character*, 183. See also G. Cooke, 'The Early Years', in *75 Years of Scouting*, 18; Savage, *Teenage*, 189.
- ⁶⁴ Even during the interwar period, there were concerns about creeping sacerdotalism within the Society of Friends. See M. Freeman, *Quaker Extension, c.1905-1930: The Yorkshire 1905 Committee* (York, 2008), 17, 30.
- ⁶⁵ *The Friend*, 9 Jan. 1931, 41-2.
- ⁶⁶ *The Friend*, 16 Jan. 1931, 62-3.
- ⁶⁷ On the adult school movement, see W.A. Hall, *The Adult School Movement in the Twentieth Century* (Nottingham, 1985).
- ⁶⁸ Rowntree, 'Adult School', 330-1.
- ⁶⁹ Stewart, *Quakers and Education*, 163.
- ⁷⁰ 'Francis Howard Knight: A Memoir', typescript, 5, 14: Library of the Society of Friends, London (LSF), Box L76/10.
- ⁷¹ *The Friend*, 24 July 1931, 698.
- ⁷² Report of Jordans invitation conference, 12-13 Oct. 1929, 2: Borthwick Institute of Archives, University of York, Rowntree Papers (BIA RP), JRCT93/VI/3.
- ⁷³ Report of Jordans invitation conference, 1.
- ⁷⁴ F.H. Knight, *There Is a Tide: The Society of Friends and Youth* (London, [1929]), 8: LSF 032.26, Yorkshire Friends Service Committee Pamphlets, vol. 1, no. 3.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-7.
- ⁷⁶ F.H. Knight, *Choice and Freedom to Young Men and Women* (London, 1930), 27-8, 32. At this period the Council was known as the Friends' Central Education Committee.
- ⁷⁷ L.C. Edwards, *The Quaker Responsibility to Youth* (Liverpool, [1944]), 7, 10-11: LSF, 040.6, FEC Pamphlets, vol. 2, acc./6180. According to the back matter of L.C. Edwards, *Quaker Expression in Politics* (Hinckley, [1944]), LSF, 040.6, FEC Pamphlets, vol. 2, no. 26, Edwards's earlier pamphlet had sold 800 copies. Edwards was born in 1922: Friends Ambulance Unit Members, 1939-1946, LSF.
- ⁷⁸ Knight, *There Is a Tide*, 7.
- ⁷⁹ *The Friend*, 28 July 1944, 489-90.
- ⁸⁰ Edwards, *Quaker Responsibility to Youth*, 2.
- ⁸¹ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 301-2, 318-19.
- ⁸² For example, Corder Catchpool in *The Friend*, 23 Jan. 1931, 88. On Catchpool, see W.R. Hughes, *Indomitable Friend: Corder Catchpool 1883-1952* (London, 1964 [1st edn 1956]).
- ⁸³ Edgell, *Order of Woodcraft Chivalry*; P. Wilkinson, 'English Youth Movements 1908-1930', *Journal of Contemporary History*, iv (1969), 18-22.
- ⁸⁴ *The Friend*, 3 Aug. 1956, 696.
- ⁸⁵ Knight, *There Is a Tide*, 6-7.
- ⁸⁶ Rowntree, 'Adult School', 328.
- ⁸⁷ Edgell, *Order of Woodcraft Chivalry*, i, 304.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 313.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 22.
- ⁹⁰ Westlake's attraction to the 'military virtues' led him, eventually, into supporting Oswald Mosley's New Party (Edgell, *Order of Woodcraft Chivalry*, 550-1).
- ⁹¹ D. Prynne, 'The Woodcraft Folk and the Labour Movement 1925-70', *Journal of Contemporary History*, xviii (1983), 79-95, at 80.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, 83-4, 88ff; Savage, *Teenage*, 189-91.
- ⁹³ E.StJ. Catchpool, *Candles in the Darkness* (London, 1966), chapters 11-14; Oliver Coburn, *Youth Hostel Story* (London, 1950). Coburn was also a Quaker.
- ⁹⁴ See M. Freeman, 'Fellowship, Service and the "Spirit of Adventure": The Religious Society of Friends and the Outdoors Movement in Britain c.1900-1950', *Quaker Studies*, xiii (2009, forthcoming).
- ⁹⁵ On the Youth Service, see P.H.J.H. Gosden, *Education in the Second World War: A Study in Policy and Administration* (London, 1976), chapter 10.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 213-15, 225-8; M. Smith, *Developing Youth Work: Informed Education, Mutual Aid and Popular Practice* (Milton Keynes, 1988), 35-6; Board of Education, *In the Service of Youth* (London, 1939; circular 1486).
- ⁹⁷ Gosden, *Education in the Second World War*, 218-21.

- ⁹⁸ Ibid., 216.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid., 230.
- ¹⁰⁰ *The Friend*, 13 Mar. 1942, 83.
- ¹⁰¹ FEC, 'The Service of Youth', conference programme, 19-20 Mar. 1942: LSF, 040.6, FEC Pamphlets, vol. 2, no. 7. This programme calls Pearson the 'assistant secretary' of the Board, although his official position was principal private secretary to the president.
- ¹⁰² *The Friend*, 29 Aug. 1941, 428.
- ¹⁰³ *The Friend*, 7 Aug. 1942, 410-11.
- ¹⁰⁴ London Yearly Meeting, 1942, minute 39, quoted in FEC Youth Committee, *The Needs and Service of Youth* (1943): LSF, 040.6, FEC Pamphlets, vol. 2, no. 13.
- ¹⁰⁵ *The Friend*, 19 Dec. 1941, 582. This whole section is italicised in the original.
- ¹⁰⁶ London Yearly Meeting, 1942, minute 39 (see note 105 above).
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸ *The Friend*, 29 Aug. 1941, 428.
- ¹⁰⁹ FEC, 'The Service of Youth', conference programme, 19-20 Mar. 1942.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² *The Friend*, 9 July 1943, 454.
- ¹¹³ *The Friend*, 27 Mar. 1942, 103-4.
- ¹¹⁴ Gosden, *Education in the Second World War*, 228.
- ¹¹⁵ Ronald Wraith raised an 'interesting and difficult point': 'whether women Friends will be willing to accept posts which are denied to men because of a conscientious objection to military service'. *The Friend*, 29 Aug. 1941, 428.
- ¹¹⁶ FEC, 'The Service of Youth', conference programme, 19-20 Mar. 1942.
- ¹¹⁷ Bert Campbell, in *ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ FEC Youth Committee, *Needs and Service of Youth*.
- ¹¹⁹ Rowntree to W.F.F. Scott, 1 Jan. 1954, BIA RP SLN/4/1.
- ¹²⁰ Rowntree to Sir John Slessor, 16 Mar. 1953, BIA RP SLN/1/1.
- ¹²¹ E.S. Byng to Rowntree, 12 Nov. 1953: BIA RP SLN/4/1; memorandum enclosed with Sir Charles Renold to Rowntree, 11 Oct. 1953: BIA RP SLN/4.
- ¹²² G. Monkhouse to Paul Cadbury, 10 Nov. 1953, BIA RP SLN/4/1.
- ¹²³ W. Thornton, 'Education for National Servicemen: An Experiment', *British Association for Commercial and Industrial Education Journal*, vii (1953), 64-5: copy in BIA RP SLN/4.
- ¹²⁴ Philip Rowntree to Seebohm Rowntree, 5 Nov. 1953, BIA RP SLN/4/1.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid.
- ¹²⁶ See for example *The Friend*, 30 Jan. 1953, 102; 13 Mar. 1953, 246.
- ¹²⁷ A.F.C. Morris, in *The Friend*, 20 Feb. 1953, 179.
- ¹²⁸ Philip Seed, in *The Friend*, 27 Feb. 1953, 200-1; Keith Wedmore, in *The Friend*, 6 Mar. 1953, 225; James Burman, in *The Friend*, 13 Mar. 1953, 247.
- ¹²⁹ R.C. Wilson, *Authority, Leadership and Concern: A Study in Motive and Administration in Quaker Relief Work* (London, 1949), 9.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid., 22-6, 69-70, 74, 74. n. 1.
- ¹³¹ F. Brown, *The Making of a Modern Quaker: Roger Cowan Wilson 1906-1991* (London, 1996), 158-60; Freeman, *Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust*, 196, 213-14.
- ¹³² D. Grubb, 'Youth Work Needs Leaders', *The Friend*, 1 Sept. 1950, 648. Grubb was secretary for education and training at the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs, and a member of Westminster Quaker meeting. See also J. Hoare, *The Warrant for Youth's Search* (London, 1946; Swarthmore lecture for 1946); D. Edwards-Rees, 'Learning the Adventure of Choice', *The Friend*, 23 Sept. 1949, 773-4.
- ¹³³ Millikan, 'Muscular Christian Ethos'. On the history of Outward Bound in Britain, see James, *Outward Bound*; Hogan, *Impelled into Experiences*.
- ¹³⁴ See Freeman, "'Britain's Spiritual Life'".
- ¹³⁵ Peter Rowntree to Seebohm Rowntree, 16 Mar. 1946: BIA RP BSR1980/BSR AND PETER ROWNTREE(1942-54)/5(a).
- ¹³⁶ Hogan, *Impelled into Experiences*, 43-4. See above, p. 000.
- ¹³⁷ A. Hankinson, *Geoffrey Winthrop Young: Poet, Mountaineer, Educator* (London, 1995), 169-95 (170 quoted), 301, 328-9.
- ¹³⁸ K. Hahn, 'Origins of the Outward Bound Trust', in James, *Outward Bound*, 6.
- ¹³⁹ G.M. Trevelyan, *An Autobiography and Other Essays* (London, 1949), 35.

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- ¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 000.
- ¹⁴¹ *The Friend*, 26 Oct. 1956, 931.
- ¹⁴² Collini, 'Idea of "Character"', 48.
- ¹⁴³ Millikan, 'Muscular Christian Ethos', 841.
- ¹⁴⁴ Hahn, 'Origins', 8-9; Memorandum by Kurt Hahn, New York, May 1948, 23-4; Cambridge University Library (CUL), Add. 8270/31/5.
- ¹⁴⁵ T. Price, 'Some Aspects of Character-Building', in H. Röhrs and H. Tunstall-Behrens (eds), *Kurt Hahn* (London, 1970 [1st German edn. 1966]), 90; M. Flavin, *Kurt Hahn's Schools and Legacy: To Discover You Can Be More and Do More than You Believed* (Wilmington, Del., 1996), 33.
- ¹⁴⁶ E. D. Cleaver, in *The Friend*, 13 Dec. 1957, 1158.
- ¹⁴⁷ Millikan, 'Muscular Christian Ethos', 840.
- ¹⁴⁸ S. Summers, 'The History of the Trust', in James, *Outward Bound*, 25.
- ¹⁴⁹ See the material relating to the Outward Bound conference in Eastbourne, Oct. 1949, CUL, Add.8270/24, esp. Peter Rowntree's memorandum, add.8270/24/13(i).
- ¹⁵⁰ Millikan, 'Muscular Christian Ethos', 841.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 847.
- ¹⁵² Rowntree and Lavers, *English Life and Leisure*, 336.
- ¹⁵³ L. Levonian, *Woodbrooke Tracts on Religion and Morals* (Beirut, 1935), 87-8.
- ¹⁵⁴ D. Hopkins and R. Putnam, *Personal Growth through Adventure* (London, 1993); M. Freeman, "'Character Training Through Adventure": The Early History of Outward Bound c.1940-1965', unpublished paper, University of Greenwich Avery Hill campus seminar series, May 2009.
- ¹⁵⁵ Springhall, 'Building Character', 61.
- ¹⁵⁶ Hoare, *Warrant for Youth's Search*, 13-16. On Hoare see *The Friend*, 13 June 1980, 737-8.
- ¹⁵⁷ Hoare, *Warrant for Youth's Search*, 19-20.
- ¹⁵⁸ Hopkins and Putnam, *Personal Growth through Adventure*; Freeman, "'Character Training Through Adventure"'.
- ¹⁵⁹ *The Friend*, 23 Oct. 1949, 773-4; 1 Sept. 1950, 647-9.
- ¹⁶⁰ R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: patterns of church growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford, 1977), 157-8.
- ¹⁶¹ *The Friend*, 8 Oct. 1909, 680.
- ¹⁶² *The Friend*, 2 Jan. 1931, 21. The writer here was Richard B. Graham of Sheffield, a mountaineer and, at this time, headmaster of King Edward VII school in Sheffield.
- ¹⁶³ Hoare, *Warrant for Youth's Search*, 12-15.
- ¹⁶⁴ Freeman, *Quaker Extension*; Freeman, 'Fellowship, Service and the "Spirit of Adventure"'.
- ¹⁶⁵ Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform?*, 29, 77-82.
- ¹⁶⁶ Collini, 'Idea of "Character"', 36. See p. 000 above.