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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

School of History

**'More than just a magazine':
The *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper*, 1914-1967**

by

Alison Louise Enever

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2014

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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'MORE THAN JUST A MAGAZINE':

THE *BOY'S OWN PAPER* AND *GIRL'S OWN PAPER*, 1914-1967

Alison Louise Enever

The *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper* were launched in 1879 and 1880 respectively by the Religious Tract Society, an evangelical Christian missionary organisation. Both papers were long running, with *Girl's Own Paper* ceasing publication in 1956 and *Boy's Own Paper* continuing until 1967.

Many existing studies of the papers have focused strongly on the Victorian and Edwardian years of their existence, and have often taken content as a starting point, attempting to interpret their meaning or significance. This study adopts a wholly fresh perspective, taking a holistic approach to the papers, and thus acknowledging their production in its entirety. It considers the period from 1914 to 1967, which was a key period for the papers but also a significant time in British social history. Both papers are viewed as constructs; negotiated space in which the publisher, editors and readers all interacted in the production of the text. There is analysis of the role of the Religious Tract Society as publisher, its aims and objectives, its influence in wider society, and the significance of its evangelical outlook. The importance of the editorial role is considered, not least the manner in which editors interacted with readers and set the tone of the papers within the publisher's framework. Readers' interactions with the papers are explored, and the opportunities these afforded for them to participate in the construction of the text. The *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper* are viewed, not as reflections of reality, but as evidence of the way in which issues such as gender, religious identity and social change were constructed through the interactions of publisher, editors and readers; all of whom saw the papers as far more than 'just a magazine'.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Alison Louise Enever

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

'More than just a magazine': The *Boy's Own Paper* and *Girl's Own Paper*,
1914-1967

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

Signed:

Date: 27th May 2014

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As part of my research I have visited a number of archives, including the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, the School of Oriental and African Studies Archive, and the History of Advertising Trust archive. All have been efficient, welcoming and supportive, which made my visits times of great productivity.

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Definitions and Abbreviations

BOP *Boy's Own Paper*

GOP *Girl's Own Paper*

RTS Religious Tract Society

USCL United Society for Christian Literature

Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review

‘A full study of the press must take into account, at one end of the spectrum, the technical and social organization of the newspaper industry; and at the other end, the readers who buy, read, use and discard “the product”’.¹

1.1 Introduction and Objectives

The *Boy's Own Paper (BOP)* and *Girl's Own Paper (GOP)* were launched in 1879 and 1880 respectively by the Religious Tract Society (RTS) amidst fears that juvenile crime was being directly agitated by poor quality literature for adolescents, such as the ‘penny dreadfuls’.² Both papers enjoyed enduring success, with *BOP*'s last issue appearing in February 1967, whilst *GOP* after several changes of name, ceased publication in 1956. From the outset the papers were intended to influence their readers and this thesis will demonstrate that the publisher, editors and readers all believed that the papers were ‘more than just a magazine’.

This study takes a fresh view of *BOP* and *GOP* and addresses the gaps in the existing historiography, thereby making an original contribution to knowledge. In scope it focuses on the time period from 1914 to 1967 for which there has, thus far, been very little in-depth scholarship. As will be seen the existing historiography has a strong bias towards the period before the First World War, particularly the Victorian and Edwardian eras, and indeed the history of *GOP* produced by its former publisher, Lutterworth, only spans the period from 1880 to 1901. The period has been selected as an important one, when the papers, religious periodicals founded by an evangelical Christian missionary

¹ A C H Smith, Elizabeth Immirzi, and Trevor Blackwell, *Paper Voices: the popular press and social change 1935-1965* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1975), p. 17.

² Jack Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!: the Story of the Boy's Own Paper* (Guildford: Lutterworth, 1982), p. 15.

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organisation, were becoming increasingly out of step with a modern and ever more secular society. Two World Wars, depression, austerity, affluence, the end of Britain's imperial ambitions, and the rise of a distinctive youth culture all impacted upon the papers. The literature review will demonstrate that there is a surprising diversity amongst those writing about the papers and the focus of their work. *BOP* and *GOP* have variously been claimed for juvenile fiction, women's history, the history of masculinity, the history of publishing, the history of children's magazines, literary studies and so on. What is needed is a broader contextualisation of the papers. The historiography has tended to start with the content of the papers, and has attempted to infer meaning, or interpret influence from this perspective. This thesis by contrast, argues for a more complete view of *BOP* and *GOP*, which rather than searching the papers for meaning, has explored the way in which such meaning was constructed. It has approached the papers as constructs, negotiated space created by the interaction of the publisher, editors, and readers.

In February 1950's issue of *BOP*, Jack Cox, then editor, quoted a young reader who had written to say that '*BOP* is more than just a magazine for boys – it's a pal, and a grand one too'.³ *GOP* readers felt the same about their magazine, and in 1915 one wrote to its editor, Flora Klickmann, that 'It isn't just a magazine, you must know, it's a much-loved, never-failing friend'.⁴ It is the central contention of this thesis that both *BOP* and *GOP* were 'more than just a magazine', not only for their loyal, and as will be seen extremely well-engaged readers, but also for the Society and the editors, all of whom believed the papers served a greater purpose than 'mere' entertainment. It will be shown that for the Society the papers were part of a broader and on-going programme to reach out to readers, and apply a Christian worldview to every aspect of secular culture. For the editors they were a means to mould, shape, and educate readers, or an opportunity to encourage diversity, ambition and debate, depending on each editor's personal approach, and the perceived needs of the readership. For their readers the papers were more than a two-

³ Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), p. 17.

⁴ The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/15 (1915).

dimensional text to be read and thrown away, they were collected, cross-referenced, interrogated, criticised, praised, their contents enacted and interacted with, and used as a springboard to engagement in the wider world. The papers' content was therefore very much a construction, the physical evidence of a conversation between publisher, editors and readers.

In order to develop these themes and fully understand the papers a holistic approach is required which views their production in its entirety. The papers are viewed not simply as artefacts of a bygone age, or as examples of children's fiction, or even as one aspect of juvenile publishing history, but as evidence of the way in which private identity can be, and is, contested and constructed in a public forum. It will be demonstrated that to gain a full understanding of each paper, it is vital to study both, to explore differences and consistencies over time, and to explore the ways in which gender impacted upon their construction and the reader experience, as well as other factors such as class and the age of the intended readership. This thesis approaches gender as a social construction. However, whilst it is acknowledged, as Boyd notes, that publishers of juvenile papers responded 'to material changes in British society', and undoubtedly reacted to external changes in the construction of gender roles in society, this study contends that in the process of producing the papers the publisher, editors and authors, and readers also actively contested, negotiated and constructed gendered identities.⁵ It will be shown that the existing historiography, which has often judged the papers in the light of commercial measures of success, has often failed to appreciate their significance. In 2006 Dennis Butts observed that 'it would be interesting, if difficult, to investigate the whole context of the *BOP*'s fiction, its ideologies, its readership and its economic problems', and the same could surely be said of *GOP*.⁶ That is precisely what this current study sets out to achieve.

⁵ Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boy's Story Paper in Britain: A cultural history, 1855-1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 179.

⁶ Dennis Butts, 'Quicquid agunt pueri nostri farrago libelli (Whatever boys do is the subject of our little book): *The Boy's Own Paper 1879-1967*', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worrals of the WAAF: The Religious Tract Society, Lutterworth Press and Children's Literature*, ed. by Dennis Butts and Pat Garrett (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2006), pp. 133-44 (p. 144).

1.2 Approach and Methodology

This thesis is divided into six chapters, the first of which will consider the background of the papers, their narrative history, the climate of concern around young people's reading within which they were created and maintained, and their circulation and readership figures. There will also be a literature review which will evaluate the way in which this study will make an original contribution to the existing historiography. Chapter Two will consider the role of the publisher, exploring the centrality of the Society's evangelical message and its impact on the management of the papers, and their content and identity. Chapter Three will explore the pivotal role of the editors as they attempted the challenging task of producing periodicals which would both meet readers' needs, as the editors perceived them, and comply with the Society's strict evangelical policy. Chapter Four will examine in depth the many ways in which the readership intersected with the papers, as well as touching upon the profile of the readership community. Chapter Five provides an analysis of the way in which identity was constructed, enforced and contested in the papers as a result of the interaction of these influences. Chapter Six concludes by drawing together the key issues raised from this study, and reflecting upon their significance, and it will be clearly demonstrated that for the Society, editors and readers, both *BOP* and *GOP* were 'more than just a magazine'.

This study is a wide-ranging assessment of the construction of *BOP* and *GOP* between 1914 and 1967, and has therefore drawn on a wide variety of sources in order to reveal the competing and coinciding agendas at work in the papers' production. The secondary sources outlined in the literature review represent the key threads of a broad range of secondary material considered by this study, on issues as diverse as evangelicalism, secularisation, girlhood, the construction of gender, young people's leisure, and magazine and print culture. Primary material has been drawn from a similarly diverse range of sources.

1.2.1 The Religious Tract Society and Lutterworth Periodicals

This study has drawn upon a thorough examination of the remaining records of the Religious Tract Society (later the United Society for Christian Literature) and Lutterworth Periodicals which are held in the archives of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. In May 1941 the Society's London offices were 'totally destroyed by fire resulting from an enemy air raid'.⁷ In just two nights the Society suffered a complete loss of book stock as well as many of their records. The records which remain are nevertheless a rich source of information about the way in which the Society organised its work and interpreted itself to the public. Many of the committee minutes survived, and contain details of both the committee members and the way in which the Society was run and managed. The minutes are not of course a verbatim record, but are inevitably selective, and reflect the judgement of note taker and attendees as to what should be included in or excluded from the official record, and the accuracy of minutes is often influenced by factors such as the skill of the note taker, and delays in writing up notes of meetings.⁸ Yet to observe the process of selection and omission in such official sources is in itself of value to the historian, who in reading against the grain can often learn as much from what is not said, as what is. It is unlikely that the minutes of the Society's meetings were intended to be made public, and they were often quite frank about finance and personnel issues. By contrast the annual reports were public documents which formed part of the paperwork for the annual meeting, which as well as being a time to reflect on the work of the Society, was also an opportunity for publicity and fundraising.⁹ The annual reports unsurprisingly therefore often give a different interpretation and weighting to the year's events compared to that recorded in the minutes, often stressing the

⁷ 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/19, 27th May 1941.

⁸ The minutes of the General Committee meeting of 18th March 1941 for example were evidently not written up until at least two months later, which has inevitable implications for their accuracy: 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/19, 21st January 1941; 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 18th March 1941.

⁹ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/01, 16th January 1917, 23rd January 1917.

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spirituality and missionary value of the periodicals. Corroborations and contradictions between the minutes, the annual reports and other sources such as internal reports, the quarterly newsletter of the Society and the salaries book, all have value. Taken as a whole they help to recreate not 'the truth', but a series of interpretations, voices and competing narratives around the life of the Society, its staff, its magazines, and its readers.

1.2.2 Editorial Records

Tinkler has suggested that one of the reasons the study of the production of popular magazines has often been neglected is a lack of records of editorial policy.¹⁰ This research has been facilitated by access to often detailed information about the working lives and approaches of the editors of *GOP* and *BOP*. In particular, it has benefited greatly from access to the Jack Cox Archive, held at The John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester. These papers, donated by the last editor of *BOP*, contain a large amount of private correspondence, including letters from readers, financial records, desk diaries, and Cox's research notes for his history of *BOP*. There are also a number of published works written by Flora Klickmann, the second editor of *GOP*, which include details of her working life, experiences, and editorial approach, and a brief biography. G J H Northcroft, another *BOP* editor also wrote about the editorial experience in his book *Writing for Children*, and this work includes details of an interview with *GOP* editor, Gladys Spratt.¹¹ The papers themselves are also a means by which to judge the editors' aims and objectives, and provide evidence of how the editors chose to represent themselves in textual form, their methodologies, and editorial voice. For as Smith asserts with regard to newspapers, each publication 'is a system of meaningful choices', which can be interpreted to show 'the epistemology of those who produce and employ them'.¹² Chapter Three is underpinned by an in-depth study of the editors and their lives and experience, and further chronological and

¹⁰ Penny Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls growing up in England, 1920-1950* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1996), p. 64.

¹¹ George J H Northcroft, *Writing for Children* (London: A & C Black Ltd., 1935), pp. 122-37.

¹² Smith, Immirzi, and Blackwell, *Paper Voices*, p. 18.

autobiographical context about the successive editors of *BOP* and *GOP* during this period can be found in Appendix 1.

1.2.3 Readership Surveys

The establishment of patterns of readership has been based on a broad range of studies of young people's reading and leisure undertaken during the twentieth century, including local studies carried out in St Pancras in the early 1930s and in Birmingham in 1950, A J Jenkinson's much referenced 1940 study *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, W H Smith and Harrap's 1957 study of reading, and Joy Ward's 1947 report on the leisure interests of young people.¹³ These have been supplemented by a large number of surveys undertaken by or on behalf of advertisers such as the annual *Institute of Practitioners in Advertising's National Readership Survey*, *The Attwood National Publications Readership Survey*, the *Hulton Readership Survey*, and a rare copy of the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* of 1950, all of which are held at the History of Advertising Trust in Norfolk.¹⁴

1.2.4 The Papers

One of the key sources for this study has, naturally, been the papers themselves, the contents of which have been sampled over the period from 1914 to 1967. During this period *BOP* and *GOP* were produced monthly and

¹³ John Henry Engledow and William Charles Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras, etc* (London: Mary Ward Settlement, 1933); B. H. Reed, *Eighty Thousand Adolescents* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1950); A J Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?: an investigation into reading habits with suggestions about the teaching of literature in secondary and senior schools* 2nd edn (London: Methuen, 1946); W. H. Smith & Son Ltd and George G Harrap & Co., *Survey of Boys' and Girls' Reading Habits* (W H Smith & Son Ltd and George G Harrap & Co., 1957); Joy C Ward, *Children Out of School: an inquiry into the leisure interests and activities of children out of school hours carried out for the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)* (London, 1948).

¹⁴ For a complete list of these, see bibliography, Primary Sources, Archives, History of Advertising Trust.

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formed into annual volumes which ran, with some exceptions, from October of one year to September the next. Sampling has therefore been undertaken by volume, starting with the 1914-1915 volumes of both papers, and proceeding at five yearly intervals, and a list of the volumes sampled can be found in Appendix 2.¹⁵ Within each volume, four of the monthly issues have been explored in depth, although other issues within these volumes and other volumes have also been examined. Sampling at five yearly intervals has captured at least one volume for each editor, and has also incorporated key events of the period, such as changes in the roles and position of women, both World Wars, the depression, post-war austerity and rationing. Content has been considered both qualitatively and quantitatively, with data gathered on type of article and author, and each article assigned keywords which best describe its content. This approach has not been intended to create a statistical model of content analysis within which articles are 'counted', but rather quantitative analysis has been used as a tool to enable exploration of patterns of content, and changes and similarities over time within the text. In this, the methodology follows that of A C H Smith et al in the study *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change 1935-1965* which recognised the value of assigning key categories as a starting point for an approach which looked for 'the same "notes", being sounded again and again', but also moved beyond that to explore exceptions, absences and difference.¹⁶

1.2.5 Areas which fall outside of this study

Whilst this thesis acknowledges the emergence of the papers in the nineteenth century, it will not consider this period in any depth.¹⁷ Further, whilst it

¹⁵ As *BOP* was founded one year before *GOP* volume numbers are not the same. For example the 1919-1920 volume is Volume 41 for *GOP* and Volume 42 for *BOP*.

¹⁶ Smith, Immirzi, and Blackwell, *Paper Voices*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁷ For a more in-depth view of these earlier years see, for example: Wendy Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly: A Celebration of The Girl's Own Paper 1880 - 1901* (Guildford & London: Lutterworth Press, 1980); Terri Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper, 1880-1907* (Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004); Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*; Philip Warner, *The Best of British Pluck: The Boy's Own Paper* (Trowbridge: Redwood Burn Limited, 1977); Patrick Alexander

provides contextual information about the other periodicals published by the Society, the primary focus is on *BOP* and *GOP*. The Society was also not the only publisher of *BOP*, which was transferred to the commercial publisher Purnells in 1963, and Purnells was taken over itself in 1966 by the BPC Publishing Group. Whilst this study acknowledges and explores the impact of these successive transfers of ownership upon the paper, the Society, the editor and staff, it does not attempt to directly explore the publishing policy of Purnells or BPC in any significant depth.

1.3 The Publisher

The publisher of *BOP* and *GOP* was the Religious Tract Society (referred to hereafter as the RTS or the Society). Founded in 1799 the Society was an evangelical Protestant Christian missionary organisation the original aim of which was to disseminate cheap religious tracts ‘to adults in Britain and overseas’.¹⁸ As Chapter Two explores in more depth, the Society was a non-denominational organisation with an Executive Committee made up of both Church of England and non-conformist representatives. This early example of cross-denominational co-operation proved to be long-lasting and successful; however it was not extended to other faiths, and perhaps least of all to the Roman Catholic Church which was actively seen as an enemy to be struggled against.¹⁹ Initially, the publishing arm of the Society had a distinctly missionary feel to it but as the century progressed the publishing catalogue diversified and responded to changes in society around it, and began to address secular subjects from a Christian viewpoint.²⁰

Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper: origins and editorial policies', *The Private Library: Quarterly Journal of the Private Libraries Association*, 9 (1976), pp. 121-60.

¹⁸ Dennis Butts, 'Introduction', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worralls of the WAAF*, ed. by Butts and Garrett, pp. 7-12 (p. 7).

¹⁹ Foundation Principles of the Religious Tract Society, republished in: The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/22 (1931).

²⁰ See Chapter Two for an exploration of the relationship between the Society's publishing strategy and developments in contemporary society.

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BOP and *GOP* were not the Society's first foray into publishing for young people. Adrian Brink states that its earliest children's book was published in 1811, more than ten years before its first book for adults.²¹ Butts, however, places the start of children's book publishing at the later date of 1824.²² Whatever the exact dates, the books, which had originally been produced as a short-term endeavour, sold well and it became apparent that there might be profits to be made from book publishing.²³ As F J Harvey Darton acerbically points out, the Society 'was not so religious as to issue nothing but tracts'.²⁴ The Society's first juvenile periodical *The Child's Companion: or, Sunday Scholar's Reward*, was launched in 1824 and was remarkable for being one of the longest running British children's magazines.²⁵ *The Child's Companion* was a mixture of pious material, natural history and geography, and four years after its launch its circulation stood at 20,000 per month. To place this in context, in the nineteenth century a publication for adults selling 50,000 copies per year was considered a bestseller.²⁶ Its intended audience was cross-class and encompassed both sexes but as the Society's range of periodicals expanded during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it increasingly tended to target specific sectors of the reading public.²⁷

²¹ Adrian Brink, 'The Lutterworth Bicentenary: The Publisher's View', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worralls of the WAAF*, ed. by Butts and Garrett, pp. 198-204 (p198).

²² Butts, 'Introduction', p. 7.

²³ Aileen Fyfe, 'A Short History of the Religious Tract Society', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worralls of the WAAF*, ed. by Butts and Garrett, pp. 13-35 (p. 22).

²⁴ F. J. Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England: five centuries of social life* 3rd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 299.

²⁵ Drotner suggests that it ran until 1932, as does Darton, under the title of *Every Girl's Paper*. Michael Taylor in his essay claims that research in the British Library shows that Darton and Drotner are mistaken and that *The Child's Companion* closed in 1922. This study has shown that the RTS's own records reported the closure of *The Child's Companion* in their 1928 annual report. Michael Rupert Taylor, 'The Child's Companion and Our Little Dots' in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worralls of the WAAF*, ed. by Butts and Garrett, pp. 87-103 (p. 87); The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 129th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/19 (1928).

²⁶ Alec Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968), p. 33.

²⁷ Kirsten Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines, 1751-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 26.

Fyfe notes that from the outset the Society's tracts were intended to be 'adapted to a specific person or situation, rather than aimed at a general and necessarily impersonal, audience'.²⁸ Therefore, it is entirely consistent that this approach was applied to its periodicals, and by the start of the period of this study, the Society was publishing magazines for a number of different audiences. The *Sunday at Home* was described as 'quiet in tone' and had contributions from senior clergy, and was intended to be read by families. *The Cottager and Artisan* as its name suggests was intended for working men and women, and focused on practical articles with a little fiction. *Light in the Home* was a family magazine 'of a Gospel character', aimed at 'intelligent working-class households'. *Friendly Greetings* was for general distribution with stories and 'pithy paragraphs'. Younger children were provided for by *The Child's Companion* and *Our Little Dots* (later known as *Little Dots Playways* or simply *Playways*), the latter catering for those just learning to read.²⁹ *BOP* was aimed at young boys, whilst *GOP* went through a number of title changes, which reflected alterations in the target audience from girls and women of all ages, to schoolgirls, and finally teenage girls.³⁰ As Fyfe notes, therefore, *BOP* and *GOP* were 'part of a confident, successful programme of publishing that included just about everything a Christian household might need'.³¹ The Society therefore made a clear link between audience, function and form, and to this extent the magazines were influenced by their readers, or at least their imagined reading community and this will be explored in more depth in Chapter Five.

²⁸ Fyfe, 'A Short History', p. 15.

²⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', USCL/RTS/05/15; The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/16 (1922); The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 127th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/17 (1926).

³⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16; Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 37* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1916), p. 34.

³¹ Fyfe, 'A Short History', p. 28.

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This expansion of the catalogue away from purely religious tracts was not without controversy and as the publishing catalogue became increasingly diverse including more secular work, the Society experienced some critique over the conflict between commercialism and evangelical zeal. Time and again the Society struggled with the inherent contradictions of their position. How could they successfully marry together the work of an evangelical missionary organisation, with the drivers of a commercial publisher? It will be shown that, as Fyfe argues, whatever its commercial successes the RTS was ‘always, a philanthropic organisation’ and any profits made were used ‘to further the Lord’s work’.³² The profits from publishing were ploughed back into the production of tracts, and the purchase of books and magazines became an almost noble enterprise, helping to support the mission work amongst the British working classes.³³ The leisure and pleasure of the wealthier in society therefore funded the control and ‘making safe’ of the poorer. Yet some supporters remained sceptical, concerned that their donations might be helping to subsidise their own (middle class) reading rather than reaching the ‘needy’ working classes. Bound up in this discontent was a concern that in shoring up middle class reading, the RTS would ‘open the society to claims of unfair competition from other booksellers’.³⁴ This concern proved justified for in 1910, an article in the *Penny Illustrated Paper* complained that the Society had strayed outside its remit as a provider of religious tracts and literature by publishing periodicals, some of a secular nature, which were effectively subsidised by subscribers who intended their donations to support mission work.³⁵ For, however high their ideals, the bottom line was that publishing *was*, at least at times, profitable, and in the late nineteenth century so profitable that the Society could afford to be cheaper than its competitors and still make large increases in its charitable grants.³⁶ Ultimately these tensions were addressed in 1933 when a new imprint was created. Entitled Lutterworth Press in honour of the place where religious reformer John Wycliff is said to have produced the first Bible in English, it separated the publishing arm from

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁵ ‘The Religious Tract Society and Its Publications’, *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 9th July 1910, p. 45.

³⁶ Fyfe, ‘A Short History’, p. 22.

the missionary work of the Society. In 1941 Lutterworth Press itself was split, with the magazines being hived off into Lutterworth Periodicals, a limited company whose first chairman and significant shareholder was Lord Luke, George Lawson-Johnston, controller of the Bovril empire, and influential philanthropist. The remaining part of the organization merged with the Christian Literature Society for India and Africa in 1935, and in 1941 with the Christian Literature Society for Africa. The new society became known as the United Society for Christian Literature (USCL). These separations and distinctions were however largely matters of governance and financial convenience, and members of the Board of Lutterworth Periodicals and staff worked across both Lutterworth Periodicals and the Society. Chapter Two explores the continuing commitment of the publishing wing to the evangelical principles of the Society.

1.4 The Creation of *BOP* and *GOP*

As the nineteenth century progressed there was an explosion in juvenile literature which itself was part of the development of publishing for the mass market, made possible by developments and changes in education, literacy, technology, taxation, communications and distribution, and government policy.³⁷ One of the less reputable aspects of the expansion in juvenile publishing was the so-called penny dreadfuls, defined by Rose as ‘cheap crime and horror literature for boys’.³⁸ In the 1860s the sensational literature of chapbooks and broadsides began to be specifically targeted at a younger audience when boy heroes started to appear in them, and the subject matter became increasingly lurid with themes of lawlessness, murder and even

³⁷ For more on the development of juvenile publishing see Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*; Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature*; and Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: a social history of the mass reading public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

³⁸ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 367.

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sexualised content.³⁹ *The Wild Boys of London* was one particularly controversial publication which contained themes of rape, bodysnatching and murder, and was part of the *Wild Boys* series produced by Edwin J Brett's Newsagent Publishing Company, which became so notorious that it was eventually suppressed by the police.⁴⁰ Given its missionary purpose, it is unsurprising that the Society became extremely concerned about young people and the effects of such sensationalist literature upon them. Rose has noted that penny dreadfuls caused 'something approaching panic among middle-class observers', and in common with many of their peers the committee members feared penny dreadfuls were inciting young boys to commit crime.⁴¹ Having made this direct causal link between 'poor' literature and juvenile crime, it remained only to take the logical step of creating an alternative source of wholesome literature to 'supplant those of a mischievous tendency'.⁴² Yet the Society did not feel this fell within the remit of its own work, given that it recognised even before the paper's inception that such a publication could not be overtly religious if it was to seduce boys away from the thrills of titles like *The Dance of Death: or, The Hangman's Plot: A Tale of London and Paris*.⁴³ It therefore tried to persuade a commercial publisher to take up the challenge but failed because it was felt that such a paper would inevitably lose money. Thus it was as an 'enterprise from which others shrank' that the RTS approached the launch of what was to become its flagship publication, which was to make the missionary organisation well-known worldwide.⁴⁴

When *BOP* was first published on 18th January 1879, it was not anticipated that it would be a commercial success. Yet, unexpectedly, it proved exceedingly

³⁹John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1900* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1986), p. 128; Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, pp. 71-2.

⁴⁰E. S. Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys: the story of Sweeney Todd, Deadwood Dick, Sexton Blake, Billy Bunter, Dick Barton, et al* 3rd edn (London: Joseph, 1975), pp. 59-60; Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 72.

⁴¹Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 367; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 18.

⁴²Butts, 'Quicquid agunt pueri nostri farrago libelli', p. 133.

⁴³The *Dance of Death* was an Edwin J Brett publication which ran from 1865-66. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁴Fyfe, 'A Short History', p. 28; Butts, 'Quicquid agunt pueri nostri farrago libelli', pp. 133-34.

popular and became a profitable part of the burgeoning juvenile publishing world. Such was its success that it was enthusiastically declared a 'national institution', with the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, speaking at its jubilee dinner some fifty years later, and it remains embedded in the national consciousness.⁴⁵ Although *BOP* ceased publication in February 1967, it has survived as an idea or rather a set of ideals independent of its original physical existence. Thus the current-day press frequently make use of the term 'Boy's Own' to connote a shared understanding of a particular kind of masculinity, and the Macmillan online dictionary carries a definition of the term 'Boy's Own' as 'brave and involved in exciting and dangerous experiences'.⁴⁶

Encouraged by the success of *BOP*, the Society decided to create an 'Adam's rib' publication as Mary Cadogan describes it, launching *GOP* in 1880 'to train [its readers] in moral and domestic virtues, and prepare them for the responsibilities of womanhood and a heavenly home'.⁴⁷ Although this was presented as an opportunity for girls to have their own magazine, it has also

⁴⁵ The Religious Tract Society, *Memories 1879-1929: a souvenir of the "B.O.P." Jubilee* (London: The Religious Tract Society), pp. 3, 24; The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 134th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/24 (1933).

⁴⁶ See for example references to: Prince Harry 'flying boy's own Apache attack choppers'; a 'Boy's Own audience' in a review of *The Hunger Games: Catching Fire*; and a plan 'straight out of a boy's own storybook' in: Tom Sykes, 'William and Harry: polar opposites of modern manhood', *Daily Telegraph*, 27th November 2013 <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/men/thinking-man/10475372/William-and-Harry-polar-opposites-of-modern-manhood.html>> [accessed 29th November 2013]; Mark Kermode, 'The Hunger Games: Catching Fire - review', *The Observer*, 24th November 2013 <<http://www.theguardian.com/film/2013/nov/24/hunger-games-catching-fire-review>> [accessed 29th November 2013]; Christopher Stevens, 'It's Doc Martin down under, with acting as wooden as a table leg: Christopher Stevens reviews last night's TV', *Mail Online*, 26th November 2013 <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/tvshowbiz/article-2513599/The-Doctor-Blake-Mysteries-review-Its-Doc-Martin-says-CHRISTOPHER-STEVENS.html>> [accessed 29th November 2013]; 'Boy's Own', in *Macmillan Dictionary* <<http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/Boys-Own>> [accessed 22nd November 2010].

⁴⁷ Mary Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956) and The New Woman', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worralls of the WAAF*, ed. by Butts and Garrett, pp. 162-72 (p. 162); 'The Girl's Own Paper. A New Illustrated Magazine for Girls', *The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad*, 13, 1879, p. 97.

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been seen as an effective means of ring-fencing *BOP* for boys only, and Moruzi argues that *GOP* was 'founded in the hopes of minimizing [...] cross-gender reading habits'.⁴⁸ Whilst this may have been the initial intention, subsequent chapters will question whether and how this was implemented in later years. Certainly, as Wendy Forrester notes, *GOP* was 'by no means a B.O.P. with the sexes changed'.⁴⁹ The two magazines differed vastly from each other, both in tone and content. Although, inevitably, given the length of their run, there was change in the content as the years went by, the papers remained explicitly gendered. *BOP* was full of tales of derring-do and encouraged boys both literally and figuratively to expand their horizons, by taking up healthy outdoor pursuits, undertaking scientific experiments, and thinking about life and adventure in the further reaches of the empire. *GOP* which had originally set out to rehearse girls and young women for future roles as wives and mothers, although retaining an undeniably domestic slant in later years, created for its readers a 'world of girls' within which they could explore the diversity of female experience and identity.⁵⁰ Whilst *BOP* entered the nation's collective consciousness, *GOP* never achieved the same iconic status. Darton, writing in 1932 described it as having 'a career of usefulness rather than of inspiration' and argued it had not 'become an institution' in the same way as *BOP*.⁵¹ Similarly in 1969, Lofts and Adley pointed to *GOP* as an example of 'slow-moving' girls' papers, which they suggested had far less appeal than boys' magazines to the collectors of old juvenile periodicals.⁵² If that was true in 1932 and in 1969 it is certainly the case today, when no similar reference to *GOP* can be found in the dictionary, and the term '*Girl's Own*' does not carry significance beyond the life-time of the paper itself.

⁴⁸ Kristine Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood Through the Periodical Press, 1850-1915* (Aldershot & Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), p. 143.

⁴⁹ Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*, p. 13.

⁵⁰ The term 'world of girls' is borrowed from the title of Rosemary Auchmuty's book, which she in turn drew from L T Meade's early girls' school story of the same name: Rosemary Auchmuty, *A World of Girls* (London: Women's Press, 1992), p. 7; Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*, p. 7.

⁵¹ Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 304.

⁵² W. O. G. Lofts and Derek John Adley, *Old Boys Books: a complete catalogue* (York: D.J. Adley & W.O.G. Lofts, 1969), pp. 20-21.

The difference in the papers' stature can be seen in large part to be attributable to the relative stability of *BOP* over the years, by comparison to *GOP*, which underwent a number of changes in its intended readership, and these have often been interpreted as a failure to clearly identify its audience.⁵³ From 1880 until 1907, when its first editor, Charles Peters, died, the paper was positioned as a companion paper to *BOP*, although in practice, as Doughty observes, its readers 'ranged from pre-teen girls to women in their fifties'.⁵⁴ Under Klickmann the paper was renamed as *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine*, and in 1927 this was inverted so the magazine became *Woman's Magazine and Girl's Own Paper*. Speaking of this change in 1930, Lily Watson, a long-serving *GOP* contributor observed that 'stories and articles gradually tended to appeal to readers beyond the age of childhood. The *Girl's and Boy's Own Paper* ceased to run, so to speak, side by side... it was difficult to keep the claims of romance out of the fiction offered'.⁵⁵ The diverse readership of *GOP*, now acknowledged in the paper's title, was reflected in its content and this will be explored in Chapter Five. It was not until 1930 that *Woman's Magazine* was separated from *GOP*, and thus for a great deal of its life *GOP* catered to female readers from childhood to older middle age.⁵⁶ The process of separation which took place in 1930 was well planned and took place in stages. In the 1930 annual report the Society stressed that the '*Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine*' was for 'women of all ages', and introduced *Every Girl's Paper* as the companion for *BOP*. From October 1930 *Every Girl's Paper*, which had replaced *The Child's Companion: or, Sunday Scholar's Reward* in 1927, was renamed *Girl's Own Paper* and this was publicised as the relaunching of an old title, conveniently glossing over the fact that there was nothing 'old' about it. *Woman's Magazine* continued as a separate title until it ceased publication in 1951.⁵⁷ *GOP* now catered to a schoolgirl audience,

⁵³ Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela!: a new look at girls' fiction from 1839 to 1975* (London: Gollancz, 1976), p. 73.

⁵⁴ Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*, p. 7.

⁵⁵ Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1930), p. 144.

⁵⁶ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 156; Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*, p. 7; Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*, p. 7.

⁵⁷ The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 128th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/18 (1927); Religious Tract

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consistently targeting girls aged 12 to 16, until the mid-1940s when preparations began to initiate another change in readership. In December 1947 the paper was rebranded as a 'teen-age magazine', aiming at ages 16 to 22, under the title *Girl's Own Paper (Heiress)*, and in August 1949 a decision was made to change this to *Heiress*.⁵⁸ *Heiress*, whilst initially successful, began to lose ground in the early 1950s to women's magazines targeting a teenage audience, and despite dropping its target readership to age 14 to 19, after a period of declining circulations its final issue was published in December 1956.⁵⁹

By contrast *BOP's* history was one of stability and continuity. Whilst there were minor adjustments to its readership at times, and readers over 18 appear to have engaged with the paper during the nineteenth century, the paper was predominantly aimed at boys aged 12 to 18, although as will be seen in Chapter Four, despite Moruzi's suggestion that *GOP* was founded to exclude girls from *BOP's* readership, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries girls were explicitly welcomed as readers of *BOP*. The Society capitalised on the paper's brand identity and 'national institution' status through a series of spin-offs both at home and overseas. In Britain the *Boy's Own Song Book* was produced in November 1922, and *The Boy's Own Stamp Book* in 1923, whilst in

Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 129th', USCL/RTS/05/19; The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 130th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/20 (1929); The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 131st', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/21 (1930); Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22.

⁵⁸ The Board applied the term 'teen-age' to *Heiress*, even though the target readership at this stage was ages 16 to 22. It was not uncommon during this period for the term 'teenage' to be applied beyond the 13 to 19 year old age group. Abrams for example in his 1959 study defined teenagers as unmarried young people aged 15 to 25: Mark Abrams, *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959 (part 2): middle class and working class boys and girls* (London Press Exchange, 1961), p. 3; 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th February 1947, 25th August 1949.

⁵⁹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 16th November 1950, 10th April 1956.

June 1919 a proposal had been put forward to create a French version of *BOP*.⁶⁰ Perhaps the most large-scale of these projects was *Balak*, the Bengali version of *BOP* published in India, and there is no evidence that the same happened with *GOP*.⁶¹

The explanation for the many changes to *GOP*'s target readership may lie in the changing definitions of girlhood and womanhood during this period, for as Dyhouse observes 'in each generation, the image of girlhood has been hotly contested'.⁶² During the First World War as men volunteered or were conscripted into the army many girls and young women moved into occupations that would have been previously closed to them, and many also gained in personal freedom and independence.⁶³ After the end of the First World War there was some ambiguity and uncertainty over the role girls and women would play. On the one hand in 1918 and 1928 the franchise was, in stages, extended to them, and the opening up of careers for girls was celebrated in the media including newspapers, newsreels, and magazines such as *GOP*. On the other, after the return of male workers from war service many women were pushed back into domestic service or unpaid domestic labour within their own homes.⁶⁴ Related to this, there was an ongoing debate throughout the period of this study about the purpose of girls' education, whether it should prepare them for careers, or whether it should be used to train girls for future roles as wives and mothers.⁶⁵ As Tinkler has noted, there was a widespread view that 'the real business of girlhood...revolved around relationships', and it should also be acknowledged that even after the Second World War many girls still expected to marry rather than have a career.⁶⁶ As

⁶⁰ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 8th July 1919, 28th November 1922, 15th May 1923.

⁶¹ The Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', (Religious Tract Society), March 1919.

⁶² Carol Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble: panic and progress in the history of young women* (London & New York: Zed Books, 2013), p. 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 72; Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, *Out of the Cage: women's experiences in two world wars* (London & New York: Pandora Press, 1987), p. 281.

⁶⁴ Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble*, pp. 84-87.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93

⁶⁶ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 115; Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble*, p. 123.

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girlhood became increasingly recognised as a distinct phase in a girl's life, separated from adulthood by sexual maturity and marriage, so there also arose 'anxiety and social unease' around the behaviour and control of adolescent females.⁶⁷ Dyhouse notes that from the First World War onwards 'Flappers and roaring girls replaced the revolting daughters and hysterical suffragettes in the minds of those who bewailed the loss of the old order'.⁶⁸ There was a series of moral panics during the twentieth century around girlhood, which frequently centred around female sexuality, and a fear that girls might be over-sexed. Yet conversely there was also ongoing concern that education might render girls unwomanly and unsuitable for marriage.⁶⁹

It is notable that in the earlier part of the twentieth century girlhood was not only constructed differentially according to age and class, but was also, as Tinkler notes, 'historically ... variable'.⁷⁰ Notions of girlhood changed dramatically over the period of this study, as girls began to negotiate what they wanted from their lives. As constructions of girlhood altered, and the needs of girls and women were seen to change, so *GOP/Heiress* shifted its target readership and consequently adapted its discourses, in order to best address those needs, providing a publication which would speak to readers within the lives they had. As will be seen in Chapter Five, *BOP* by contrast was more inclined to present boyhood as a universal given, whilst *GOP* with its frequent changes both in readership and correspondingly in style allowed readers more scope for exploring possibilities of identity.

Yet, whilst it will be seen that *BOP* tended to present a unified vision of boyhood as essential and unchanging, it is important to remember that this was not the only model of juvenile masculinity current during the period of this study. As Tosh notes in his study of British masculinities between 1800 and 1914, the presence of a dominant vision of masculinity does not mean that it

⁶⁷ Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble*, p. 7.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁷⁰ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 183.

'amounted to a norm for society as a whole or that any variation from it was deviance'.⁷¹ There were competing models of juvenile masculinity, and Kelly Boyd notes that 'constructions of masculinity were generally class-linked', so that 'what was manly for one class was not manly for another', and he further points to shifts in the 'discourses surrounding masculinity' over time.⁷² It should further be noted that the vision of masculinity and boyhood being discussed here is a specifically British (or, perhaps more accurately, English) construction of boyhood, and a notable discourse of difference and inferiority surrounded the introduction of boys from other countries and cultures into narratives where their masculinity was shown in unfavourable contrast to British boyhood.⁷³ The vision of boyhood perpetuated by *BOP* was not therefore by any means the *only* construction of juvenile masculinity in the first part of the twentieth century, but it was a powerful one. This is supported by Richards who notes that the public school ideals which magazines like *BOP* perpetuated of 'disinterested, decent, honourable, ruling elite' had triumphed over an alternative image of manliness based on a working class ethos of 'how much you can drink and how tough you are', and that this was not reversed until after the 1960s.⁷⁴ This ethos of masculinity was perpetuated and reinforced through popular fiction, youth groups, and in the language of those correcting juvenile delinquency. As Boyd notes, fiction was often used to show readers 'how real boys should behave', both through the example of desirable behaviours, and the display of the correction of those who attempt to reject 'the appropriate behaviour and activities of [their] peers'.⁷⁵

⁷¹ John Tosh, 'Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800-1914', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), pp. 330-42 (p. 335-36).

⁷² Boyd, *Manliness and the Boy's Story Paper in Britain: A cultural history, 1855-1940*, pp. 73, 82.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁷⁴ Jeffrey H. Richards, *Happiest Days: the public schools in English fiction* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 235, 240.

⁷⁵ Boyd, *Manliness and the Boy's Story Paper in Britain: A cultural history, 1855-1940*, p. 108; for further detail on discourses of masculinity in the correction of juvenile delinquency see Abigail Wills, 'Delinquency, Masculinity and Citizenship in England 1950-1970', *Past & Present*, (2005), pp. 157-85.

1.5 The Editors and Contributors

The editors played a significant role in setting the tone of the papers during their periods of tenure. Each editor brought their own ideas and style to bear upon the papers within the broad framework which the Society set for them, which was often at odds with their own professional judgement. Some were more successful than others in what was often seen as a power struggle between the Society and the editors, the dynamics of which were perpetuated by the organisational structure of the Society as well as the personalities involved. The majority of the editors were ultimately dismissed from their posts. Chapter Three looks in more detail at the centrality of the editorial role, the interactions between the editors and the publisher, and the way individual personalities and skillsets played their part in influencing the content and ideology of the papers.

The historiography mostly cites George Hutchison as the first ‘infallible’ editor of *BOP*, but despite the mythology which has built up around him he was not in fact made editor officially until 1897. Prior to this his title was Sub-Editor and he was under the official editorship of James Macaulay.⁷⁶ Hutchison’s relationship with the Society was not easy, but nonetheless under his leadership *BOP* rapidly became a publishing success.⁷⁷ When Hutchison was forcibly retired by the Society in 1912, a new editor, Arthur Lincoln Haydon was brought in. There were to be five more editors of *BOP*, some making more impact than others, but although each made changes to the paper the format and tone of *BOP* remained remarkably consistent, and it will be argued that the editors of *BOP* primarily operated as guardians of tradition. *BOP*’s editors generally had quite high profiles, through work in other spheres of publishing,

⁷⁶ Phillip Warner suggests that as early as 1880 with the second volume, Macaulay had ‘become a mere contributor’, however, this is not the case. Warner, *The Best of British Pluck*, p. 3; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 24.

⁷⁷ For a discussion of the development of ideas of Christian Manliness in this era see Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: the ideal of Christian manliness in Victorian literature and religious thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

or in other walks of life, and biographical information is relatively easy to find.⁷⁸ At the very least each retained his place in the history of *BOP*.⁷⁹

Whilst the majority of *GOP* editors were women, its first editor was Charles Peters, who like Hutchison was also placed under Macaulay's supervision, and had a similarly challenging relationship with the Society at times.⁸⁰ Under his editorship the magazine was mainly domestic in tone and covered such womanly pursuits as dress, needlework, housekeeping and cookery as well as carrying suitable fiction.⁸¹ When Peters died, he was replaced in 1908 by Flora Klickmann, a prolific essayist and gifted musician as well as a formidable journalist and editor, well able to stand her ground against the full might of the Society's all-male committee.⁸² Unfortunately, she is said to have destroyed the notes for her autobiography after it was rejected for publication in the 1940s.⁸³ Whilst Peters and Klickmann are acknowledged within the historiography, the editors who followed in their place are far harder to trace than those of *BOP* and there is very little recorded about Gladys Spratt, the third editor, and often nothing about her successors, Constance Goodall and Joni Murray, who frequently remain un-named, and their influential roles unacknowledged.⁸⁴ Chapter Three therefore breaks new ground in restoring them to the historical record. It is likely that Klickmann has been better remembered because she had a higher profile during her editorship, as an author and essayist, as well as her editorial work. However, her presence in a

⁷⁸ Entries are available in *Who Was Who* for George Hutchison, Arthur Lincoln Haydon, and G R Pocklington. See also Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper'; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*; William Oliver Gullemond Lofts and Derek John Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction* (London: Howard Baker, 1970).

⁷⁹ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 76-121.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸¹ Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*, p. 13.

⁸² Klickmann's conflicts with the committee are explored in more depth in Chapter Three, and one example can be found in the Executive Committee minutes of 1925 during a dispute over the terms of her contract. 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 10th March 1925, 17th March 1925.

⁸³ David Lazell, 'Klickmann, (Emily) Flora (1867-1958)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65981>> [accessed 2nd May 2012].

⁸⁴ Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper*', p. 167.

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high profile position of authority would also have been more notable in the years before the Sex Disqualification Act of 1919, as she was operating within a professional environment far more frequently populated with men. Indeed, even after 1919, it remained remarkable for women to enter the professions. A survey undertaken in the mid-1920s by Charlotte Haldane, described as 'an anti-feminist writer', found that amongst a selection of professional organisations, out of a total of 107,705 members, only around 3600 were women, of which 2580 were doctors.⁸⁵ Further, whilst the professions were, theoretically, opened up to women in 1919, from the 1920s onwards there was also an increasing move towards professionalising and emphasising the importance of women's domestic work, and Braybon and Summerfield have pointed to the 'undertow pulling women back' into the home in the interwar years.⁸⁶ In many spheres of work this 'undertow' was formalised through the marriage bar, 'the custom of demanding a woman's resignation immediately following her marriage', which continued to operate within many professions, in the first part of the twentieth century. Even where women were able to work, and to enter professions, their chances of promotion were lower than their male counterparts, and it was particularly unusual to find women in positions of managerial authority.⁸⁷ Thus, Klickmann's editorship which spanned from 1908 to 1930 positions her as a high profile woman professional at a time when women's work was a contentious issue, subject to much debate.

The relative invisibility of *GOP's* editors when compared to the male editors of *BOP* is an interesting microcosm of the way in which *GOP* has quietly vanished

⁸⁵ Neal A. Ferguson, 'Women's Work: Employment Opportunities and Economic Roles, 1918-1939', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 7 (1975), pp. 55-68 (p. 61).

⁸⁶ Krista Cowman and Louise A Jackson, 'Women's Work, a Cultural History', in *Women and Work Culture: Britain c. 1850-1950*, ed. by Krista Cowman and Louise A Jackson (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), pp. 1-26 (p. 2); Judy Giles, 'Good Housekeeping: Professionalising the Housewife, 1920-1950', in *Women and Work Culture: Britain c. 1850-1950*, ed. by Krista Cowman and Louise A Jackson (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), pp. 70-88; Braybon and Summerfield, *Out of the Cage*, p. 281.

⁸⁷ Ferguson, 'Women's Work: Employment Opportunities and Economic Roles, 1918-1939', pp. 65-66.

behind the *BOP* legend. Whilst *BOP* on its demise in 1967 was celebrated, feted and its cessation mourned as a 'death', *GOP* ceased publication in 1956 with very little attention or recognition.⁸⁸ Yet ironically, it was *GOP* which was by far the more commercially successful, consistently outselling *BOP* until 1950.⁸⁹

1.6 Circulation and Readership

One of the difficulties of analysing the commercial success of *BOP* and *GOP* is that there is no one objective source of circulation figures. As McAleer points out, what figures there are must be treated with suspicion.⁹⁰ Claims were sometimes made for the circulation of the papers which may have been misleading. In 1922 for example the annual report claimed that *GOP* 'still occupies the premier position among the periodicals for women in the British Empire' and that its circulation was continuing to rise.⁹¹ Whilst McAleer found that interwar circulation figures were stable, it is likely that the 'premier position' referred to was not reflected in actual sales, but was referring to moral tone or spiritual value. In reality, whilst in its earliest years *BOP* and *GOP* established enormous commercial success, this was not long-lasting.

Circulation for *BOP* in the late nineteenth century reached around 200,000 copies per week, making it 'among the most successful juvenile serials of the late-Victorian period, ... comparable to such prominent general periodicals as the *Daily Telegraph*', and in 1888 a survey of readership named *BOP* and *GOP* as the most popular juvenile magazines.⁹² It is worth noting that such high

⁸⁸ 'B.O.P. ends its 88 years of adventure', *The Times*, 11th January 1967, p. 10.

⁸⁹ Joseph McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), p. 211.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁹¹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16.

⁹² Richard Noakes, 'The *Boy's Own Paper* and Late-Victorian Juvenile Magazines', in *Science in the Nineteenth-Century Periodical: reading the magazine of nature*, ed. by G. N. Cantor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 151-71 (p. 153); Edward Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is* (London: H. J. Drane, 1888), pp. 15-16.

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circulation figures did not necessarily equate to reader enthusiasm, because as Price observes with regard to other religious publications, the 'end user' might not necessarily be the buyer.⁹³ The papers were bought as gifts, or as approved reading for younger people by adults, were given away through Sunday Schools and missions, distributed in institutions, and were frequently amongst the few approved periodicals in public libraries.⁹⁴ McAleer argues that the idea of *BOP* and *GOP* having been successful publications is 'popular legend' and that after ten years of initial success they were in on-going decline, but the reality is more complex than this as the papers went through periods of decline and recovery.⁹⁵ However, it is true that as early as 1888 the Finance Sub-Committee was reporting decreasing circulations for both periodicals, and a series of sub-committees was set up over the years to investigate problems of circulation loss. In 1906 it was noted that although the drop in sales was 'much less than it was a few years ago, there is still steady and ominous decline', with *GOP*'s sales dropping by £490 in six months and *BOP*'s by £350.⁹⁶ In 1908, a profit and loss report for *BOP* and *GOP* for the previous ten years sparked the creation of a sub-committee to investigate further, and when one considers McAleer's analysis of profit and loss figures from 1880 to 1920 their alarm is understandable.⁹⁷ By 1900 both *GOP* and *BOP* had experienced sharp decline and were making a significant net loss. Whilst *GOP* made a modest recovery shortly after, further sub-committees were appointed in 1909 and 1912, the latter particularly tasked to investigate the 'continued falling off in circulation of the *Boy's Own Paper*', and *BOP* did not make a profit again until 1914.⁹⁸

⁹³ Leah Price, 'From The History of a Book to a "History of the Book"', *Representations*, 108 (2009), pp. 120-38 (p. 124).

⁹⁴ Mass Observation, *Children's Reading at Fulham Library* (Mass Observation Online: Mass Observation, 1940).

⁹⁵ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 215.

⁹⁶ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 16th October 1906.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16th June 1908.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4th June 1909; 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 13th February 1912; McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 216.

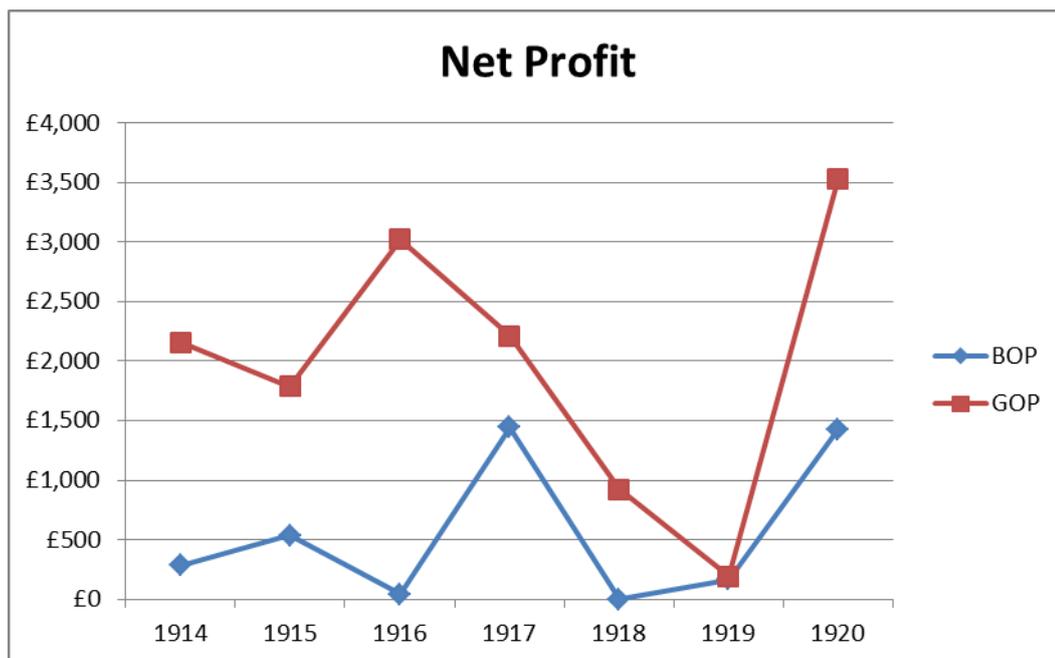


Figure 1 Net Profits for *BOP* and *GOP* 1914 - 1920. Figures from Religious Tract Society Balance Sheets 1914 to 1920⁹⁹

As Figure 1 shows, the papers continued with a pattern of rising and falling profits between 1914 and 1920, but by the early 1930s, when a survey of St Pancras school children asked them to name the magazines which they bought or read, both papers received less than twenty mentions, and in 1940 Jenkinson reported that ‘The *Girl’s Own Paper* and the *Guide* occupy lowly places in the girls’ affections, just as the *Boy’s Own Paper* and the *Scout* are comparatively neglected by the boys’.¹⁰⁰ *BOP*’s decline was the most severe,

⁹⁹ 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1914', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/22; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1915', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/23; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1916', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/24; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1917', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/25; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1918', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/26; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1919', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/27; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1920', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/04/28.

¹⁰⁰ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 13; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 71-2, 216.

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dropping from being the favourite magazine of 62 per cent of boys in 1888 to being read by just 3.5 per cent of boys in 1940, compared to *GOP* which went from being read by 37 per cent of girls in 1888 to 6.09 per cent in 1940.¹⁰¹ Jenkinson's findings are consistent with Lutterworth Periodicals' circulation figures which show that from April 1941 to March 1942, *GOP* sold 47 per cent more copies than *BOP*.¹⁰² *GOP*'s greater popularity may have been at least in part a reflection of girls' different reading habits. Joy Ward's 1947 study categorised *BOP* and *GOP* as 'Children's magazines', and she found that nearly three times as many girls as boys read this kind of periodical.¹⁰³ These numbers contrast sharply with the papers' more successful commercial rivals of 1940, with 39 per cent of secondary school boys age 12 to 14, and 61 per cent of senior school boys of the same age reading *Wizard*, and 26 per cent of secondary girls and 36 per cent of senior girls reading *Schoolgirls' Own*.¹⁰⁴

McAleer is almost certainly correct then when he concludes that *GOP*'s circulation remained higher than that of *BOP* until 1950, and the Society's own figures suggest a considerable difference at times.¹⁰⁵ In 1925, the Society advertised both publications in *The Advertiser's ABC*, and recorded that whilst *GOP* had a 'guaranteed circulation of over 60,000 copies', *BOP* was reaching 40,000 boys.¹⁰⁶ As Figure 2 demonstrates, under Lutterworth, sales of *GOP/Heiress* were higher than those for *BOP* until 1950, and between the time Lutterworth Periodicals took over the papers in 1941 until 1950 both papers experienced a significant increase in their circulations.

¹⁰¹ Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, pp. 15, 23; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 68-70, 214-15.

¹⁰² Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 68-70, 214-15; See Figure 2.

¹⁰³ Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁴ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 68-70, 214-15.

¹⁰⁵ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 211.

¹⁰⁶ 'Supported By the Boys of Britain!', *The Advertiser's ABC*, (1925), p. 311; 'Her home is her office and her hours, all day!', *The Advertiser's ABC*, (1925), p. 355.

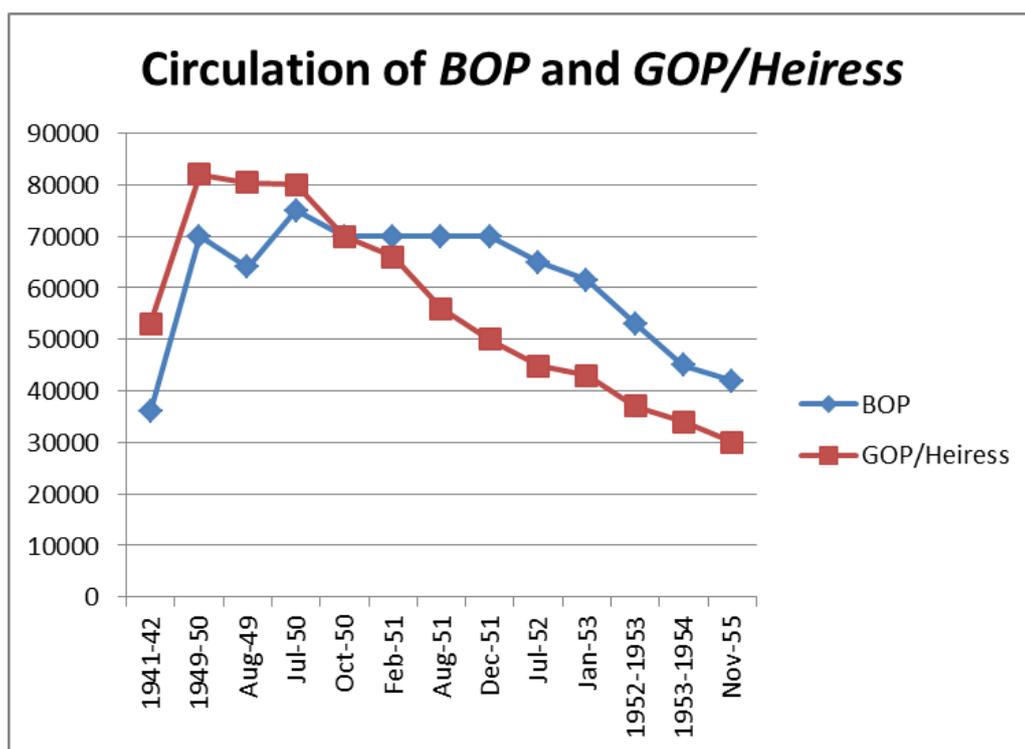


Figure 2 Circulation of *BOP* and *GOP/Heiress*. Figures taken from Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings¹⁰⁷

As Figure 3 demonstrates, the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* of 1950 found that whilst *BOP* was being read by 12 per cent of boys, compared to the overwhelming triumph of Hulton's *Eagle* which was read by 60 per cent of boys, *Heiress* was only securing four per cent of female readers. This was somewhat misleading because the survey only encompassed children aged 8 to 15 and therefore failed to account for *Heiress's* target readership range of age 16 to 22. However, even when these figures are combined with those from the adult *Hulton Readership Survey* from the same year, this places *Heiress's* readership at around 239,000 compared to 340,000 for *BOP*, which also did not allow for any *BOP* readers over the age of 15.

¹⁰⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21.

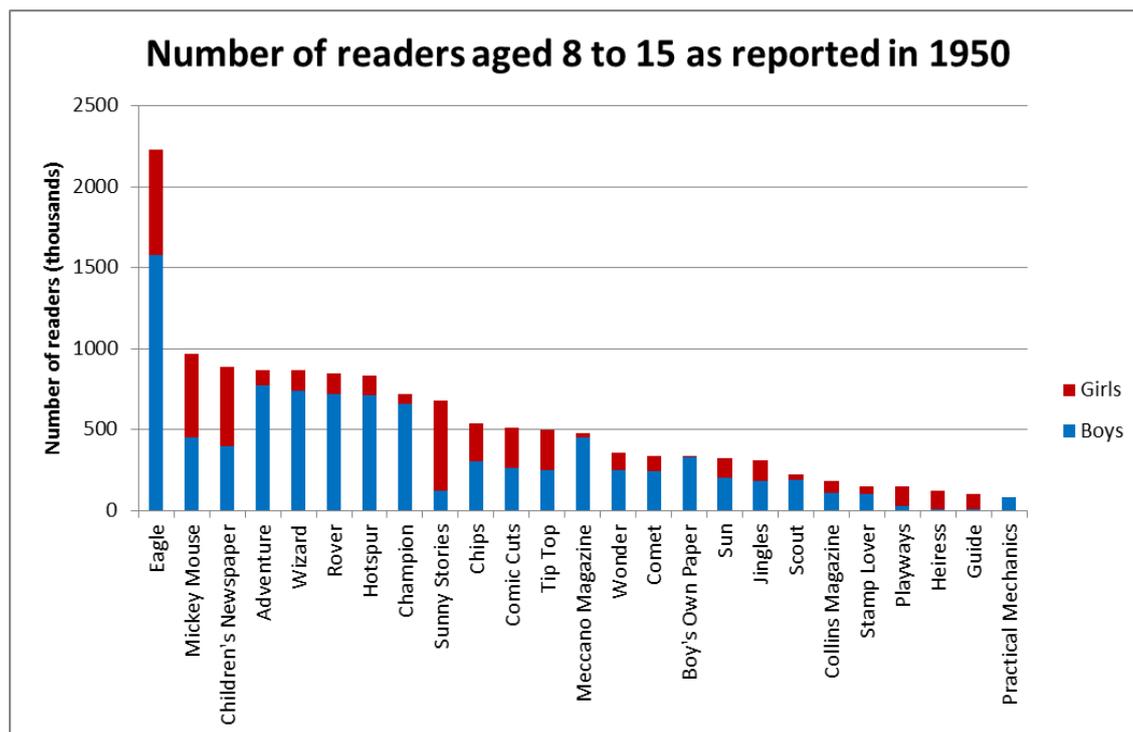


Figure 3 Number of readers aged 8 to 15 as reported in 1950 *Hulton Child Readership Survey*¹⁰⁸

The fieldwork for the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* was undertaken in July 1950, and as Figure 2 demonstrates, Lutterworth’s circulation figures for July 1950 show that *Heiress* had a higher circulation than *BOP*. The difference between Hulton’s readership figures and Lutterworth’s circulation statistics are probably attributable partially to a higher readership to circulation ratio for *BOP*, but the readership figures were also probably anticipating the reversal in *Heiress*’s fortunes which took place later in 1950 as its circulation fell below that of *BOP*, continuing to do so until its cessation in 1956. *BOP*’s figures remained stable for a while longer, but in 1952 they also began to decline. Whilst in the current-day market for juvenile periodicals, when circulations of 40,000 to 60,000 are common, a readership of 340,000 or 231,000 would be

¹⁰⁸ Bureau British Market Research and Ltd Market Information Services, *The Hulton Child Readership Survey* (Hulton Press, 1950). Percentages based by Hulton on their estimate of a total population at this time of 2650000 boys and 2550000 girls.

highly satisfactory, in 1950 in comparison to *Eagle's* astonishing calculated readership of 2,230,000, *BOP* and *Heiress* were failing publications.¹⁰⁹

Eagle, founded by Reverend Marcus Morris and fellow-clergyman Chad Varah to provide 'a genuinely popular "children's comic" where adventure is once more the clean and exciting business I remember in my own schooldays', can be seen as *BOP's* successor.¹¹⁰ Thus it was clearly catastrophic for *BOP's* future fortunes, that when Reverend Morris asked Lutterworth Periodicals in 1949 if 'it would take on his new magazine idea, *Eagle*', Lutterworth was forced to decline due to paper rationing. As the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* demonstrates, *Eagle* went on to become a publishing phenomenon, and Chapter Two will explore the circumstances which led Lutterworth to turn down the opportunity to work with Morris.¹¹¹ However, *Eagle* not only posed a threat to *BOP*, it also seems to have been attractive to the younger female readership, abandoned by Lutterworth in 1947 in the hope that *Heiress's* success would later finance the production of a separate periodical for younger readers. For in 1950 26 per cent of girls aged 8 to 15 were found to be reading *Eagle* and this endorsement probably led to the issue of *Girl*, *Eagle's* companion paper, in 1951.¹¹²

Heiress's decline continued and the 1957 Smith and Harrap survey, which must have undertaken fieldwork in 1956 before *Heiress's* closure found that the paper was attracting only 3.8 per cent of grammar school girls and 2.2 per cent of secondary modern pupils. This compared to 20.6 per cent of grammar girls and 20 per cent of secondary modern girls reading girls' favourite choice, *Woman*. Despite plummeting circulation figures by this stage, *BOP* was performing better being the third favourite choice of grammar school boys

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.; 'Mag ABCs: Full circulation round-up for the first half of 2013', *Press Gazette*, 15th August 2013 <<http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/magazine-abcs-full-circulation-round-first-half-2013>> [accessed 8th October 2013].

¹¹⁰ John Springhall, 'Marcus Morris and Eagle: Approved reading for boys in the 1950s', *The Historian*, (2013), pp. 24-28 (p. 25).

¹¹¹ Brink, 'The Lutterworth Bicentenary', p. 202.

¹¹² British Market Research and Market Information Services, *The Hulton Child Readership Survey*.

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after *Eagle* and *Reader's Digest*, but unlike *Eagle* which attracted almost equal numbers of secondary modern readers, *BOP* was not favoured by any of these boys. Yet although *BOP* was popular with grammar school boys, this was only relative, and Figure 4 illustrates the, by then, greater popularity of publications for girls and women. McAleer has observed that in the 1950s D C Thomson's boys' papers declined, and the publisher found new success with girls' papers such as *Bunty*, and this trend is demonstrated by the Smith and Harrap survey, which shows that girls were now the major consumers of magazines. After the closure of *Heiress* in 1956, *BOP*'s sales continued to decline until it finally ceased publication in February 1967. The reasons behind these patterns of circulation will be explored in Chapter Two.

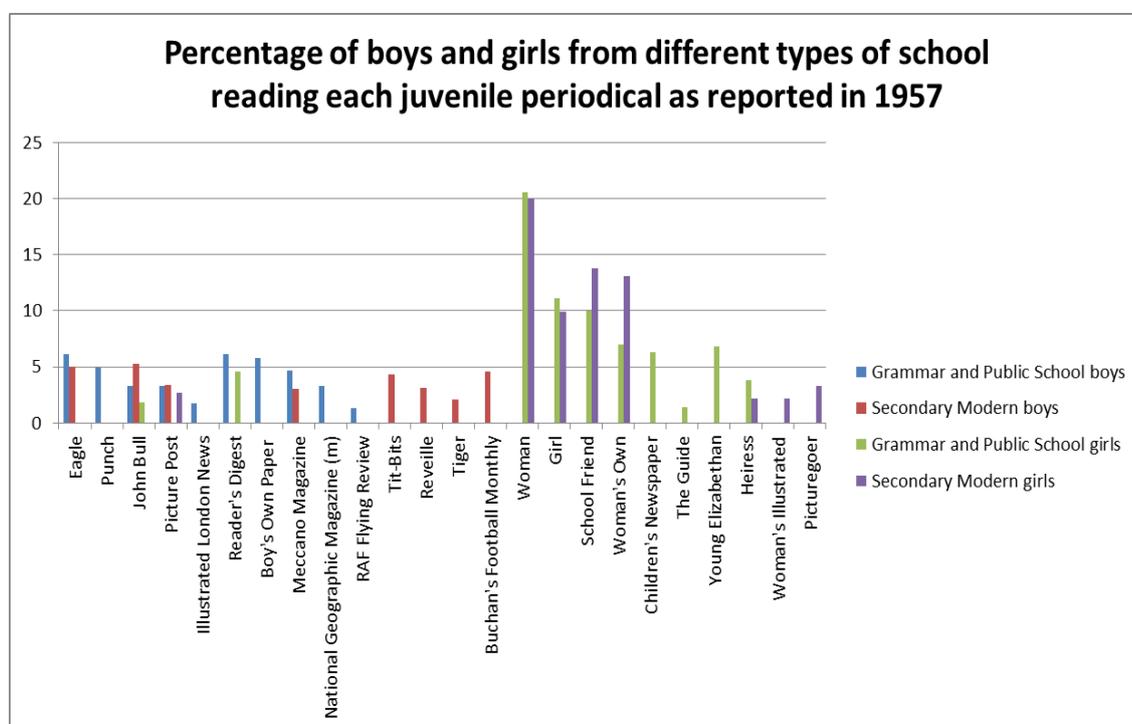


Figure 4 Percentage of boys and girls from different types of school reading each juvenile periodical as reported in 1957. Figures taken from Harrap and Smith *Survey of boys' and girls' reading habits*.¹¹³

¹¹³ Smith & Son Ltd and Harrap & Co., *Survey of Boys' and Girls' Reading Habits*, pp. 4-7.

1.7 Revenue and Profits

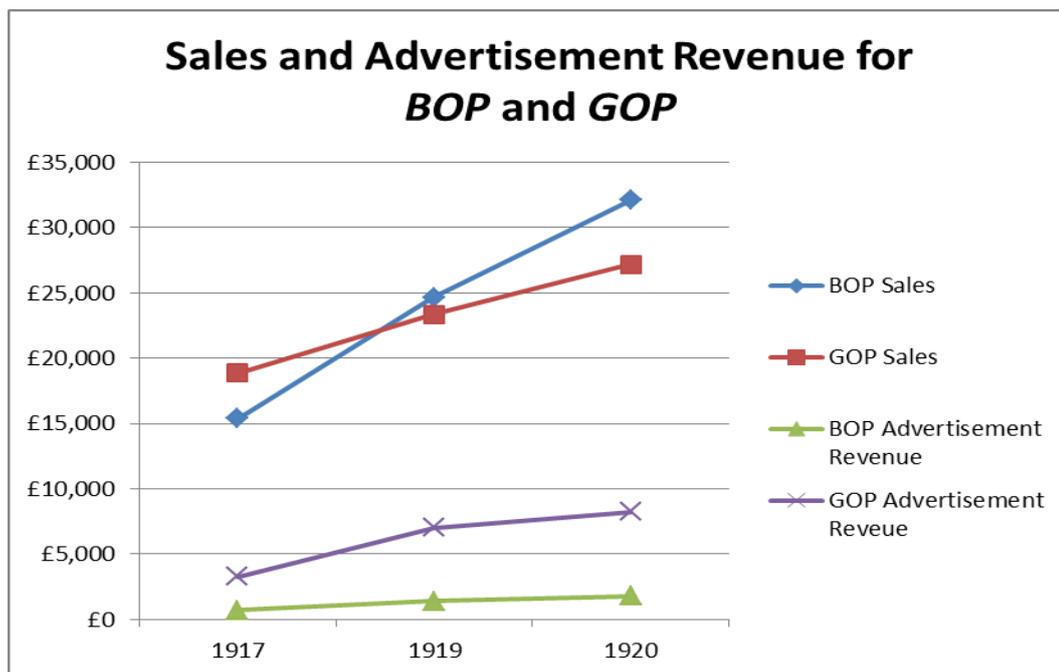


Figure 5 Sales and Advertisement Revenue for *BOP* and *GOP*. Figures taken from Religious Tract Society Balance Sheets, 1917, 1919 and 1920.¹¹⁴

Both papers were reliant on advertising income to supplement sales, and as well as generally achieving better circulations, *GOP* was also more attractive to advertisers.¹¹⁵ As early as 1906, when both papers made losses, *BOP*'s were considered more serious because the magazine brought in much less advertising revenue.¹¹⁶ Thus, as Figure 5 illustrates, although in 1919 and 1920 *BOP* had greater sales revenue, *GOP*'s advertisement revenue was around five times higher than that for *BOP*, and this led to the higher net profits, outlined above.

¹¹⁴ 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1917', USCL/RTS/04/25; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1919', USCL/RTS/04/27; 'Religious Tract Society Balance Sheet 31st March 1920', USCL/RTS/04/28.

¹¹⁵ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, pp. 216-17.

¹¹⁶ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 16th October 1906.

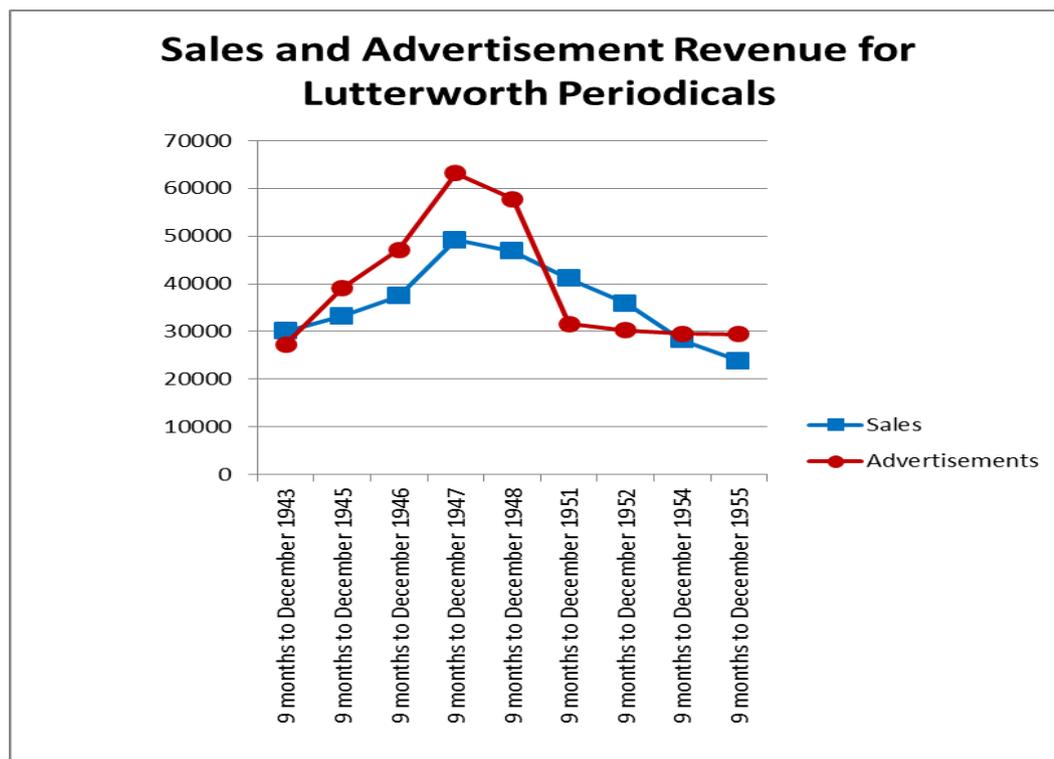


Figure 6 Sales and Advertisement Revenue for Lutterworth Periodicals. Figures taken from Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings¹¹⁷

GOP's advertising revenue for 1917, 1919 and 1920 accounted for between 50 and 62 per cent of the Society's total advertising revenue, and the trading accounts show that in some years *GOP* was responsible for a similar proportion of the Society's total net profits. Indeed in 1914 *GOP's* net profits exceeded the total for the company, suggesting that *GOP* was subsidising overall losses. Whilst these figures demonstrate that during the late 1910s, sales revenue was much higher than advertising revenue, this changed in later years. Whilst the remaining records of the Society contain little individualised information on revenue, expenditure and circulations for the magazines, Lutterworth Periodicals kept more detailed records. As Figure 6 reveals, during the Second World War, and the years immediately following, advertisement revenue exceeded sales. It was only in the early 1950s that advertising revenue began to decline, and a corresponding decline in sales meant financial disaster for the company, and this is explored in more depth in Chapter Two.

¹¹⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21.

Whilst circulations were poor by comparison to commercial competitors, and eventually went into permanent decline in the 1950s, this study will assert that although the historiography tends to point towards a pattern of steady decline during the twentieth century, there was no simple pattern of rise and fall.¹¹⁸ Chapter Two will show that periods of success interspersed with periods of decline, and over the years the Society and later the Board of Lutterworth Periodicals, showed themselves willing to make changes in the focus of its investment across the breadth of its publishing catalogue. *BOP* was not always the priority publication, and under Lutterworth, *Woman's Magazine* and *Heiress* received priority and performed better for many years. The Society and Lutterworth, however, did not have sufficient resources, and as evangelical organisations their primary focus was neither profits, nor responding to their readership, but influencing and reaching out to them.

1.8 The Influence and Purpose of Young People's Reading

Whilst the Society's concern to reach out and influence readers through *BOP* and *GOP* was primarily driven by evangelical zeal, it should also be viewed as part of a broader social concern in this period about the influence and purpose of young people's reading. In 1959, Abrams observed that whilst books, papers and magazines accounted for just three per cent of teenagers' total expenditure, young people's reading was significant, not because of its monetary value, but because 'the character of this spending has received more than average public comment'.¹¹⁹ This was not a new development and many studies carried out in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s interrogated young people's reading habits. The studies were diverse, and spanned several decades, but all were underpinned by a strong discourse of adolescence as a time of decay and decline, and an assumption that what young people read

¹¹⁸ Butts, 'Introduction', p. 10; Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 151; McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 217.

¹¹⁹ Abrams, *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959 (part 2): middle class and working class boys and girls*, p. 8.

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had a more long-lasting and pervasive effect than the moments spent in actual reading.¹²⁰

Young people's literature has often been prone to what Moruzi terms the 'didactic tradition', and there has long been debate over the role of adults in moderating young people's reading. Writing in 1888, Edward Salmon suggested it was parents' 'onerous duty' to select 'appropriate' reading material for their children.¹²¹ However, during the period of this study there was a clear divide between those who, like Geoffrey Trease, a novelist and contributor to *BOP*, believed publishers and editors had a duty to 'make a social contribution', and that children's literature should actively steer young people, rather than respond to them, and commercial publishers who believed in anticipating and meeting reader demand.¹²² Amalgamated Press, one of the largest publishers of juvenile periodicals in the twentieth century, made a 'frank admission of purely commercial motive', and was open that their aim was 'to give the child-public what it wants', avoiding 'fumbling, well-meaning experiments in education'.¹²³ Mary Grieve, editor of *Woman*, took a similar stance, arguing that publications which sought to give the reader 'what is good for her whether or not she needs it' were simply practising 'disguised school-marming and patronage', a policy which she felt was sure to fail.¹²⁴ Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the Society's stance on influencing readers, the editors of *BOP* and *GOP* tended to take a different view, and saw their roles as a combination of meeting reader demand and providing a steer to the readers, and this is explored in greater depth in Chapter Three.

¹²⁰ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, pp. 17-19.

¹²¹ Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, p. 12.

¹²² Geoffrey Trease, *Tales Out of School* (London: William Heinemann, 1948), pp. 82, 142-48, 185.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-5.

¹²⁴ Mary Grieve, *Millions Made My Story* (London: Gollancz, 1964), p. 180.

1.9 Juvenile Periodical Reading

Most of the studies of young people's reading showed particular interest in juvenile periodicals. This is unsurprising when one considers that a study undertaken in St Pancras in 1932 to 1933 found that only 12 per cent of those young people they interviewed did *not* read a juvenile periodical of some kind, and over 50 per cent of those interviewed claimed to read in excess of three magazines a week, and of those, a third read six or more.¹²⁵ These figures were not unique and in 1940 Jenkinson recorded as 'remarkable – perhaps startling', his own findings that around 85 per cent of those young people he interviewed read juvenile magazines, and of these, each read on average three per month.¹²⁶ During the twentieth century juvenile periodicals were increasingly concentrated in the hands of a smaller number of commercial publishers, most notable of which were Amalgamated Press and D C Thomson.¹²⁷ McAleer has suggested that these two giants of juvenile publishing founded their work on the precedent set out for them by *BOP* and *GOP* whose early successes showed that there was a market for juvenile periodicals.¹²⁸

Periodicals came in a variety of formats, and whilst each survey categorised them differently, almost all made judgements about their value and impact upon their readers, with Jenkinson using the openly pejorative term 'bloods' to encompass all 'the weekly, fortnightly, or monthly magazines for boys and girls', a term which harked back to the nineteenth century penny dreadfuls.¹²⁹ The language he used to describe young people's reading of such publications was redolent of sickness, addiction and decay, describing young people who

¹²⁵ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 13.

¹²⁶ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 64-65, 211.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹²⁸ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 242.

¹²⁹ Joy Ward separated magazines into various sub-genres such as 'comics', 'children's magazines' and 'love and phantasy', whilst Jenkinson argued that all were much alike and catered to 'similar appetites'. Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 43; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 64, 211.

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had 'outgrown the habit' as achieving 'immunity'.¹³⁰ Some observers even worried about the physical impact of young people's consumption of periodicals, arguing that the poor quality of the printing and the act of reading them 'by gaslight at night' might be damaging to children's eyesight, although it is possible this may have masked concerns about unsupervised reading of unapproved material.¹³¹ Yet overall, readership surveys were reasonably tolerant of the majority of young people's magazines, and even Jenkinson, in spite of his use of the term 'bloods', concluded that reading them during the adolescent years did not do any harm, and even criticised schools for imposing adult reading tastes upon young people.¹³² This tolerance did not, however, appear to extend to magazines such as *Miracle*, *Oracle*, *Secrets*, *Flame*, and *Red Star Weekly*, which were referred to as 'erotic' or 'sex' magazines, and were 'dominated by racy fiction'.¹³³ These magazines were explicitly marketed at working class girls and young women, and Jenkinson's 1940 survey found they were read almost exclusively by senior school girls.¹³⁴ Just as middle-class commentators of the nineteenth century had feared the effect of the penny dreadfuls on working-class boys, so now successive reports expressed anxiety that 'erotic' magazines were unsuitable for younger girls and presented an unrealistic 'fairy-tale world' of fantasy, 'sex and sentimentality'.¹³⁵

All of the surveys approached young people's reading as a gendered enterprise, and with seemingly good reason. Studies consistently found that whilst reading occupied a significant space in all young people's lives, girls were more enthusiastic readers. The St Pancras study undertaken in 1932 to 1933 found nearly three times as many girls as boys chose reading as their main interest outside of school, whilst in 1947 Ward found that 20 per cent of

¹³⁰ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, p. 212.

¹³¹ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 14.

¹³² Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 149, 152, 271.

¹³³ *Ibid.* pp. 64, 211; Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 14; Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 55-57.

¹³⁴ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 64, 211; Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 55-57.

¹³⁵ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 14; A P Jephcott, *Girls Growing Up* (London: Faber & Faber, 1942), pp. 108-11.

girls aged 11-15 named reading as their favourite activity, compared to only six per cent of boys.¹³⁶ Ten years later Smith and Harrap also discovered that reading was girls' favourite hobby, whilst for boys it was model-making and stamp collecting.¹³⁷ Intriguingly, however, this did not necessarily mean that boys read less, as Ward found that boys still read as often as girls, but they did not consider it a favourite activity.¹³⁸ Significantly, girls were also 'transgressive' readers, moving with apparent ease from their own magazines, to reading those of their brothers, and the impact of this upon *BOP* and *GOP* is discussed in Chapter Four.¹³⁹ However, this appears to have diminished during the 1950s as girls were targeted by increasing numbers of magazines designed specifically for them. Women's magazines, which catered 'exclusively for women's requirements as women', became an increasingly powerful sector of the periodical market during this time, and towards the end of the Second World War they also began to target teenage girls, and from the late 1950s magazines such as *Flair* and *Honey* began to cater specifically for teenage girls.¹⁴⁰

Whilst these were not the first magazines to cater for girls in their teenage years, they were distinct from earlier periodicals in their approach towards their readers. In the interwar period there had been business girls' magazines such as *Girls' World* and *Girls' Favourite* and so-called millgirl papers such as *Peg's Paper* and *Poppy's Paper*. The former were aimed at girls employed in offices and factories, whilst the millgirl magazines targeted 'girls working in mills and factories', and had a distinctively working class feel.¹⁴¹ However,

¹³⁶ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, pp. 17-19; Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 41.

¹³⁷ Smith & Son Ltd and Harrap & Co., *Survey of Boys' and Girls' Reading Habits*, pp. 3-6.

¹³⁸ Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 41.

¹³⁹ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, p. 211; Fraser et al use the term 'transgressive' to refer to cross-gender reading practices: Hilary Fraser, Judith Johnston, and Stephanie Green, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 65-66.

¹⁴⁰ Grieve, *Millions Made My Story*, p. 178; Cynthia L. White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968* (London: Michael Joseph, 1970), pp. 172-74.

¹⁴¹ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 51-54.

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whilst both these types of publication were targeting girls in their teens, as prior to 1947 many went out to work at age 14, they approached their readers as young workers, as ‘ordinary girls doing an ordinary job’, and their advertisements were for relatively prosaic products such as medicines, washing powder, and shoes.¹⁴² By contrast, *Heiress*, *Flair* and *Honey* were aimed squarely at the newly affluent teenagers who emerged as a distinct group after the Second World War, who were targeted not so much in their capacity as workers, but as consumers of leisure and goods such as cosmetics, confectionery and records. Indeed, as Springhall contends, the notion of teenagers as ‘newly prosperous adolescents’ was in part ‘the creation of market researchers and advertisers’ who began to target the teen market in the 1950s, and the wealth of consumer items on sale to girls through the pages of *Heiress* was a reflection of this new awareness of this group as powerful potential consumers.¹⁴³

Reading was also influenced by class and age. The treatment of class in surveys of young people’s reading and leisure is somewhat problematic as most tended to conflate class and the type of school attended. Whilst some working class children did of course access ‘higher level’ schooling, this is not an entirely unreasonable working hypothesis, but more problematic are judgemental attitudes towards working class reading practices, based on assumption and prejudice.¹⁴⁴ A 1944 Mass Observation survey which reported that the middle classes were more encouraging of reading than the working classes, was by its own admission unable to provide accurate statistical information to support this claim.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, a head teacher of a senior school for girls informed Jenkinson that ‘many mothers in her area disapproved of their girls reading at home’, and she claimed that books sent home for girls to read had sometimes been burnt, but Jenkinson observed that

¹⁴² Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: aspects of working-class life with special reference to publications and entertainments* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), pp. 102-103, 105-06.

¹⁴³ Springhall, *Coming of Age*, pp. 191-2, 218.

¹⁴⁴ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, pp. 88-91.

¹⁴⁵ Mass Observation, *Childhood Reading* (Mass Observation Online: Mass Observation, 1944), pp. 1-2, 4, 6.

the evidence showed that senior girls read almost as many books per month on average as secondary school girls, and in both cases, more than their male peers.¹⁴⁶ Jenkinson also found that senior school pupils were more eclectic in their reading of juvenile periodicals, reading not only a greater quantity, but a broader number of titles, and this is consistent with Rose's commentary on the voraciousness of working-class reading.¹⁴⁷

Whilst the division of *BOP* and *GOP* by gender is self-evident, issues of class are a little more opaque. The historiography has tended to assume that whilst both papers initially aimed at a cross-class audience, from the early twentieth century this began to change. Philip Warner argues that whilst *BOP* started out under Hutchison as a paper for all classes, from the early 1900s, with Hutchison's departure, it began to move towards a more middle-class readership.¹⁴⁸ There were certainly barriers to working-class children fully engaging with the papers, of which the price was the most obvious factor. Few working class children, particularly those from the lower working class, could have hoped to persuade their parents to pay six pence for either magazine in 1915 (by which time both had become monthly publications), let alone nine pence, to which the cost had climbed in another three years. Whilst both papers were often available in public libraries, poor children were often prevented from accessing libraries, which often insisted that children be clean before entering, and for some working class children this could prove an impossible obstacle.¹⁴⁹ Yet this all assumed that working class children wanted to read the papers, and perhaps the greatest barrier was the content itself. Warner suggests that during the twentieth century poor boys only appeared in its pages 'when they were the subject of public-school missions or performed some surprisingly honourable feat', and that 'relentless' articles about public schools alienated the working class boy.¹⁵⁰ Similarly whilst in its earliest year,

¹⁴⁶ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 14-15, 172-73.

¹⁴⁷ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 371; Mass Observation, *Childhood Reading*.

¹⁴⁸ Warner, *The Best of British Pluck*, pp. 6 - 7.

¹⁴⁹ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 200; Ellis, *A History of Children's Reading and Literature*, p. 113.

¹⁵⁰ Warner, *The Best of British Pluck*, pp. 6 - 7.

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GOP offered advice for working-class girls who might be domestic servants, it also featured articles on managing servants which were clearly going to be irrelevant and alienating to working class girls, and Cadogan and Craig claim that the 'educational overtones' of *GOP* led many working-class girls to reject it 'as "prissy"'.¹⁵¹ As will be explored in subsequent chapters, in line with Biblical teaching, the papers often extolled the virtues of poverty over greed and riches, but the majority of these tales involved, in various guises, the co-option of the poor or working-classes into middle-class values.¹⁵²

However, it would be too simplistic to argue for a straightforward division of periodical readership along class lines, and indeed in 1940 Jenkinson concluded that the major difference in young people's reading was not across gender, or class, but age, noting that 'the average boy and girl of 12+ are more akin in reading tastes than are the average boy of 12+ and the average boy of 15+'.¹⁵³ The importance of gender, class and age of the readership as a factor in shaping the kinds of content found particularly in *GOP* will be explored in greater depth in Chapters Four and Five.

1.10 Literature Review

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the existing historiography of *BOP* and *GOP* is its diversity and fragmented nature. Most studies, such as those by Jack Cox, Wendy Forrester, Terri Doughty and Philip Warner have focused on either *GOP* or *BOP*, rather than exploring how the two papers related to each other, and deal primarily with the chronological history of the papers, rather than their wider significance (although Doughty does explore these issues).¹⁵⁴ There has often been a failure to view the papers as a whole, but rather to

¹⁵¹ Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*, p. 7; Cadogan and Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela!*, p. 263.

¹⁵² See Matthew 6. 9-14; Matthew 19. 24; Luke 6. 20-21.

¹⁵³ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 64, 211, 269.

¹⁵⁴ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*; Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*; Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*; Warner, *The Best of British Pluck*.

tease out certain aspects. One example is the frequent exploration of the papers as part of a body of juvenile literature, which has necessarily meant a primary focus on the fiction within their pages (Drotner, Ferrall and Jackson, Cadogan and Craig).¹⁵⁵ Some historians such as Doughty and Mitchell have placed *GOP* within the history of the new girl and the new woman at the end of the nineteenth century. *GOP* has also been explored by historians such as Tinkler, Moruzi and Smith, who are interested in the way in which girlhood has been constructed in girls' magazines, although with the exception of Tinkler there has been a tendency to concentrate on the pre First World War period.¹⁵⁶ Overall there has been a strong focus on the late Victorian and early Edwardian era (Doughty, Forrester, Mitchell) which has failed to explicitly address the status of the papers in the twentieth century, as they struggled to retain their readership within an increasingly commercial and competitive market.¹⁵⁷ Perhaps like Forrester some find the later period 'slightly less appealing than the Victorian one' or that 'one has to stop somewhere'.¹⁵⁸

One of the key works on *BOP* is written by Jack Cox, its last editor. Cox was at the helm of *BOP* from 1947 right through to the paper's last difficult years. His book, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, is perhaps best viewed as a 'biography' of the paper, and Chapter Three explores the way in which he used the work to gain ownership over the narrative of the paper's history. As Adrian Smith has noted, academic scholarship must 'look for evidence beyond' former journalists' accounts which tend to be reliant upon 'Recycled press clippings

¹⁵⁵ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*; Charles Ferrall and Anna Jackson, *Juvenile Literature and British Society, 1850-1950: the age of adolescence* (New York & London: Routledge, 2010); Cadogan and Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela!*.

¹⁵⁶ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*; Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*; Michelle J Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture: imperial girls, 1880-1915* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

¹⁵⁷ Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*; Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*; Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture In England, 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

¹⁵⁸ Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*, p. 11.

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laced with personal reminiscences'.¹⁵⁹ It is this format of excerpts and anecdote which is used in Cox's history of *BOP*, and whilst it provides a valuable source of information, it has been approached with some caution and his claims weighted against corroborating or contradictory evidence.

It is a celebration of the life of the paper itself, and Cox was clearly still mourning its passing when he wrote the book. (Cox died in the summer of 1981, before the manuscript was finally completed).¹⁶⁰ Unsurprisingly perhaps, nearly half of the book is devoted to the seven editors (as well as the early supervising editor, James Macaulay). However, three of these (George J H Northcroft, Robert Harding and Leonard Halls) only merit a chapter between them. Cox's reticence about his immediate predecessor, Leonard Halls, is particularly notable given that Cox worked alongside Halls as his assistant editor before Halls' dismissal. Whilst Cox places considerable emphasis on the centrality of the editor role, he does include a chapter on 'team work' in which he acknowledges that editors were also reliant on a broader team.

Cox's role as editor was also no doubt influential in shaping the amount of space devoted to the Society as publisher of the paper. It is afforded just one chapter, which concentrates on its role in starting the paper, but it is clear that Cox considers that from that point on, the Society was more of a hindrance to the editors than a guiding light. *GOP* also receives little attention, and there is no mention at all of *Little Dots Playways*, the magazine for younger children. Whilst it might be argued that this is a history of *BOP*, Cox's failure to do so is more surprising given he was in charge of the editorial content of all three papers from March 1952 until November 1953.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Adrian Smith, 'The Fall and Fall of the Third *Daily Herald*, 1930-64', in *Northcliffe's Legacy: aspects of the British popular press, 1896-1996*, ed. by Peter Catterall, Colin Seymour-Ure, and Adrian Smith (Basingstoke & New York: Macmillan in association with Institute of Contemporary British History & St. Martin's Press, 2000), pp. 169-95 (pp. 169-70).

¹⁶⁰ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 6.

¹⁶¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 4th March 1952, 17th November 1953.

Philip Warner's 1976 book *The Boy's Own Paper: The Best of British Pluck* is arguably even more celebratory in tone than Cox's, being largely composed of lengthy extracts from *BOP* organised into chapters with a brief introduction to each from Warner providing context. This is therefore more of an 'anthology' than a study of *BOP*, although the process of selection for such a work is evidence itself of Warner's interpretation of the important aspects of the paper, and the way in which the book is structured is telling. Of five chapters, only one concerns itself with the fifty-three years of the paper's history with which this current study is concerned, whilst three chapters deal with the period from 1879 to 1901. Warner credits Hutchison with 'genius' and sees *BOP*'s success as 'almost entirely' attributable to him.¹⁶² Given Hutchison's death 'in harness' in 1913, this probably explains in large part the focus on the years from 1879-1913 which are often regarded as the paper's most successful. Warner was a military historian whose obituary in the *Daily Telegraph* reads like a *Boy's Own* adventure itself: a military man, keen on team sports, who had taught in public schools, served his country in wartime and had been to Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁶³ It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that his study is in such sympathetic tune with *BOP*, and focuses on the period of its life course when it was riding high on a wave of patriotic and imperialistic fervour.

Whilst Warner devotes the majority of his study to Hutchison's editorship, and in particular the Victorian period of his tenure, Wendy Forrester in her study of *GOP*, published by Lutterworth, goes further and explicitly excludes the period after Victoria's death. The sub-title of her work, 'A Celebration of the *Girl's Own Paper* 1880-1901', not only clearly delineates the period, but also sets the tone of the book. This is very openly a hymn of praise, a fact underlined by the reproduction on the title page of an acrostic from the February 21st issue of 1880 directed at the then editor, Charles Peters, and proclaiming 'The thanks of grateful girls to you Herewith are sent (they are but due)'.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Warner, *The Best of British Pluck*, p. 3.

¹⁶³ 'Obituaries: Philip Warner', *Daily Telegraph*, 26th September 2000, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1356758/Philip-Warner.html>> [accessed 3rd May 2012].

¹⁶⁴ Forrester, *Great-Grandmama's Weekly*, title page.

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Much like Cox's work, which was commissioned by Lutterworth as a companion piece to Forrester's, Forrester interweaves excerpts and illustrations from *GOP* with her own commentary and analysis, and her chapter headings acknowledge the diversity of *GOP*'s contents including fiction, competitions, health and beauty, domesticity, fashion, and answers to correspondents.¹⁶⁵ A journalist, Forrester's enthusiasm for *GOP* was, much like the early paper itself, personal and domestic in nature, based on her ownership of one *GOP Annual* when she was a child. Her chosen title of 'Great-Grandmama's weekly' also positions the paper firmly in a world of domesticity and family ties. Forrester is clear from the outset that her book is not intended as a history but as an affectionate 'dip into' *GOP*.¹⁶⁶

One of the earliest historians of *BOP*, rather than immersing himself in the papers themselves, chose to engage with an entirely different range of source material, the 'little known records of the *BOP*'.¹⁶⁷ This is in fact a misnomer, as the sources are the records of the Society, rather than exclusively those of *BOP*. Patrick Dunae's 1976 study *Boy's Own Paper: Origins and Editorial Policies* drew almost exclusively on the Society's official records, and it is evident that his use of these was key to the nature of his findings.¹⁶⁸ As suggested by the title of Dunae's book, like many others, he concentrates on the early years of the paper, but his focus was on the role of the Society and *BOP*'s first editor. As such this is another work concentrating on the Victorian and Edwardian period, and on the character and centrality of Hutchison to the paper's early success. However, the use of the Society's records allows Dunae to draw on statistical information such as circulation figures and profits, and to drill down into the way in which the paper was conceived, structured and negotiated. This sense of negotiation is touched upon in the characterising of the, at times difficult, relationship between Hutchison and the RTS.¹⁶⁹ Yet as Dunae himself acknowledges, the use of official sources brings its own challenges, and the

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., contents page.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶⁷ Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 121.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 124.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 153.

voice of the readership and the tone and character of *BOP* itself are hard to access without analysis of the papers themselves.¹⁷⁰

Joseph McAleer's 1992 study *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain, 1914-1950*, which Adrian Brink, Managing Director of Lutterworth Press described in 2006 as 'Much the best book on the magazines', also draws on a great deal of statistical source material.¹⁷¹ The book is based on case studies of three publishing houses: Mills and Boon, D C Thomson, and the Religious Tract Society, and is one of the few studies which look at the period from 1914 onward. In his chapter on the Society, McAleer relies strongly on the minutes of the general committee and the finance sub-committee, but unlike Dunae, he also considers information from trade magazines such as *The Bookseller*, *The Advertisers' ABC*, *W H Smith Trade Circular*, and interviews with previous employees of the Society. Much of his work is quantitative, and again the use of sources has to some extent shaped the outcomes. McAleer's interpretation is in many ways a revisionist challenge to the celebratory works of Cox and Forrester. By examining the papers' circulation, profits and revenue, he demonstrates that in economic terms the papers were floundering in comparison to their competitors.¹⁷² He suggests that after ten years of success the circulation figures began to decline and from then on the Society was in free-fall until its closure. The reason for this he contends is the Society's lack of experience in dealing with the mass market, and a corresponding inexperience in magazine publishing.¹⁷³

There are two issues with this work. Firstly McAleer states again and again that the RTS was a *book* publisher, not a magazine publisher. It is difficult to establish why McAleer believes this, and in reality as its title suggests, the Society was initially a publisher of tracts: brief, succinct, stand-alone, disposable publications, arguably with far more in common with the periodical

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁷¹ Brink, 'The Lutterworth Bicentenary', p. 199.

¹⁷² McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, pp. 216-7.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p. 206.

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than the book. Indeed despite his praise for McAleer's work, Brink explicitly challenges this central assumption that the Society was 'a successful book publisher dabbling in magazine publishing'.¹⁷⁴ Furthermore McAleer, comparing *BOP* and *GOP* to D C Thomson's papers, with their constant reader analysis, attributes the Society's failure to show rapid response to the changing demands of readers to inexperience. Yet this 'inexperienced' publisher had to its credit one of the longest-running British children's magazines, *The Child's Companion*, and as Chapter Two will demonstrate was run by an extremely powerful group of, predominantly, men. Therefore whilst McAleer's use of the methodologies of social science is a key strength of his work, it also leaves him open to what Tosh identifies as a tendency amongst those who use such methods to generalise, to lose sight of 'the particular or the individual'.¹⁷⁵ At times McAleer's work lacks the flexibility to take account of the Society's prioritisation of principle over profits, and he does not address the possibility that a failure to move with the times may have been a deliberate policy on its part. His approach is largely an economic one, which leads him to interpret the Society's conflict between commercialism and religious principle as a failure in economic terms.

Jonathan Rose positions McAleer's book within the history of reading and other studies have also viewed the papers in this way.¹⁷⁶ F J Harvey Darton explores *BOP* and *GOP* in the context of the wider subject of children's books, and this same approach is taken by others such as Alec Ellis and Richard Altick. Darton was the editor of *Chatterbox*, one of *BOP*'s rivals, for 30 years, and he shows a fellow-editor's interest in the significance of Hutchison, arguing that he may have been the single most influential factor on British boyhood.¹⁷⁷ These are broad surveys and their reach and capacity to contextualise are impressive, although they lose the ability to go deeper into the highly individualised nature

¹⁷⁴ Brink, 'The Lutterworth Bicentenary', p. 199.

¹⁷⁵ John Tosh (ed.), *Historians on History* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), p. 11.

¹⁷⁶ Jonathan Rose, 'Book Review: Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain: 1914-1950', in *History of Reading News*, XVII (1993) <http://www.historyliteracy.org/scripts/search_display.php?Article_ID=22> [accessed 3rd November 2011].

¹⁷⁷ Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 299.

of each publication's motivation and construction. However whilst *BOP* and *GOP* are indeed part of the history of reading, as Rahn observes, the magazine is an interactive medium, which encourages readers to take a more active role than reading alone.¹⁷⁸

Another work which explores the publisher's perspective is *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worrals of the WAAF*, which is perhaps the fullest study of the work of the Society as publisher. It is based on papers given at a 1999 conference to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Society. The conference was organised by the Children's Books History Society and financially supported by Lutterworth Press, with speakers including a curator at the British Library, a Professor of Religion and an archivist. The chapters in the book are as diverse as their contributors and cover many aspects of the Society's history, including the periodicals, the publishing of boys' and girl's school stories, individual authors, and religious tracts. In her chapter, Mary Cadogan relates the role of *GOP* in women's history, reclaiming for it a significance in encouraging women to look outwards to careers (as well as promoting domesticity and a focus on family).¹⁷⁹ Dennis Butts, in his chapter on *BOP*, seems to equate the life course of the boys' story with the life course of the paper itself, seeing *BOP*'s early success and later decline as linked to the popularity of boys' fiction. He clearly disagrees with McAleer's conclusions that the decline was economic, and suggests it might have been a 'reflection of a cultural shift'.¹⁸⁰

Butts is not alone in his focus on the fiction of *BOP*. Indeed, on closer inspection McAleer predominantly defines *GOP* and *BOP* in terms of their fiction. The fictional content of both papers is arguably over-privileged in

¹⁷⁸ Suzanne Rahn, 'St. Nicholas and Its Friends: The Magazine-Child Relationship', in *St. Nicholas and Mary Mapes Dodge: the legacy of a children's magazine editor, 1873-1905*, ed. by Susan R. Gannon, Suzanne Rahn, and Ruth Anne Thompson (Jefferson, N.C. & London: McFarland, 2004), pp. 93-110 (p. 93).

¹⁷⁹ Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956)', p. 172.

¹⁸⁰ Butts, 'Quicquid agunt pueri nostri farrago libelli', p. 144.

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much of the historiography, and it is important to remember that these were far more than story papers. To accept the papers' fiction as representative of the entirety of their content is methodologically unsound and highly misleading. A significant percentage of both papers' content was comprised of non-fiction, and within *GOP* in particular, fiction was often vastly outweighed by non-fiction. Only on two occasions in material sampled by this study did fiction exceed 50 per cent of *GOP*'s content, and even then it remained below 60 per cent. At several points fiction made up less than 30 per cent of the total content, and the average over the whole period was 44 per cent.¹⁸¹ *BOP* had a greater proportion of fiction, particularly from 1914 until the Second World War when it accounted for over 50 per cent of the pages of content, and often exceeded 60 per cent. Yet this still meant that at least two fifths of the content was non-fiction, and after the Second World War, the levels of fiction dropped to between 30 and 40 per cent in line with Cox's preference for non-fiction material. There was also a significant difference between the fiction and the non-fiction, with many themes appearing in one kind of content which do not appear in the other. In Volume 36 (1914-1915) of *GOP*, for example, female friendship is a significant fictional theme, but does not feature at all in non-fiction, and in Volumes 71 and 76, personal relationships were by far the strongest theme in fiction, but made a negligible impact in non-fiction. In Volume 37 of *BOP* articles on natural history and animals played a key part in non-fiction, but these boyhood interests were not reflected in the fiction. To look only at the fiction is also to miss a key part of both papers' culture, with its significant emphasis in the non-fiction sections on reader participation, and the high content of hobbies, puzzles and games in *BOP*. These issues will be explored in more depth in subsequent chapters.

Some historians have situated studies of *GOP* within the field of women's and gender history. Both Terri Doughty and Sally Mitchell have done so in order to explore Victorian and Edwardian girl culture. Doughty argues that under the editorship of Charles Peters *GOP* not only reflected, but also 'helped to make

¹⁸¹ In 1914-1915 fiction material took up 52.5 per cent of the page space, and in 1934-1935 it comprised 57.5 per cent of the total content. Percentages reflect numbers of pages of fictional and non-fictional content, exclusive of advertisements.

girl culture'.¹⁸² Her study is focused on the period of Peters' editorship, which lasted until his death in 1907. Mitchell, who draws on *GOP* as one source in her wider study of 'The New Girl', examines the similar period 1880 – 1915, and argues that in magazines such as *GOP*, as well as in books, sports, and schools a new girl culture emerged in these years. This, she suggests, enabled girls for the first time to become aware of themselves as a distinct group, separate from both their childhood past and their future adult selves. For Mitchell magazines such as *GOP* not only described social change, but also helped to make and reinforce it by the way in which such publications opened up girls' outlook to new ways of being.¹⁸³ Thus for Doughty and Mitchell the *Girl's Own* was both a product and creator of a new contested sense of what it meant to be a girl during this period in history. It is in this contingent space, this 'provisional free space', that Doughty and Mitchell place *GOP*.¹⁸⁴

GOP has also been viewed alongside other magazines for girls, by academics examining the way in which adolescent girlhood was constructed within the periodical press. Penny Tinkler's book *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls growing up in England 1920-1950* is of particular relevance to this current study because it encompasses a very similar time period. It is also significant because it considers the role of the editor and the complexity of their relationships with readers and publishers.¹⁸⁵ Tinkler observes that girls' magazines' content was tailored to suit the part of the 'heterosexual career' that its readers were expected to be on, and she argues that whilst 'previous historical work on magazines [...] has focused on social class as the major variable in the cultural construction of femininity', age was an important determining factor in this process.¹⁸⁶ Kristine Moruzi's recent study *Constructing Girlhood through the Periodical Press, 1850-1915*, as its title suggests covers an earlier period, and also situates *GOP* alongside other magazines for adolescent girls. Moruzi contends that periodicals for girls were

¹⁸² Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*, p. 12.

¹⁸³ Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3; Doughty (ed.), *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper*, p. 7.

¹⁸⁵ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 5.

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able to 'disrupt the model of universalized middle-class girlhood elsewhere in the press', and that because of the heterogeneity of the format were able to provide different representations of girlhood across a run of a paper.¹⁸⁷

This sense of *GOP* helping to shape and influence a gender-specific sense of 'otherness' is echoed in the work of Cadogan and Craig who explore *GOP* in the context of a broader body of girls' juvenile fiction. Thus *GOP* is interpreted as a literary source, its fiction once again implicitly privileged, and the youthfulness and gender of its readership is stressed. Similarly Kim Reynolds's inclusion of *GOP* in her study *For Girls Only? Gender and Popular Children's Fiction in Britain 1880-1910*, categorises it as a periodical aimed at children, emphasises its fictional content and raises issues of gender. This is however at least in part a problematic approach given the diversity of the readership of both the papers, the transgressive nature of girls' reading, and the wide age range of the readers.

BOP has also been considered as a vehicle for the construction of adolescent masculinity. Joseph Bristow in *Empire Boys* positions *BOP* within a broader 'story' of boyhood, in which he argues the narrative put forward helped to decide how boys learned to be men.¹⁸⁸ A sense of the power of boys' fiction to shape and influence is prevalent in this sector of the historiography and was perhaps most lucidly and infamously set out by George Orwell in his 1939 essay on 'Boys' Weeklies'. The essay is a damning critique of the juvenile boys' papers of the day, arguing that they encouraged young people to live 'a complete fantasy-life'.¹⁸⁹ He argues that the fiction in particular of papers such as the *Gem* and the *Magnet* was explicitly intended to encourage readers' identification with the characters, and to draw readers into an acceptance of

¹⁸⁷ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 2, 12.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', in *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*, (London & New York: Unwin Hyman, 1991), pp. 4-52 (p. 48).

¹⁸⁹ George Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies', in *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell 1, An age like this, 1920-1940*, ed. by Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), pp. 505-40 (p. 513).

the constructed reality the papers provided, which was particularly dangerous, Orwell suggests, because it was so far removed from young people's lived experiences.¹⁹⁰ This constructed reality he suggests was devoid of sex, drinking, smoking, but full of caricatures of both race and class, and embedded within the traditions of the public-school story.¹⁹¹ For Orwell then, boys' papers were not harmless entertainment but tools of suppression, wielded by powerful media elites with the intention (in part successful, Orwell suggests), of instilling in each successive generation at an impressionable age, a conservative ideology designed to shore up capitalism, insularity, patriotism and ideals of empire. All of this done with the express purpose of presenting the world, and Britain in particular, as unchanged by two World Wars, to suggest that 'the major problems of our time do not exist'.¹⁹² Such studies, of course, raise the question of how much influence juvenile reading has on the growing mind, and the extent to which papers such as *BOP* and *GOP* shaped the adults of the future.¹⁹³ This is touched upon by Andrew Thompson who notes that 'the perceived impact of juvenile literature depends on how impressionable young minds were and how much ideological baggage children carry with them into adulthood'.¹⁹⁴

This study will demonstrate that both *BOP* and *GOP* had a strongly internationalist outlook, although this manifested itself differently in each. Of particular interest therefore are those studies which have situated *BOP* and *GOP* within a discourse on empire and imperial identity. Orwell is not the only commentator to have argued that juvenile periodicals showed readers their place in the global community. The role of *BOP* in the history of masculinity is often linked to debates around the role of imperialism in juvenile literature, and Dunae for example views *BOP* as part of a late nineteenth century outpouring of imperialist fiction which was predominantly targeted at

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 514.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 509-10, 517, 518.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 528.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 531.

¹⁹⁴ Andrew S Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: the impact of imperialism on Britain from the mid-nineteenth century* (Harlow & New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), p. 105.

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adolescent boys.¹⁹⁵ Studies by Bristow, Dunae and Mackenzie have explored the centrality of the imperialist agenda to late nineteenth century boys' adventure stories, and provide a framework for understanding the linkages between the Society's missionary role and *BOP's* imperialist tone. Bristow for example notes how missionary zeal impacted on imperialist ideology, and the approved religious reading for Sundays contained much missionary content which essentially supported and justified imperialism.¹⁹⁶

J S Bratton argues that the 'ideology of British imperialism' tends to be defined in terms of what were seen as traditionally masculine values such as reason, justice, loyalty, and racial superiority.¹⁹⁷ It is perhaps unsurprising therefore that a significant number of studies on imperialism and juvenile literature have looked at boys' fiction, and Rashna B Singh suggests that whilst there were 'copious references [...] to the glories of British triumphs overseas' in *BOP*, there was 'No such wealth of reference' in *GOP*.¹⁹⁸ However, studies by Bratton, Michelle Smith and Judith Rowbotham have all explored the way in which female imperial identity was constructed through juvenile literature, with the first two specifically looking at periodicals such as *GOP*.¹⁹⁹ Bratton includes *GOP* briefly in her survey although most of her examples are drawn from *The Girl's Empire; An Annual for English Speaking Girls All Over the World* and the fiction of Guiding. She notes that the construction of girlhood within an imperial ideal was more challenging for those who wrote for girls than for those writing for their brothers. To harmonise conflicting notions of girls and women as helpless, weak, and the romanticised keepers of society's ideals,

¹⁹⁵ Patrick Alexander Dunae, 'New Grub Street for boys', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature Studies in Imperialism*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 12-33 (p. 13).

¹⁹⁶ Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', pp. 21-22.

¹⁹⁷ J S Bratton, 'British Imperialism and the Reproduction of Femininity in Girls' Fiction, 1900-1930', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. by Richards, pp. 195-215 (p. 196).

¹⁹⁸ Rashna B. Singh, *Goodly Is Our Heritage: children's literature, empire, and the certitude of character* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2004), p. 56.

¹⁹⁹ Bratton, 'British Imperialism and the Reproduction of Femininity in Girls' Fiction'; Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture*; Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: guidance for girls in Victorian fiction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

with the image of them as having the necessary strength, resourcefulness and fertility to perpetuate the race and even survive in a hostile colonial environment, was a challenge which Bratton notes demanded complex narrative contortions.²⁰⁰ Smith's study considers the interrelationship in periodicals for girls between 'gender, empire, and print culture', in the late Victorian and Edwardian period. She contests Singh's view of *GOP* and argues that during this period *GOP* demonstrated 'significant and clear engagement with empire in articles on lady travellers, missionaries, colonial settlers, and war nurses'.²⁰¹ Whilst, therefore, there have been many studies which have situated juvenile periodicals within imperial discourse, Bernard Porter has questioned how 'ubiquitous' the empire actually was in everyday British citizens' life, and whether representations of empire in such papers had real impact, and this is considered in Chapter Five.²⁰² The majority of the studies of juvenile periodicals and empire cover a period prior to that considered in this study, but they nevertheless provide useful context for an understanding of the way in which internationalism was constructed differently or comparably at different times in *BOP* and *GOP* between 1914 and 1967.

Kirsten Drotner in her study of children's magazines in England from 1751 to 1945 goes beyond the notion of juvenile periodicals as vehicles for imperialistic propaganda, suggesting that they were 'emotional interventions into the everyday lives of their readers'.²⁰³ She argues that the fiction of such periodicals was a means of conflict resolution for the adolescent psyche in turmoil as young people sought ways to work through their problems in an acceptable arena.²⁰⁴ As Betsy Hearne points out in her review of Drotner's book, the study of children's literature is a relatively recent one, and Drotner suggests that this is because in the past the study of juvenile literature was taken less seriously as an area of academic research because it was not

²⁰⁰ Bratton, 'British Imperialism and the Reproduction of Femininity in Girls' Fiction', pp. 196-7.

²⁰¹ Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture*, p. 17.

²⁰² Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists* new edn (Oxford: OUP, 2006), p. vii.

²⁰³ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 4.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

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considered on a par with 'real' works for adults.²⁰⁵ Yet 'recent' is a moveable concept, and Hearne does not mention that Darton wrote his study of children's books in 1932.²⁰⁶ Drotner's work is eclectic in its approach, combining an impressive knowledge of the history of educational policy, literacy and publishing, with a psychological approach to the effects of juvenile literature on its readers.

Others, such as John Springhall, have taken the papers (particularly *BOP* in its earlier years, before the perceived shift towards a middle-class readership) and placed them firmly within a broader story of the development of adolescence, and attempts to control working class leisure pursuits and steer young people in approved directions. *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics*, notes that adults had a romanticised notion of childhood which shaped the way they viewed appropriate amusements for young people.²⁰⁷ Within this landscape Springhall sees *BOP* as a 'virile Christian alternative' to the penny dreadfuls, and contextualises it amongst a whole other range of measures including government legislation to crack down on unapproved working class leisure pursuits.²⁰⁸ Similarly in *Coming of Age*, he positions *BOP* as part of broader concerns to sanitise young people's leisure time.²⁰⁹

1.11 Conclusion

What is clearly missing from the historiography is a recognition that the papers need to be seen alongside each other as part of a gendered discourse aimed directly at readers by a Christian missionary society with its own agenda,

²⁰⁵ Betsy Hearne, 'Review: English Children and Their Magazines, 1751-1945. by Kirsten Drotner', *American Journal of Sociology*, 95 (1989), pp. 816-18 (p. 816); Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 6.

²⁰⁶ Darton, *Children's Books in England*.

²⁰⁷ John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: penny gaffs to gangsta-rap, 1830-1996* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 4.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁰⁹ Springhall, *Coming of Age*, p. 130.

values and mores to disseminate. The existing historiography is diverse in its approach and provides many and valid interpretations of aspects of *BOP* and *GOP*, but this current study provides a much-needed holistic view of the papers, considering the entirety of their production, examining them as constructions and the physical representation of a negotiation between the Society, the editors and readers. By viewing them in their entirety, as a gendered enterprise which sought to shape readers, to create spaces for them in which they should live their lives, a fuller more rounded picture emerges of magazines which cannot be explained purely in terms of commercial decline, lack of investment, or failure to react to their readership. This thesis will establish that the success of *BOP* and *GOP*, when measured against the commercial, secular and competitive world of twentieth century juvenile publishing, was limited and relatively short-lived. However this was an evangelical missionary enterprise from the very outset, and its successes or failures cannot be weighed in the balance of pure commercialism. These were more than just magazines.

Chapter 2: The Religious Tract Society and Lutterworth Periodicals

‘Give us this day our daily bread. Give us books that we may read’¹

2.1 Introduction

As explored in Chapter One, *BOP* and *GOP* were part of a range of periodicals published by the Society which fluctuated over time, and catered to a range of audiences. Periodical publishing was recognised as a distinct part of the broader publishing work of the Society, and both minutes and annual reports separated out ‘the magazines’ for separate consideration from book publishing issues. This distinction came to fruition in the 1941 split of the periodicals into a private company as Lutterworth Periodicals. Yet despite this, all the publishing work of the Society was based on core evangelical values to which they remained committed, and whilst there were differences in how religious messages were presented within different publications, both *BOP* and *GOP* were always driven by evangelical concerns.

This chapter explores the way in which the Society structured itself, its visions and values, and its management of and attitudes towards *BOP* and *GOP* as part of a broader publishing strategy. It considers the Society’s organisational structure touching upon governance and committee membership. It then explores the Society’s role as an employer, including personnel policy and practice. The Society’s publishing strategy is then considered and the way in which the publishing catalogue was changed over time. Finally it reviews the financial management of the papers and the way in which this fitted into the Society’s general financial affairs.

¹ Religious Tract Society, ‘Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 128th’, USCL/RTS/05/18.

2.2 Governance

The work of the Religious Tract Society was overseen by an Executive Committee which met weekly at 8.30 am, and dealt with the full range of the Society's affairs, including the periodicals as well as book and tract publishing, and missionary work. Both the minutes and the annual reports reflect the breadth of the Society's work, and the magazines often formed only a small part of reports, and were not dealt with at every committee meeting.² The committee was large, with around twenty members, and relied on sub-committees such as the Finance Committee, or the Publications Committee to carry out more detailed work, and there were also occasional ad-hoc committees formed to undertake specific time-limited pieces of work.

For many years the Society was a masculine world, and the Executive Committee was exclusively male until the 1940s when influential evangelical women such as Margaret Wrong began to take their place alongside their male counterparts.³ Female members of staff also became increasingly visible over time, and when Lutterworth Periodicals formed its first Board in 1941, one of the Directors was Pearl Lawson-Johnston, the daughter of Lord Luke, the Chair and benefactor of the new company. Another woman who was warmly welcomed onto the Board of Lutterworth Periodicals in March 1952 was Enid Blyton, and she and her husband Kenneth Darrell Waters became directors and shareholders. Blyton was approached initially to help out with *Playways* magazine and was said to be in sympathy with the work of Lutterworth.⁴ She brought the weight of the 'Enid Blyton' brand to the Board, lending her name to the *Playways* title, and suggesting reciprocal advertising between *Playways* and Enid Blyton books.⁵ She appears to have lent practical support, and Cox claims that in 1952 she wrote a 'six-part serial of 18,000 words straight on to machine in 48 hours'.⁶ Blyton remained supportive of *BOP* even after

² Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 129th', USCL/RTS/05/19.

³ 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 25th June 1941.

⁴ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 12th December 1951.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4th March 1952, 29th July 1952.

⁶ Jack Cox, 'For Ron Jefferies at his special request: June 1952', Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/3.

Lutterworth Periodicals closed, writing to Cox in September 1957 that 'I never cease to tell young boys to take it when they are too old for my magazine. I like to think of them going on to the grand *BOP*'.⁷

Joseph McAleer claims that until 1950 the Society's Committee was dominated by clergymen.⁸ However research undertaken as part of this study has clearly established that this was not the case. The committee members of the RTS were divided between Anglican clergymen, non-conformist clergy, and laymen; when Lutterworth Periodicals was established in June 1941 as a private company run by a Board of five directors, these were all laymen. It should be noted, however, that the majority of these had also served the Society for many years. Indeed, Lord Luke, the new chair, and Alfred Sabin, vice chair and chair after Luke's death in 1943 had both been members of the Society since 1917 and 1922 respectively, and Sabin chaired the Society's committee from 1937 until 1949. Thus from 1943 until 1949, he was chair of both the Society, and Lutterworth Periodicals.⁹

As can be seen from Figure 7 which shows the professions of those it has been possible to trace, lay members made up about half of the members of the Society's committee, Church of England clergy about a quarter, and non-conformist denominations of Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists made up the remaining quarter. However, it would be over-simplistic to assume that the number of clergy versus secular members is indicative of Christian influence on the committee. The committee members as a whole brought with them a breadth of influence and outside interests; lay members were all active in the evangelical community; and all major protestant denominations were represented except Unitarians, who were excluded because they did not believe in the Trinity or in the deity of Jesus.¹⁰

⁷ Enid Blyton, 'Letter from Enid Blyton to Jack Cox, 28th September 1957', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/3.

⁸ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 213.

⁹ 'Minutes of Executive Committee, USCL', 25th June 1943.

¹⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22.

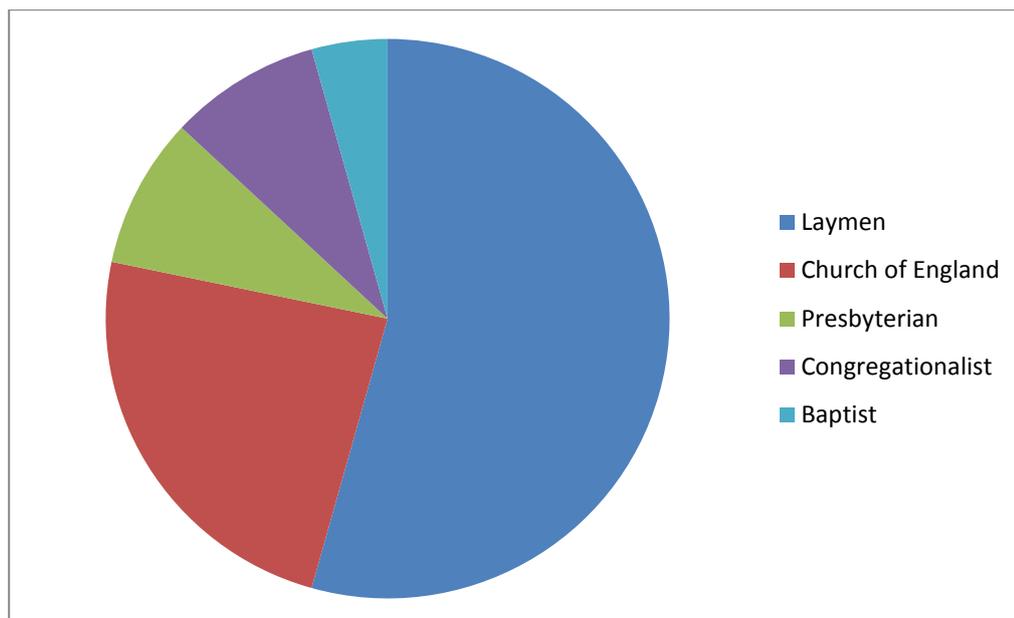


Figure 7 Proportion of Lay and Clerical Members Serving with the Religious Tract Society

A surprisingly high number of lay committee members sat in the Church of England House of Laity, and one member who was a stockbroker, also served as President of the Baptist Union. Clerical members also often worked outside traditional pastoral roles, many with journalistic experience. What is evident is that members all shared a commitment to evangelical Christianity, and were involved in a web of philanthropic and evangelical activities. This is aptly illustrated by the informal links between the Society and the campaign to prevent the proposed changes to the Book of Common Prayer in 1927-28, changes which were predominantly opposed by evangelical factions within the church. Society committee members Albert Mitchell, Thomas Inskip and H W Hinde were all very publicly associated with the opposition which was spearheaded by the Committee for the Maintenance of Truth and Faith, chaired by Hinde.¹¹ As this indicates, many of the committee members would have known each other in other settings, and this research has traced a network of

¹¹ 'To The Editor of the Times: letter from H. W. Hinde', *The Times*, 14th October 1927, p. 12; 'Failed 1927/8 revision of The Prayer Book' <http://www.churchsociety.org/issues_new/doctrine/bcp/1928/iss_doctrine_bcp_1928_intro.asp> [accessed 28th May 2012].

activity and interest which would have made them powerful and influential in evangelical, political and voluntary sector circles. Appendix 3 shows the range of organisational activity of the committee members, and the way in which members would have interacted with each other in multiple settings, reinforcing networks and shoring up a discourse of legitimacy of evangelical action and influence in the spheres of politics, philanthropy and religion. The complexity of these connections is explored in more detail in Appendix 4 through biographical notes of two members, Sir George Anthony King and Howell Elvet-Lewis, and the contrast between the two men also demonstrates the cultural and religious diversity of the membership.

As Appendix 3 makes clear, perhaps the defining characteristic of the committee is the level at which its members were operating. Members were generally in positions of leadership or authority in all their various spheres of involvement, and amongst their number were senior lawyers, prebendaries of St Paul's Cathedral, politicians, an Attorney General, and an eminent surgeon. Several were knighted, or recipients of other honours. They were also extremely active outside of their own professional fields. Most were involved in multiple committees working for a range of philanthropic organisations or other non-statutory offices. Alfred Brauen for example was said at one time to have served on twenty eight committees.¹² This high level of voluntarism was probably, at least in part, closely linked to members' evangelical beliefs a key characteristic of which Bebbington argues was 'activism'. He cites R W Dale, a Congregationalist writing in 1879, who argued that the 'Evangelical saint' was no longer 'a man who spends his nights and days in fasting and prayer, but a man who is a zealous Sunday-school teacher, holds mission services among the poor and attends innumerable committee meetings'.¹³ For evangelicals, justification may have been through faith and not works, but works inevitably followed faith.¹⁴ These were men whose voluntarism was extraordinarily prolific, and whose power and influence should not be underestimated.

¹² 'Obituary, Mr Alfred Brauen', *The Times*, 23rd June 1962, p. 12.

¹³ D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain a History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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Perhaps the highest profile member was Thomas Walter Hobart Inskip, who served on the committee for many years until his resignation in 1924. Inskip, later Viscount Caldecote, was a Conservative politician who held many prominent roles in public life, including Head of the Naval Law Branch of the Admiralty in 1918, Attorney General, Minister for Co-ordination of Defence from 1936 to 1939, Lord Chancellor, Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, and Leader of the House of Lords. Inskip is also a clear example of the power of evangelical Protestantism in political circles in this period. He was at the heart of the 'Respectable Tendency', a term used by Andrew Roberts in his biography of Lord Halifax to describe a group of politicians, including Stanley Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain and Halifax, whose other differences were set aside as they united in their belief in morality and piety in public life.¹⁵ Inskip was linked with Halifax, Baldwin, MacDonald and eleven others as architects of appeasement, and was one of the 15 subjects of *Guilty Men* the infamous attack on appeasement.¹⁶ He was also closely linked to the man described as 'the most prudish, puritanical, and protestant home secretary of the twentieth century', Sir William Joynson-Hicks.¹⁷ Joynson-Hicks and Inskip were united in their struggle against the proposals to revise the Book of Common Prayer. As a member of the Committee for the Maintenance of Truth and Faith, Inskip's speech in the House of Commons against the revised prayer book was 'widely regarded as being very influential in defeating the measure'. Just one year after the defeat of the proposals Joynson-Hicks chaired the RTS's annual meeting, and wrote formally to *BOP* to offer his congratulations on their 50th jubilee celebrations.¹⁸

¹⁵ Andrew Roberts, *The Holy Fox: a life of Lord Halifax* (London & Basingstoke: Papermac, 1992), pp. 304-05.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁷ F M L Thompson, 'Hicks, William Joynson, first Viscount Brentford (1865-1932)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33858>> [accessed 19th July 2012].

¹⁸ Keith Robbins, 'Inskip, Thomas Walker Hobart, first Viscount Caldecote (1876-1947)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34107>> [accessed 20th March 2012]; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 130th', USCL/RTS/05/20.

The jubilee celebrations held in January 1929 are particularly notable for the insight they give into the extent of the Society and *BOP*'s reach within the protestant political and social establishment of Britain. Stanley Baldwin, then Prime Minister, attended the celebratory luncheon and gave a speech in which he acknowledged the significance of the range of people who had either attended or sent messages of congratulation, speaking of 'testimonials from the great ones of the earth'.¹⁹ Amongst these were Robert Baden-Powell; Viscount Hailsham, the Lord Chancellor; the Headmasters of Eton, Harrow and Westminster; the Earl of Meath and the Duke of Atholl.²⁰ Baldwin credited *BOP* with value beyond entertainment when he spoke of the 'debt' his fellow politicians owed to it, remarkably singling out Joynson-Hicks who Baldwin joked had not known, when as a child he had followed *BOP*'s advice on keeping pets and making 'rabbit hutches and fowl pens', that in later years as Home Secretary he would 'have his own hutches on Dartmoor and at Wormwood Scrubs, and that he was going to keep his pets in Borstal'.²¹ *BOP*, Baldwin claimed, played its part in turning out boys with skills which the world wanted; that is it gave the boy 'intellectual interests without turning him into an intellectual', and provided boys with 'that spirit of adventure which is the most essential part of the normal and healthy boy'.²²

It was not only Conservative politicians who remembered *BOP* fondly. Baldwin's speech also recorded his delight in learning that Ramsay MacDonald was a fellow former reader of *BOP*. MacDonald's letter of congratulations to *BOP* upon the occasion of its jubilee was duly quoted by Baldwin: 'Many a gorgeous hour of happiness came to me from *The Boy's Own Paper*'.²³ Thus just five months before the General Election at which Baldwin would lose power to MacDonald, these two men from entirely different social and political backgrounds, seemingly with little in common, found themselves united in their early reading of, and continuing affection for, *BOP*. The Society's ability

¹⁹ Stanley Baldwin, *This Torch of Freedom* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), p. 222.

²⁰ Religious Tract Society, *Memories 1879-1929*, pp. 16-19.

²¹ Baldwin, *This Torch of Freedom*, p. 223.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 227.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

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to transcend political boundaries was also demonstrated in the committee membership, where Liberal and Conservative politicians served side by side. One member, Reverend Alfred Gough, Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral, was even linked to the far right of the political spectrum as Chair of the 'ultra-right' British Workers' League during the First World War, and, in later years, as a member of the Central Executive of the fascist-linked National Citizens' Union.²⁴

Whilst so many strong leaders within one committee might have found it difficult to work and co-operate together, the evidence indicates otherwise. The committee did not have a regular chair but this function rotated from meeting to meeting which probably helped to establish a distributed and co-operative style of leadership. From the recorded minutes the committee appears to have been largely harmonious in its decision making, and whilst a note of caution must be sounded about what is recorded within formal minutes, one would expect evidence of serious dissent had there been any. This co-operation can perhaps be explained by the cross-organisational networks formed by these men, which show that they were working together across multiple settings, and would have known and worked with each other in a variety of ways. As Bebbington points out, whilst there were differences between different groups of British Evangelicals, conflicts were often offset by a common hostility to Catholicism, and a shared enthusiasm for 'foreign missions and youth evangelism', both central to the Society's work.²⁵

Committee members often served for many years, and membership could pass through generations of the same family. When John Chown, a committee member since 1894, died in 1922, his son, John Stanley Chown, was invited to join the committee and remained a member himself for over twenty years. The Reed family, staunch Congregationalists and political liberals, heavily

²⁴ 'Obituary: Prebendary Gough', *The Times*, 8th October 1931, p. 12; David Feldman and Jon Lawrence, *Structures and Transformations in Modern British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 241.

²⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 227.

involved in journalism and printing, also served the Society through successive generations as committee members, and Talbot Baines Reed who wrote for *BOP* was one of the stalwarts of the boys' school-story genre.²⁶ Likewise, Lord Luke brought his daughter onto the Board of Lutterworth Periodicals, and upon his death, his son Hugh became another director.

Adrian Brink claims that the committee members were 'faced with substantial decisions in fields about which most of them knew little'.²⁷ However, this is not borne out by the evidence. There was a comprehensive range of professional and voluntary knowledge and activity represented amongst the membership and there was also some considerable journalistic experience. Reverend Dr Clarke Huston Irwin, an ordained Presbyterian minister, had been the editor of the Dublin-based *Presbyterian Churchman* and the *Australian Weekly* in Melbourne. Closer to home he had edited both the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*, and served the RTS in various roles including general editor, and honorary secretary.²⁸ Rev Arthur Taylor who had been secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society from 1901 to 1918, was Vicar of St Bride's 'the parish church of the newspaper community', honorary chaplain of the London Press Club, and also of the Institute of Journalists, and was involved with the St Bride's School of Printing. He had also worked for *The Times* for three years from July 1919 to July 1922, although it is not clear in what

²⁶ Andrew Reed, later to become a Congregationalist Minister and philanthropist of some renown and influence, attended the first meeting of the Religious Tract Society in 1799 aged twelve. His son and grandson were members of the RTS sub-committee which first recommended the launch of *BOP*, and whilst Talbot wrote for *BOP* his brother Eliot Pye Smith Reed, a stockbroker, was also a committee member for many years. Andrew Reed and Charles Reed, *Memoirs of the Life and Philanthropic Labours of Andrew Reed, With Selections From His Journals* (London: Strahan & Co, 1863), p. 12; H C G Matthew, 'Reed, Andrew (1787-1862)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23269>> [accessed 14th April 2012]; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 18, 21; Richards, *Happiest Days: the public schools in English fiction*, p. 106; Jeffrey Richards, 'Reed, Talbot Baines (1852-1893)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23276>> [accessed 14th April 2012].

²⁷ Brink, 'The Lutterworth Bicentenary', p. 198.

²⁸ 'IRWIN, Rev. Clarke Huston', in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U211789>> [accessed 5th February 2011].

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capacity.²⁹ John Murdoch Ebenezer Ross was a Presbyterian minister and editor of the *Presbyterian Messenger* for eight years, and later of the *British Weekly*, a cross-denominational Christian publication.³⁰ Buckland was also a journalist and editor of *The Record*, the newspaper of the Church of England. A large number of the committee members were authors in their own right, publishing on a diverse range of subjects from the religious, to legal tomes, to Rose and Carless' *A manual of surgery*.³¹

For Brink, the Society's history is one of tension: between the various factions within it, between established and non-conformist church members, between laymen and clergy.³² However, arguably it was this very diversity which made the Society so successful. The extraordinary breadth of experience, knowledge, connections and influence which the Society had at its disposal must have contributed enormously to its, and the papers', longevity and success.

2.3 Personnel, Policy and Practice

Whilst the largely unpaid committee provided a strategic steer for the Society, the day to day work was carried out by paid staff, overseen by the general manager and the clerical secretary, who had primary responsibility for trade staff and missionary staff respectively.³³ The General Manager had lead responsibility for the periodicals, and was accountable to the committee on issues such as the magazines' prices, circulation figures and profits.³⁴ During the period 1914 to 1967 four men held the post of general manager, two were

²⁹ 'Obituary: Prebendary A Taylor', *The Times*, 16th March 1951, p. 6.

³⁰ 'Obituary: Rev J M E Ross', *The Times*, 4th August 1925, p. 12.

³¹ William Rose and Albert Carless, *A manual of surgery, by W. Rose and A. Carless* (London, 1898).

³² Brink, 'The Lutterworth Bicentenary', p. 198.

³³ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 27th November 1917.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 7th December 1915; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 21st May 1908.

very experienced in publishing, the third had a strong journalistic background, and the last was an accountant. The committee held ultimate responsibility for the appointment of editors, but in practice this was often heavily influenced by the general manager who had direct line management responsibility for the editors.³⁵ Editors' salary requests were however dealt with by committee.³⁶ Whilst the committee claimed to pray at each meeting 'that God may guide his editors by his Holy Spirit in the selection and publication of good and pure and Christian Literature', editors were only rarely invited to attend committee meetings.³⁷ Contact between the committee and the editorial staff was, by all accounts, limited and the hierarchical organisational structure placed a distance between the committee and the editors, and caused strain and tensions between them, which are explored in more detail in Chapter Three.

Nonetheless, the Society appears to have attracted considerable loyalty from staff, with long-serving employees such as Ebenezer Henderson-Smith, the Advertisement Manager, who joined the Society in 1863 aged 14, and remained in its employ for sixty years.³⁸ Generations of families also served on the staff, such as the Burgins, who gave 120 years of service between them.³⁹ Reverend James Colville, Arthur Lincoln Haydon, Henry Brabrook and J B Knowlton all brought their sons into the Society's employ.⁴⁰ Despite this loyalty, and their own evangelical ethos, the Society's approach to its staff was highly unsentimental, and assumed a near-dictatorial sense of control. Overall, staff welfare was a little ad-hoc and often dependent on the financial position of the Society and the judgement of the committee on each situation as it arose. Up until 1943 retirement allowances were granted on a case by case

³⁵ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 28th October 1924.

³⁶ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 18th February 1913, 15th July 1913.

³⁷ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', March 1921.

³⁸ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 13th March 1923.

³⁹ 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, November 1962.

⁴⁰ 'COLVILLE, Rev. James', in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U235967>> [accessed 20th April 2012]; 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/08/05.

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basis, and even Henderson-Smith's 60 years of loyalty did not prevent his pension being cut by the Society when finances became strained in 1941, with payments to those on the 'reserve list' only being restored in June 1943.⁴¹ Staff sickness was not always handled sensitively. In September 1939 for example, Gladys Spratt the Editor of *Girl's Own* and *Little Dots* was reported to be in hospital, suffering from a mental illness. Upon hearing that her condition was unlikely to improve in the near future, the committee resolved to terminate her contract after one month of full pay. Spratt did ultimately make a recovery, and was allowed to return to work but on altered conditions of employment with short-term notice, and on a somewhat reduced salary with less responsibility.⁴² Sick pay was not a given, and was sometimes granted by the committee, and sometimes not.⁴³ Staff morale was, however, taken into consideration at times and when money was available staff outings were arranged and funded.⁴⁴ Staff bonuses were unpredictable, and were awarded at the discretion of the committee and management. In 1942 when Lutterworth Periodicals was making money, £1000 was made available for staff bonuses, but just 15 per cent reached the 'ordinary' staff as the majority went to senior management, with the General Manager awarding himself £400.⁴⁵

This approach to staff welfare may be contrasted with other Christian employers of this period, such as Cadburys, who together with other employers such as Rowntrees and Lever have been described as 'enlightened capitalists'.⁴⁶ Whilst William Lever, a Congregationalist, is said to have ruled over Port Sunlight, the model community he created for his employees, 'as a

⁴¹ 'Minutes of Executive Committee, USCL', 25th June 1943.

⁴² 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16 24th September 1939, 24th October 1939, 19th December 1939.

⁴³ 'Consultative Emergency Committee Minutes, USCL', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/19, 17th September 1940, 15th October 1940.

⁴⁴ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 17th July 1917.

⁴⁵ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 29th July 1942, 11th August 1942, 6th October 1942.

⁴⁶ Charles Dellheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931', *The American Historical Review*, 92 (1987), pp. 13-44 (p. 29).

benevolent despot', Cadburys took a less dictatorial stance.⁴⁷ In the first two decades of the twentieth century Cadburys embedded a number of welfare provisions for staff, which Dellheim suggests laid the ground work for later welfare legislation. As well as paying good wages they introduced: 'the Benefit Scheme for Sick Employees (1903), the Men's Pension Scheme (1906), and the Women's Pension Scheme (1911)'. In addition they provided 'free medical and dental care at the Works'.⁴⁸ Yet as Dellheim notes, whilst Cadburys' approach to staff welfare 'demonstrates the impact of religious beliefs on economic action...it also underscores the necessity of distinguishing between different religious groups'.⁴⁹ Whilst Quaker beliefs 'promoted egalitarian, democratic relationships in the workplace', in many cases, businessmen continued to operate along paternalistic lines, and to distinguish between relations with their workforce, and private philanthropy to religious causes.⁵⁰ Further, as Wolffe points out, despite 'sincere deep-seated adoption of evangelical religious views', individuals remained firmly enmeshed within their 'social and cultural context', and were capable of being both evangelist and 'profoundly conservative' in their attitudes towards societal structures.⁵¹ During the twentieth century there was an increasing tension between those who believed in the 'social gospel', that is that the church had a role to play in improving living conditions and welfare, and others who believed that this was distracting from the primary need to save the soul through individual conversion.⁵² Amongst those of the latter view, it was often held that conversion would itself 'bring a moral transformation which would inevitably enable [people]... to improve their material conditions'.⁵³ Yet none of this seems entirely to explain the Society's attitude towards staff welfare, at a time when fellow evangelicals

⁴⁷ Richard Davenport-Hines, 'Lever, William Hesketh, first Viscount Leverhulme (1851-1925)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) [accessed 2nd May 2014].

⁴⁸ Dellheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931', p. 29.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

⁵¹ John R Wolffe, 'Introduction', in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain, 1780-1980*, ed. by John R. Wolffe (London: SPCK, 1995), pp. 1-16 (p. 5).

⁵² David Bebbington, 'The Decline and Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern 1918-1980', in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and Society in Britain, 1780-1980*, ed. by John R Wolffe (London: SPCK, 1995), pp. 175-97, (pp. 176-77).

⁵³ Wolffe, 'Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal', p. 12.

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were active in advocating 'a social as well as an individual gospel, attacking the evils of bad housing, inadequate wages, and commercial bargaining as frequently as personal sins'.⁵⁴

However, staff were not entirely powerless, and it is not true, as McAleer claims, that the Society had no unions.⁵⁵ In 1922 the Society was effectively forced into joining the Paper Makers' and Packers' Union in order to ensure distribution of the magazines.⁵⁶ Indeed the Society was brought to 'a standstill' in October 1925 when industrial action in the book trade led to 30 employees going out on strike.⁵⁷ Collective action was not well-received and in 1952 when Lutterworth Periodicals found itself in conflict with the National Union of Journalists which sought 'to negotiate a wage agreement' for 11 of their members, the managing director interviewed all 11 concluding that 'most of them had not intended disloyalty to the firm', but nonetheless eventually paid the increased salaries.⁵⁸ Welfare generally improved in the 1940s under Lutterworth Periodicals as benefits such as pensions became regularised, and employees less dependent on goodwill. This was almost certainly a reflection of broader welfare reforms, as the 1942 Beveridge Report 'set out proposals for a comprehensive system of social security', and government, the media, and the broader population accepted the idea that post-war there would need to be a 'New Britain'.⁵⁹ This may well have combined with what Kynaston describes as 'an undeniable new self-assertiveness' in the workplace, during wartime when there was generally full employment.⁶⁰

Chapter Three touches upon the Society's frequent dismissal of editors, and it is evident that this was part of a broader preparedness to take disciplinary

⁵⁴ Bebbington, 'The Decline and Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern 1918-1980', p. 176.

⁵⁵ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 205.

⁵⁶ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 7th March 1922, 14th March 1922.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 27th October 1925.

⁵⁸ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 29th July 1952, 23rd January 1953, 17th November 1953.

⁵⁹ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), pp. 20-21.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

action where deemed necessary, and Harold Knowlton, for example, the son of a long-serving RTS editor, was dismissed in March 1926 from his position as an assistant editor for passing accounts under fictitious names.⁶¹ The general manager, James Gun Munro was given a notably generous settlement worth £1653 in February 1943 when he was abruptly dismissed from his job. The reason for such a large settlement and for Munro's extremely rapid departure was not minuted in either the Society's or the USCL's records, but it was noted that the committee agreed to 'accept the situation as it had been explained'.⁶² Just seven weeks later his protégée, Mrs Grenfell, whom he had recruited and promoted to Supervising Editor, was also asked to resign with six months' salary.⁶³ Five years later Munro and Grenfell were married at a Unitarian chapel in Hampstead. Given the religious principles of the organisation, if Munro and Grenfell, both married to other people, had been involved in a relationship whilst employed by Lutterworth Periodicals, it would have been a potentially destabilising scandal. Given the departure of Munro and then Grenfell in quick succession and the discretion of the minutes, it seems at least plausible that this was the explanation.⁶⁴

Chapter Five will explore the way in which the content of both papers, and *BOP* in particular, took different approaches to the First and Second World Wars. This seems to have been a reflection of the Society's broader policy, which was notably belligerent during the First World War, encouraging and enabling staff members to join the armed forces. Those who did had their posts held open and their time in the services included in their length of service with the Society, and married men received an allowance of half pay, although unmarried got nothing.⁶⁵ However, enablement turned to coercion when it was

⁶¹ 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society ', USCL/RTS/08/05.

⁶² 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 23rd February 1943; 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 23rd February 1943.

⁶³ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 15th April 1943.

⁶⁴ 'Certified Copy of an Entry of Marriage between Laurie James Gun Munro and Elsie Winifred Grenfell formerly Jennings, 20th March 1948', ed. by General Register Office (Register of Marriages in the Registration District of Hampstead, 1948).

⁶⁵ There was some discretion in these matters, and in the case of Mr George Judd, the Society agreed to pay 10 shillings weekly to his parents, to compensate for the loss of money he had

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agreed in September 1914 that those unmarried staff without dependents who had not yet volunteered should be interviewed individually by the general manager, and told 'that in the opinion of the committee it is not desirable that staff should be backward in the defence of their country'.⁶⁶ The Society was not unique in taking this stance to encourage their staff to 'volunteer', as Gregory states that many large businesses across the country were involved in patriotic 'bribery', by promising to continue to pay men part or all of their wages in addition to their military pay.⁶⁷ By comparison, the Quaker employers, Cadburys, with their pacifist stance, took a more relaxed approach to recruiting, 'emphasizing that the question of enlistment was an individual choice', and refusing to allow recruiting at the works itself. However, like the Society, they did provide allowances to the families of those who enlisted and kept their posts open for them until after war time.⁶⁸

Despite the Society's active role in encouraging staff to join up, when staff casualties began to be reported it became apparent that its support for the war effort did not extend to pastoral or indeed financial support for the families of those staff who died. When Lance Corporal Walter Osbourne became the first employee to be killed in action in May 1915, the committee placed no regrets or condolences on the record, but discussed his death under the heading of 'Finance Business' with regard to the short-term continuation of payments to his widow.⁶⁹ This seemingly callous approach contrasts with the sympathy afforded to the Clerical Secretary and the Advertisement Manager when their sons were wounded in action, when the minutes formally recorded that 'Sympathy was expressed with the relatives'.⁷⁰ It is difficult to understand why

until now been giving to them. 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 11th August 1914.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 1st September 1914.

⁶⁷ Some applied even greater pressure such as Lord Wemyss who 'threatened to sack and render homeless able-bodied labourers on his estates who didn't enlist'. Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 74-75.

⁶⁸ Dellheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931', p. 36.

⁶⁹ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 4th May 1915.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 1st June 1915.

the committee did not record similar sentiments for their own employees who joined the services, at least in part, at their behest. Financial aid was also very limited. The mother of Geoffrey Smith, who had died from his wounds, was refused continuing support, and in the case of Thomas Chalfield who was missing in action the committee agreed that 'payments be continued until the official notice reaches his parents from the War Office'.⁷¹ This attitude is at odds with McAleer's assertion that the Society was a paternalistic company, and the lack of financial aid is made more disturbing by its enthusiastic fundraising for the Society's own wartime missionary activities.⁷² As early as 11th August 1914 a war fund had been established to provide literature for troops and their families and prisoners of war.⁷³ By May 1915, when Osborne was reported killed, this fund already totalled £2677, and by the time the Armistice was announced it stood at £10,529.⁷⁴ It is possible that the committee became less comfortable with its early role in promoting recruitment as the realities of war became apparent, and certainly by 1918 district secretaries were simply informed that they would not be prevented from joining up as service chaplains if they wished to.⁷⁵ One third of the 29 RTS employees who went to war did not come back, and they were all duly commemorated by the erection of a War Memorial tablet at 4 Bouverie Street in June 1919.⁷⁶ Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Society's approach to the Second World War seems to have been a little more circumspect, and there was no recorded sudden rush to encourage enlistment. There were, however, other contributions to the war effort, such as a waste paper salvage campaign in north London in June 1942 run by the circulation manager and editors of *BOP*

⁷¹ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 20th February 1917.

⁷² McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 214.

⁷³ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 11th August 1914.

⁷⁴ The Society was forced to change the way in which it managed this fund in autumn 1916, when it was informed the fund had to be registered with the Charities Commission as a war charity, and the Society was instructed to remove the charge of ten per cent management expenses which had been placed upon the fund. In order to get round this the Society rescinded its previous decision to use other funds to pay for war fund publications, and billed all the costs to the war fund itself. *Ibid.*, 4th May 1915, 12th September 1916, 31st October 1916, 28th November 1916, 12th November 1918.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 7th May 1918.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 3rd June 1919.

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and *GOP* which it was acknowledged also gave the papers 'extensive publicity'.⁷⁷

McAleer argues that from the 1920s the focus of recruitment policy changed, and that people began to be recruited because they had the right skillset and experience, rather than because of their religious belief. He cites the appointments of Henry Brabrook to the General Manager post in 1921, from Blackie and Son, the Society's 'main rival in the juvenile book trade'; George Northcroft, 'a layman' to the post of editor of *BOP*; Mrs Len Chaloner, recruited 'as much on the basis of her previous experience in journalism as her religious beliefs'; and Leonard Halls recruited from Amalgamated Press.⁷⁸ However, as with the committee members, it would be a mistake to assume that experience in a secular company meant people did not have religious beliefs. Northcroft was not a layman as McAleer asserts, but a former missionary and Wesleyan minister.⁷⁹ Halls was not the first to come from Amalgamated Press, and William Grinton Berry who came from their employ in 1904 was also a Sunday School superintendent.⁸⁰ Chaloner was dismissed after two years because of her 'resistance to our policy of giving Christian teaching'.⁸¹ The reality was therefore more complex; editors were always without exception expected to apply the Society's religious policy and this was made explicit in Cox's contract which stated that he should 'Conduct [*BOP*] in accordance with the principles and policy of the Company and of the United Society for Christian Literature'.⁸² However, although the Society valued religious belief in their editors, describing Klickmann as loyal 'to the teaching of Christ', and promoting Northcroft's past as a Wesleyan missionary, personal religious conviction was neither a prerequisite nor the driving factor in recruitment.⁸³ Both Chaloner and her successor, Grenfell, were recruited in the knowledge that they were

⁷⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 6th July 1942.

⁷⁸ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 227.

⁷⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 130th', USCL/RTS/05/20.

⁸⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', March 1921.

⁸¹ 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 18th March 1941.

⁸² 'An agreement between Lutterworth Periodicals Ltd and John Roberts Cox', Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/9 ii (1950).

⁸³ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', March 1921.

only 'in sympathy' with the Society's views, and recruitment practices suggest that professional experience was valued over personal religious conviction. When Haydon was appointed, the Society overlooked more than 500 applications 'from clergymen or teachers' who lacked journalistic experience, and shortlisted fewer than ten applicants, looking for those with 'knowledge of voluntary work with youth and professional publishing'.⁸⁴

2.4 Visions, Values and Publishing Policy

'To these principles the Committee loyally adhere'⁸⁵

The clearest statement of the Society's values is contained in the *Foundation Principles* of the Society, published in 1838 and based on the first ever tract of the Society written by Dr David Bogue.⁸⁶ Republished in 1931, this document sets out that all work published by the Society should be written on evangelical principles, contain uncontaminated truth, and should, where possible, explain the means to salvation through Jesus.⁸⁷ These were not mere abstract ideals, but practical guidelines against which all potential publications were assessed. Any work submitted for publication was read by two readers drawn from the committee members, who judged whether the work fulfilled these principles. If there was any doubt a third reader was assigned, and even an established RTS writer and editor like Klickmann on occasion found her work subject to a third reader.⁸⁸ If a work made it through this level of scrutiny it still needed to gain full committee approval. The Society was well aware that this process was lengthy and cumbersome compared to that of other commercial publishing

⁸⁴ For further details of the editors' journalistic experience, see Appendix 1. Jack Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/13 Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 1; Various, 'Collection of miscellaneous letters both to and from Jack Cox', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/15, 'Information', notes from telephone call received by Jack Cox from Miss Pin Forbes, Archivist, Girl Guides Association, dated 2nd June 1980.

⁸⁵ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 14th March 1916.

⁸⁶ Fyfe, 'A Short History', p. 15; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 10th August 1915.

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houses, and might act as a deterrent to some authors, but was determined to do things on its own terms.⁸⁹ There was some degree of flexibility, and work might be accepted which did not necessarily set out the means to salvation, but nonetheless contained Christian teaching, or even if ‘on other grounds the purpose and character of the work are such as to render it suitable and desirable for publication by the Society’.⁹⁰ In practice however, it was only in ‘special circumstances’ that anything would be published without direct Christian teaching, and work was frequently rejected or sent for revision because of a lack of religious content.⁹¹ The same rigorous approach was applied to the periodicals which were each assigned a reader, with the exception of *BOP*, *GOP* and *Sunday at Home*, and content from these periodicals only required reading approval if it was to be put into book form.⁹² Yet they were nonetheless subject to rigorous scrutiny, the detailed nature of which demonstrates that all three were read by the committee with great care. In 1918, for example, the highly experienced *Sunday at Home* editor was chastised for using the Catholic term ‘Altar’ instead of the Protestant ‘table’ in a reference to communion.⁹³ The level of critique publications attracted in the minutes can be taken as a measure of the relationship and trust between the committee and the editors, and Chapter Three explores the tensions revealed in this way in more depth.

Even when the papers were transferred to Lutterworth Periodicals, the values of the Society remained, and the commitment to evangelism was clearly articulated in Lutterworth Periodicals’ policy, which in 1946 stated that the company’s core aim was to ‘Simply and plainly [...] interpret the Christian doctrine and message’ and to get that message to ‘as many people and homes throughout the world as possible’.⁹⁴ It can be seen therefore, that a common thread ran throughout the publishing work of the Society and Lutterworth

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 28th September 1915.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30th November 1915.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 2nd October 1923, 20th November 1923, 20th May 1924.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 15th April 1915, 28th September 1915.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 27th August 1918, 3rd September 1918.

⁹⁴ ‘Lutterworth Periodicals Limited: Purpose’, Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/9 ii.

Periodicals. The message remained unaltered; it was simply the method of delivering it that changed.

2.5 From Tracts to Magazines

As outlined in Chapter One, during the nineteenth century, the Society moved away from solely publishing tracts for the purpose of converting the British working classes to Christianity, and was transformed 'into a commercial publishing operation, run on evangelical principles'.⁹⁵ During the 1840s and 1850s, the Society widened their remit to include 'secular publishing with a Christian tone', in order to counter not only 'pernicious' literature, but also entirely respectable, factual works of science or history, which, in their view, neglected to provide a Christian perspective for their readers.⁹⁶ It was in this context that a range of magazines emerged, such as the *Leisure Hour* in 1852, and the *Sunday at Home* in 1854, 'offering information on a wide range of topics within a solid Christian framework'.⁹⁷ Secular content was never intended as an abandonment of evangelism; it was an ambitious attempt to interpret the world to readers through a filter of Christian belief. No longer confined to theological matters only, the Society's publishing arm could now address almost any subject, on the basis that readers should be able to gain information on anything from a Christian perspective. It was this approach which enabled the Society to take on the publication of *BOP* and *GOP* which whilst always including a certain amount of religious instruction, were primarily used as a manual for life, addressing every aspect of readers' lives from hobbies, to careers, to their role in the global community. This approach is well articulated in Lutterworth Periodicals' policy statement from 1946 which set out that the papers should inform their readers of 'every new development – before they can read or come across it elsewhere [...] all with the background and outlook of the Christian view of life'.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Fyfe, 'A Short History', pp. 15-16, 20-22.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

⁹⁸ 'Lutterworth Periodicals Limited: Purpose', Box 6/9 ii.

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Whilst the inclusion of secular material allowed the papers to intervene in almost every aspect of their readers' lives, it also made their message more palatable. Both the Society and Lutterworth Periodicals were pragmatic and flexible. They recognised that in order to reach large numbers of readers their publications needed to 'contain largely secular material' in order to compete with the rest of the market 'on an equal footing'.⁹⁹ There was therefore an on-going willingness to make evangelism palatable by cloaking it in the language of the seemingly secular. Directly religious content had its place but, as the Lutterworth policy explained, 'should occupy little space compared with the whole and be of the popular but sound type', easily understandable and avoid 'Highbrowism'.¹⁰⁰ This was certainly not a new development under Lutterworth, for as Chapter Five will show, whilst religious belief was central to the papers, directly religious content formed a relatively small part of the papers, particularly *BOP*. To produce content which was sufficiently secular to sell, but appropriately imbued with Christian principle was a highly challenging task, and Chapter Three will explore the difficulties this presented for the editors of *BOP* and *GOP*.

Disguising the religious within the secular was not an entirely new development, as tracts had from the very outset taken on the form of popular mass media, such as chapbooks and broadsides, and the shift towards magazine production which occurred during the nineteenth century can be interpreted as a continuation of the policy of providing evangelical literature in a format most likely to appeal to the unchurched reader.¹⁰¹ Magazines it was felt might be accepted by people who would refuse a tract, and the line

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ In the early nineteenth century tracts were often deliberately designed to look like the popular and cheap chapbooks and broadsides, which were sold by hawkers, and were often of a sensational nature. This was a deliberate deception designed to encourage 'accidental' acceptance and reading, and led G H Spinney to describe them as 'sheep in wolves' clothing'. Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 22; Ann Thwaite, 'What is a Tract?', in *From the Dairyman's Daughter to Worralls of the WAAF*, ed. by Butts and Garrett, pp. 36-48 (p. 46), quoting G H Spinney 'Cheap Repository Tracts: Hazard and Marshall Edition,' *The Library*, 4th series. Vol 20 no 4 (December 1939), pp. 295-340.

between tracts and magazines was also increasingly blurred, with both magazines and tracts provided at discounted rates or free of charge to other Christian missionary organisations such as the London City Mission.¹⁰² Whilst the Society continued to publish tracts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, given the proliferation of periodicals, as well as a broad range of book publishing, by the twentieth century there was some feeling that the Society's title did not effectively describe its work, and might be a deterrent when issuing appeals for funds.¹⁰³ In April 1918 a letter from a member of the public instigated some considerable debate about whether the title should be changed, and it was almost two years before this was finally ruled out.¹⁰⁴ A fresh proposal came forward just five years later, suggesting a new title of 'The St Paul's Press', but the motion was withdrawn.¹⁰⁵ Finally in 1935 when the Society merged with the Christian Literature Society for India and Africa it was acknowledged that the title was 'unsuited to the new age', and the new title of the United Society for Christian Literature was brought in.¹⁰⁶ The key issue therefore was not one of secularisation, for the new title still made it clear that this was a Christian organisation. It appears rather to have been the word 'tract' which caused the debate, and this was most likely a reflection of the changes in the prioritisation of the different parts of the Society's publishing catalogue over the years.

Whilst they were happy to embrace secular forms, the Society was keen to stress to its supporters the difference between its publications and those of its

¹⁰² Tracts were flimsy items of mass consumption with high circulation figures stimulated by what Ann Thwaite describes as the 'Pontifex factor' which suggests that whilst only a limited number of people might *buy* a book, far more would accept it if given away. Thwaite, 'What is a Tract?', p. 45; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 128th', USCL/RTS/05/18; 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 4th May 1915.

¹⁰³ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 127th', USCL/RTS/05/17; 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 2nd May 1939; 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 9th July 1918.

¹⁰⁴ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 16th April 1918, 17th February 1920.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 30th June 1925.

¹⁰⁶ The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 136th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/26 (1935).

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commercial competitors, and frequently used annual reports as a platform to castigate their rivals.¹⁰⁷ Tinkler describes the anxiety caused by the extreme popularity of the array of magazines for schoolgirls and young workers which emerged between the wars, and this is very evident in the rhetoric of the 1922 Annual Report, which claimed that ‘the world is flooded with pernicious literature at varying prices to appeal to every pocket’.¹⁰⁸ In 1931 the Society again publicly attacked their competition, accusing children’s magazines which competed with *Little Dots* of being ‘trashy’ and ‘crudely-coloured’.¹⁰⁹ The fear of the pernicious was once more raised as a spectre in 1933, presumably as a tool for encouraging supporters to buy and recommend the magazines which were explicitly put forward as the antidote, as ‘wholesome reading matter’.¹¹⁰

2.6 A Gendered Discourse

The balance of secular and religious content was also mediated through gender. The division of *BOP* and *GOP* by gender was not an inevitable part of the Society’s broader publishing policy, but a deliberate choice, and it is notable that there is a distinctly gendered discourse running through the annual reports. The language used to describe *BOP* spoke in material terms of clear type, exciting features on sport and hobbies, new fiction and the use of colour to make it visually appealing. Content was portrayed as ‘manly’ or ‘healthy’.¹¹¹ Whilst the Society still stressed the ‘high tone’ of the publications, religion was not overtly explored in the paper, but rather, boys were to be won over to Christianity by indirect means, through features like ‘Talks to the Boys’, the Christian tone of which it was hoped would ‘impress itself upon the minds of a host of readers’.¹¹² This was in direct opposition to the Society’s didactic approach to its female readers, particularly during Klickmann’s editorship,

¹⁰⁷ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16.

¹⁰⁸ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 1; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16.

¹⁰⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22.

¹¹⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 134th', USCL/RTS/05/24.

¹¹¹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', USCL/RTS/05/15.

¹¹² Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16.

when *GOP* was portrayed in the language of earnest instruction, as not ‘for the frivolous’.¹¹³ Indeed in contrast to *BOP*’s emphasis on fun and adventure, *GOP* was described as ‘one of the most valuable and far-reaching tracts published by our Society’.¹¹⁴ Whilst *BOP*’s successes were measured in worldly terms through positive reviews in papers such as *The Guardian*, *Westminster Gazette* and *The Record*, *GOP* was evaluated on its spiritual merit, through the intimate letters of readers whose moving and private words were placed on public display in the Annual Reports. One reader wrote ‘I was growing hard and bitter [...] The pressure of work in the home [...] and the conduct and thoughts of my small outside world, drove me to the conclusion that the Christian life had no evidence in the world. Very isolated and lonely I was many a time.’ A male reader wrote in to say how he and his ‘friend’ had been ‘going back in our Christian life, and were losing interest in things spiritual’, but had been brought back to ‘new life and spiritual vitality’ by an article in *GOP*. Many addressed the editor personally in terms of reverence and near-supplication: one writing ‘to say how some of the little bits from your pen have heartened me up during this terrible time’, whilst another told how ‘Every morning I remember you at the Throne of Grace’.¹¹⁵

There was however a certain degree of ambiguity around *GOP*’s role, with one annual report stating that the magazine was ‘not intended to take its place with other such periodical publications’, whilst also claiming it was ‘up to date’, and comparable with the best on the market in terms of content and illustration.¹¹⁶ This ambiguity, which was reflected in the paper’s content, was only really addressed in 1930 when *GOP* was separated from *Woman’s Magazine*, and refocused for a schoolgirl audience. Whilst the Society continued to stress the spiritual and domestic ethos of *Woman’s Magazine*, the 1931 Annual Report described *GOP* as full of ‘stories by the most popular writers for girls, illustrated by the best artists, and well-informed practical

¹¹³ Religious Tract Society, ‘Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 127th’, USCL/RTS/05/17; Religious Tract Society, ‘Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 131st’, USCL/RTS/05/21.

¹¹⁴ Religious Tract Society, ‘Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd’, USCL/RTS/05/16.

¹¹⁵ Religious Tract Society, ‘Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th’, USCL/RTS/05/15.

¹¹⁶ Religious Tract Society, ‘Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 128th’, USCL/RTS/05/18.

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articles and competitions', concluding that *GOP* 'now stands side by side with the *Boy's Own Paper* as *the* magazine for intelligent girls'.¹¹⁷ This indicates that age as well as gender influenced the Society's construction of femininity, and more specifically expectations of feminine engagement with the religious, in *GOP*, and Chapter Five explores in depth the shifts in discourse which occurred within *GOP*'s content as its target audience changed.

The way in which the Society marked the respective jubilees of *BOP* and *GOP* provides a fascinating insight into its gendered attitudes towards both publications. As previously highlighted, the *BOP* jubilee in 1929 was a public spectacle, a performance in which public figures made speeches at a luncheon, to which the press was invited.¹¹⁸ The celebrations for *GOP* just one year later were a markedly more intimate affair, and public speeches were replaced by letters and messages which were mostly addressed to Flora Klickmann as editor, rather than to the papers themselves. It should be noted, however, that *GOP*'s supporters were just as high-profile as *BOP*'s and included members of the royal family and aristocracy from both home and overseas including Queen Mary, The Queen of Rumania, and the Princess Royal; and senior clergy including the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London.¹¹⁹ What is less known is that a series of other, less high profile, jubilees were also observed for *BOP*. A public dinner was planned for example in 1923 for the 45th anniversary of *BOP*.¹²⁰ Plans for an International Youth Olympiad to celebrate *BOP*'s 70th jubilee had to be abandoned, however, when the *Daily Mail* and the Kemsley Group declined sponsorship on the grounds it would incur a loss.¹²¹ Presumably there were no further celebrations planned for *GOP* because the changes in title in 1930 and 1947 rendered it difficult to establish a continuous identity.

¹¹⁷ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22.

¹¹⁸ The speeches were later reproduced in newspapers and in pamphlet form. Religious Tract Society, *Memories 1879-1929*.

¹¹⁹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 145-59.

¹²⁰ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 12th June 1923.

¹²¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 8th December 1948.

2.7 Adapting to Change

In order to present a Christian world-view to readers on all aspects of life, the Society was obliged to respond to developments in the world around them. However, unlike commercial rivals who generally reacted to the demands of the market, the Society tended to view societal change as either a threat or an opportunity, or sometimes both, and the core evangelical message of their publications was tailored to suit. In the late 1910s for example, as interest in spiritualism rose, publications began to be accepted which addressed the perceived dangers and seductive nature of spiritualism.¹²² Some new developments were embraced, and Guiding and Scouting began to emerge as a theme for the Society's publications from late 1923, with books like *The Girl Guide Captain in India* and *Peg's Patrol*. So strong was the enthusiasm for such things that in January 1924 a proposal was brought forward for a new magazine aimed at the senior members of the Scout movement, the Rovers. The committee, perhaps wisely, opted for the title *Rovering* in preference to the suggested *Manhood*, and the project was approved with an initial investment of £5000.¹²³ Despite initial positivity with 150,000 orders reported for the early numbers, the new magazine was short-lived, running from 22nd March 1924 to 9th May 1925.¹²⁴

The emerging popularity of the cinema proved more problematic, as the Society sought to channel it for good, whilst also condemning it as a rival to reading. The Society recognised the benefits the new medium could bring fairly early on, and in 1917 gave general approval for films to be made from their copyrighted material, such as the evangelistic work *A Peep Behind The*

¹²² In February 1920 *GOP* published a poem 'To a Spiritualist', with the message that one should 'not try to raise the veil, nor peer beyond the gate'. Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1920), p. 297; 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 8th July 1919, 22nd July 1919.

¹²³ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 22nd January, 29th January, 5th February.

¹²⁴ The failure of *Rovering* does not seem to have deterred the Society from contemplating another paper, *The Wolf Cub*, to be promoted by themselves and the Scouts, and for which the Scouts would receive ten per cent of the net profits. This proposal, however, does not seem to have come to fruition. *Ibid.*, 12th February 1924, 1st April 1924, 31st March 1925.

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Scenes.¹²⁵ In the 1930s the Society became more active in this field, beginning to co-operate with the Religious Film Society and moving into the making of evangelical films.¹²⁶ Norman Spicer, one of the honorary treasurers of the Religious Film Society, was invited to join the Society's committee in 1934, and RTS committee members also sat on the Religious Film Society committee.¹²⁷ Spicer's co-treasurer and a key force behind the Religious Film Society was J Arthur Rank, the 'Methodist millionaire flour miller', who went on to found the Rank Organisation and become a major presence in the British film industry.¹²⁸ Once again the Society showed itself to be at the heart of key organisations, and part of a network of powerful influence. The Religious Film Society's films such as *Mastership*, *Service*, and *Inasmuch* addressed themes of religious life and conversion, but there were also more secular works such as *The Common Round*.¹²⁹ The plot of the latter, a tale of schoolboys and adventure in a 'remote African Mission', could have emerged directly from *BOP* and at least one *BOP* story, *The Fifth Form at St Dominic's* by Talbot Baines Reed, was made into a film.¹³⁰

Yet despite this, *BOP* and *GOP* contain remarkably few articles which reference cinema, and those which did tended to warn against it, probably because like many contemporary observers, the Society was deeply concerned about the threat cinema posed to reading habits.¹³¹ The modern attractions of 'the gramophone, wireless, cinema, motor cars, cheap motor-bus, and coach rides' and even the 'daily newspaper' were cast as the threatening 'other' in a

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19th June 1917.

¹²⁶ A Religious Films Fund was opened and the Religious Film Society rented office space at 4 Bouverie Street. Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 136th', USCL/RTS/05/26; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 15th May 1934.

¹²⁷ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 136th', USCL/RTS/05/26.

¹²⁸ Rachael Low, *The History of the British Film 1929-1939: films of comment and persuasion of the 1930s* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979), p. 144.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹³⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16; 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 14th January 1919.

¹³¹ Articles such as 'Cinema-Struck' from September 1920 warned readers of 'Vain Visions Raised by the Obsession of the Films': Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 711-12.

narrative where only the Society and its beleaguered readers remained loyal to the quiet pleasures of reading, where the reading material was understood to be the Society's own works. Thus reading was simultaneously interpreted as a domestic and spiritual activity and a means of resisting the crass external commercialism of modern leisure pursuits.¹³² Such fears appear to have been well-founded, as studies undertaken from the 1930s to the 1950s consistently found that 'Cinema-going was the largest single activity among children'.¹³³ Cross-referencing of data on cinema attendance with that on reading of juvenile periodicals reveals that at the start of the 1940s even the most popular juvenile periodicals were struggling to compete with the popularity of the cinema.¹³⁴ There was a strong vein of prejudice against cinema as a medium, and concerns that it was a source of harm to young people's cognitive abilities, moral welfare and physical wellbeing.¹³⁵ One survey observed with some surprise that boys 'who go to the cinema more than once a week are not necessarily perverse or depraved'.¹³⁶ However, some, like Northcroft, saw that cinema could be turned to positive ends, and good quality films could allow children to be 'indoctrinated with taste'.¹³⁷ In the same way, whilst the Society was fearful of commercial cinema, it probably saw its own

¹³² Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 134th', USCL/RTS/05/24.

¹³³ Jephcott, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 115-123, 139, 160; Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, pp. 20, 22; Ward, *Children Out of School*, Introduction, pp. 2, 33, 56; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, p. 237; Reed, *Eighty Thousand Adolescents*, p. 21.

¹³⁴ Jenkinson's figures which are broken down by gender, age and type of school attended, demonstrate that in many groupings the percentage of girls going to the cinema at least once a fortnight was more than double the percentage of girls reading the most popular juvenile periodical for girls, *Schoolgirl's Own*. A similar comparison for boys shows that whilst senior school boys' cinema attendance was broadly equivalent to reading levels of the more popular schoolboy magazines, such as *Wizard*, amongst older secondary school boys more than twice as many boys went to the cinema at least once per fortnight than read *Wizard*. Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 68-70, 95, 214-15, 237.

¹³⁵ Engledow and Farr feared the cinema was a potential source of 'physical harm', lamenting that children with access to the outdoor spaces such as Regent's Park, Parliament Hill and Hampstead Heath 'should spend so much time in cinemas'. Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 22; Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 72; Jephcott, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 115-123, 139, 160.

¹³⁶ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, p. 96.

¹³⁷ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 71.

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forays into the medium as a means to elevate standards, as well as spread the evangelical message.

The Society was also prepared to make some compromises on its periodicals' content, in order to elevate circulation or appease advertisers. In 1939, for example, when Munro reported to the Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee that sales and advertisement revenue for *Woman's Magazine* were falling, and that 'circulation [...] was not satisfactory to advertisers', the Society was prepared to make change. Acknowledging that a broader editorial policy was called for, the chair of the meeting 'observed that it seemed as if the editor had been cramped to some extent by a too rigid adherence to what has been understood as "past policy"'. It was agreed to 'admit "slightly bolder stories" featuring the more modern type of woman' and 'the introduction of humour'.¹³⁸ The Board demonstrated further flexibility in 1946 when it was agreed to allow cigarette advertising in *Woman's Magazine*. The minutes of the Board meeting do not reveal the rationale behind this decision but it was not one of desperation made in order to save the magazine, but rather was taken at a time when investment was being made in the papers, and the Board was reporting increased turnover and advertisement revenue. It may well have been a response to social change, for whilst in the nineteenth century female smoking had been linked to prostitution and immorality, during the early twentieth century it had rapidly become 'socially acceptable and even socially desirable'.¹³⁹ Although the First World War is identified as the watershed when attitudes to women's smoking began to change, it was during the Second World War that a significant peak occurred in the number of women smoking, which may explain the timing of the Board's decision.¹⁴⁰ More astonishing was the fact that whilst *BOP* in the 1960s was publishing anti-smoking advertisements, in Volume 56 (1954 to 1955) of *Heiress* there were several

¹³⁸ 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 31st January 1939.

¹³⁹ Amanda Amos and Margaretha Haglund, 'Cover Essay: From Social Taboo to "Torch of Freedom": The Marketing of Cigarettes to Women', *Tobacco Control*, 9 (2000), pp. 3-8 (p. 3).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4; Lung and Asthma Information Agency, 'Trends in Smoking', <<http://www.laia.ac.uk/factsheets/982.pdf>> [accessed 11th August 2012].

advertisements for Grosvenor Tipped cigarettes, which were targeted at readers for their own consumption.¹⁴¹ It can only be speculated that this was justified on the basis of *Heiress's* older target readership, and a growing desperation by this stage to draw in advertisement revenue, which will be explored later in this chapter.

Yet these were all adaptations, rather than a complete shift in policy. McAleer's argument that the company became increasingly secularised from the Second World War onward is not supported by the evidence.¹⁴² Indeed in 1944 the Board took steps to ensure 'a firmer attitude towards youth education' in *BOP* and *GOP*, stipulating that whilst the editors could incorporate fiction and articles which related to both sexes 'no attempt at sex-education' should be made. Editors were to seek full and specific approval from the Board before including material which touched upon boys' and girls' different 'thoughts, aspirations and approach to problems and difficulties in life'.¹⁴³

2.8 Commercialising the Spiritual

'Man is but the [...] steward of his bounty'¹⁴⁴

Whilst the primary purpose of the periodicals, and all of the Society's publishing work, was to spread a Christian world-view, a broadening of content also brought increased sales. As discussed in Chapter One this caused some concern amongst supporters and opponents alike, and *BOP* and *GOP* caused particular anxiety because of the recognition that their content would need to be situated within the secular in order to appeal to a broad audience, and

¹⁴¹ Joni Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1955), p. 63; Joni Murray (ed.), *Heiress, September 1955* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1955), p. 65; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1964* (London: Purnell & Sons Ltd, 1964), p. 28; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, March 1965* (London: Purnell & Sons Ltd, 1965), p. 35.

¹⁴² McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 227.

¹⁴³ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 10th January 1944.

¹⁴⁴ Fyfe, 'A Short History', p. 13.

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because they were subsequently so successful.¹⁴⁵ Yet, whilst the 1910 *Penny Illustrated* article, which had complained about 'unfair' competitive advantage, suggested the Society was 'devoting its influence and efforts to making profits in a business which has no earthly connection with the real purpose of the society', despite some dissent, the Society did believe that spreading a Christian perspective on secular issues was part of its 'real purpose'.¹⁴⁶

Furthermore, the world of evangelical missionary work was always a competitive one. The Society was not alone in its provision of missionary literature and there were at times fierce rivalries with other organisations such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS).¹⁴⁷ When the work of the SPCK was endorsed by the Central Board of Missions of the Church of England, the Society responded with a letter of complaint to the Central Board, and an advertisement about the Society's work in 285 provincial papers.¹⁴⁸ The Society was also engaged in a series of interdependent relations with other missionary organisations, for example the London City Mission to whom they made grants of half price or free material, but upon whose payments they also relied to keep some of their periodicals financially afloat.¹⁴⁹

Profits were necessary if the Society was to continue to pay for its missionary work, and it always sought to draw in high profile speakers to chair its annual meetings or the Missionary Breakfast where it would make an appeal for donations. Even the annual reports were used as a source of revenue, carrying large numbers of advertisements for things as diverse as insurance companies, tea, hotels, building societies, printers, schools, youth organisations, and a large number of charitable and evangelical organisations.¹⁵⁰ The Society was

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁶ 'The Religious Tract Society and Its Publications', 9th July 1910, p. 45.

¹⁴⁷ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 1st March 1921.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5th July 1921.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 9th November 1920.

¹⁵⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 128th', USCL/RTS/05/18.

also astute about buying copyrights, and in February 1924 it purchased the rights to Mrs De Horne Vaizey's books from her widower for £1000, and a year later entered negotiations to secure copyright for all of Hesba Stretton's works which the RTS had published.¹⁵¹ Copyrights were stringently monitored, with action taken in 1939 regarding an infringement of copyright for *Fifth Form of St Dominic's*, and even Talbot Baines Reed's widow was granted only a one-off payment when she sought additional payment in regard to her husband's earnings for the Society.¹⁵²

Thus, just because it was an evangelical charity, did not mean the Society was unused to astute business dealings. Whilst, as Fyfe points out, profits were not acceptable 'for profit's sake', the Society was not run by those with their mind solely on higher things, but by a coterie of powerful evangelicals operating at the heart of the Protestant establishment, in both secular and non-secular roles, who were entirely comfortable with the notion of man as the steward of wealth from God.¹⁵³ Publishing work provided them with a vital stream of revenue, the importance of which is underlined by the major restructuring of the Society's home missionary operations which was necessitated in 1935 when publishing sales slumped and the 'large annual transfers to the Missionary side' ceased.¹⁵⁴ When the periodicals were transferred to Lutterworth Periodicals, which as a private company issued shares and was accountable to its shareholders, profits were still channelled towards missionary work, because the Society was the major shareholder, having received shares in return for assets, including the titles and goodwill of the periodicals.¹⁵⁵ Over the years the Society also acquired the vast majority of the preference shares, which meant that of the £4,200 which had been paid in dividends to preference shareholders between 1941 and 1950, nearly all went straight back to the Society.

¹⁵¹ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 26th February 1924, 26th May 1925.

¹⁵² 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 21st March 1939; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 15th December 1914.

¹⁵³ Fyfe, 'A Short History', p. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 136th', USCL/RTS/05/26.

¹⁵⁵ 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 29th April 1941.

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Further, as also outlined in Chapter One, the papers did not always make a profit. *BOP* continued to cause the Society anxiety during the period of this study, and in August 1923, the Finance Committee authorised up to £1250 to be spent on advertising *BOP*.¹⁵⁶ During the depression years there was a global decline in the book trade and by 1932 the Society's annual report, entitled 'Through Much Tribulation', appealed to 'all friends of the Society to further sales of their [sic] very attractive magazines'. A drop in disposable income had hit its number of regular subscribers, and with the periodicals under threat, the links between magazine sales and higher things was reasserted, as the Society stressed that 'all profits assist the Missionary work of the RTS'.¹⁵⁷ The concern over the magazines continued in 1933 and 1934 when the Society once again issued an appeal for more readers, asking supporters to recommend the magazines to others.¹⁵⁸ In the discourse of the annual reports the papers had therefore shifted during this period from a successful commercial venture which gave money to missionary work, to being in need of charitable support.¹⁵⁹ Thus the Society evidently did not view *BOP* and *GOP* as merely commercial products, because it was prepared to subsidise them over many years during the difficult periods when they made a loss.

As the trade profits discussed in Chapter One indicate, it would be misleading to assume the papers were in a state of persistent decline from the 1880s. There were periods of expansion and contraction, and the interwar years, for example, were ones of stability and even growth as the Society was able to invest in the creation of two separate magazines for girls and women, when *GOP* and *Woman's Magazine* became separate publications in 1930. The range of periodicals as a whole fluctuated during the 1914-1967 period in accordance with economic imperatives and perceived need. In July 1922 *The*

¹⁵⁶ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 14th August 1923.

¹⁵⁷ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22; The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 133rd', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/23 (1932).

¹⁵⁸ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 134th', USCL/RTS/05/24; The Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 135th', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/05/25 (1934).

¹⁵⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 136th', USCL/RTS/05/26.

Child's Companion was renamed *The Children's Companion* and was doubled in size from 16 pages to 32.¹⁶⁰ In 1928 the Society took on *Great Thoughts* from another publisher and started *Grace and Truth*, a penny monthly for children 'full of reading matter for Sunday'.¹⁶¹ As previously discussed, the older male market was also addressed by *Rovering*, which by the time of its closure in 1925 had incurred £5000 in losses.¹⁶²

BOP and *GOP* were not the only periodicals to experience financial difficulties, and the finances of the entire Society came under strain at times. A sub-committee appointed in 1921 made proposals for large cuts to both the missionary and trading side of the operations, although the trading section of the business took by far the heaviest proportion of the £3861 cuts.¹⁶³ In November 1932 in the context of the 'long continued trade depression' there was a further round of cuts, accompanied by a complete restructuring of the periodicals' management. Ten per cent pay cuts were announced across the board, and these were swiftly implemented, taking effect on Christmas Day 1932. Even the general manager took a £250 cut to his salary, and savings totalled £3591 per annum.¹⁶⁴ In 1939, the remaining annuals were either axed or reformatted. The *Woman's Magazine Annual* which had shown gross profit of just £99 for the year 1937/1938 was said to be 'a severe handicap on the running of the magazine', whilst it was felt that the market for schoolboy and schoolgirl annuals was diminishing. At this stage the longstanding policy of making up *BOP* and *GOP* annuals from the material of the past 12 months, bound in one single volume, was overturned, on the basis that doing so excluded the existing readers of *BOP* and *GOP* from their potential market. From now on the annuals were to be formed from fresh material and dropping

¹⁶⁰ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 25th July 1922.

¹⁶¹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 130th', USCL/RTS/05/20.

¹⁶² McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, pp. 224-25.

¹⁶³ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 13th September 1921, 28th March 1922.

¹⁶⁴ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 15th November 1932, 22nd November 1932; 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05.

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the other annuals would facilitate the expansion of *Boy's Own Annual* and *Girl's Own Annual*.¹⁶⁵

Despite such measures, by 1940, with the war damaging trade and preventing payments from debtors, the Society's finances called for further 'drastic retrenchment'.¹⁶⁶ The minutes for 18th June 1940 recorded that 'sacrifices would have to be made to ensure our being still in existence after the war'.¹⁶⁷ For the periodicals in the first instance this meant the cessation of non-viable titles. Despite last minute attempts to save them, *Light in the Home* and *Sunday at Home* ceased publication in December 1940, the latter having already merged with *Great Thoughts* in 1939, and been run at a loss for some years.¹⁶⁸ The Society considered continuing to run *Sunday at Home* at a loss as a propaganda tool, not as a means to secure religious conversion but to try to bring in donations. When Munro established that there was no 'positive connection between our *Sunday at Home* subscribers and the legacies received by the Missionary department' the periodical was closed.¹⁶⁹ As the treatment of the *Sunday at Home* illustrates, whilst the Society was willing to subsidise a magazine if it was effective in influencing readers, it was willing to sacrifice them in order to refocus resources elsewhere. These were not sentimental decisions, but pragmatism, driven by a desire to target resources where they could do most good, and it was noted that discontinuing *Sunday at Home* would free up paper for the remaining magazines.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 28th March 1939.

¹⁶⁶ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 18th June 1940.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 18th June 1940.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 24th September 1939; McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 216.

¹⁶⁹ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 18th June 1940, 23rd July 1940, 20th August 1940.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20th August 1940.

2.9 Lutterworth Periodicals

Even with such cuts, the Society still had to contend with outstanding borrowing of some £30,000.¹⁷¹ Lutterworth Periodicals was created in June 1941 as a direct response to these financial difficulties, and as a means of protecting the magazines from the debts of the rest of the Society. Lord Luke offered to invest £10,000 to guarantee the issue of 10,000 shares for working capital, but his offer was for the remaining magazines only: *BOP*, *GOP*, *Woman's Magazine*, and *Little Dots Playways*, and several associated annuals, which were seen to have commercial potential.¹⁷² By creating a private company the Society was not only 'freeing part of our undertaking which is at present being dragged down by the rest of it', but was more pragmatically ring-fencing Lord Luke's investment to ensure it was not drawn in to pay off other debts. Or, as the minutes euphemistically phrased it, the magazines should be 'unencumbered by any serious obligations in respect of the past'.¹⁷³ Despite complications when the Society's premises were fire bombed in May 1941, the Society showed a dogged determination to establish the private company, with the remaining organisational machinery of the Society being diverted into keeping the magazines going. The periodicals were now the focal point of the Society's publishing work, and despite one third of the Society staff being made redundant as a result of the fire in May, in September 1941 Lutterworth Periodicals was recruiting.¹⁷⁴

Initially, benefiting from the wartime boom in reading, Lutterworth Periodicals was successful and by spring 1943 was able to make a £15,000 loan to the Society, on terms vastly preferential to a bank loan.¹⁷⁵ As early as October

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 18th December 1940.

¹⁷² 'Report of Finance Sub-Committee re Periodical Company, Decline in Trade Sales and Advertisement Revenue for 6 months to January 31st 1941', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/16; 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 18th December 1940.

¹⁷³ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 18th December 1940.

¹⁷⁴ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 15th September 1941.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 15th September 1941, 15th April 1943. A Mass Observation report in March 1940 noted that Foyle's the bookseller claimed that 'The war has greatly stimulated reading. This is partly

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1941 the demand for periodicals was so great that supplies ‘had to be rationed’ and there was discussion of the need to stabilise circulation.¹⁷⁶ Profits and advertisement revenue rose, with a profit to 31st March 1942 of £5574, and as Figure 6 discussed in Chapter One revealed, both sales and advertisement revenue continued to grow throughout the war, and only really began to falter from 1948 onwards.¹⁷⁷ Costs of production and overhead expenses also rose, although the rise in production costs was far more significant, but overall pre-tax profits were healthy, and also only declined after 1948. However, from the outset, Lutterworth faced two key challenges: high wartime taxation and stringent paper rationing.

2.9.1 Taxation and Paper Rationing

As McAleer has pointed out, unlike the Society which was a charity, as a private company Lutterworth Periodicals had to pay tax, but his claims that their profits were ‘virtually eliminated’, is not entirely accurate.¹⁷⁸ As Figure 8 shows, the surplus left to the company was relatively modest, but whilst dividends were never paid on ordinary shares, a six per cent bonus was paid on the preference shares up until January 1952, and by the year ending 31st March 1949 the company had steadily accrued a carry forward figure of £24,646.¹⁷⁹ McAleer contends that Lutterworth collapsed in 1956 because the directors failed to understand that wartime profits were artificial and were ‘reckless’ in the way they expanded. It is extremely unlikely that Luke, a vastly experienced senior businessman, and Sabin also a manager in the financial sector were unaware of the fragile nature of wartime profits, and rather than being ‘reckless’ the Board’s investments were part of an astute range of measures

due to the black-out’. Mass Observation, *Wartime Reading* (Mass Observation Online: Mass Observation, 1940); See also McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 172; Mass Observation, *Books and the Public* (Mass Observation Online: Mass Observation, 1944).

¹⁷⁶ ‘Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings’, USCL/RTS/02/21, 17th October 1941.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 8th December 1948.

¹⁷⁸ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 232.

¹⁷⁹ ‘Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings’, USCL/RTS/02/21, 8th December 1948.

explicitly intended to limit gross profits ‘at the expense of Inland Revenue’.¹⁸⁰ Recognising that ‘profits above a certain figure were almost “taxed out”’, the Board ploughed money into improving the papers in every way they could. In late 1944 around £4,500 per year was earmarked for improvements to the magazines, such as more colour, more pages, and higher quality paper.¹⁸¹ In July 1945 the Board approved investment of £15,000 in the magazines, for the financial year ending March 1946, and in November 1946 they approved a further £15,000 investment for 1947-1948, including a comprehensive publicity campaign at a cost of £11,000. The minutes demonstrate that the Board expected that investment would reduce profits.¹⁸² In spring 1946 a new periodical with content ‘solely of a topical nature’ was even considered, with specimen content and illustration being brought forward.¹⁸³

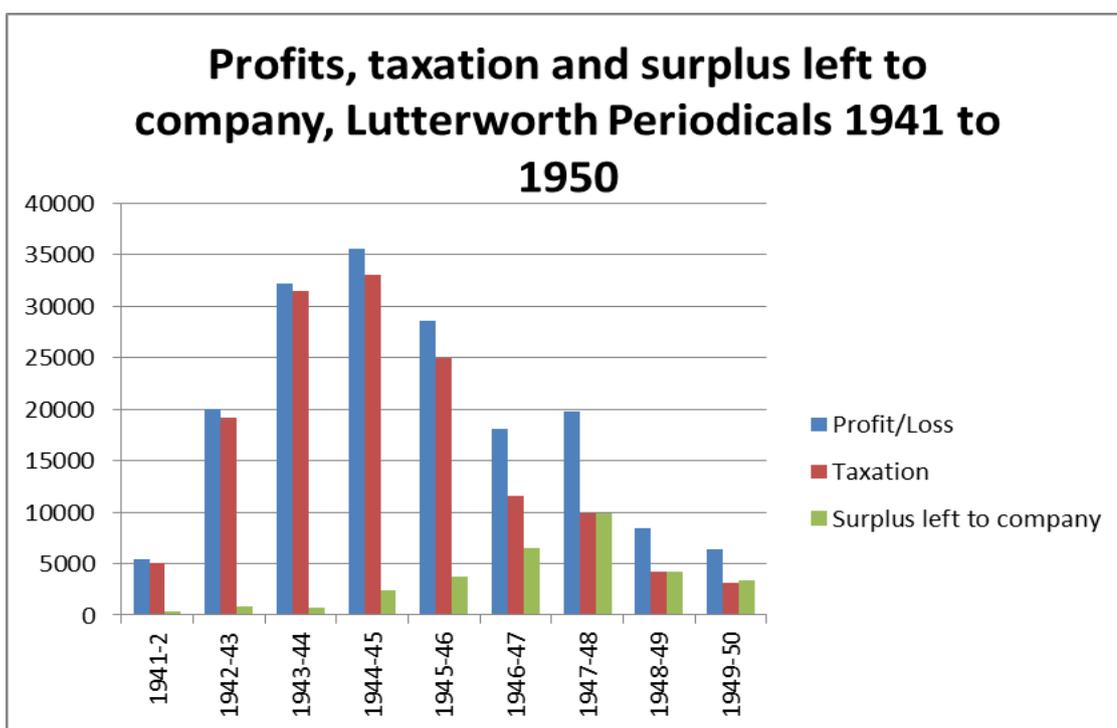


Figure 8 Profits, taxation and surplus left to company, Lutterworth Periodicals 1941 to 1950.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ G M Lewis, 'Report on Trading and Financial Position of the Company, October 1950', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/21.

¹⁸¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 30th November 1944.

¹⁸² Ibid.. 13th July 1945, 26th November 1946.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 28th March 1946.

¹⁸⁴ Lewis, 'Report on Trading and Financial Position'.

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The Board therefore deliberately drew money back into the business, rather than losing it to taxation, and invested it in the magazines in order 'to increase selling power, inducement to Advertisers, and prestige as well as effectiveness of the magazines'.¹⁸⁵ In this way it was hoped that when paper rationing was lifted, the papers would be in good shape and additional pages and greater circulation would inevitably lead to a 'corresponding rise in Revenue'.¹⁸⁶

Paper rationing had a particularly significant impact on Lutterworth, because it had been set based on a low point in the magazines' circulation. By November 1941 Lutterworth was only being allocated 21 per cent of pre-war consumption which meant that all the magazines, except for *Playways*, had to be cut in size, and in March 1942 the remaining annuals were axed.¹⁸⁷ As outlined above, the Board authorised significant investment in the magazines as soon as the war ended, and given that between 1945 and early 1948 the periodicals continued to make good profits, whilst taxation began to fall, and circulations remained healthy, it seems likely that had paper rationing come to an end sooner, the company may have been in a reasonably strong position to move forward. However, rationing was not lifted until 1950, and not before a pattern of increased paper grants interspersed with cuts had left the company in a very difficult position, increasing magazine sizes and circulations, and then having to withdraw them just a few months later.¹⁸⁸

In late 1947 the Board was faced with a particularly difficult decision, when despite having invested £15,000 in improvements to the magazines including enlarging them in size on the strength of promises of extra paper, they were taken unawares by a ten per cent decrease in their paper allowance, and forced to decide whether to decrease circulation or the number of pages in the

¹⁸⁵ Lewis, 'Report on Trading and Financial Position'.

¹⁸⁶ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 12th November 1945.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 24th November 1941, 12th March 1942.

¹⁸⁸ During 1946 and 1947 paper allowances fluctuated significantly, from 28.5 per cent of pre-war consumption in October 1946 to 40 per cent of pre-war consumption in February 1947, and back down to 35 per cent in June 1947 because a fuel crisis 'prevented the paper mills from adhering to all commitments'. *Ibid.*, 26th February 1947.

magazines. This was a pivotal moment for the magazines, and the decision the Board made is a good reflection of its priorities.

One third of the magazines (and at times more than this) was made up of advertisement material, and between 1945 and 1949 advertisement revenue was higher than sales income (see Figure 6 in Chapter One), yet the company took a deliberate decision to cut pages and accept a loss of advertising revenue, in order to protect circulation.¹⁸⁹ When the paper allowance went up again by 10 per cent in July 1948 it was circulations which were again prioritised.¹⁹⁰ Whilst in commercial terms these decisions are difficult to fathom, it is important to remember that Lutterworth Periodicals was very much still rooted in the values of the Society. Advertisement was all very well, but if one views the magazines as it did, as not only a means to make money but primarily as a means to reach as many readers as possible with a Christian view of the world, to influence and evangelise, the decision to maintain circulation makes far more sense.

The loss in advertising revenue which ensued was further exacerbated by the Federation of British Industries' (FBI) plan to co-operate with the Government on a voluntary basis to reduce advertising expenditure by 15 per cent.¹⁹¹ By July 1948 the Board reported that 'largely as a result of FBI recommendation' there had been a loss of between £22,000 and £23,000 of advertising revenue which had been previously booked by advertisers, although it was suggested that this had been mostly resold to others.¹⁹² Between June 1947 and March 1948 the cost of paper had also risen by 30 per cent, and by December 1948 costs of production were rising, and both sales and advertising revenue were stagnating. The turnaround in the magazines' fortunes was swift and

¹⁸⁹ *Woman's Magazine* was reduced from 112 to 104 pages (down 7.7 per cent), *GOP* from 76 to 68 pages (down by 10.5 per cent), and *BOP* from 68 to 60 pages (down by 13.3 per cent). *Ibid.*, 18th December 1947, 5th March 1948.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 29th July 1948.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 5th March 1948.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 29th July 1948.

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devastating, and the minutes for December 1948 record that the situation 'had taken a drastic change'.¹⁹³ Pre-tax profits for the year ending March 1949 were just 42 per cent of those from the previous year. Advertising revenue continued to decline and by December 1949 it had become more challenging to sell advertising space. The Board knew that the answer was to increase the size of the magazines, but unlike its commercial competitors, run by well-funded publishing houses, it could no longer afford more than partial measures. Any additional pages or increased page size would require economies in other areas such as cheaper paper and less colour.¹⁹⁴ When paper rationing lifted in March 1950, the company's finances had seriously deteriorated, and it could only watch as rival periodicals were doubled in size and 'huge sums [were] spent by periodicals on publicity in the enlarged national Dailies'.¹⁹⁵ As the general manager ruefully noted in October 1950 'We were unable to compete – it would have cost us at least an additional £50,000 a year to double the size of our magazines'. Advertisers also switched allegiance 'from periodicals to the national dailies' and what they did spend on periodicals tended to go 'to the periodicals with high circulations'.¹⁹⁶

Thus, although paper rationing had a negative impact on the company, in some ways it had helped to create an artificially level playing field. When it ended the market was flooded with high circulation competitors, backed by big money, and the most competitive sector of the market was women's periodicals. It is unsurprising therefore that the first of the company's magazines to be hit was *Woman's Magazine*, and between August 1949 and July 1950 the paper's circulation slumped from 54,000 to 37,000 copies per month, compared to *Woman's* circulation of 2.2 million per week.¹⁹⁷ By the time *Woman's Magazine* ceased publication in April 1951 it had deteriorated to such an extent that it was not deemed worth trying to find a buyer for it.¹⁹⁸ As

¹⁹³ Ibid., 8th December 1948.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 8th December 1948, 25th August 1949.

¹⁹⁵ Lewis, 'Report on Trading and Financial Position'.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 22nd December 1949, 25th August 1949, 3rd July 1950; McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 175.

¹⁹⁸ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 16th November 1950.

McAleer observes, the failure of *Woman's Magazine* in 1951 can be seen as the 'direct result of the end of paper rationing'.¹⁹⁹

2.9.2 Flexible Investment

Just as the Society had been prepared to sacrifice *Sunday at Home* and *Light in the Home* in 1940 in order to preserve the other periodicals, the decision to cut *Woman's Magazine* was made in November 1950 'with survival in mind – leaving us with the chance to go forward if and when conditions improve'. Faced with the alternative of winding up the company, the Board agreed that *BOP*, *Heiress*, and *Playways* had a good chance 'of succeeding and continuing our work in what is a most vital age-group at the present time', and that 'it were better to cut part now than to jeopardize more later in an endeavour to save all'.²⁰⁰ Indeed, whilst up until 1946 investment had been primarily focused on *Woman's Magazine*, as early as February 1947 attention had begun to shift towards *GOP*, and plans to transform it into a teenage magazine.²⁰¹

McAleer declares *GOP's* metamorphosis into *Heiress* to be a 'mystery,' arguing that *GOP* circulation figures at 60,000 were at their highest in 20 years and that there was no market for the new *Heiress*.²⁰² Yet the decision to move towards a teen magazine, which had been being carefully planned 'for four or five years', was a commercially sound one, based on the greater appeal to advertisers of the teen market, and an identified gap in the market.²⁰³ During Spratt's editorship there were significantly fewer advertisements than under other editors. In March 1915 for example there were 53 advertisements, in

¹⁹⁹ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 237.

²⁰⁰ Lewis, 'Report on Trading and Financial Position'.

²⁰¹ For example in November 1946 an extra 40 per cent paper allowance was used to give *Woman's Magazine* a new layout, higher standard printing, extra pages and increased circulation of around 10,000 copies. *BOP*, *GOP* and *Playways*, at this stage described as 'the three smaller magazines', received more limited investment. 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th November 1946, 26th February 1947.

²⁰² McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 240.

²⁰³ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th February 1947.

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March 1925 there were 77, but in December 1939 there were just 19 advertisements, climbing back up to 37 in March 1945, and 47 in March 1950, as the target readership moved upwards in age towards those with greater disposable income. The records suggest that this shift was driven primarily by the general manager and *GOP*'s then editor, Constance Goodall, at the behest of advertisers, and, as Chapters Three and Five will explore, *Heiress* featured increasingly awkward references to advertising interests within its content. The Board had to be reassured that 'every effort would be made to retain also the younger readers until such time as *Girl's Own Paper* could be introduced as a separate magazine'. Yet, in reality, as the minutes also recorded 'It was... necessary that if such a change were to be made at all, it should be definite'.²⁰⁴ The Board had hoped to split the readership, creating *Heiress* in addition to *GOP*, but there were insufficient funds available to do so. Instead they pressed ahead with the switch to an older audience which they expected to yield greater advertising revenue which could then be used to pay for future development.

Much of this reasoning is supported by the historical evidence. Cynthia White notes that by 1949 advertisers had indeed become aware of the vast commercial possibilities of the teen market, which had not been the case three years earlier when the first teen magazine *Mayfair* was published.²⁰⁵ The Company was therefore repositioning *GOP* into an expanding market, whilst withdrawing their focus from *Woman's Magazine* which was losing ground to giants such as *Woman* and *Woman's Own*. In the short term at least this was a highly successful strategy, pushing *Heiress* past *Woman's Magazine* into the position of highest selling Lutterworth magazine, and increasing the magazine's circulation by a third. As Figure 9 illustrates, in mid-1949 *Heiress* was outselling both *BOP* and *Woman's Magazine* and if the Board minutes are to be believed, demand for the new magazine was so strong that had paper been available 'at least 20,000 more copies [...] could be sold'.²⁰⁶ If paper had been derestricted earlier, it is possible that the strategy of capitalising on an

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 18th December 1947.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 26th February 1947; White, *Women's Magazines*, pp. 139, 186-87.

²⁰⁶ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 18th December 1947.

empty sector of the market before the large companies could move in might have paid dividends, at least in the short term.

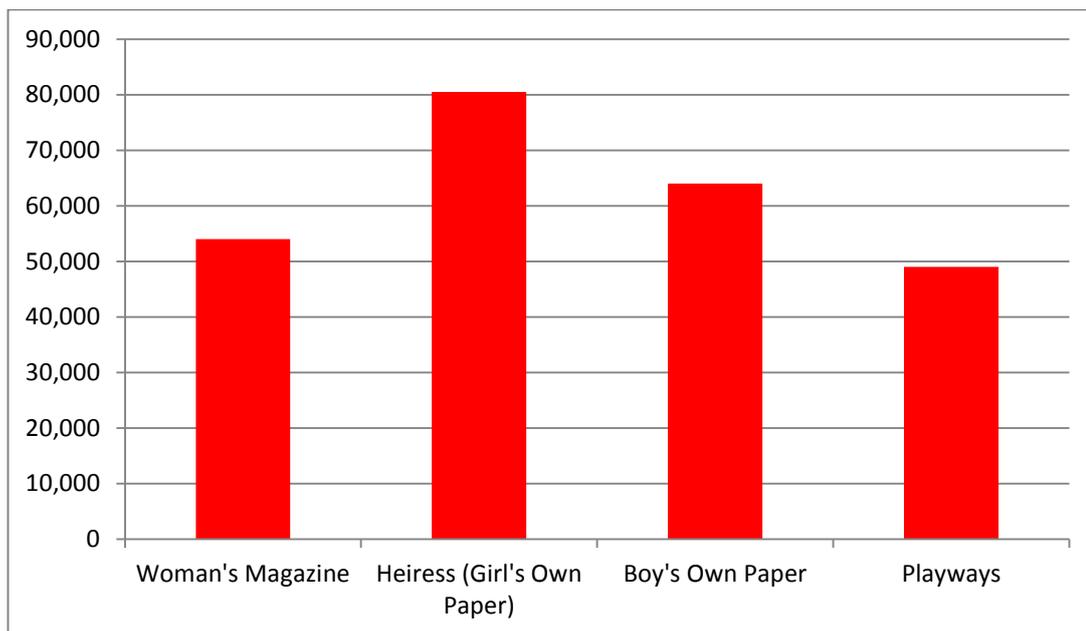


Figure 9: Circulation Figures August 1949. Figures taken from Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings²⁰⁷

However, as the company's profits turned to losses in the early 1950s, *Heiress* was the next magazine to come under threat as its circulation began to fall rapidly from 70,000 per month to 66,000 in February 1951, and to 50,000 by the end of 1951.²⁰⁸ Despite the sacrifice of *Woman's Magazine* there continued to be cuts to *BOP* and *Heiress* including removing 16 pages from each in August 1951.²⁰⁹ Whilst these cuts undoubtedly contributed to *Heiress's* problems, despite having the same cuts, *BOP's* circulation did not decline as soon nor as severely, as discussed in Chapter One. Both Murray, the editor of *Heiress*, and the Board concluded that the quality of the editorial must be at least partially to blame, and in 1952 Cox was made managing editor, an appointment which is discussed further in Chapter Three.²¹⁰ Cox was asked to

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 25th August 1949.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 15th February 1951.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 1st August 1951.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 12th December 1951, 4th March 1952.

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obtain copies of magazines for teenagers from abroad, particularly Scandinavian publications, but the Board was reluctant to move from their own ideals, and concluded, somewhat complacently given the circumstances, that ‘most of them did not come up to the standard of our own magazines’.²¹¹ To some extent the focus on improving the editorial seems to have been on the basis that it was the only zero-cost option available, and *Heiress*’s circulation continued to decline under Cox’s management, although he was severely hampered in his attempts at improvement.²¹² Cox recognised that the papers required an injection of capital and in a confidential report to the Board in February 1952 he stressed the need for ‘constant “plugging” [...] , “stunts”, lots of regional sales and publicity campaigns and close co-operation between sales, editorial and advertisement departments’.²¹³ He realised that the company’s sales department was woefully understaffed, sharing their Sales Manager with the USCL, and with only two salesmen working on all three periodicals in 1952, in stark contrast to the 28 full time salesmen employed by Hulton to work on *Eagle* alone. Cox cited his own newsagent who had representatives from ‘Hultons, Newnes etc, and even small periodical publishers [...] calling on him weekly or fortnightly’, but was unable to recall ‘whether a Lutterworth representative has ever called on him in the past five years’. He concluded that however good quality the magazines were, they could not continue to sell themselves on their own merits and ‘they will not succeed unless they are backed up by enterprising sales promotion and publicity’.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Ibid., 4th March 1952, 29th July 1952.

²¹² Ibid., 17th November 1953.

²¹³ Jack Cox, ‘Private & Confidential report to the Board of Directors Lutterworth Periodicals: From Jack Cox 7th February 1952’, Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/21.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

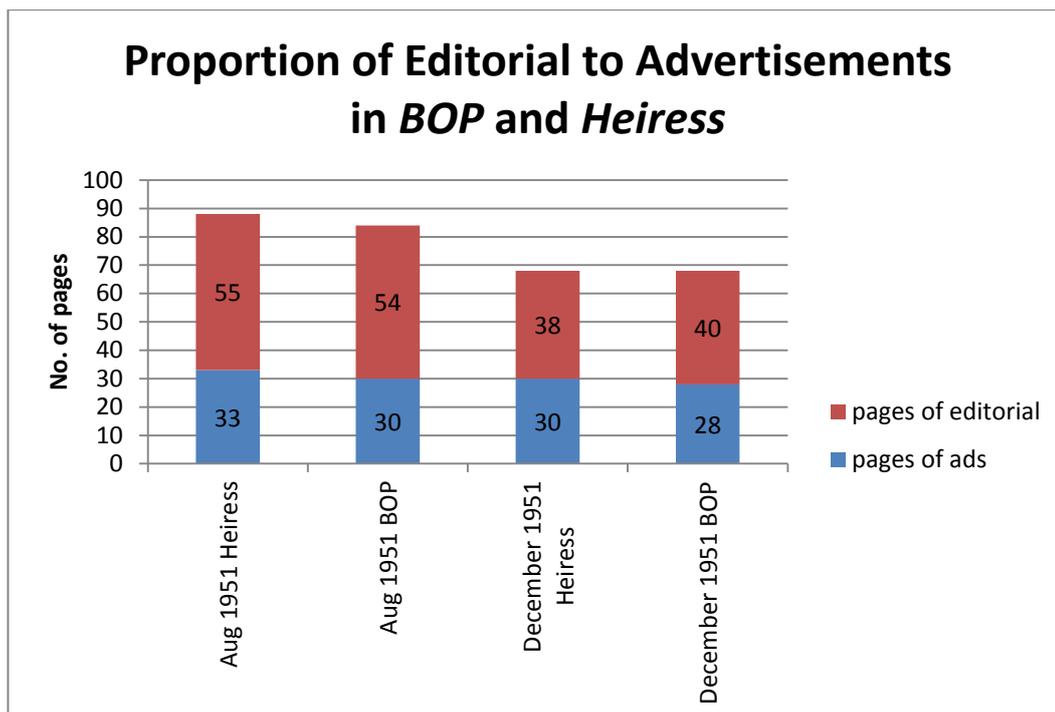


Figure 10 Proportion of Editorial to Advertisements in Heiress and BOP. Figures from Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings²¹⁵

Readers were also receiving less value for money, as although advertising revenue was declining, as Figure 10 shows, by December 1951 not only had the number of pages in the papers decreased, but the proportion of editorial to advertisements had also altered alarmingly, with adverts now making up 44% of *Heiress* and 41% of *BOP* (compared to 37.5% and 35.5% respectively just four months previously).²¹⁶

Yet the primary reason for *Heiress's* problems was almost certainly the competition it faced from women's magazines as they began to focus on the commercially attractive teenage readers. By the late 1940s Mary Grieve, editor of *Woman*, was acutely aware of the need to attract teenage girls as readers, 'a priceless age-group, since it is the insurance for future sales'. Concerned that 'Paper scarcity had prevented them from forming a magazine-reading habit'

²¹⁵ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 12th December 1951.

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she launched a 'teenage page' to attract young readers, and when paper rationing ended, *Woman* 'quickly built up a favourable ratio of readers between 16 and 24 years'.²¹⁷ Having shifted *Heiress's* target audience upwards to a 'new' teen market, when paper rationing lifted Lutterworth found it had locked horns with the powerful circulation and resources of magazines such as *Woman*, *Woman's Own* and *Woman's Weekly*.

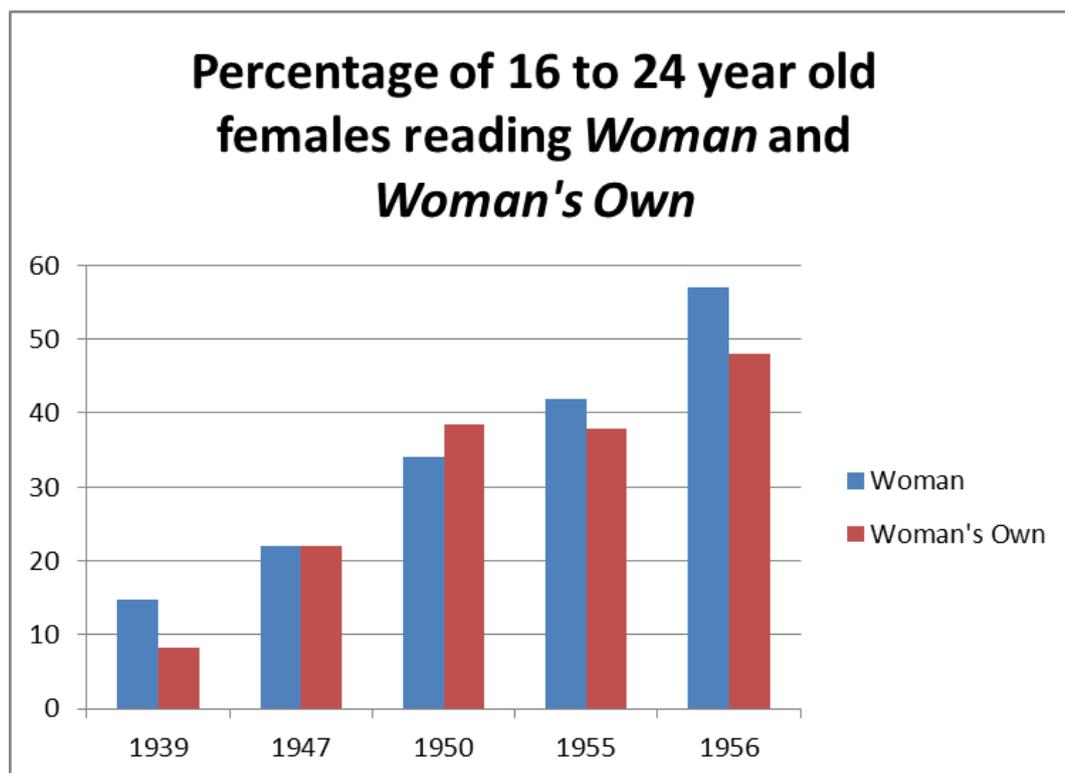


Figure 11 Percentage of 16 to 24 year old females reading *Woman* and *Woman's Own*. Figures taken from IPA and Hulton Surveys of Readership²¹⁸

²¹⁷ Grieve, *Millions Made My Story*, pp. 134-135.

²¹⁸ Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, *IPA Survey of Press Readership 1939* (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, 1939); Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, *IPA Survey of Press Readership 1947* (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, 1947); Hulton Hulton Press, *Hulton Readership Survey 1950* (Hulton Press, 1950); Hulton Press, *Hulton Readership Survey 1955* (Hulton Press, 1955); *IPA National Readership Survey 1956* (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, 1956).

As Figure 11 shows, between 1939 and 1956 the top two women's magazines, *Woman* and *Woman's Own* dramatically increased their stake in the 16 to 24 year old female market, the precise range which *Heiress* was aiming to attract. By 1956, the year when *Heiress* was forced to cease publication, the IPA survey found that 57 per cent of 16-24 years old women were reading *Woman*, significantly higher than the proportion of all women which was 44 per cent. Indeed, as early as 1950, the *Hulton Readership Survey* found that *Woman* and *Woman's Own* had 38 times more readers than *Heiress*.²¹⁹ This may support McAleer's suggestion that the Society were innovators, but that having performed a pathfinder role, other 'less high minded' publishers would innovate and improve on their ideas.²²⁰

Once more demonstrating its pragmatic approach, by late 1954 as *Heiress's* circulation fell to around 30,000 copies, *BOP* was becoming the Board's favoured publication, and ill-fated attempts were made to enhance its sales, again through improving its editorial content, as the Board and Cox debated if more fiction and lighter content would boost circulation.²²¹ In reality, however, any attempt to tweak the content was marginal to the central issue that in order to survive longer term, the papers needed significant financial investment, which the Board could not make.

In 1955 after years of losses, preparations were being made to close down the company, and finally in October 1956 things came full circle when the Society was requested to take over publication of *BOP*. It was considered 'impracticable to continue with the publication of *Heiress* and *Playways*', which had circulations of 30,000 and 42,000 respectively in November 1955.²²² The goodwill for *BOP* was sold back to the Society at a cost of £18,656. By May 1957, with *BOP* back under the Society's control, the priority once more was to

²¹⁹ *IPA National Readership Survey, 1956* (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, 1956); Press, *Hulton Readership Survey 1950*.

²²⁰ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 215.

²²¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 18th November 1954.

²²² 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 23rd October 1956.

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review the editorial, particularly the balance between ‘entertainment value and instructional value’ which meant increasing the number of stories from two to five.²²³ Although the Society claimed, implausibly, that interest from advertisers was higher than for ‘some of the popular women’s magazines’, committee members were once again asked to help ‘making the magazine known’.²²⁴ Cox recalled that the ‘great printing strikes of 1957-9’ caused problems, leading to an ‘all-round increase in our basic costs of 17.5%’, and he was critical of the Society for not putting the price up and instead trying ‘to ride out the extra costs with more sales’.²²⁵ By 13th August 1958 *BOP* sales for 12 months were reported as £12,935, lower than during the First World War, and despite the Lawson Johnston family making a donation of around £5000 ‘for the purpose of production and distribution of the *Boy’s Own Paper*’, by July 1959 there had been only a slight increase in sales but advertisement revenue had decreased, which was attributed to a generally difficult year for advertising.²²⁶ In March 1963 the Society’s minutes recorded somewhat unceremoniously that ‘owing to increased costs the *Boy’s Own Paper* had ceased to be published by the Society’, and had been taken over by Purnells, and whilst the committee expressed regret, they were also thankful to the General Manager for negotiating ‘such a happy solution’.²²⁷

2.9.3 A New Publisher

As the Society discharged the last of its periodicals, which had been a core part of its work for well over a century, it noted that Purnells ‘were concerned to continue the magazine in its old tradition’. Whether this was wishful thinking on the Society’s part, or a misrepresentation from Purnells is unclear, but the particular incongruity, as Cox noted, was that the Purnell Group was ‘a wholly commercial house’.²²⁸ As Chapter Five will explore in more depth, the change in publisher for the last four years of *BOP*’s existence caused changes in the

²²³ *Ibid.*, 28th May 1957.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 28th May 1957.

²²⁵ ‘Letter from Jack Cox to R McCullum, dated 21st March 1968’, Jack Cox Archive, Box 10/1 iv.

²²⁶ ‘General Committee Minutes, USCL’, USCL/RTS/02/19, 13th August 1958, 9th July 1959.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 26th March 1963.

²²⁸ ‘Letter from Jack Cox to R McCullum, dated 21st March 1968’, Box 10/1 iv.

paper's content, and perhaps the clearest evidence of the Society's values as a publisher, is observable in the breach. Once the papers transferred to Purnells, religious content disappeared entirely, and the content became more wedded to popular culture, but this was insufficient to save the paper long-term. In November 1966, BPC Publishing Group, who had taken over Purnells decided to rid themselves of all non-viable magazines, and in February 1967, after 88 years of continuous publication, the final issue of *BOP* was published.²²⁹

2.9.4 Sales or Souls?

The fundamental flaw in McAleer's economically determined analysis of the Society and Lutterworth Periodicals is that he assumes that the papers failed because those in charge were inexperienced, made poor business decisions, and failed to respond to reader demands.²³⁰ These were exceedingly experienced people, and their decisions were only flawed if they are viewed in traditional business terms. Although the Society and Lutterworth Periodicals operated within a commercial environment, they remained at their core evangelical missionary organisations which might demonstrate some flexibility in order to achieve their goals, but would never significantly deviate from the vision and values of its *Foundation Principles*, that its work should reflect Biblical truth and serve an evangelical purpose. Over and over again the Society and Lutterworth made it clear that they were not in the business of entertainment. In 1954, faced with poor trading results and net financial losses, the General Manager read out a 'very fine tribute' to the magazines which had been included in a recent *Times Literary Supplement*, and then said that it was now a 'question of persuading the young people to develop the same ideas'.²³¹ These magazines were never intended to respond to their readers, but for their readers to respond to them.

²²⁹ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 122.

²³⁰ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, pp. 242-43.

²³¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 18th November 1954.

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Viewed from this perspective, many of the decisions which appear to the secular eye to be mistakes are revealed for what they were, the actions of a principled missionary organisation. Hence it is no surprise to find that even in the most difficult of circumstances, principles were placed before profits. In 1949 circulations were falling, finances were so poor that a new version of *GOP* for the younger readers could not be launched, and advertising revenue was declining. Finances were so severe that when the Reverend Marcus Morris approached Lutterworth to ask if they would ‘take on his new magazine idea, *Eagle*’, they were unable to do so. As Brink observes ‘had the Society worked with [Morris] in 1949 the *BOP* might have had a very different future under his editorship, adopting many of the characteristics of *Eagle*’.²³² Yet in December of 1949 the Board called in their editors, and declared that whilst they sympathised with the editors’ difficulties in ‘maintaining readership while the basic policy and purpose of the Company was maintained’, even more ‘positiveness’ should be given to implementing that policy, even though this might lose them more readers.²³³ For *BOP* and *GOP* were never intended to compete on equal terms with other magazines. Even as Lutterworth Periodicals faced liquidation the alternative of going into partnership with another larger publishing house was rejected because it would cause ‘a radical change in the basic construction and appeal of the magazines’.²³⁴ It was only in extremis, when all other avenues had been explored that the Society was prepared to let *BOP* go to Purnells.

2.10 Conclusion

During the period 1914 to 1963 the Religious Tract Society and subsequently Lutterworth Periodicals showed themselves consistently committed to promoting and continuing to publish *BOP* and *GOP*. These two magazines formed part of a broader publishing output which included other periodicals, books and religious tracts; and prioritisation of the various aspects of the Society’s catalogue varied over time. *BOP* and *GOP* were not as commercially

²³² Brink, ‘The Lutterworth Bicentenary’, p. 202.

²³³ ‘Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings’, USCL/RTS/02/21, 22nd December 1949.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 10th April 1956, 23rd October 1956.

successful as their longevity might suggest, but they were never intended to compete directly in commercial publishing circles. Whilst the Society was prepared to varying degrees to cloak the papers in the form and appearance of the secular in order to win readers, they never fundamentally deviated from the *Foundation Principles* which set out the central evangelical purpose of the RTS. Even when the papers came under the more targeted and commercialised control of Lutterworth Periodicals, the illusion of secularisation was just that, and the papers were still part of the Society's evangelical tradition. The Society differentiated between the readership of *GOP* and *BOP*, and the language used for both shows that particularly during Klickmann's tenure, *GOP* was seen as a largely spiritual resource. It has been seen that the committee and board members were dedicated, experienced and high-ranking, with contacts and influence which reached into the heart of the Protestant establishment. Decisions were made not on the basis of commercial advantage, but as an evangelical organisation which prioritised the distribution of a Christian message over profits. Profits were nonetheless welcome, on the basis that these could be put back into the Society to support the missionary side of the organisation.

This chapter has demonstrated the central role of the publisher in shaping the magazines. The RTS dictated policy, scrutinised content, guided investment, and at all times maintained a strong strategic overview of every aspect of the papers' production. The transfer of *BOP* to Purnells in 1963 serves to emphasise the centrality of the publisher's control over content, for although Cox remained as editor, there were significant changes within the paper's discourses, style and physical format during the Purnell years. Nonetheless the editorial role was central, and given the size of the organisation, the Society was largely dependent upon the editors to deliver the papers within the policy framework it set. The next chapter explores the way in which the editors and their team of staff and contributors were able to work within and interpret this policy, and the tensions which arose between the publisher and their editors.

Chapter 3: The Editors

‘editors are the essential people’¹

3.1 Introduction

There is some debate within the existing historiography of magazine culture around the function and purpose of the editorial role. Both Gannon and Ferguson have described editors as ‘gatekeepers’, but Tinkler argues that this implies a passive stance, which belies the creative and active role of the editor in balancing a range of competing interests.² This chapter will demonstrate that the editors of *BOP* and *GOP* were not passive gatekeepers, simply implementing the Society’s policy, but active agents, mediating between contributors, publisher and readers, and each interpreting the policy and constructing the papers in their own unique way. Through day to day decision making, and long-term strategy, they took ownership over the papers, adjusted the parameters of readership engagement, and developed the community which the papers created. There is broad consensus that the editorial role is at the heart of the production of periodicals. Ferguson found women’s magazine editors all believed they were ‘the pivot around which the entire editorial process swung’.³ Publishers also identify editors as key figures, and Cecil King, former Chairman of IPC concluded that ‘editors are the essential people’, a viewpoint evidently shared by the Society, which held the editors accountable for *GOP* and *BOP*’s successes and failures.⁴ Academics have also tended to agree that a periodical’s editor holds ‘a central role’ and that their ‘personal taste and [...] priorities’ set the agenda for the magazine, hone its

¹ Marjorie Ferguson, *Forever Feminine: women's magazines and the cult of femininity* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1983), p. 128.

² Susan R Gannon, ‘Introduction: What was *St. Nicholas* Magazine?’, in *St. Nicholas and Mary Mapes Dodge: the legacy of a children’s magazine editor, 1873-1905*, ed. by Gannon, Rahn and Thompson, pp. 1-9 (p. 2); Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 188; Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 65.

³ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

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core message and values, and dictate the selection of contributors.⁵ Yet, there is also acknowledgement that whilst a powerful editor can ‘bend’ a publication ‘to their own interests’, complete control of a periodical, with its ‘incoherent mix of voices and [...] complex flow of heterogeneous detail’, is impossible.⁶

This chapter will therefore approach the editors as the pivot at the centre of the papers’ organisational structure, attempting to achieve balance between the competing demands of the publisher and the readers, as well as responding to advertisers, contributors and colleagues. It will explore the relationship between the editors and the Society, and the Society’s expectations of the editorial staff it appointed. Consideration will be given to the realities of the editors’ working lives, their experience of managing workloads, and evidence of work-related stress. It will also look at the way in which editors relied upon and interacted with other staff and contributors, and will acknowledge the challenges to editorial authority from external sources such as the government, societal change and advertising interests. It will explore the way in which editors chose to represent themselves, each creating their own editorial image and voice which was woven into the text of the paper, and the way in which the editor role bled outwards into a public persona. Finally it will consider the way in which the editors viewed their readers and how this shaped their interactions with them; and reader-editor interactions will then be examined in depth in Chapter Four.

3.2 The Editors and the RTS

The relationship between the editors and the Society was not always an easy one. There were signs over the years that the Society began to perceive benefits of fostering a closer working relationship with the editors. In January 1921 the executive committee minutes recorded that ‘It was suggested to the

⁵ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 64; Susan R Gannon, ‘Fair Ideals and Heavy Responsibilities: The Editing of *St. Nicholas Magazine*’, in *St. Nicholas and Mary Mapes Dodge: the legacy of a children’s magazine editor, 1873-1905*, ed. by Gannon, Rahn and Thompson, pp. 27-53 (p. 45).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29; Smith, Immirzi, and Blackwell, *Paper Voices*, p. 247.

Society's Officers to consider the desirability of the Editors being occasionally present at the Committee', but despite these good intentions, in reality it remained rare for the editors to attend the Society's meetings, and communication was often formalised through the minutes, or delivered second hand via the general manager.⁷ Tensions were exacerbated because the Society's aim to produce papers which would give a Christian view-point on the world whilst also being sufficiently secular to appeal to readers, was an extremely difficult agenda to deliver in practice. As highlighted in Chapter Two, the Society recruited editors with professional experience who they expected to make the papers successful, but those editors who did not share the Society's religious beliefs tended to find it more challenging than others to understand and adhere to the religious policy.⁸ (See Appendix 1 for further details of the editors' previous experience).

For Haydon, who is said to have lacked a 'deep commitment to Christian literature', despite a wealth of professional expertise, a lack of 'basic experience of Christian publishing' appears to have caused a gulf between him and the committee in terms of their mutual expectations and working practices.⁹ There is evidence in the minutes of clashes between him and the Society, for example in autumn 1916 there was debate around an article on public school missions (one of a series published over many months in *BOP*), which had appeared over six months earlier.¹⁰ More seriously, in February 1914 the committee ordered that a memorial appeal for George Hutchison which had been published in *BOP*, should 'be, as far as possible withdrawn from the magazines, though subscriptions to the fund might be

⁷ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 11th January 1921.

⁸ Flora Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen: a book for would-be authors* (New York & London: G P Putnam & Sons, 1920), p. 264.

⁹ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Jack Cox Archive, Box 11/1iv; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13 Additional Notes re : Arthur Lincoln Haydon, received from Geoffrey L Butler, Director London School of Journalism 6 June 1981.

¹⁰ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 24th October 1911, 10th October 1916, 17th October 1916.

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acknowledged'.¹¹ It is unclear why this appeal, which had also been publicised in *The Times*, gave offence, but the incident must have caused a great deal of personal embarrassment to Haydon who was one of the honorary secretaries for the appeal.¹² Haydon is said to have been resentful of what he saw as the 'heavy hand of the Committee', and described committee members dismissively as 'watchful "clerics"'.¹³ He had a strong professional background, starting at Cassells as assistant editor on their *Saturday Journal*, working on *Little Folks* and *Chums* and finally becoming the editor of the highly patriotic boys' periodical *Boys of Our Empire*.¹⁴ He therefore believed that once he had signed off on an issue 'it could go off to the printer and that was that', and was frustrated by the Society's requirement that he take the proofs of *BOP* to 'some place in Croydon' where he waited in an ante-room for two hours or more while 'a sort of bishop' read and then signed them off.¹⁵ It is likely that the 'sort of bishop' was a committee member proof-reading the copy, for although the records suggest that *BOP* and *GOP* did not have readers, it is possible that Haydon experienced scrutiny of this kind at some point in his career at *BOP* particularly if the Society was wary of his commitment to its Christian message.¹⁶ According to Cox, Haydon finally left the Society in 1924 at least in part because he could no longer tolerate the poor relationship between himself and the Society.¹⁷ Although Cox also suggests Haydon's departure may have been influenced by grief over the death of his son, who had been working as an editorial assistant for *BOP*, Haydon's son did not in fact die until April 1939, and left the Society just four days before his father.¹⁸ It is possible that there

¹¹ Ibid., 17th February 1914.

¹² 'A "Boy's Own Paper" Memorial', *The Times*, 23rd January 1914, p. 10.

¹³ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13 Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 2.

¹⁴ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', March 1921.

¹⁵ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13.

¹⁶ The reader at Croydon was probably George Anthony King, Committee Member and Treasurer (see Appendix 4), who lived at Croydon and was a member of the House of Laity and Treasurer of the Pan-Anglican Congress, thus perhaps explaining the epithet of 'sort of bishop'. 'Obituary, Sir G A King', *The Times*, 18th January 1928, p. 14.

¹⁷ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13 Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 2.

¹⁸ Ibid., Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 1; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 94; 'Certified Copy of an Entry of Death for Arthur Cecil Hillyard Haydon, 30th April

was a causal link between the son's departure and Haydon's, and this may have been the reason why the already tense relationship between the Society and Haydon rapidly deteriorated, upon his departure, to exchanges of letters via solicitors.¹⁹

Whilst Haydon's relationship with the committee appears to have been openly turbulent, on the surface Klickmann's was co-operative and positive. During her editorship, *GOP* was mentioned relatively little in the Society's committee minutes, and McAleer views this as an indicator of her success.²⁰ She appears to have been highly regarded, and the annual reports frequently mention her by name, referring to *GOP* as 'her magazine', whilst *BOP* editors remained anonymous. The reports also provide evidence that she had a loyal following amongst her readers, and the Society appears to have tapped into that, positioning her name prominently in advertisements for *GOP* and promoting her position as a prolific RTS author, writing on subjects as wide-ranging as mental health, cooking and etiquette. Her most popular works were a series of 'Flower-Patch' books, often formed from articles previously published in *GOP*, which were humorous essays about Klickmann's life and work, primarily focused around her country cottage in Brockweir, a village in Gloucestershire. Klickmann had a background in religious publishing, having edited magazines for the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society, her father had served the RTS as a translator in the nineteenth century, and in 1913 she married long-serving RTS advertisement manager Henderson-Smith. She was therefore immersed in and comfortable with the religious culture of the Society, but this allowed her at times to challenge or subvert their agenda.²¹ In her books and in *GOP* she wrote fluently of religious belief, but whilst superficially sharing the Society's evangelical views, closer analysis

1939', ed. by General Register Office (Register of Deaths, Edmonton in the County of Middlesex: General Register Office, 1939); 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society ', USCL/RTS/08/05.

¹⁹ 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society ', USCL/RTS/08/05; 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01 21st October 1924, 28th October 1924.

²⁰ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 223.

²¹ David Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch: the story of 'The Girl's Own Paper' and the Flower Patch among the hills* (Bristol: 'Flower patch magazine', 1976), p. 11.

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reveals a kind of “green spirituality” at slight odds with evangelical beliefs.²² She was also sometimes gently mocking of the work of the Society, and in one anecdote describes her maid using the report of ‘one of the most revered of our missionary societies’, to prop up a table.²³ Another story engaged playfully with the failures of missionary societies to interact meaningfully with young people, describing a young boy approaching a speaker after a ‘missionary meeting for young people’, but only to see if the missionary had ‘foreign postage stamps’.²⁴ Yet despite this critique, Klickmann does appear to have been broadly supportive of the Society’s work, and upon her death in 1958 she left half of her estate to the Society.²⁵

This popularity and compliance with religious policy, in contrast to Haydon, almost certainly contributed in large part to the significant autonomy Klickmann achieved from the committee, something made all the more remarkable by the experience of her contemporaries, such as Mary Grieve, editor of *Woman* from 1940 to 1962, who recalled being told in the 1920s that ‘journalism is not a career for women’.²⁶ Klickmann was in many ways breaking new ground, for as McAleer observed, she ‘was one of the first women in Fleet Street to edit a national magazine’.²⁷ Writing in *GOP* in March 1920 of the sudden death of Prebendary F S Webster, Honorary Secretary of the Society, Klickmann revealed both her expectations and experience of her relationship with the committee, noting that Webster would give advice and sympathy if asked, but ‘never attempted to dictate or regulate the editorial policy’.²⁸ This sense of editorial independence was a hallmark of her editorship, but distanced her from the authority of both the Society and the general manager, and her relationship with the Society came under strain at times. In 1925 the Society wrote to Klickmann to ‘call her attention to the

²² Lazell, Klickmann, (Emily) Flora (1867–1958).

²³ Flora Klickmann, *The Flower-Patch Among the Hills* (London & Redhill: Lutterworth Press, 1943 (reissued)), p. 110.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁵ ‘General Committee Minutes, USCL’, USCL/RTS/02/19, 25th November 1958, 24th March 1959.

²⁶ Grieve, *Millions Made My Story*, p. 14.

²⁷ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 223.

²⁸ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 377.

breach of her contract', after learning that she had published a book with rivals 'Messrs Putnam'. Despite the restrained tone of the minutes, this was undoubtedly a serious incident as the book, *The Carillon of Scarpa*, had not only been advertised in March 1925's issue of *GOP*, but Klickmann had also used her editorial to feature two pages of extracts from it.²⁹ Yet Klickmann remained unabashed and responded within the week that 'she had no written contract with the Society not to produce publications outside her office hours'.³⁰

In later years the Committee came to deeply regret the independence they had granted Klickmann, noting that 'it has been a mistake for the Committee to be out of touch with this Editor, neither being quite able, under existing conditions, to fully appreciate the work and difficulties of the other side'.³¹ Over the years Klickmann had become so personally identified with *GOP*, that when, in the late 1920s, the Society wanted to make fundamental changes to the paper's target readership, style and content of , they realised it would be impossible to achieve with her as editor. The level of autonomy and popularity which Klickmann had reached made it extremely difficult for the Society to disentangle her from the paper, and the process of terminating her contract took from November 1929 until May 1931 to resolve.³² Unlike other editors, she refused to fall in with the Society's plans and quietly tender her resignation, demanding that it dismiss her and provide reasons for doing so. Indeed, she was so resolute that Parnell, the treasurer, who had travelled to Brockweir to broach the subject of her departure, began to doubt 'the wisdom of the step and the justification for giving her notice', musing that 'she has a

²⁹ Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine, March 1925* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925), pp. 373-74, 376, inside rear cover. Given that the Society first raised this incident on 10th March, it is likely that it first learnt of the matter upon seeing the published paper.

³⁰ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 10th March 1925, 17th March 1925.

³¹ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 2nd December 1930.

³² *Ibid.*, 19th November 1929, 20th November 1929, 24th November 1929, 10th December 1929, 28th January 1930, 25th February 1930, 18th March 1930, 2nd December 1930, 9th December 1930, 16th December 1930, 23rd December 1930, 12th May 1931.

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large following from Correspondents seeking advice'.³³ Ultimately they did come to an agreement, but the Society had been shaken by the experience and resolved to take steps to ensure other editors never gained a similar autonomy.³⁴

Klickmann and Haydon were not the only editors to be sacked, and departures were often acrimonious. The Society often moved swiftly to dismiss editors, and praise could rapidly turn to criticism. In March 1941, Gladys Spratt was commended for 'outlook and foresight', whilst Robert Harding was said to be succeeding and 'whole-heartedly with us, although more restricted in his point of view'.³⁵ Yet just eight months later Munro had revised this assessment and described both editors as 'limited in editorial capacity' and unable to understand or co-operate with his 'new plans of improvement and development', and in December both were dismissed after 'shocking' Christmas editions of the papers.³⁶ Like Spratt and Harding, Leonard Halls' contract was also terminated abruptly in 1946 because 'the results achieved [...] did not come up to expectation' and 'the efforts made to raise the standards of the *BOP* had not been encouraging'.³⁷ For Harding, the experience had a long-lasting effect, and decades later he was said to be 'in a poor way, and full of grievances about his six years' service at the RTS'.³⁸

However, editorial 'failures' did not always lead to dismissals. When *Woman's Magazine* encountered difficulties in 1949, the Board moved swiftly to ease the

³³ *Ibid.*, 2nd December 1930.

³⁴ Alexander Parnell, 'Woman's Magazine: Report by Alexander Parnell, 2nd December 1930', Records of United Society for Christian Literature (Religious Tract Society), USCL/RTS/02/16.

³⁵ 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 18th March 1941.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 18th March 1941; 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 24th November 1941, 22nd January 1942.

³⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th November 1946, 17th December 1946.

³⁸ Cox had heard this from John Sweet, a retired Scout HQ Field Commissioner. Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 4.

burden on Goodall, who was then also editing *Heiress* and *Playways*, appointing Joni Murray to edit *Heiress*. Goodall was invited to join the Board meeting to discuss these proposals, and this unusual display of openness is an indication of the regard the Board must have had for her.³⁹ Like Klickmann, this was most likely due in significant part to her full support of the Society's religious policy. Goodall had a background in Christian publishing, and in both her editorials and her encounters with the Board, she spoke in a language the Board understood, asking them to pray for those working on the magazine, and exhorting her *Heiress* readers to 'personal, intimate fellowship with Jesus Christ'.⁴⁰ This commitment appears to have been genuine, and when she left the company after *Woman's Magazine's* closure in April 1951 she refused the payments she was entitled to, because she did not wish to 'place further strain on the Company's resources'.⁴¹

The Board also refused Murray's resignation in December 1951, tendered as *Heiress's* circulation figures fell, 'because she felt that the decline may be attributable to her Editorship', choosing instead to introduce a new team-working approach with Cox 'in charge of all three magazines from the point of view of editorial policy'.⁴² Cox made a variety of changes to the structure, content and target readership of the papers, but circulations continued to fall, and Cox's role as managing editor of all three magazines was deemed unsuccessful, with the Board particularly concerned that 'the editorial content of *Playways* has suffered'.⁴³ However, rather than dismissing Cox, in a complete reversal Murray was now asked to edit *Playways* as well as *Heiress* and to endeavour to 'brighten its contents'.⁴⁴ It is possible that the Board's

³⁹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 22nd December 1949.

⁴⁰ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 214; Constance Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1949), p. 17.

⁴¹ Her loyalty was, nonetheless, rewarded with a gratuity of £200. 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 15th February 1951.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1st August 1951, 12th December 1951.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17th November 1953.

⁴⁴ Cox was not the first editor to become managing editor. In 1935 Northcroft was made general manager with responsibility for *BOP* and *Sunday at Home*. In 1941 Elsie Grenfell was brought in as *Woman's Magazine* editor and was rapidly appointed as supervising editor for all the

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more sympathetic attitude during this period was due in part to the knowledge that what was really needed to rescue the magazine's circulation figures was large-scale financial investment, and perhaps because they could not afford to recruit new editors.

Cox's diaries suggest that he met infrequently with the general manager, and it would appear that like Klickmann he was afforded a great deal of latitude. He contrasted the 'tight control by the old RTS' over Haydon to his own time when the Society 'never interfered with me in any way at all. I had the free hand I asked for in interpreting the policy "the Christian way of life"'.⁴⁵ This may not be entirely true, as there appear to have been some differences between him and the Society over the balance of fiction to non-fiction. Cox preferred non-fiction content, and was later to 'regret that we did not go all out for a practical-interest paper, dropping all fiction'.⁴⁶ The Board do not appear to have shared this view, asking Cox in 1954 if more boys would like *BOP* if it had more fiction in it, and in 1957 when *BOP* returned to the Society immediate steps were taken to address the balance between 'entertainment value and instructional value' increasing the fiction from two stories to five.⁴⁷ Yet he appears overall to have been on good terms with his employers, with a few close friendships with Society committee members.⁴⁸ This was probably because he operated within the bounds of Lutterworth's and the Society's

magazines, and Constance Goodall, who had been appointed as editor of *GOP* in 1942, took over the editorship of *Woman's Magazine* in 1943, and later also *Playways*. Ibid., 24th November 1941, 2nd June 1943, 17th November 1953; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 15th November 1932, 22nd November 1932.

⁴⁵ 'Letter from Jack Cox to David Chambers, dated 22nd January 1979', Jack Cox Archive, Box 14/4 iii.

⁴⁶ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 3; 'Collection of press cuttings and reviews for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/8; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 119.

⁴⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 18th November 1954; 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 28th May 1957.

⁴⁸ Cox claimed friendship with Reverend Frank Smalley, the Secretary to the USCL; Reverend Gordon Hewitt, who was a friend of Cox's wife's family; and Reverend H E J Biggs, who provided conchology expertise to the *BOP* and the British Museum. Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Letter to Jenny Overton from Jack Cox, undated.

religious policy and his editorials tended to support Christian teaching.⁴⁹ In March 1954's issue of *BOP* Cox wrote an article celebrating 75 years of *BOP*'s history, arguing that '*BOP* stands for something in a world of changing values, as it has done for 75 years. It believes that anything is possible, and nothing is impossible, to a boy who bases his everyday thoughts and actions on the Christian way of life'.⁵⁰

Yet although there is some evidence that within the smaller and more focused organisational structure of Lutterworth Periodicals, the relationship between publisher and editors was closer and more constructive, and editors occasionally attended Board meetings, limitations remained. Ferguson quotes an IPC executive who noted that whilst editors were 'number one in the organisation' this did not extend to 'the economics' of magazine production.⁵¹ The Society appears to have maintained similar lines of separation between the financial management of the magazines and the editorial role. As Chapter Two explored, whilst Cox's February 1952 report to the Board showed that he had a good grasp of what was needed to elevate the papers' circulation, the Board continued to keep him in the dark about budgetary difficulties. Despite Cox's appeal for 'bold and vigorous schemes of sales and publicity promotion', the Board reflected that 'Mr Cox was not fully aware of the Company's financial position', and after some debate agreed to small-scale publicity in two specific test areas of Leeds and Nottingham, where £400 was to be spent per magazine per town.⁵² They also agreed to advertise the periodicals in church papers, and to reach out to 'School teachers, welfare and social workers'.⁵³ The gulf between Cox's proposals and the reality of the Board's investment is an indicator of the endemic lack of mutual understanding and openness which operated within the production of the papers, and which prevented the editors

⁴⁹ Ibid., Letter to Jenny Overton from Jack Cox, undated; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), p. 17; 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 22nd December 1949.

⁵⁰ Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, March 1954* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1954), p. 82; Jack Cox, 'The Story of BOP', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/4 Folder C ii, p. 4.

⁵¹ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 128.

⁵² 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 4th March 1952.

⁵³ Ibid., 4th March 1952.

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from making informed and meaningful contributions to the debate on the papers' difficulties. Thus in November 1954 the managing director warned the Board that an invitation to the editors to give views on what could be done to improve circulations was usually 'met by the response that larger magazines, extra staff and increased budgets were necessary'.⁵⁴

As *Heiress and Playways* ceased publication in 1956 prior to Lutterworth Periodicals' closure in 1957, Cox was the only editor who had to contend with the upheaval of the following decade. In a letter to long-serving contributor Ronald English sent in January 1957, he described the turmoil in the office after *BOP* was transferred back to the Society. Cox lost his sub-editor, and the entire art department departed.⁵⁵ When, after six years the Society sold *BOP* to Purnells, Cox did not share its view that it was 'a happy solution', describing a chaotic situation, with staff given nothing in writing, and a 'tremendous rush' to complete the transfer in time. Cox felt he had been betrayed and sold along with the magazine, and was incredulous that the Society negotiated the retention of book rights linked to *BOP* which Cox claimed to have 'built up so carefully from scratch in 17 years'.⁵⁶ Cox describes increasingly unsettled times as staff were moved from office to office, and Cox was later bitter about the new owners who he believed did 'nothing to publicise the magazine' and were 'building up a magazine division probably for printing capacity'.⁵⁷ His relationship with the British Printing Corporation (BPC) appears to have been even more troubled, and upon returning from an extended period of sick leave in October 1966, he was made general manager of the new book department, although still overseeing *BOP* which was now technically under the editorship of Charles Stainsby, who in reality 'never produced a single issue'.⁵⁸ The years from 1957 to 1967 were difficult ones, during which Cox appears to have

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 18th November 1954.

⁵⁵ Jack Cox, 'Desk Diary 1958', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/1, Letter from Jack Cox to Ronald English, dated 3rd January 1957.

⁵⁶ 'Letter from Jack Cox to W J Taylor-Whitehead, dated 7th February 1968', Jack Cox Archive, Box 10/1 iv; Jack Cox, 'Boy's Own Annuals 1965, 1966 and 1967: Notes', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/4 Folder C v

⁵⁷ 'Letter from Jack Cox to R McCullum, dated 21st March 1968', Box 10/1 iv.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

become increasingly alienated from *BOP*'s successive publishers, and it is unsurprising that after twenty years of service Cox 'resented deeply the final decisions about *BOP* because he believed they were taken by people who cared little for the readers and understood them even less'.⁵⁹

3.2.1 Pay and Conditions

Salaries appear to have been used as a means to reward good performance, or to compensate for an increase in duties, and pay awards were relatively meritocratic. There was no evidence of gender discrimination, and indeed both Klickmann and Goodall were better paid than their male peers. Goodall's pay outstripped that of both Halls and Cox, and at several points her salary was approximately double that of her male counterpart.⁶⁰ Klickmann's salary was up to two thirds higher than that of Haydon, which is particularly remarkable at a time when Edward Cadbury was seen as progressive in advocating 'equal pay for equal work'.⁶¹ By comparison, in the interwar years Ferguson notes that industrial wages for women were approximately two thirds those of their male counterparts.⁶² Women in the professions fared little better, with women teachers earning around 75 per cent the pay of their male colleagues, civil service staff also failing to achieve equitable pay, and a series of equal pay bills introduced to the House of Commons during the 1920s failed.⁶³ As late as the 1950s Kynaston points to a 'pay chasm' with women earning 'only 51 per cent of the average weekly pay of male workers'.⁶⁴ The RTS were therefore particularly progressive in their attitudes towards their female staff, and this is further evidenced by their recruitment and retention, as editors, of married women or those who married during their employment. In contrast employers such as Cadburys did not recruit married women and would not allow women to continue working for them once they were married, and they were far from

⁵⁹ David Cox, 'Manuscript of Epilogue for *BOP*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/6.

⁶⁰ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 13th July 1945, 12th November 1945, 29th July 1948.

⁶¹ Dellheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931', p. 26.

⁶² Ferguson, 'Women's Work: Employment Opportunities and Economic Roles, 1918-1939', p. 66.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁴ Kynaston, *Austerity Britain, 1945-51*, p. 415.

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unique in Britain in implementing the marriage bar.⁶⁵ Indeed the Civil Service rigorously applied such a policy, with very few exceptions, until 1946.⁶⁶

None of this is to say that male employees were treated unfairly. Although Cox suggests Haydon was in conflict with the Society over pay, the salary records show that he received regular pay rises and eventually his pay rose above that of Klickmann, reaching £1000 per annum in 1924.⁶⁷ This was evidently specifically intended to reward Haydon, for upon his departure salaries for editors of *BOP* decreased. Pocklington's relatively privileged background, and the fact that he often styled himself as 'Hon. Editor', led Cox to speculate that 'he may not have drawn a salary', but salary records reveal that he was paid £750 per annum, 75 per cent of Haydon's final salary.⁶⁸ Salaries were also affected by the Society's finances and broader economic conditions, and as highlighted in Chapter Two, in 1932 there were significant salary cuts. Harding, appointed in 1935, started on just £400 per annum, but even this was significantly more than Spratt's salary, which remained low throughout her time with the Society. This may be due to her lack of broader experience, having started at the Society age 22 as an editorial clerk, or it may indicate that the Society did not value *GOP* as highly during this time. Both Harding's and Spratt's salaries were not only lower in absolute terms than their predecessors but their salaries would also have been worth significantly less in 1935 than in 1925.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Dellheim, 'The Creation of a Company Culture: Cadburys, 1861-1931', p. 41.

⁶⁶ Ferguson, 'Women's Work: Employment Opportunities and Economic Roles, 1918-1939', p. 67.

⁶⁷ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 84-85; 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05.

⁶⁸ For more details on Pocklington's background, see Appendix 1. 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1iv; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 95; 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05; G R Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925), p. 775.

⁶⁹ The National Archives, 'Currency Converter', <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>> [accessed 7th November 2013].

Cox claimed that ‘One did not edit *BOP* [...] to make a fortune or indeed money of any kind. It required a good deal of a sense of vocation’, and that other work was necessary to supplement the salary.⁷⁰ Many of the editors of *BOP* and *GOP* did other work in addition to their editorial duties. Haydon continued to have work published by Cassells, and during the 1920s Klickmann ‘had no less than eight books published’.⁷¹ Cox’s papers document that he also undertook a broad range of work beyond *BOP*, including as a rugby reporter for the *Sunday Times* and the *Daily Telegraph*, writing and editing a vast number of books on a broad range of topics including fishing, hobbies, camping, cookery, rugby and conservation, and contributing to children’s television series for both the BBC and the newly formed Independent Television Authority.⁷²

3.2.2 Workload

The editors of *BOP* and *GOP* were required to oversee all details of the production of the papers. On a day to day basis they managed a team of staff, commissioned work from contributors, dealt with a wealth of unsolicited content, planned forthcoming issues, selected artwork, and corresponded with readers. They also had to develop long-term strategies for the paper’s future, ensuring a balance between the paper’s cohesive identity and the need to change and evolve. The Society also expected them to take on additional work from time to time. Haydon, for example, was asked to edit the *Empire Annuals* for 1918, and *Rovering* in 1924.⁷³ All were required to provide content for the magazines, and the amount varied according to contract and circumstances.

⁷⁰ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13.

⁷¹ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 28.

⁷² Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13; 'Brief biographies of Jack Cox', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/11, pp. 1-2; 'Selection of memoranda of agreement for the writing of various books and articles by Jack Cox dating from 1950 to 1968', Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/9 i; Various, Box 9/15; Jack Cox, 'Letter from Jack Cox to The Managing Director, Associated-Rediffusion Ltd, dated 14th December 1957', Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/9 ii; Jack Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/1, 30th October 1957; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1958', Box 9/1, 28th April 1958; Jack Cox, 'Desk Diary 1960', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/1, 6th July 1960.

⁷³ 'Minutes of Executive Committee', USCL/RTS/01, 2nd October 1917; Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', June 1924.

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Haydon's contract set out that his salary included any literary and editorial work he undertook for the Society, apart from serial stories, and he wrote fiction for *BOP* under the thinly veiled pseudonym of Lincoln Hayward.⁷⁴ Whilst Cox's contract only required him to write one page of copy without fee he recalled that 'In practice I have frequently had to fill up the magazine myself whenever the budget limit was reached, and the total number of additional articles runs into approximately 250 over the ten year period', for which 'No fees have ever been paid'.⁷⁵

There is evidence that many of the editors of *BOP* and *GOP* found their role immensely stressful, and that it took a toll on their health. One of the penalties of Klickmann's success as an editor, and her strong identification with *GOP*, was the weight of work it necessitated. She is said to have engaged in an 'immense correspondence' with readers who saw her as a 'personal friend', with whom she corresponded privately apparently with no additional payment.⁷⁶ Klickmann frequently worked from her home in Brockweir, keeping manuscripts, 'proofs, photographs, diagrams, sketches' at the cottage on which she might work during the day and 'right on into the night, if need be'.⁷⁷ Whilst working from the 'Flower-Patch' gave Klickmann flexibility, it blurred the boundary between public and private as work invaded her home, and this was perpetuated by her writings about her rural existence, which further drew the public into her domestic life.⁷⁸ Klickmann found her chosen career highly stressful, and described working 'in town til nerves and brain refuse to hold out another day; then, [...] I just fly – a goodly bale of arrears following me by next post'.⁷⁹ She acknowledged the toll it took on her, reflecting that 'it may be necessary on occasions to go hours beyond one's normal mealtimes, to rise very early one morning, and another evening to go very late to bed[...] the bodily powers of endurance must be exceptional', but defied any interpretation

⁷⁴ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 90; 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05.

⁷⁵ Jack Cox, 'Memo from Jack Cox to Managing Director, 13th December 1956', Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/9 ii.

⁷⁶ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 127th', USCL/RTS/05/17.

⁷⁷ Klickmann, *The Flower-Patch Among the Hills*, pp. 108-09.

⁷⁸ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, pp. 8-9.

⁷⁹ Klickmann, *The Flower-Patch Among the Hills*, p. 141.

of this as feminine weakness, declaring that ‘men find this also’.⁸⁰ As Chapter Five will explore, Klickmann was always keen to stress women’s capability in the work place, and by highlighting that the physical demands of the job affected men as well as women, she challenged notions of the female body as inherently weak. Klickmann faced on-going periods of what would probably now be labelled under the spectrum of mental illness, anxiety and depression, ‘suffering bouts of exhaustion’.⁸¹ In her published writings she described in painful detail the severe breakdown she suffered in autumn 1912, due to overwork, which resulted in ten weeks’ hospitalisation, an unspecified surgical procedure performed by committee member Professor Carless, and many months away from work.⁸² She was not the only editor to experience mental health problems, for as detailed in Chapter Two, Spratt suffered from an undisclosed mental illness, which nearly ended her employment with the Society, and there is some suggestion that Northcroft also suffered some kind of breakdown.⁸³ After his sudden departure due to ill health in 1935, unusually, *Mrs* Northcroft was paid his salary for three months, and this lends some credence to the story told to Cox by Charles Arnold, the advertisement manager, that he had been instructed by the Society to follow Northcroft who had ‘threatened to throw himself in the Thames’ after being summarily sacked.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, pp. 19-20.

⁸¹ Lazell, Klickmann, (Emily) Flora (1867-1958).

⁸² Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 21.

⁸³ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 24th September 1939, 24th October 1939.

⁸⁴ Arnold claimed he was asked to follow Northcroft ‘discreetly’, but was not told what he should do if Northcroft did attempt to harm himself. Arnold described following Northcroft to the Charing Cross tube station, but the journey was uneventful. 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 14th November 1932, 4th June 1935; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 4.

3.3 Editing in Teams

Any periodical is 'the work of many minds and many hands', and the editors of *BOP* and *GOP* established teams around them, and were reliant upon good working relationships with office staff, contributors and artists.⁸⁵ Klickmann appears to have been extremely effective at building a strong, largely female, team, and one of her key working relationships was with her assistant editor, Mary Ellen Tongue. Originally Klickmann's secretary, Tongue came with Klickmann when she joined *GOP*, and 'became competent in details of printing, needlework, knitting and crochet, art, office management'. By developing Tongue, Klickmann was able to leave her in charge of the London office whilst she spent time in Brockweir, keeping in daily contact by post and telegram where necessary.⁸⁶ Klickmann celebrated and acknowledged her team's successes publicly, and in December 1916, she included a section on Tongue in an article on *GOP*'s contributors, recording that she was 'very much...indebted to her' and that it would 'be quite impossible [...] to get through the enormous detail that is involved in a magazine such as ours [...] if I had not the kind co-operation of this most indefatigable worker'.⁸⁷ In another article in December 1919, Klickmann praised the knitting and design expertise of another editorial assistant, Winifred Telford.⁸⁸ Yet whilst this close team was beneficial, it also left Klickmann vulnerable. In 1929, Tongue was 'away unwell', and tensions in the office were so serious that the Finance Sub-Committee was forced to intervene and dismiss Telford, who it concluded was 'the principal cause of this unsatisfactory state of affairs'.⁸⁹ The breakdown in the relationship between Klickmann and the Society which developed over

⁸⁵ William Fayal Clarke, 'In Memory of Mary Mapes Dodge [Excerpts]: Died August 21, 1905, in *St. Nicholas and Mary Mapes Dodge: the legacy of a children's magazine editor, 1873-1905*, ed. by Gannon, Rahn and Thompson, pp. 18-26 (p. 26).

⁸⁶ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 24; Tongue sent Klickmann some food when she was snowed in at the 'Flower-Patch', noting that she knew Klickmann must be snowed in because 'there was not a solitary line from you this morning'. Flora Klickmann, *Between the Larch-Woods and the Weir* (London: R.T.S., 1916), p. 155.

⁸⁷ Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 38* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1917), pp. 175-76.

⁸⁸ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 163.

⁸⁹ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 19th November 1929, 20th November 1929.

subsequent months was attributed in large part to Klickmann's total control of the paper, and her establishment of an editorial team which answered directly to her with 'little or no direction from the Manager' of the Society, and the committee concluded that 'upon a change of Editorship a complete change of staff might be desirable'.⁹⁰ Whilst a complete change of staff was extreme, it was not unusual for other staff to change as the editor departed, and when Harding and Spratt were dismissed in December 1941, their two assistant editors, P E L Sykes (*BOP*) and Miss Tredgold (*GOP*) were also given notice.⁹¹

Although Cox also built a team around him, it is an indication of the way in which periodical publishing had changed between Klickmann's editorship and his own, that he described George Phipps, the advertisement manager, as his 'closest colleague', and Cox's diaries confirm that he lunched with him on a regular basis.⁹² As White notes, by the 1960s, 'the days [were] past when the circulation manager and his staff were the "poor relations" and the Editor's word was law'.⁹³ Planning work on *BOP* now included the advertisement manager, sales manager, assistant general manager, and art production manager as well as Cox himself.⁹⁴ Cox's description of his relationship with the art department provides a good indication of professional tensions. The art editors were said to be 'very jealous' of their role in the life of the periodicals and Cox notes that he 'never bought any work of any kind other than sets of photographs or trannies'.⁹⁵ However, Cox stressed his ultimate authority noting that he 'enjoyed using [his] prerogative as Editor when

⁹⁰ Ibid., 20th November 1929, 24th November 1929, 10th December 1929, 28th January 1930, 25th February 1930, 18th March 1930, 30th September 1930.

⁹¹ Whilst Spratt and Harding were dismissed in December 1941, after they had served notice periods, they left the Society's employ in early 1942. 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 24th November 1941, 22nd January 1942.

⁹² Jack Cox, 'Desk Diary 1951', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/1, 19th March 1951, 23rd August 1951; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Box 9/1, 29th October 1957; Jack Cox, 'Desk Diary 1959', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/1, 15th April 1959; 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Box 11/1iv.

⁹³ White, *Women's Magazines*, p. 215.

⁹⁴ G M Lewis, 'Memo from G M Lewis, General Manager re *Boy's Own Paper*, dated 16th June 1958', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/1.

⁹⁵ 'Trannies' are photographic transparencies made from reversal film.

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necessary'.⁹⁶ Yet, writing in 1954, Cox suggested that the authority and autonomy of the editorial role was under threat, and that Fleet Street editors were 'no longer the powerful personalities they once were, setting the stamp of their paper unmistakably', having become 'technicians in the hands of the accountants', who prioritised sales in order to ensnare advertisers 'dripping with revenue'.⁹⁷

However, the team working approach Cox describes at Lutterworth appears to have been less positive for female workers, and there appear to have been gender assumptions at work in the office environment during this period. Cox recalled that whilst he had got on well with the art editor, 'It was very different with the various lady editors of the other four magazines', and went on to comment that the artists were 'mainly girls but we had a senior man to supervise them'.⁹⁸ When Cox was asked to make recommendations to the Board for new working arrangements in 1952, after taking up the managing editor role, his proposed structure effectively side-lined Joni Murray within the broader team, as he proposed that he would co-operate with the advertisement manager and sales manager on her behalf to leave her 'free from "interruptions"', and deal with the production manager and printers in order to 'simplify matters'. He further proposed that he would take over responsibility for signing off on contracts and payment forms because 'Agents seem to have more respect for males'.⁹⁹ It seems likely therefore, that whilst the Society and Lutterworth Periodicals did not discriminate against women in power, elevating them above their male peers in pay and status, inter-office politics were not always free of gender bias, and Cox's attitude towards women will be explored further in relation to contributors.

⁹⁶ Various, Box 9/15, Letter from Jack Cox to Gerry Tomlinson, dated 9th June 1981.

⁹⁷ Jack Cox, 'Analysis of *Hulton Child Readership Survey 1950*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 12/20.

⁹⁸ Various, Box 9/15, Letter from Jack Cox to Gerry Tomlinson, dated 9th June 1981.

⁹⁹ Cox, 'Private & Confidential report to the Board of Directors Lutterworth Periodicals: From Jack Cox 7th February 1952', USCL/RTS/02/21.

3.4 External Pressures

Just as the Society had to respond to developments in society in order to keep their publications relevant, editorial freedom was at times dictated by significant events. During both World Wars the government sought and received the co-operation of *BOP* and *GOP* towards the war effort. During the First World War, Haydon promoted patriotic content which prepared boys for active participation in the war, and *GOP* printed appeals from various government departments and voluntary organisations regarding the role women and girls were expected to perform. During the Second World War, *GOP* featured the 'Worrals of the WAAF' stories, which the government asked Captain W E Johns to write to encourage girls to join the WAAF, and both papers ran vigorous campaigns to incentivise readers to buy National Savings Certificates.¹⁰⁰ Chapter Five will explore these issues in more depth.

Editorial control was also increasingly challenged by the rising power of advertising. Chapter Two discussed the use of advertising in the Society's annual reports, and advertising also played an increasingly important role in *BOP* and *GOP* during the twentieth century as advertisers recognised the increasing purchasing power of both women and young people. Initially there was clear demarcation between advertising and editorial, with pages of advertising at the front and end of the magazine, and editorial in the central pages, although small slogans such as 'To ensure prompt attention mention the *BOP* when replying to advertisers', and 'These pages contain all the value the keenest buyer could wish for' encouraged readers to engage actively with advertisements.¹⁰¹ In later years advertising was increasingly interwoven with the editorial text, with advertisements appearing throughout the paper, and it became harder to distinguish advertising from content. In December 1933, for example, a '*Girl's Own Paper* Pantomime' feature ran over five full pages, with

¹⁰⁰ Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, May 1941* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1941), p. 4; Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1941), p. 4.

¹⁰¹ G R Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1930), p. 7; Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine, February 1925* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925), p. 1.

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each page sponsored by a 'cast' of advertisers, including Bassett's Liquorice Allsorts and Butywave Shampoo.¹⁰² Advertisers also ran competitions within the papers, such as a Kolynos competition in *BOP* in February 1941 that required entrants to fill in the missing words from slogans that 'have all appeared frequently in Kolynos advertisements', and then make up their own slogan, thus encouraging readers to engage creatively with the product.¹⁰³

All these developments are consistent with White's observation that from the late 1930s magazines increasingly arranged advantageous positioning of advertisements within the text.¹⁰⁴ This posed a challenge to editors, for as White notes, 'The more commercial interests encroached into editorial territory, the less scope there was for Editors to mould their magazines strictly according to their own views'.¹⁰⁵ Whilst editors could take a stand against advertising, White suggests this became increasingly difficult as the dependency on advertising revenue increased, and editors ultimately colluded with advertising interests.¹⁰⁶ Although as previously discussed, Cox attacked the increasing power of advertising, by 1957 *BOP* was giving advertisers a 'special position', in preference to the content itself.¹⁰⁷ Even earlier than this, in 1945, as advertising revenue overtook sales of the periodicals, Goodall advised readers entering a consumer-based competition that 'Experienced shoppers ask for goods by name, so please give the trade name of the clothes or shoes you would specially like'.¹⁰⁸ This doubtless brought in valuable intelligence to support the Society's advertising team. However, this kind of direct marketing to readers was a risky strategy, for as Grieve observed with regard to women's magazines, the power to attract advertisers lay in 'the high

¹⁰² Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1933), pp. i, iii, v, vii, ix.

¹⁰³ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ White, *Women's Magazines*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ Cox, 'Analysis of *Hulton Child Readership Survey 1950*', Box 12/20; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Box 9/1, Memo from Gordon Williams to Jack Cox dated 18th June 1957.

¹⁰⁸ Constance Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1945), pp. 5, 42.

degree of trust and confidence in the integrity of the editorial', but conversely readers' trust could be undermined by 'the practice of scattering brand names through the editorial as a bonus for, or as a bait to, advertisers'.¹⁰⁹ This cycle of trust and confidence, could therefore be highly significant in influencing not only the readers' perception of a magazine, but also its success in achieving both sales and advertising. It is significant therefore that in the midst of plummeting sales and advertising for *Heiress* the paper ran a short story entitled 'Highland Holiday' which wove clumsy advertising references into the heart of the narrative, such as 'With the help of The Scottish Tourist Board's book, *Where to Stay in Scotland*, with which Jill had wisely provided herself, at a cost of 2s 6d, they found a suitably modest spot'.¹¹⁰

The increasing importance of advertising to the Society is further evidenced by the increases in salary afforded to advertising staff. During the 1910s and early 1920s, the advertising manager, Henderson-Smith's salary was broadly in line with that of his wife, Klickmann, although he was paid significantly more than Haydon, but by 1951 George Phipps was earning a basic salary of £1000 which exceeded that of Cox and Murray, in addition to which he was paid commission which topped up his income to around £2000, more than twice Cox's pay, and 40 per cent more than Goodall's.¹¹¹ The status of advertising seemed to increase once *BOP* was taken over by Purnells, when the paper began to provide an 'Advertisement Enquiry Service'.¹¹²

3.5 Commissioning the Content

The distinctive feel of *GOP* and *BOP* under individual editors, was enhanced by the team of contributors which each built up around them, reflecting the tone of their editorship. Spratt for example, targeting a schoolgirl audience, used

¹⁰⁹ Grieve, *Millions Made My Story*, pp. 65, 106.

¹¹⁰ Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, September 1955, p. 66.

¹¹¹ 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05; 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 20th March 1951.

¹¹² Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, June 1965 (London: Purnell & Sons Ltd, 1965), p. 46.

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high profile women athletes such as Marjorie Pollard and school story writers such as Angela Brazil, whilst Cox who favoured hobbies content over fiction attracted specialists in practical subjects such as Ron Warring, Percy Blandford and Gilbert Davey who contributed plans for dinghies, canoes, models and radios.¹¹³ Contributors rarely worked for more than one editor, and although a devoted reader in his youth, sentimentality did not prevent Cox from dismissing longstanding contributors, including some such as 'Hedgerow' with whom he had corresponded as a young reader, arguing that 'someone should have done it years earlier'.¹¹⁴ Similarly, there were very few authors who made the transition from working for Klickmann, to Spratt's new schoolgirl paper, and exceptions, such as Violet M Methley, had to adapt to the vast changes which had taken place in *GOP*.¹¹⁵ Much attention has been given in the historiography to the high profile contributors, such as Verne and Conan Doyle whom *BOP* attracted in its earlier days, but during the twentieth century both papers continued to secure contributions from established or rising stars such as Percy Westerman, Charles Gilson, Patrick Moore, Zola Gale and Noel Streatfield.¹¹⁶ It is interesting to note that whatever the differences between *BOP* and *GOP* and their commercial rivals, many writers wrote for both, for example Arthur Catherall who provided contributions for *Comet*, *Rover* and *Adventure* as well as *BOP*.¹¹⁷

Ferguson has highlighted the 'high personal investment' of many magazine editors in which 'family and friends are used as sources and sounding boards', and this blurring of the lines between personal and professional is well

¹¹³ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 3.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', pp. 2-3; 'Letter from Jack Cox to Michael Foxell, dated 26th May 1980', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/4 Folder C iv.

¹¹⁵ In 1925 Methley wrote for Klickmann a redemption tale which warned readers of the danger of greed, whilst in February 1940, for Spratt, she contributed a short story about a 14 year old girl who must prove her adventurous spirit to her brothers by housebreaking and stealing. Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925), pp. 321-25; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1940* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1940), pp. 231-37.

¹¹⁶ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 241.

¹¹⁷ Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, pp. 88-89.

illustrated in the acquiring and nurturing of contributors. Klickmann often found contributors through networks of personal acquaintances and friends. Kristina Settergren, a Swedish nurse, who had cared for Klickmann during her hospitalisation, provided recipes for publication in *GOP* and translated the 1919 and 1920 series of articles by the Crown Princess of Sweden, Princess Margaret of Connaught.¹¹⁸ Klickmann's brother, Martin, also wrote for *GOP*, as did her nephew Reverend Brian Kingslake.¹¹⁹ Cox also drew on friendships, turning to his 'old Lancashire friend' Catherall, at the start of his editorship to address his problems of 'Finding authors of repute' after the war.¹²⁰ Indeed it is often difficult to establish a line between editors drawing on old friendships, and actively working to turn 'valuable contributors into personal friends'.¹²¹ Klickmann invited some of her contributors, such as artists Maude Angell and Hayward Young, to the cottage in Brockweir, and Cox's diaries and expense accounts reveal that he invested a great deal of effort in maintaining relationships with contributors, staying with them in their homes, inviting them to lunch, and setting aside time to entertain them.¹²² Klickmann often published photographs of her contributors, and even their children, as well as writing features on them, all establishing an aura of celebrity around the women she described as 'friends of life-long standing to readers', and this was doubtless useful in binding contributors to the magazine.¹²³ Like Haydon, Cox was a member of The Press Club which he used for entertaining contributors, and through which he also made contacts and operated within powerful

¹¹⁸ Settergren told Klickmann about the Princess's writings, which had been written by the British-born Princess in Swedish. Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, pp. 21, 25-26.

¹¹⁹ Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1915), pp. 54-55; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, p. 147.

¹²⁰ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 115; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 2.

¹²¹ Mary Mapes Dodge is said to have invited key contributors to her home, and entered into personal as well as business correspondence with them. Gannon, 'Fair Ideals and Heavy Responsibilities', p. 46.

¹²² Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 20; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Box 9/1; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1958', Box 9/1.

¹²³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 38*, pp. 171-76; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 304.

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informal networks.¹²⁴ One 'dear Press Club friend', Ivor Brown, theatre critic for the *Observer* until 1954, offered to write book reviews for *BOP* at Cox's 'standard rate – far below the usual fee such a critic could command', suggesting that some contributors also believed in the papers as 'more than just a magazine'.¹²⁵

Cox maintained that his budget was strictly six guineas per thousand words for first British serial rights, and that he 'never' paid more than that, and Catherall's commission to write a '50,000 word serial for 12 parts at £300/£310', equates to around this rate.¹²⁶ Payments recorded in Cox's diaries do vary somewhat, and in 1951, for example, a crossword puzzle was worth five pounds, whilst an article on exploring earned £10 10s. Od., and BJ Chute was paid £47 5s. Od. for three stories. Len Hutton an English Test Cricketer earned £21 for one article, whilst Eric Leyland was paid £25 for an article on substitute cricket.¹²⁷ A six part Biggles serial by W E Johns commissioned for 1951 cost Cox £132 6s. Od. whilst a seven part serial by Alan Jenkins commissioned at the same time was priced at £100.¹²⁸ The apparent differences in fees may well have been due to differing word counts, and there remains considerable credibility in Cox's suggestion that it is unlikely any other magazine 'has ever cost as little to produce as *BOP*', except of course *GOP*, yet despite a strict budget, Cox was still able to form 'a talented team of sports and hobby writers [...] experts in their field'.¹²⁹ However, once the quarterly budget ran out, the remainder of the content had

¹²⁴ Cox, 'Desk Diary 1958', Box 9/1, Papers from the Press Club; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1951', Box 9/1, 10th April 1951.

¹²⁵ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 119; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 2.

¹²⁶ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 113, 115; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 2.

¹²⁷ Cox, 'Desk Diary 1951', Box 9/1, 31st March 1951, 25th April 1951, 29th April 1951.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 28th November 1951.

¹²⁹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 2.

to be written by the staff in the editorial office, unless Cox could persuade contributors to write for very little or for free.¹³⁰

Klickmann, Spratt and Cox all used work from American contributors which tended to have been used in American periodicals first, and this may have also been a means to economise. Cultural differences posed a challenge at times, and 'A Tale of Two Horses' by B J Chute, which had first appeared in *Boy's Life* in America in July 1944, had to be linguistically adapted for the *BOP's* readership in February 1950. American expressions such as to have 'a swell time', were replaced in *BOP* with 'a grand time', the word 'Whoosh' was replaced by 'Whew', 'vacation' by 'holiday', and reference to a holiday 'on the Bay' with 'on the coast'.¹³¹

Although existing contributors were nurtured, in contrast there was much disdain for those who sent in unsolicited work. Writing of one such manuscript submitted with an author's note that 'I never spare myself where detail is concerned', Klickmann acerbically remarked that 'Unfortunately she did not spare me either'.¹³² Whilst Spratt's editorial persona was nurturing, Northcroft's account suggests she was a formidable editor, who dealt firmly with potential contributors, bemoaning work submitted to her with 'more mistakes than would be tolerated in the average Fourth Former's exercise book', and briskly suggesting that 'if contributors cannot type, they should take lessons'.¹³³ Despite the low rates the papers could pay, Spratt had strong views that contributors should tailor their wares to suit the editor's current purchasing preferences.¹³⁴ Cox was particularly contemptuous of 'cloying' press officers who submitted work under various names to try to outwit him,

¹³⁰ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1iv.

¹³¹ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950*, pp. 18-19; B J Chute, 'A Tale of Two Horses', *Boy's Life*, July 1944 (1944) <<http://boyslife.org/wayback/#issue=FDDyrmwdQKIC&pg=8>> [accessed 4th February 2013], p. 8.

¹³² Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 140.

¹³³ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 135

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

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and had a preference for authors who ‘work for and with young people in their spare time, regarding it as part of the job’.¹³⁵

Cox and Klickmann were acutely aware of the particular pressures of commissioning content for a monthly magazine. Content had to be relevant, and as Klickmann noted ‘events hurry past at such a rapid rate, that the article an editor would jump at to-day may be useless to him to-morrow’, but this was complicated by the papers’ monthly publication cycle.¹³⁶ Cox’s claims that he planned *BOP*’s content ‘from one to four years ahead’ seem exaggerated, but the papers were planned out at least three months in advance, and Cox’s diaries give glimpses of the long-range commissioning practice this necessitated.¹³⁷ A perfunctory entry of ‘Killer Shark’ in his diary in February 1951 for example, became the cover story for July 1951.¹³⁸ Sometimes planning began much earlier than this, and notes in Cox’s diary in October 1958 show that he was planning content as far ahead as summer 1959.¹³⁹

3.5.1 Commissioning and Gender

Carpenter notes that it was ‘characteristic of the girls’ paper that they were edited, written and illustrated by men’, yet from 1908 onwards *GOP* was edited by women, and around 80 per cent of Klickmann’s contributors were women, and as this does not account for women writing under pseudonyms, such as Lady Scott who wrote as G E Mitton, the percentage was probably significantly higher.¹⁴⁰ During Klickmann’s editorship the percentage of female contributors climbed steadily from 76 per cent in 1914-1915 to 88 per cent in 1929-1930. Klickmann encouraged new female writers and artists such as Fay Inchfawn

¹³⁵ Jack Cox, ‘For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists’, Jack Cox Archive, Box 6/10 iii.

¹³⁶ Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 150.

¹³⁷ Cox, ‘For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists’, Box 6/10 iii

¹³⁸ Cox, ‘Desk Diary 1951’, Box 9/1, 24th February 1951.

¹³⁹ Cox, ‘Desk Diary 1958’, Box 9/1, 13th October 1958.

¹⁴⁰ Kevin Carpenter and Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics: English periodicals for children from Victorian times to the present day* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), p. 58; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl’s Own Annual, Volume 51*, p. 209.

(Mrs E R Ward) and Dorothy Furniss, and whilst men had a presence, their contribution was muted, and this was very much a female world.¹⁴¹ *BOP* has been described as an almost exclusively male space, and analysis has shown this came to be increasingly the case in later years.¹⁴² However, under Haydon, female authors were represented, and in 1920 around one fifth of the contributors were women. Once Pocklington took over the editorship in late 1924 there was a slight increase in the percentage of male contributors, and there was a further noticeable increase during Cox's editorship, until from 1955 onwards there appear to have been no female contributors at all. However, again these statistics do not include those contributors where gender cannot be identified, and there is evidence that Cox encouraged female contributors to use pseudonyms to cloak gender.

One former contributor to *BOP*, Gillian Freeman, wrote a blistering critique of this practice in the *Guardian* on 24th January 1967, describing her experiences as a female contributor, after she 'had penetrated their masculine fortress'. Freeman, who wrote four non-fiction articles for *BOP* in 1955 and 1956 and recalled being 'made to drop my Christian name and [become] merely G Freeman', and receiving readers' letters address to 'Mr Freeman'.¹⁴³ Cox's somewhat condescending response to the *Guardian* claimed that 'lady contributors ... preferred to use masculine pseudonyms or, more simply, initials'.¹⁴⁴ The use of pseudonyms by female authors was certainly not new, or unique to Cox's editorship. Kent Carr, who wrote for *BOP* under Haydon and was 'considered by many of the "classic" experts to be the best of that period', was the pseudonym used by Gertrude Kent Oliver, and in 1945 Phyllis Briggs wrote two serials, one under her own name for *GOP* and the other for Halls'

¹⁴¹ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 26.

¹⁴² Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', p. 40.

¹⁴³ Gillian Freeman, 'BOP v POP', *The Guardian*, 24th January 1967, newspaper cutting held in Jack Cox Archive, Box 13/1 iii.

¹⁴⁴ Jack Cox, 'Boy's Own Paper', extract of letter to newspaper in response to Gillian Freeman's article of 24th January 1967', Jack Cox Archive, Box 13/6 xiii.

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BOP under the thinly-veiled pseudonym Phillip Briggs.¹⁴⁵ The use of pseudonyms was also not solely restricted to women, and was practised widely in both magazines. H K Springett ran the *BOP* Field Club under the pseudonym of Hedgerow, whilst Raymond Raife, who contributed fiction, and non-fiction articles under his own name, was also 'Collector' who wrote the regular stamp column in the 1920s. However, Cox's attitude towards women may well have exacerbated a pre-existing phenomenon. Cox believed that women used pseudonyms because of a 'diffidence in revealing who they were', and recalled his shock at learning that one of his American contributors, B J Chute, was a woman, which he discovered when she called at the *BOP* office and he mistook her for the wife of a friend.¹⁴⁶ The encounter left Cox 'completely nonplussed' and he noted that from then on 'we always checked initials carefully'.¹⁴⁷

A key indicator of the gender dynamics within *BOP* and *GOP* is the remarkably small number of contributors who wrote for both papers. Those who did supply work for both either worked within the few areas of common ground between them, such as sport (from 1930 onward), or had to adapt to produce work for different audiences.¹⁴⁸ John Marsh, who wrote for *GOP* in March 1950, and for *BOP* in June 1955, wrote a tale of holiday romance for the former, and a hunt for treasure for the latter, whilst Wallace Carr wrote Civil War fiction for both papers in the 1930s and 1940s, but with a domestic setting for *GOP* and a stirring outdoor adventure for *BOP*.¹⁴⁹ Gender was very much an on-going

¹⁴⁵ Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, p. 86; Constance Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1944), pp. 8-9, 38, 42; Leonard Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1945* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1945), pp. 16-20, 29.

¹⁴⁶ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Letter to Jenny Overton from Jack Cox ref 'The *BOP* Story', dated 8th December 1980, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. Letter to Jenny Overton from Jack Cox ref 'The *BOP* Story', dated 8th December 1980, p. 1; 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Box 11/1iv.

¹⁴⁸ Sid G Hedges wrote for both papers from at least 1930 until 1955, on sports, games and activities. Lillian Gard wrote for Klickmann and Haydon, writing on themes of duty, morals and values, providing poetry for *BOP* and non-fiction articles for *GOP*. Denis Foster provided articles on sport for both *Heiress* in 1950 and 1955, and *BOP* in 1950.

¹⁴⁹ Constance Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, March 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), pp. 35, 71-72; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1955* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1955),

issue for the papers, and when Trease wrote an article for *BOP* in 1936 entitled ‘Camping with the Soviet Pioneers’, he recalls that he was asked by Harding, then editor, ‘if it would be possible to write it without mentioning that half the Pioneers were female’.¹⁵⁰

3.6 Identifying Reader Needs

As Chapter Two has demonstrated, the Society knew that it needed to provide readers with content which they would read, if it wished to effectively distribute its Christian message. It was important therefore that the editors were able to identify what readers wanted. Ferguson suggests that editors subscribe to a “mystique” view of editing’, based on a belief that they are the holders of ‘special or sacred knowledge about the nature of their particular audience’.¹⁵¹ In reality of course, as Klickmann observed, the editor’s knowledge of ‘what will suit his public’ is the culmination of years of ‘study and observation’.¹⁵² Klickmann knew that there were distinctions in the needs of different audiences, urging authors to ‘decide whether a story is for the schoolgirl or her mother’, and ironically given *GOP*’s split audience at this time, warned of the dangers of trying to write for ‘several other conflicting audiences’.¹⁵³ Having identified the audience, she suggested it was the editor’s role to ‘please a certain class of tastes – good, bad or indifferent, according to the policy of his paper’.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, she asserted an editor selects content purely based on ‘whether the public will want a certain [manuscript] or not’, and she emphasised what Ferguson has termed the ‘commercial imperative’, that editors are salaried employees of a business engaged by the publishers not ‘to aid charity [but] to provide goods that the public will buy – just like any other business man’.¹⁵⁵ This was a view endorsed by Northcroft in 1935, when

pp. 35, 59-61; Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, p. 37; Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy’s Own Annual, Volume 62* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1940), pp. 138-43.

¹⁵⁰ Trease, *Tales Out of School*, p. 169.

¹⁵¹ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 128.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 166; Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 264.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

¹⁵⁴ Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 264.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-65; Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 139.

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he wrote that 'editors, publishers and authors, are really in business, [...] for the same reason that grocers and drapers are', and by Cox in 1954 who acknowledged that 'if [the editor] is to stay in the editorial chair for any length of time, his paper must sell'.¹⁵⁶

Yet whilst the editors were aware of the need to sell magazines, and that from a commercial perspective it was imperative that they satisfy readers' wishes and interests, they also believed they had a role to play in forming public opinion and in elevating or debasing 'the public taste'.¹⁵⁷ In more commercialised magazines, Ferguson observes this manifests in a sense that editors have a 'wider social role [...] of guardianship towards the audience', which drives a desire to give the reader what is in their 'best interests', primarily focused on ensuring readers get 'value for money'.¹⁵⁸ This was complicated for editors of *GOP* and *BOP* by the ideological intent of the Society, for whom the papers' prime objective was not to give the readers what they wanted, but rather to persuade the readers to accept the values provided for them by the papers. Many of the editors shared this view, and Klickmann, for example, argued that editors should not publish work which 'can only induce morbidity, neuroticism, depravity, doubt, or depression'.¹⁵⁹

3.7 The Editorial Voice

The editors commissioned a broad range of content from a wide range of contributors, and in order to present a cohesive message to readers, it was imperative that each created a strong editorial voice, which would draw together the paper's heterogeneous content, and create a distinct identity. This was a vital role, and Gannon has suggested that if an editor failed to

¹⁵⁶ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 133; Cox, 'For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists', Box 6/10 iii.

¹⁵⁷ Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 265.

¹⁵⁸ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 140.

¹⁵⁹ Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 292.

establish a sufficiently robust editorial voice, the publication would also fail.¹⁶⁰ Contemporary reviewers also saw this as a sign of success, and in the early 1920s, despite the often analogous range of content Klickmann covered, the *Spectator* praised *GOP* as ‘a magazine with a character, not merely a fortuitous concourse of agreeable atoms’.¹⁶¹ This was perhaps easier for longer-serving editors, who could bring ‘structure and coherence to the reading experience over the years’, providing stability in the periodical’s identity whilst also responding to changing reader needs and demands and allowing for some ‘variety and novelty’.¹⁶² Ferguson observes that editing a magazine could become a deeply personal role, an ‘extension’ of the editor and viewed proprietorially as ‘a personal possession’.¹⁶³ In creating their unique voice, each of the editors of *GOP* and *BOP* projected a constructed version of themselves, an editorial persona which they placed upon display in the papers, each quite distinct from the others, representing their values and intentions.

Whilst some editors were able to create an editorial persona distinct from their own, many poured much of themselves into the papers. Klickmann appears to have been the most personally invested in ‘her magazine’, and this was most evident in the jubilee edition of *GOP* in 1930, when a great deal of the attention was focused on Klickmann personally, with a feature on her cottage in Brockweir, including numerous photographs taken both inside the house and outside in the garden.¹⁶⁴ Whilst Klickmann created a highly personalised editorial narrative, with herself at the centre of, and indistinguishable from, ‘her’ paper, at the other end of the spectrum Gladys Spratt’s editorship was unusual, in that she ran *GOP* under the pseudonym of ‘Jill’. Spratt, or Mrs Gladys Steer as she became in 1937, edited *GOP* as ‘Jill’ for a decade, although

¹⁶⁰ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 11; Gannon gives the example of Horace Scudder, the editor of *Riverside*, whose ‘brilliant editorial experiment [...] foundered after only four years, in part because Scudder never managed to create a compelling editorial persona’. Gannon, ‘Fair Ideals and Heavy Responsibilities’, p. 49.

¹⁶¹ Religious Tract Society, ‘Seed Time and Harvest’, March 1921.

¹⁶² Gannon, ‘Fair Ideals and Heavy Responsibilities’, p. 45.

¹⁶³ Ferguson, *Forever Feminine*, p. 129.

¹⁶⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 160, 183-85.

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in some issues the name Gladys Spratt was also given on the contents page. When the Society came to dismiss Klickmann in December 1930, it was particularly disturbed about the extent to which she had become personally enmeshed with the paper, and Parnell the treasurer mused that 'I would like to ascertain how far it is necessary to the success of a Magazine Editor, that he should make it such a personal matter'.¹⁶⁵ Thus it is conceivable that the editorial persona of 'Jill' was created to protect the Society from a recurrence of the personal cult which had arisen around Klickmann, so that were Spratt removed from post, the Society could bring someone else into the role. Using an editorial persona also acted as a screen, allowing Spratt a division between her personal and public lives, and this is perhaps why so little is known about her personally. The persona of 'Jill' could be constructed differentially from Spratt's own, thus, although she was in her thirties whilst editing *GOP* she projected a girlish editorial voice, which spoke to her readers as equals, appropriating the language of the schoolgirl: 'Barbara Helps, Bristol, sends me a topping letter [...] How jolly to have some Indian Stick-Insects!'.¹⁶⁶ Yet the use of a pseudonym created a vacuum into which readers could project their own ideas, and on several occasions Spratt had to assure readers that she was 'not a man, *definitely* not!'.¹⁶⁷ In 1931 she refused to publish a photograph of herself arguing that 'space is very limited', but continued 'do not be discouraged or alarmed – I am not a man as many Club Members are suggesting! Also I am not a great age!'.¹⁶⁸

Whilst Cox's son has argued that Cox was so inextricably intertwined with *BOP* that 'his life after completing [*Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*] would always have lacked a significant ingredient', he never established his personal identity within the paper in the same way that Klickmann did for *GOP*.¹⁶⁹ He described himself as a 'back room boy', and his editorials were relatively brief and give little sense

¹⁶⁵ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 2nd December 1930.

¹⁶⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, p. vi.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. x.

¹⁶⁸ Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper incorporating Every Girl's Paper, April 1931* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1931), p. xii.

¹⁶⁹ Cox, 'Manuscript of Epilogue for *BOP*', Box 9/6.

of his own personality.¹⁷⁰ Yet despite such seeming self-effacement, Cox firmly believed in his own importance, countering Dunae's assertion that *BOP's* finest hour had been pre First World War, noting that 'I am certain that my time was the best! 1946-67. Prove me wrong!'.¹⁷¹ When he wrote to Lutterworth with proposals for the structure of *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!* he suggested one third of the book should be devoted to his own editorship, which was swiftly rebutted by Lutterworth who informed him that this should only form 'a minor part', because it 'would be rather a personal story and not of great general interest'.¹⁷² Yet through the book, Cox did carve out a role for himself as the custodian of the paper's history, and exercised considerable control over its narrative, establishing an image of himself and his predecessors in the editorial role which is sometimes at odds with other evidence. In particular Cox was consistently dismissive of the role of his three immediate predecessors, Northcroft, Harding and Halls. A special article by Cox, published in *BOP* in 1954 to mark the paper's 75th birthday, devoted the majority of its attention to Hutchison, with a few brief paragraphs about Haydon and Pocklington, before erasing Northcroft, Harding and Halls entirely, jumping straight from Pocklington to Cox's editorship.¹⁷³ Similarly, in Cox's early proposals for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!* he suggested using 4000 words to cover Haydon, Pocklington, Northcroft, Harding and Halls, just 8 per cent of the total book.¹⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that Northcroft, Harding and Halls, whose service spanned a significant 13 years of *BOP's* life, formed the gap in Cox's personal experience of the paper. His father had read the paper under Hutchison, he himself grew up during Haydon's editorship, and read during

¹⁷⁰ Various, Box 9/15, Letter from Jack Cox to Geoffrey Platt, *Scouting Magazine*, dated 11th June 1976.

¹⁷¹ 'Letter from Jack Cox to David Chambers, dated 23rd January 1979', Jack Cox Archive, Box 14/4 iii; Dunae, 'Boy's Own Paper', p. 123.

¹⁷² 'Letter from Michael Foxell to Jack Cox dated 21st May 1980', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/4 Folder C iv; 'Letter from Jack Cox to Michael Foxell, dated 15th May 1980', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/4 Folder C iv; 'Letter from Jenny Overton to Jack Cox, dated 30th June 1980', Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/4 Folder C iv.

¹⁷³ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, March 1954*, p. 82.

¹⁷⁴ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, 'Wordage' dated 16th November 1980.

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Pocklington's era, and his own tenure renewed his personal engagement with the periodical.

Northcroft has been particularly vilified, and whilst Cox suggests his period of editorship was devoid of personality, and lacked a 'sense of give-and-take between editor and readers', others have gone further claiming that 'the two years he was in control were the worst two years in its history' and that he was 'the only Editor in 76 years who really had no idea how to edit'.¹⁷⁵ One specific criticism is that 'the Editor's Page and the Correspondence Page were omitted' by Northcroft, but it is likely that this was due to the challenging financial situation of the Society during the years of the Great Depression, as it was common practice generally for editor's pages to be sacrificed when there were pressures of space.¹⁷⁶ Instead, Northcroft addressed readers through text boxes at the beginning of serials or stories, and the occasional feature such as 'The Editor Talks about Men and Books'.¹⁷⁷ By his own account he had a reader-centric approach to his role, asking 'readers to write to me, as a friend, and [...] give me their opinion of the contents of the Magazine and to make suggestions for new features', and he asserted that numbers of letters had 'reached surprising proportions'.¹⁷⁸ He was considered sufficiently authoritative for Blacks to publish his book *Writing for Children* in 1935, the year he left *BOP*, and the book is a perceptive study, drawing on seemingly well-established links with other editors including Marshall and Harding, and contributors such as Percy Westerman and Gunby Hadath. Northcroft was an experienced journalist and his writing displays a keen awareness of the world of juvenile publishing.¹⁷⁹ All of the evidence therefore suggests that Northcroft, despite subsequent criticism, was a knowledgeable, caring and

¹⁷⁵ Jack Cox, 'Annotated typescript of *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 13/2, p. 92; Brian Doyle, *Who's Who of Boys' Writers and Illustrators ... Edited and compiled by Brian Doyle* (Brian Doyle: London, 1964); Dr Jack Doupe, 'The Boys Own Paper, 1879 to 1967', Jack Cox Archive, Box 13/6 vii, p. 4.

¹⁷⁶ Doupe, Box 13/6 vii, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷⁷ G J H Northcroft, *Boy's Own Paper, December 1934* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1934), p. xlii.

¹⁷⁸ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 123.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 24, 27, 35, 56-58, 72, 94, 133-34.

well-engaged editor, whose background, experience and attitude towards his readers all fit the profile of the 'ideal' RTS editor. Yet it is the lack of a central focal point, a strong editor's page and a seeming inability to establish a distinctive identity for himself within that editorial role which appears to have led to a perception of him as a poor editor.

Halls is another editor who was almost entirely omitted by Cox from the historical record. *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!* contains barely half a page about Halls' editorship, and makes no mention that Cox worked alongside Halls as his sub-editor for six months. In his early drafts for the book, and in private correspondence, Cox was more brutal, concluding that Halls was a 'caretaker editor' whose work was 'not much to write home about', and that whilst he 'did his utmost to hold the *BOP* fort', during his editorship the paper was only really fit as 'reading matter for the blackouts and shelters of World War Two'.¹⁸⁰ He claimed that Halls had 'been "borrowed" for the period from 1942 to 1946 from Amalgamated Press' where he had been a sub-editor on the *Children's Newspaper*. Yet the minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals record that Halls had a distinguished record, having worked 'with Amalgamated Press for 30 years, [and] was lately in charge of their juvenile papers and annuals and was a sub-editor with wide experience'.¹⁸¹ Halls actively engaged with his readers, asking them for feedback on favourite features and using his prominently positioned editorial page to solicit readers' views.¹⁸² However, like Spratt, there is little known about him.

¹⁸⁰ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 4, and untitled extract; 'November 3 1980, carbon copy of synopsis for *The BOP Story*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 11/1; 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1iv; Jack Cox, 'Correspondence between Jack Cox and Peter Berresford Ellis regarding Bill Johns, writer of *Biggles*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 11/1 ii, Letter from JC to PBE 24 April 1979, p. 2.

¹⁸¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 22nd January 1942.

¹⁸² Leonard Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1944* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1944), p. 5; Leonard Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1943* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1943), p. 3; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 110.

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One way in which editors could create a line of separation between their editorial persona and their personal selves, was through the use of illustration, which was used highly effectively by some to create a distinctive image. Haydon was particularly adept at the use of the visual to shape his editorial voice.¹⁸³ A cartoon illustration headed up his 'Editor's Page' for many years, which showed him behind a desk, facing away from readers, and immersed in work, a sign on his back proclaiming 'DO IT NOW'. The image is highly suggestive of both Haydon's heavy workload and authority, but also placed a distance between him and readers. In 1920, a similar picture began to alternate with the original, which showed Haydon still with his back to his readership, but this time waving away what appear to be a contributor and an office boy. In late 1924, shortly before Haydon left the editorial chair, there was a different image which showed Haydon facing his readers, surrounded by unusual gifts from readers, including insects crawling up his arm, but his face still masked by a large manuscript. Thus the reader appears to have made inroads into the editorial office, and Haydon has turned to face them, but is still shielding himself behind his workload. These visual representations in the text are consistent with the way in which he projected himself in his editorial pages, and responded to readers. His editorials were voiced in the first person, and he generally signed off with his initials, but he did not always address readers directly, and his answers to correspondents were broadly sympathetic but firm.¹⁸⁴

Haydon's successor, Pocklington also featured illustrations above his editor's page and correspondence section which presented him as somewhat inaccessible. The editor's page masthead portrayed him working at his desk, whilst an office boy prevents interruptions, holding up a sign declaring 'This is Our Busy Day'. In similar vein, the illustration above the correspondence page

¹⁸³ Haydon appears to have been keenly aware of the visual, and Cox recalls that he dressed at all times in a 'grey two-piece suit, dove-grey knitted waistcoat, carnation ... with handkerchief to match, and ...dove-grey spats', because, he told Cox, 'In our game you need a few gimmicks'. Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ Arthur Lincoln Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1915), pp. 89, 127.

showed him dealing with mounds of reader correspondence with a sign declaring 'Sh-h-h!! The Editor is Busy'.¹⁸⁵ Robert Harding also drew heavily on illustration to develop his editorial persona, which drew explicitly on his career as an adventure story writer for boys. In contrast to the utilitarian title of 'The Editor's Page' used by Haydon and Pocklington, Harding's editorials were entitled 'The Editor yarns While the Dixie Boils', casting him in the role of informal campfire storyteller. The pictures which illustrated his editorials, reinforced this, with one showing him with a range of boys of various ages and a dog, gathered round a woodland camp fire.¹⁸⁶ This was very much an outdoors and active image, and showed him in direct and personal contact with his readers, sitting with them, camping with them, and sharing their food. His posture is relaxed and confident, whilst the boys around him appear equally at ease and are paying him full attention. The contrast with the illustrations used during Haydon's editorship is marked, and it is evident that this editorial persona was endorsed by the Society who published his book *While the Dixie Boils* in 1939.¹⁸⁷

In the 1939-1940 volume there was also a series of five cartoons depicting the editor's day, positioned throughout the text of multiple issues, emphasising therefore the centrality of the editor to the text. The images playfully engage with the editorial role and its pressures and conflicting demands, showing images like the editor arriving to a desk filled with teetering piles of correspondence, a young boy lecturing the editor on 'how to conduct the magazine!', and Harding struggling to plan the next issue.¹⁸⁸ Whilst the cartoons showed Harding as accessible and accountable to his readers, colleagues and potential contributors are depicted locked out of his office.¹⁸⁹ In the final image, the editor is drawn in bed dreaming of the day to come, with three figures pressing upon him the demands of cricket, football and

¹⁸⁵ G R Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1930), pp. 41, 858.

¹⁸⁶ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 108.

¹⁸⁷ 'Publications and Copyright Sub-Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 22nd November 1938.

¹⁸⁸ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 60, 149.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

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nature articles. The image is a frantic one, bordering on nightmare. The message is clear, that the editor of *BOP* is thinking of the needs of his readers at all times.¹⁹⁰ Yet, when Cox came to consider what he could write about Harding, he concluded dismissively that 'there is nothing in the magazine or notes to write much about'. It is difficult to understand how someone who gave so much to the paper could have been so easily forgotten.¹⁹¹ There was a noticeable change in Harding's editorial presence after the destruction of *BOP*'s London offices in May 1941. Having reported the destruction to his audience in July, Harding's 'The Editor Yarns...' pages disappeared, replaced with curt editorials, consisting of a few brief paragraphs, which were sometimes padded out with lengthy readers' letters. This may indicate that he struggled with the move from London necessitated after the bombing of the offices, when the magazine staff moved to Doran Court, at Redhill in Surrey. Hewitt describes this as immensely difficult for many staff who faced 'long daily journeys'.¹⁹² Or it may suggest he was uncomfortable with the transfer of the magazines to Lutterworth Periodicals which occurred in June 1941, and it was just six months after this that he was dismissed.

Cox claimed to dislike personal publicity, and that he 'never allowed a photo or the slightest reference to himself'.¹⁹³ His editorials did not carry visual representations like those deployed by Haydon, Pocklington and Harding, but he did on one occasion request 'Phill', the art editor and cartoonist, to supply a drawing of him, in response to a reader's request. The image shows Cox at his desk, besieged by what appear to be readers, contributors, artists, and printers. Cox himself is speaking into two telephones and trying to read two things at once, but is drawn in larger proportions than those who surround him. Although women worked as editors, editorial staff, artists and contributors, the image shows only one female figure taking dictation, sat in a

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

¹⁹¹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13.

¹⁹² Gordon Hewitt, *Let the People Read: A short history of the United Society for Christian Literature* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), p. 80.

¹⁹³ Various, Box 9/15, Letter from Jack Cox to Geoffrey Platt, *Scouting Magazine*, dated 11th June 1976.

subservient position, much lower and smaller than the dominating figure of Cox.

3.8 Illustration

As well as using illustration to create an editorial persona, it was also used by editors as an effective supplement or contrast to written content. Illustration was very much part of the visual discourse of *GOP* during Klickmann's editorship, and in June 1925 for example, 38 per cent of the content, excluding advertisements, was photographs or drawings.¹⁹⁴ Klickmann's *GOP* has been described, somewhat disdainfully, as a 'metaphorical flowerpatch', 'with pictures of plants, frolicking kittens and rabbits running riot across pages of text quite unrelated to them'.¹⁹⁵ This critique suggests a haphazard scattering of illustration, but Klickmann used illustration purposefully, and for a number of different ends. Beautiful cover illustrations, and sketches by artists like Maude Angell, Rosa Lee, Anne Rochester, and Doris Addington showcased female artistic talent, and in their depictions of girls and women, provided a visual identity of the intended readership. Drawings in the 1920s for example gave a modern vision of girlhood, with girls in drop-waist dresses and with shingled hair. Humorous drawings by Dorothy Furniss, the daughter of *Punch* illustrator, Harry Furniss, brought an occasional satirical touch to articles. There were also plentiful half-page reproductions of works of art, from artists such as Yeend King, Rowland Wheelwright, and W Frank Calderon, which gave female readers access to great works of art.¹⁹⁶ Photographs of contributors, royal and famous women, and women 'who are doing things', validated female agency in the world and made other women's experiences more immediate.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps most importantly, the 'frolicking kittens and rabbits', used strategically, could soften the impact of potentially controversial

¹⁹⁴ Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine, June 1925* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1925).

¹⁹⁵ Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper*', p. 164.

¹⁹⁶ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine, June 1925*, pp. 520, 534-35.

¹⁹⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 162-63; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 396-401.

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material. In an article which raised issues of lesbianism and prostitution, drawing of 'frolicking kittens' helped to offset what might otherwise have been seen by readers and the Society alike as too controversial.¹⁹⁸ This juxtaposition of the innocent and challenging was almost certainly a deliberate device, and Gannon notes that Mary Mapes Dodge, the editor of *St Nicholas*, an American children's magazine, made similar use of innocuous illustrations to offset contentious content.¹⁹⁹

Haydon also used a similar technique, breaking up the impact of difficult and violent content, by placing cartoons within articles. In the middle of a serial instalment of 'Aztec Gold' which detailed multiple deaths in a shipwreck, there was a cartoon which poked fun at 'yarns' of the sea, thus serving to break up the intensity of the story's tone.²⁰⁰ Similarly in an instalment of the serial 'Sabre and Spurs!' which dwelled, almost gleefully, on killing during war as a form of sport, there was a seemingly incongruous cartoon showing a giraffe riding on a whale's back, with an assortment of other animals steering them like a submarine.²⁰¹ Both papers made use of cartoons during the First World War, to diffuse and make light of the difficulties being faced. *BOP* carried a series of humorous silhouettes of military life, whilst *GOP*'s idealised images of young girls softened the realities of female war work.²⁰² Amongst *BOP* editors, Haydon's style was the most visually interactive, and he employed high-profile artists including Stanley L Wood and R Caton Woodville to provide colour plates, and analysis of the paper's content over this period shows that he used a particularly large numbers of cartoons and illustrations to break up the

¹⁹⁸ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 38*, pp. 233-35.

¹⁹⁹ Gannon, 'Fair Ideals and Heavy Responsibilities', p. 39.

²⁰⁰ Arthur Lincoln Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1920), p. 456.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

²⁰² Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 38*. pp. 233-235; Arthur Lincoln Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 38* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1916), p. 104; Arthur Lincoln Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1917), pp. 11, 30, 68, 97, 193, 211, 229, 255.

text.²⁰³ In 1919-1920, 20 per cent of all the articles included in the volume were cartoons, and this was an element of *BOP*'s visual culture which all but disappeared under Pocklington, Northcroft, and Halls, only re-emerging, but to a lesser degree, during Harding's and Cox's editorships.²⁰⁴ Under Haydon, the first letter of articles and stories, and sometimes of sections within them, was often 'illuminated' with illustration, and cartoons were woven in amongst the index pages of the annuals. The overall style was playful, lively and visually engaging, encouraging the reader's eye to move about on the page, to engage actively with the text. Pocklington's style was noticeably more utilitarian, with most pages displaying two columns of uninterrupted text, with pictures serving only as direct illustration of content, with the exception of the previously mentioned illustrations above the editor's and correspondence pages. Thus, the high-point of the use of cartoons in *BOP* was in Volume 42 in 1919-1920, and during the 1930s, which some have called the 'Golden Age of English Comics', *BOP*'s use of cartoons faded away to almost nothing.²⁰⁵

3.9 Reader-Identification

During the twentieth century there was an increasing emphasis in magazines on the way in which editors managed their relationship with readers. White observes that the new mass-circulation women's magazines such as *Woman's Own*, and *Woman*, which first appeared in the 1930s, placed greater importance on 'The concept of "reader-identification"', and made use of a 'friendly and reassuring' editorial style. This had already been happening with the 'mill-girl' papers of the 1920s and 1930s such as *Peg's Paper* which addressed readers directly and attempted to establish the editor as a friend who understood their lives and could offer help and support.²⁰⁶ Drotner has pointed to a comparable change in the editorial voice in boys' magazines in

²⁰³ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 2.

²⁰⁴ This percentage is based on number of articles rather than page space. Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*.

²⁰⁵ Carpenter and Childhood, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, p. 85.

²⁰⁶ White, *Women's Magazines*, pp. 97-98.

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the interwar years, noting a new 'chummy intimacy and a breezy directness', as linguistically the editor became the property of the readers, with the introduction of titles such as 'You and Your Editor', and 'Chats with Your Editor'.²⁰⁷ This shift is also discernible in *GOP* and *BOP* and was supported by the Society, through annual reports that were keen to emphasise the personal service which editors could render their readers and the benefits this could bring.²⁰⁸

The Society's emphasis on personal interactions between the reader and the editor effectively endorsed an editorial model where the paper became bound to the identity of its editor, and as previously established this was particularly suited to Klickmann's style, and in 1915 the Society quoted a reader who praised the 'personal touch of the magazine', and Klickmann's ability to speak 'straight to [her] readers'.²⁰⁹ Through her editorial pages she was able to address readers on a vast range of issues, intervening in their lives on the most intimate of levels, addressing issues of work, bereavement, mental health and relationships. Her tone was authoritative and uncompromising, but her advice was incredibly practical and ranged from how to get work experience to how to gain and maintain the friendship of other women.²¹⁰ Her editorials therefore were uniquely tailored to the realities of women's lives and Klickmann evidently used her position to guide her readers.

Spratt's style was more informal and inclusive, which she achieved through devices such as dispensing with the formally titled 'Editor's Page', with its hierarchical communication style, and connotations of authority and ownership, introducing instead, 'Our Post Bag' which included extracts from readers' letters, requests for penfriends, and readers' recipes.²¹¹ She signed off

²⁰⁷ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 217.

²⁰⁸ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 127th', USCL/RTS/05/17.

²⁰⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', USCL/RTS/05/15.

²¹⁰ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 110-14, 164-68.

²¹¹ Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1933), p. xiii.

in intimate fashion such as: ‘So cheerio, everybody, with yards of love, Yours as ever, Jill’. Discussing the American children’s magazine, *St Nicholas*, Gillian Avery has suggested that although the didactic tone of *GOP* and *BOP* did change over time ‘they never achieved the light-hearted high spirits which marked *St Nicholas*’ which addressed readers as ‘my darlings!’, noting ‘No English editor would attempt such affectionate informality’.²¹² Yet it was precisely this breezy and intimate editorial tone which Gladys Spratt deployed so skilfully, and which promoted a close and intimate relationship between readers and editor.

Tinkler raises the issue of how female editors ‘in male positions of cultural authority’ could empathise with readers engaged in more domestic occupations.²¹³ The female editors of *GOP* were all working professionals and whilst in her writings Klickmann might argue that work in the home ‘is in reality one of the widest spheres that a woman can choose’, she herself was not confined to domesticity, noting that ‘I have no “at home” day [...] it is wonderful how you can manage to occupy your time with the simple little duties of an editor’s office’.²¹⁴ Some of her most biting satire was reserved for the social world assigned to women under a patriarchal system, but as the editor of a magazine read by a broad range of girls and women, she needed to be able to encapsulate the different realities of her readers’ lives.²¹⁵ Both Klickmann and Spratt spoke to the readership in a way which was relevant to their lives and communication needs, and must presumably have invested some considerable effort in doing so. Spratt’s easy informality was possible because, unlike Klickmann, she was not addressing a mixed audience of girls and women, but rather a well-defined readership of schoolgirls aged 12 to 16 years.

²¹² Gillian Avery, ‘Young England Looks at America’, in *St. Nicholas and Mary Mapes Dodge: the legacy of a children’s magazine editor, 1873-1905*, ed. by Gannon, Rahn and Thompson, pp. 276-92 (p. 277).

²¹³ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 68.

²¹⁴ Klickmann, *Between the Larch-Woods and the Weir*, p. 102; *ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹⁵ Klickmann, *The Flower-Patch Among the Hills*, pp. 47-48, 260.

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Not all the editors found it easy to develop intimacy with readers, and this seems to have been particularly challenging for those who viewed their role in terms of authority and leadership, believing that the papers were ‘an educational resource and [the] editorial task as vocational as that of a teacher’.²¹⁶ As will be explored further in Chapter Four, both Pocklington and Goodall were didactic in style, using competitions as a tool to assess and grade readers. Pocklington’s editorial persona was stern, combative, and highly didactic, and he often seemed exasperated by his readers. In one editorial he publicly berated the son of a family friend who had hesitated to enter the *BOP* tent at the Scout jamboree some months previously, declaring ‘If you want to meet the Editor, say so [...] don’t leave him to guess it’.²¹⁷ Pocklington was heavily involved in work with young people, and used to being in positions of leadership over them through organisations such as the Scouts, the YMCA, the universities’ camps for public schools, and the Telegraph Messengers Christian Association, and this may have influenced his brisk tone.²¹⁸ Bristow has suggested that the editors of *BOP* in responding to readers’ letters, were authoritarian in their tone, and that this kept readers at a distance, in a position of inferiority to the editor, who dispensed wisdom and knowledge from this vantage point, and this is certainly evident in Pocklington’s era, as will be seen in Chapter Four.²¹⁹ Goodall’s editorial voice was notably more formal and distant than that of Spratt, and there was no sense of her being on an equal footing with her readers.²²⁰ Despite the seemingly inclusively entitled ‘My Page and Yours’, she was intensely critical of her ‘over’-eager readers. In response to the ‘stacks of verses sent in by Club members’ who asked what *GOP* thought of their efforts, Goodall wrote that ‘we are tempted to reply, briefly and rudely, “Not much!”’.²²¹ Whilst Spratt had welcomed each and every piece of correspondence with seeming delight and wonder, Goodall observed begrudgingly that ‘You will go on sending me scores of verses and I shall go

²¹⁶ Cox, ‘Manuscript of Epilogue for *BOP*’, Box 9/6.

²¹⁷ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy’s Own Annual, Volume 52*, p. 194.

²¹⁸ ‘November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*’, Box 11/1iv.

²¹⁹ Bristow, ‘Reading for the Empire’, pp. 42-3.

²²⁰ Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, p. 5.

²²¹ Constance Goodall (ed.), *Girl’s Own Paper, June 1945* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1945), p. 5.

on telling you that they can and should be a great deal better'.²²² She believed her role to be educational, arguing that one of *GOP*'s key functions was to 'open windows for the mind', but in reality her approach was more likely to have discouraged independent thought and creativity.²²³ When Murray took over from Goodall, she seemed to distance herself from her predecessor's authoritative stance, taking a friendly tone and emphasising her desire to be of service to her readers, promising in her first issue as editor that 'I shall always be ready to help you'. Yet there was still a power dynamic inherent within this editor-reader relationship, for readers were cast as supplicants who could seek advice and ask for what they wanted from the magazine, and Murray remained positioned as an authority figure, albeit a kindly one, who would dispense wisdom and try to give her readers what they wanted 'as far as it can possibly be arranged'.²²⁴

Cox was also a strong advocate for the educational model of editing, arguing that the editor of *BOP* was 'expected by the nation to be a moulder of character in the young male', and that 'it is the duty of all responsible adults – and that includes the editors and publishers of all periodicals designed for young people – to do everything in their power to encourage the youth of Britain to think and read for themselves clearly and intelligently'.²²⁵ Cox had a vastly inflated idea of *BOP*'s importance and influence, arguing implausibly that other newspaper editors 'read their *BOP*'s first to find out what was going on in the world', and that 'newspaper men sometimes have a rude shock when they find their standards are not up to the standard' of *BOP*.²²⁶ Yet, whilst it would be easy to deride Cox's sometimes egotistical approach, his life and broader work demonstrate that he was genuinely dedicated to the service of youth, and there is much to admire in his editorial approach. As Chapter Four will demonstrate, he brought an easy informality to the papers, and actively encouraged reader

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²²³ Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, p. 5.

²²⁴ Joni Murray (ed.), *Heiress, October 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), p. 21.

²²⁵ Cox, 'For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists', Box 6/10 iii; Cox, 'Analysis of *Hulton Child Readership Survey 1950*', Box 12/20.

²²⁶ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1 iv; Cox, 'For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists', Box 6/10 iii, p. 3.

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participation. He brought to *BOP* an active, manly vision of religion which seems to have owed much to Scouting, with which he was heavily involved, serving as an Assistant Commissioner for the Boy Scouts in London in the mid-1950s.²²⁷ However, as well as promoting 'clean, manly faith', he also used his editorial voice to tackle social issues, such as 'The Colour Bar' which he attacked in June 1955 as 'an ugly stain', and this is explored in more detail in Chapter Five.²²⁸

3.10 Public Presence

Whilst editors might seek to exercise control over their image within the papers themselves, their work also required them at times to have a public presence, and to perform in the role of editor at a variety of events. The editorial role was seen to provide them with an expertise beyond mere magazine journalism. As well as speaking about his work as an editor, Cox was also called upon as a perceived expert on the interests of boys, or to present prizes or speak at school speech days.²²⁹ Arrangements such as these were often organised by the Publicity Manager in order to raise the profile of *BOP*, but they also had the effect of promoting the editors as holders of special authority and expertise, and rendering them public figures accessible to their readers.²³⁰

Pocklington was wary of this, showing an acute understanding that there was a distinction between his editorial persona projected within the pages of *BOP*,

²²⁷ Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Box 9/1.

²²⁸ 'Bound draft of *Rover Scouting in Practice* by Jack Cox', Jack Cox Archive, Box 4/3, p. 11; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1955*, pp. 17-19.

²²⁹ For example in October 1951 Cox spoke at Eastbourne Public Libraries Children's Book Week, and in February 1952 at Shepherd's Bush Library. Cox, 'Desk Diary 1951', Box 9/1, 25th October 1951, notes at back of diary; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1959', Box 9/1, newspaper clipping 'Boys Only', *Gloucestershire Echo*, 26th November 1959, and Expenses 10th July to 30th November 1959; 'Printed pamphlet, 'Eastbourne Public Libraries: Children's Book Week, October 22-27 1951', Jack Cox Archive, Box 5/6.

²³⁰ Cox, 'Desk Diary 1959', Box 9/1, Expenses, 10th July to 30th November 1959.

and his personal identity. He argued that the editor of a paper like *BOP* should be 'neither seen, nor heard but only read', if he wished to 'maintain the proper halo of mystery and omniscience which ought to hang about his head'. Thus he was extremely uncomfortable with meeting readers face to face, describing an encounter at the Schoolboy's Exhibition when a reader asked 'whether I was the real Editor, or only what he was pleased to call a dummy'. He was also uncomfortable with public speaking, expressing relief at the infrequency of occasions such as the jubilee celebrations at which he gave a speech.²³¹ This may be due to the fact that, despite his bristly editorial persona, Pocklington is said to have been 'a reticent man, modest to a degree, and self-effacing', who was highly concerned with the welfare of readers, going 'out of his way to help [them] with educational problems, such as the supply of second-hand school textbooks, and advice on possible careers and openings in commerce and industry'.²³² Like Klickmann he is said also to have sent personal handwritten replies to readers, and upon leaving his role as editor, he published his name and home address in the paper so that any readers 'who may feel that they have become my *personal*, and not merely *official*, friends' could contact him.²³³ A distinction between his public and private personas may be the key to these disparities between accounts of him as a kind and gentle man, and the extreme didacticism of his editorial voice.

3.11 Conclusion

When considering the reasons behind *BOP*'s longevity, Cox highlighted its adaptability as one of its core strengths, but argued there was a 'thread of a common policy' running throughout which manifested itself in 'the personal touch, the help given to boys [...], the editor's constant efforts to give his readers the best reading he could on a very modest budget indeed', and the

²³¹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13. Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 2; Religious Tract Society, *Memories 1879-1929*, p. 9.

²³² Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 95; 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Box 11/1iv.

²³³ 'November 3 1980, carbon copy of synopsis for *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1.

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same could be said of *GOP*.²³⁴ Each era brought its own challenges, and each editor brought something different to the papers, adapting them to the needs of their readers within the mores of contemporary society. When one considers all the editors of the papers, it is evident that those who were most successful, and came into least conflict with the Society, were those who did not overtly resist the constraints placed upon them by the Society's aims and editorial policies, but outwardly conformed, whilst discreetly bringing their own personalities and interpretations of the policies to bear in the papers. For editors like Haydon this was nearly impossible, and he resisted interference in the editorial content of the papers. At the other end of the spectrum, Klickmann, Goodall and Cox seem to have been most adept at complying with the religious policy of the Society, and accordingly were given the most independence and support from RTS/Lutterworth, and both Klickmann and Cox used this to explore more challenging issues, as will be explored in more depth in Chapter Five. This chapter has demonstrated that the relationship between the editor and reader was a complex one, and whilst each editor's voice and self-representation was linked to their personal attributes and style, there was also a demonstrable link between editorial voice and the intended readership. The next chapter will consider the different ways in which readers were enabled to have a stake in the production of the papers under different editors.

²³⁴ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1iv.

Chapter 4: A Community of Readers

‘*BOP* is more than just a magazine for boys – it’s a pal, and a grand one too’¹

‘It isn’t just a magazine, you must know, it’s a much-loved, never-failing friend’²

4.1 Introduction

Writing on the occasion of *GOP*’s 50th jubilee in 1930, Lily Watson, a regular contributor, reflected that *GOP* ‘was not merely so many pages appearing weekly in a blue cover. It was a sort of friendly centre, a meeting-place of soul and mind’. She argued that any magazine, and particularly one aimed at young people, created ‘an invisible link, binding together its readers into a sort of community, in spite of their widely different surroundings’.³ This sense of community was facilitated in both *GOP* and *BOP* through the range of participatory features run by the papers, such as the letters page, clubs, pen pal schemes, and competitions, all of which encouraged readers to interact with each other and cement ties of friendship and common identity.⁴ Through such interactions the papers became more than repositories of reading material. For, as Price has observed, ‘reading is only one among many uses to which printed matter can be put’, and for some readers, as noted in Chapter One, the papers could become ‘more than just a magazine’ and there is evidence that readers of both *BOP* and *GOP* saw the papers as ‘a much-loved, never failing friend’.⁵

¹ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950*, p. 17.

² Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', USCL/RTS/05/15.

³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, p. 143.

⁴ Joni Murray (ed.), *Heiress, December 1954* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1954), pp. 50-51.

⁵ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950*, p. 17; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', USCL/RTS/05/15.

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One of the key difficulties in any study of periodicals is how to uncover and hear the voice of the readers. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish in any depth who the individual readers of *GOP* and *BOP* were. Nor, arguably, would it be constructive or instructive to do so. Rather, this chapter is primarily concerned with the community, or communities, of readers, the transactions which took place between them and the magazines, and the points of intersection where reader participation became part of the construction of the text. The structure of *GOP* and *BOP* indicates that readers were not expected to be passive consumers of the text but to engage actively with the papers, to enter competitions, share jokes, join clubs, and to give and receive criticism and advice. As readers appeared within the text of the papers, they became part of it, and this gave the impression, and to some extent created the reality, that the papers were a shared enterprise, a collaboration between editors, contributors, publisher and readers.

Chapters Two and Three have explored the role of the publisher and the editor in shaping the papers, and this chapter will consider what Shevelow terms 'reader complicity in the production of the text'.⁶ It will consider the community of readers which engaged with both papers, considering issues of age, class and gender, as well as a study of the geographical distribution of the readership. The majority of this chapter will then explore the many sites of intersection between the readers and the text, and the ways in which these were facilitated within the papers by the editors. It will demonstrate that there was an often strong and vibrant reader presence, and that readers often appropriated the text and extended it beyond words on the page, and it will show that this differed across the two papers, over time, and with different editors.

⁶ Kathryn Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture: the construction of femininity in the early periodical* (London & New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 41.

4.2 The Readership Community

Whilst perhaps little meaningful can be said about individual readers, an analysis of the patterns of readership gives useful insight into the reach of the papers. When readers interacted with the papers, whether sending in a letter, entering a competition, or submitting a joke or article, they sometimes, although by no means always, included details of address, age and name. This information has been sampled at five yearly intervals in order to establish indicative patterns of readership across gender, class and age, and combined with other indicators such as readership surveys, the papers' content, and advertising allows for some assessment of the readership communities of both papers.

4.2.1 Gender

Chapter One noted that girls often read papers intended for boys, and Fraser et al have highlighted 'transgressive tendencies' in the reading of *BOP* and *GOP* during the Victorian era, noting that *BOP* 'regularly includes replies to letters from girls' and pointing to an 1882 article in *GOP* which noted with delight that 'the magazine has proved acceptable to the brothers of our girls'.⁷ However, this study has established that from 1914 onward, whilst there were some male readers engaging with *GOP*, this was limited to the earlier years of Klickmann's editorship, and from the late 1910s onwards the paper became an increasingly feminised space. This is not to say that there were no male readers, but as the twentieth century progressed they no longer played a role in *GOP*'s textual landscape. Indeed, when a male reader attempted to engage with *GOP* in 1939, Spratt appeared highly uneasy, assigning her correspondent the pseudonym of 'Boy' in order to keep his 'identity dark', and rejecting his request for pen-friends, firmly stated that 'I really think the *BOP* would be more in your line [...] I am passing your letter on to the Editor of that magazine'.⁸ Conversely, girls' names appeared in *BOP* up until the early 1950s, albeit in

⁷ Fraser, Johnston, and Green, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, pp. 65-66.

⁸ Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, July 1939* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1939), p. xviii.

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relatively small numbers, some belonging to the *BOP* Club and seeking pen friends, but primarily entering competitions.⁹ Female participation was encouraged and acknowledged by editors and the Society alike, and the Society's 1926 Annual Report declared that *BOP* was popular with a 'wide circle of "boys" of both sexes and all ages'.¹⁰ Perhaps the highest profile 'transgressive' female reader was Queen Elizabeth, The Queen Mother, who confided to Cox that she used to 'purloin' her brother's copy of *BOP* and read it before him.¹¹

Yet whilst female readers were welcome *BOP* remained centred around masculine interests and in September 1930 Pocklington rejected the idea of changing the title to 'The *Boy's and Girl's Own Paper*' because he argued this would deter 'The sort of girl who reads the *BOP* [who] reads it *because* it is a boy's paper, and because she is interested in the sort of things in which boys are interested'.¹² Both Rose and Drotner have argued that girls found boys' papers more exciting, and prior to the Second World War there is much evidence to support this.¹³ As early as 1888, Salmon found that whilst girls' favourite magazine was *GOP*, their second choice was *BOP*, and one female correspondent informed him that 'Girls as a rule don't care for Sunday-school twaddle; they like a good stirring story, with a plot and some incident and adventures – not a collection of texts and sermons and hymns strung together'.¹⁴ This concurs with M K Ashby's suggestion that the popularity of *BOP* with young female readers may have been due to the 'long voyages of the boys in the stories' which offset readers' own experience of 'continually

⁹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 124-25; Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1941* (Redhill: Lutterwoth Periodicals, 1941), p. 44; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930*, p. vi.

¹⁰ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930*, p. vi; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 127th', USCL/RTS/05/17.

¹¹ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 123.

¹² Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, p. 857.

¹³ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 171; Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, pp. 379-81.

¹⁴ Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, pp. 23, 29-31.

interrupted adventures and the severe usefulness of their errands'.¹⁵ Thus, in reading *BOP* female readers could imagine a more exciting life, and Rose has suggested that in this way the paper 'could have a liberating influence' on female readers, and he points to female readers like M K Ashby who later became a writer and historian, and Muriel Box who went on to become a screenwriter and director both of whom 'fought over' *BOP* with boys.¹⁶ Jenkinson's 1940 survey found that around a quarter of girls' juvenile periodical reading was 'devoted to boys' "bloods", and although the three most popular magazines for girls were schoolgirl magazines, they were also regularly reading *Wizard*, *Hotspur*, *Magnet*, *Adventure*, *Rover*, and *Skipper* which were intended for boys.¹⁷ In contrast, Jenkinson found that boys 'very rarely recorded that they had read girls' magazines'. Whilst this does not necessarily mean that they did not read them, it does demonstrate that boys did not identify themselves as readers of girls' periodicals.¹⁸ Thus whilst, as Rose suggests, 'girls could leap out of constricting female roles by identifying with adventurous male characters', during this period boys were much less likely to engage in what Fraser et al have described as 'a theatre for cross-gender performativity'.¹⁹ Given girls also continued to read their 'own' magazines it appears that female readers 'alternated effortlessly between heroes and heroines' and were therefore comfortable with exploring alternative identities.²⁰

However, as set out in Chapter One, during the 1950s an increasing number of magazines targeted young female readers. Thus whilst the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* of 1950 revealed girls reading a large number of publications primarily intended for boys, by 1957 the Smith and Harrap survey

¹⁵ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 379; M. K. Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe, 1859-1919: a study of English village life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 242.

¹⁶ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 379.

¹⁷ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, p. 217.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹⁹ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 380; Fraser, Johnston, and Green, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*, p. 43.

²⁰ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 380.

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found that the major divide in magazine readership was along gender lines. Smith and Harrap found that only three magazines were read by boys and girls: *John Bull*, *Picture Post* and *Reader's Digest*, none of which were specifically 'boys' or 'girls' magazines. This pattern of decreasing female readership of boys' papers was accelerated in the readership of *BOP*. As highlighted in Chapter Three, under Cox, female contributors decreased, or at least became less visible, and the same occurred with readers. From the early 1950s onward female readers gradually disappeared from *BOP's* pages and the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* found that in 1950 girls accounted for less than three per cent of those who said they read *BOP* compared to 30 per cent of those reading *Eagle*, and 11.5 per cent of those reading *Adventure*.²¹ This is consistent with Drotner's assertion that as the twentieth century progressed, whilst class boundaries between juvenile periodicals diminished, gender differences were 'reinforced' until it became 'easier to find common social denominators rather than common sexual denominators'.²²

4.2.2 Class

Class was always somewhat of a thorny issue for the papers. As Chapter One explored, although *BOP* and *GOP* were ostensibly cross-class publications, during the twentieth century both papers became increasingly focused on a middle-class ethos. The actual cross-class intentions of the papers might also be questioned, for in a brochure published to appeal for funds for the Hutchison Memorial, W J Gordon who had served as *BOP's* sub-editor from 1879, and continued to do so until 1933, reflected that within a few months of *BOP's* launch it 'obtained its best advertisement by being read by the better boys in the schools while the penny dreadfuls remained amongst the undesirables'.²³ This suggests that *BOP* was never intended to replace the penny dreadful for working-class readers, but to draw middle-class readers away from their perceived dangers. During the period of this study, both

²¹ British Market Research and Market Information Services, *The Hulton Child Readership Survey*.

²² Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 239.

²³ W J Gordon, 'Illustrated typescript of *Boy's Own Paper, Hutchison Memorial*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 13/6 x, p. 2.

papers' content was primarily focused on middle or upper class lifestyles and aspirations, although as Chapter Five will discuss, characters experiencing poverty were often championed in the papers' fiction.

Yet, as Tinkler has pointed out, fiction was 'often designed to transcend experience and was therefore less informative about the reader's identity'.²⁴ She suggests therefore that the 'occupation of the reader' revealed through editorials, advertisements and articles is a better measure of the intended class of the readership. On this basis Tinkler has argued convincingly that *GOP* was 'imbued with the educational ideals of the professional middle classes'.²⁵ Klickmann certainly had a clear vision of the class of her readers, contrasting a visiting friend doing crochet from 'one of the magazines you are supposed to edit', with a working class servant sat in the kitchen 'blissfully engaged [...] in trying to construct a "dainty evening camisole" (as per some penny weekly she had bought [...])'.²⁶ During Klickmann's editorship, advertisements for a broad range of consumer products including health supplements, 'holiday wear', and fashions, suggested that readers were expected to have both disposable income and the leisure-time in which to spend it.²⁷

Spratt's *GOP*, as Tinkler points out, was firmly aimed at secondary schoolgirls, and the kinds of careers girls were being prepared for, indicated that readers were believed to be predominantly middle class.²⁸ Whilst there were fewer advertisements during Spratt's editorship than before or after her tenure, those there were again assumed that readers could afford to pay for, or came from families who could afford items such as photography equipment, hockey

²⁴ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 47.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

²⁶ Klickmann, *Between the Larch-Woods and the Weir*, pp. 116-17, 121.

²⁷ See for example: Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine, July 1914* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1914), pp. 1-11.

²⁸ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 48; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1931), pp. xii-xiii.

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sticks, and tennis rackets.²⁹ Under Goodall and Murray, consumer products proliferated, and as Abrams notes, even by 1959 there remained a 'substantial economic gap between middle class and working class girls'. Thus the array of products in *Heiress* suggests advertisers were at least hoping for a middle class audience.³⁰ The title *Heiress* in itself was of course somewhat aspirational, although Lutterworth Periodicals claimed it was a reference to the teenage years as ones where girls were about to inherit the good things of adulthood (and of course the paper's advertisers also hoped the readers would be interested in purchasing some of these good things).³¹ The entry for the *Writers and Artists' Year Book* for 1955 stressed that *Heiress* was a paper for 'intelligent teen-age girls', and content such as 'Chip of the Old Block' showed girls staying in education until at least 17, as opposed to the more common age of 14 for working class girls.³² Explorations of working class lives through non-fiction articles such as 'The Girls Who Make Your Clothes' carried an air of class tourism, in which middle class readers could find out 'what the people are like who spend their working lives making the clothes you enjoy wearing'.³³

Despite Cox's claims in 1952 that *BOP* had 'developed a formula which appeals to boys of all classes and types', its content also appears to have been geared towards middle class values.³⁴ *BOP* consistently privileged the world of the public schools through fiction such as 'The Ace of Stamps: A Story of Public School Life', and non-fiction which promoted the 'Great Public School Athletes' and the work of the public school missions in helping 'Less Fortunate Brothers

²⁹ Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1939), p. 7; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1940), p. 2.

³⁰ Abrams, *Teenage Consumer Spending in 1959 (part 2): middle class and working class boys and girls*, p. 7.

³¹ G M Lewis, 'Memo regarding change from *GOP* to *Heiress* , appended to Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th February 1947.

³² *The Writers' And Artists' Year Book 1955*, (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1955), p. 48.

³³ Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, pp. 16-18, 20; Constance Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, September 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), pp. 25-27.

³⁴ Cox, 'Private & Confidential report to the Board of Directors Lutterworth Periodicals: From Jack Cox 7th February 1952', USCL/RTS/02/21.

in Poor Districts'.³⁵ The emphasis on public schools shifted a little over the years and in the 1930s Pocklington began to introduce grammar school boys through content such as 'Garvice Vs Grammar', and by 1954 Cox described his readership as 'long-trousered grammar schoolboys', although this certainly did not indicate a shift toward representations of working-class life.³⁶ Some content involved working class characters, but they tended to be painted either as caricatures or co-opted into middle class values.³⁷

There is some evidence that the Society and Lutterworth Periodicals considered both papers' target audience to be middle or upper-class. Advertisements for the papers placed by the Society in the *Advertiser's "ABC."* promoted the target readership of *GOP* as 'the cultured and comfortably-off class', and suggested that an advertisement in *BOP* would tap into 'the spending capacities of the better-class British Boys [which] run into many millions a year'.³⁸ In 1953, faced with declining circulations, Sir Hugh Lawson-Johnston suggested sending copies to a 'list of his friends' whilst Pearl Lawson-Johnston suggested the targeting of pony and riding clubs.³⁹

However, although the papers appear to have been primarily geared towards the interests of a middle-class audience, that is not to say that cross-class reading did not occur, or was unwelcome. One high profile example of working class enthusiasm for *BOP* was Ramsay MacDonald, who despite being born into poverty had been an avid reader of *BOP* as a young man.⁴⁰ Cox was

³⁵ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, pp. 338-40, 414-16, 483-84; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 38*, pp. 43-46, 119-21, 151-53, 269-71, 436-39, 463-66, 533-35, 614-17, 685-86.

³⁶ Cox, 'For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists', Box 6/10 iii; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, pp. 1-11, 112-21, 167-76, 217-28, 318-28, 392-401; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, pp. 289-312, 361-84.

³⁷ See for example, Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, pp. 628-41.

³⁸ 'Her home is her office and her hours, all day!', p. 355; 'Where most Women Meet', *The Advertiser's ABC*, (1930), p. 349; 'Supported By the Boys of Britain!', p. 311.

³⁹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 17th November 1953.

⁴⁰ Religious Tract Society, *Memories 1879-1929*, p. 18.

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always keen to stress the 'all-class appeal' of *BOP*, and recalled receiving post from 'well-known and little-known public schools, [...] cities, obscure country villages and industrial, murky towns, and [...] parts of Greater Manchester which I knew well from personal experience to be slum areas', and letters were published in *BOP* from boys at technical colleges, and secondary modern school.⁴¹ A high proportion of content referring to public schools was not necessarily a deterrent to working class readers, and Robert Roberts recalls the surprising popularity of public school stories amongst poor boys who copied the public school slang, conduct and even physical mannerisms of their fictional idols.⁴² Yet such readers appear to have been in the minority, and as Roberts' account suggests, working-class readers who engaged with middle-class publications tended to be co-opted into their values. Both Jenkinson's 1940 study and the Smith and Harrap 1957 report indicate that *BOP* did not attract readers from senior or secondary modern schools. Whilst Cadogan and Craig suggested that *GOP* and *Heiress* were 'rather upper-class', its readership was actually somewhat more diverse than *BOP*'s, with Jenkinson's figures revealing that 15 per cent of *GOP*'s readers were senior school girls, and the Smith and Harrap report found that *Heiress* was read by 3.8 per cent of grammar school girls and 2.2 per cent of secondary modern girls.⁴³ *BOP*'s failure to attract a cross-class audience probably damaged its circulation levels, for Jenkinson's figures reveal that whilst secondary and senior school pupils each read magazines which the other did not, the most popular magazines were those which appealed to the broadest demographic.⁴⁴

⁴¹ 'November 3 1980, carbon copy of synopsis for *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 46; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1964*, p. 63; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, March 1965*, p. 47.

⁴² Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, pp. 286-7; Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 127.

⁴³ Cadogan and Craig, *You're a Brick, Angela!*, p. 285; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 214-15; Smith & Son Ltd and Harrap & Co., *Survey of Boys' and Girls' Reading Habits*, pp. 6-7.

⁴⁴ Thirty-nine per cent of Secondary School boys age 12 to 14, and 61 per cent of Senior School boys of the same age were reading the most popular boy's magazine, *Wizard*; whilst *Schoolgirls' Own* was read by 30 per cent of secondary girls aged 12 to 14 and 36 per cent of senior girls of this age. Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 68-70, 214-15.

It seems likely that *BOP*'s and *GOP*'s core readership was amongst the aspirational middle-classes. A 1936 national survey of reading habits, whilst it did not consider juvenile publications, did establish that the readership of *Woman's Magazine* lay primarily in lower income brackets with 79 per cent of readers residing in families where the head of the household earned between £125 and £499, which was associated with the lower and upper middle classes.⁴⁵ Given the homogeneity of the Society's publishing policy, and that most of the religious magazines included in the survey had a similar economic spread of readership, it seems likely that *BOP* and *GOP* were also read mainly in these middle class households.

4.2.3 Age

As Chapter One has explored, *BOP*'s target readership remained relatively constant during this period, primarily focusing on 12 to 18 year olds, and this study has found that the average age of *BOP* readers engaging with the paper was 13.8 years old. By contrast, *GOP* underwent dramatic changes in the age of its intended readership, driven by both the publisher and the editors, but also in response to changes in girls' and women's lives, and ideas and ideals of girlhood. Lily Watson suggests that during her editorship Klickmann deliberately moved the age of her target readership upwards in order to enable more mature themes to be addressed, but letters were still received from girls of 14 as well as competition entries from women with grown up children.⁴⁶ Whilst the broad audience seems surprising now, in 1930 *The New Survey of London Life and Labour* found that whilst clubs for boys did not incorporate men, girls and women 'habitually belong to the same club, with the result that an actual majority of the members of girls' clubs are over 18 years of age'.⁴⁷ It was therefore not an uncommon expectation during this period that girls and

⁴⁵ W. N. Coglan, *The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain, 1936* (London: The Incorporated Society of British Advertisers Ltd, 1937), pp. viii, 269-387; Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, *IPA Survey of Press Readership 1939*.

⁴⁶ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, p. 144.

⁴⁷ Hubert Llewellyn Smith, *The New Survey of London Life & Labour* (London: P.S. King, 1930), p. 25.

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women would share in the same interests, and many of the articles in *GOP* would have undoubtedly been read by both older women and younger girls. However, this did present Klickmann with the problem of how to address issues which might only be suitable for one sector of her readership. There were, for example, several fictional items during the 1910s which dealt with issues around sexual abuse, which will be explored in further depth in Chapter Five. How could Klickmann address such issues alongside other concerns of older women such as marriage and romance, whilst avoiding exposing younger readers to unsuitable material? Partially, as outlined in Chapter Three this was managed through the use of illustration which offset contentious material and could allow for multiple readings, with older readers able to decode a more sophisticated reading of the text than younger ones. The two stories which are highlighted in Chapter Five as examples of the paper addressing child abuse, could almost certainly have been interpreted innocently by younger readers without sexual knowledge, whilst women might detect the issues which were being raised. However, the diversity of the magazine format was also used to good effect by signposting articles as particularly appropriate for certain sectors of the readership. For example in March 1915 an article entitled 'The Graces of Life: A Paper for Thoughtful Girls' and two 'Prayers of Unfolding Womanhood' were addressed towards a younger adolescent audience, providing instruction and guidance, whilst a page of patterns for 'House Frocks, Aprons, and a New Overblouse', and an article bearing the sub-title 'For the Woman who Thinks Lack of Money a Bar' were aimed at women with responsibility for 'housekeeping' and the care of children.⁴⁸ This use of titles and sub-titles to signpost certain sectors of the readership towards different articles was often even more explicit such as June 1920's 'Training the Child to be Obedient', which was sub-titled as part of a 'Series of Articles for Young Mothers'. This was printed alongside an article entitled 'Our Heart's Desire', which was sub-titled 'An Intimate Talk with Girls'.⁴⁹ This technique was undoubtedly increasingly useful during the 1920s as there was a growing diversification of articles for younger girls as distinct for those for women, and this is explored in more depth in Chapter 5.

⁴⁸ Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1915* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1915), pp. 337-338, 360, 361-362, 379.

⁴⁹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 525-528.

When Spratt took up the editorship in 1930, these issues were resolved as she focused the paper towards a younger schoolgirl audience, whilst *Woman's Magazine* was retained for older girls and women. During Spratt's editorship *GOP* came in line with *BOP*, and Jenkinson's study undertaken in the late 1930s found that the papers had remarkably similar readership profiles in terms of age, with the majority aged 14 or under.⁵⁰ Whilst the 1950 *Hulton Child Readership Survey* found *BOP*'s readership age profile much unchanged, with 50 per cent aged 11 to 13 years old, 21 per cent aged 8 to 10, and 29 per cent aged 14 and 15, *Heiress* was now targeting an older readership. The average age of readers engaging with *GOP/Heiress* moved upwards between 1945 and 1955, from 15.9 in 1945, to 16.5 in 1949 to 1950, and 17.7 in 1954 to 1955, although there were very few readers in their twenties.⁵¹ Analysis of the *Hulton Readership Survey* and the *Hulton Child Readership Survey* demonstrates that *Heiress* had indeed established an audience amongst over 16s, but despite being ostensibly aimed at 'teenage' girls aged 16 and over the paper was being read by girls from age 8 upwards, and just over half of all the readers were under 16, although the majority of these were over 14.⁵² Given these figures, Cox's suggestion in 1952 to reduce the target age range to 14 to 19 year olds, seems sensible.⁵³

Advertisements are also indicative of the intended age range of the readership, and as might be expected advertisements in *BOP* were reasonably consistent, with the four most prominent categories being cycling, education and training, hobbies supplies and toys. However *GOP*'s advertisements changed in line with the intended readership, and whilst in 1914-1915, 36 per cent of adverts were for clothing, fashion and footwear, followed by household goods (17 per cent), and health and hygiene products (15 per cent), under Spratt's editorship

⁵⁰ Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 68-70, 214-15.

⁵¹ These figures should be treated with some caution as they are based on relatively small samples of readers who gave their ages when engaging with *GOP/Heiress*.

⁵² Hulton Press, *Hulton Readership Survey 1950*; British Market Research and Market Information Services, *The Hulton Child Readership Survey*.

⁵³ Cox, 'Private & Confidential report to the Board of Directors Lutterworth Periodicals: From Jack Cox 7th February 1952', USCL/RTS/02/21; Cox, 'Analysis of *Hulton Child Readership Survey 1950*', Box 12/20.

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the top advertisements were for books and magazines, followed by cycling and charities. By Volume 66 (1944-1945), when Goodall had taken over and moves had begun to shift the readership age upwards, the figures had changed again and the highest categories were grooming and beauty, followed by food and drink, then health and hygiene, and cycling. Once *Heiress* was introduced the three top categories were grooming and beauty, clothing, fashion and footwear, and health and hygiene. It is clear therefore that advertisers were well aware of the distinct breaks in intended age of the readership, and tailored their advertising accordingly.

4.2.4 Spatial Analysis

Readership surveys such as the 1936 Incorporated Society of British Advertisers survey and the 1939 IPA Survey demonstrated that where people lived could affect magazine readership.⁵⁴ Both surveys established that *Woman's Magazine's* readership was predominantly based in London and the South East, with other key areas of strength in the South West, North West, Midlands, Yorkshire and Scotland. Spatial analysis undertaken as part of this study into the readership of *BOP* and *GOP* has produced findings which are broadly in line with these (See Appendix 5). Despite some fluctuations in readership over the period of this study, overall, the findings suggest that there was a remarkably consistent geographical distribution of readership, across *BOP* and *GOP*.

The majority of those engaging directly with the papers were resident in the United Kingdom. It is likely that this was in part due to barriers preventing overseas' readers contacting the papers, such as delays and costs of the postal system, which would have been particularly exacerbated during the two World Wars. *GOP* readership within the United Kingdom was clustered predominantly around the London area and South East, the Midlands centred around Birmingham, and the North West. Readership was more sparse in the South

⁵⁴ Coglan, *The Readership of Newspapers and Periodicals in Great Britain, 1936*; Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, *IPA Survey of Press Readership 1939*.

West and Wales, the far north of England and the East Midlands. There were some readers in Ireland, both south and north, but a significantly larger number in Scotland, and in 1939-1940 these became more concentrated around the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen. During the 1950s the concentration of readership around the Greater London area increased, but in general the spread of readership remained relatively similar.

The British readership of *BOP* was also clustered around the London and Greater London area and the North West, with relatively few readers in the South West and Wales, but in the earlier years of this period there was a much broader spread of readers across the central counties, including areas such as Cambridge, Norwich, Nottingham and Leicester. During the 1930s the readership became increasingly concentrated around London, and the North West, with a corridor of readers running up through the Midlands. There was a notable decrease in Scottish readers during the 1930s and 1940s, and very few Irish readers overall, particularly in the South, although Frank O'Connor the Irish writer, recalled that growing up in Cork, the Carnegie Library kept *BOP*.⁵⁵ It was only under Cox's editorship in 1959-60 and 1964-65 that there was a return to the broader spread of readers seen in the earlier years.⁵⁶ In later years efforts were made by both papers to include readers from different parts of Britain. In 1950 there was a focus on attracting Scottish readers, and in 1954 *BOP* encouraged regional debate through a series of letters which pitted northern readers against southern readers over the comparative merits of Rugby League and Rugby Union.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Frank O'Connor, 'Only Child', *Twentieth Century Literature*, 36 (1990), pp. 365-68 (p. 366).

⁵⁶ It is not clear why there were these regional differences, and whilst much of the fiction did not name a specific location, where it did, there were a variety of settings, including both rural and urban, London, Manchester, Scotland, Devon and Cornwall, and overseas.

⁵⁷ The December 1949 issue of *Heiress* included a special announcement that the next issue 'contains special features for Scottish readers', whilst in September 1950 Cox promised his Scottish readers that the future held features of relevance to them such as 'training boys in mountaineering in the Cairn Gorms': Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, p. 27; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, p. 17; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1954* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1954), pp. 80-85.

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Both papers also had a global readership, which tended to be concentrated in parts of the British Empire or Commonwealth, such as Australia, New Zealand, India, Canada and South Africa, but there were also readers in the United States, Brazil, Italy, Portugal, and France to name a few. As a world-wide distributor of religious tracts, the Society had a pre-established distribution network, which was used to despatch *BOP* and *GOP* 'to every corner of these islands, to every part of the empire, and beyond it', and it was hoped that this would promote the 'future unity and peace of the world'.⁵⁸ Alfred Crofts recalled that *BOP* was sent by relatives to 'a few fortunates' at his International School in Chefoo, now Yantai, in China.⁵⁹ In some countries a localised version of *BOP* was developed, the most high profile of which was *Balak*, written in Bengali, and with a self-proclaimed political agenda, to provide 'wholesome literature' as an antidote at a time when 'the mind of the Indian boy is being distracted and confused by so much political propaganda'.⁶⁰ By the time of Cox's editorship *BOP*'s circulation had spread to 55 countries, and 'special issues' were produced in foreign languages such as Chinese and Greek, which were 'given away as a Christmas gift in faraway places'.⁶¹

4.3 Readers' Interaction with the Papers

In an article written to celebrate *BOP*'s 75th anniversary Cox noted that 'Without our readers, we should not have a magazine at all, and in the *B.O.P.* office they are regarded as most important people because they are our friends'.⁶² Martin Barker suggested this relationship between the editors, the readers and their paper, may have been a major contributing factor to *BOP*'s longevity. Readers, he suggested, were loyal to *BOP* because it 'took them seriously', and the same

⁵⁸ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22; Gordon, 'Illustrated typescript of *Boy's Own Paper, Hutchison Memorial*', p. 6.

⁵⁹ Alfred Crofts, 'Vernacular of an English School in the Orient', *American Speech*, 10 (1935), pp. 24-29 (p. 24).

⁶⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', December 1921.

⁶¹ Various, Box 9/15, Notes for G Platt, The Scout Association, 8th June 1976.

⁶² Cox, 'The Story of *BOP*', Box 7/4 Folder C ii, p. 4.

might be said of *GOP*.⁶³ The rest of this chapter will explore the many and varied points of intersection between the readers and the papers, the ways in which readers actively participated in and became part of the text.

4.4 Interpreting the Text

The most immediate form of reader engagement with the papers was of course, the act of reading itself. In physical terms alone this varied throughout this period, and the young person who received an annual for Christmas would have interacted differently with the text from those reading the monthly paper. The annuals, large tomes weighing over two kilograms, are cumbersome, and could not be transported or held in the hand for reading in the same way as the much lighter monthly issues. Up until the Second World War, the papers themselves were slightly smaller than A4, measuring around 28 cm by 21 cm, but as paper-rationing took its toll the papers dropped dramatically in size, and in 1943 measured just 19 cm by 12.5 cm. The papers did not increase in dimension until early 1950, and even then they were not restored to full size, measuring just 21 cm by 15.5 cm. This would have made them less easy for potential purchasers to spot, for as Cox observed in 1952, by comparison to their competitors 'Both BOP and Heiress are swamped on the bookstalls and newsagents' counters'.⁶⁴

Readers bring their own interpretation to any text, but the heterogeneous format of magazines is particularly geared towards the individualisation of the reading experience. Rahn argues that a reader's relationship with a magazine is distinct because unlike a book which implies 'a kind of dialogue with its

⁶³ Barker also suggests that another factor may have been the paper's popularity with adults within the sectors which were providing for young people: schools, libraries, and Sunday Schools. Martin Barker, 'Review: Jack Cox. Take a Cold Tub, Sir! The Story of the Boy's Own Paper', *Youth and Policy*, 2 (1983), p. 45.

⁶⁴ Cox, 'Private & Confidential report to the Board of Directors Lutterworth Periodicals: From Jack Cox 7th February 1952', USCL/RTS/02/21.

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author', a magazine 'is like entering a community which authors, editors and subscribers inhabit to create the whole'.⁶⁵ Readers could move freely within this community, backwards and forwards, omitting certain sections, and favouring others, and the contents pages and lists of contributors and illustrators included in some of the monthly issues and annuals of *BOP* and *GOP*, encouraged this practice by allowing readers to navigate their own path through the text. Over the years there was also an increasing disruption of the chronological format in both papers, as articles no longer always appeared on successive pages, and an article which started near the front of the paper might conclude at the back, or indeed vice versa.⁶⁶ This made the reading experience more challenging, but also made explicit the practice of reading magazines non-chronologically. Yet whilst readers may construct their own meaning, as Tinkler notes, preferred readings would have been clear to readers who were part of the dominant culture, and editors could sign-post intended messages through means such as style of layout, repetition and reinforcement.⁶⁷ Chapter Five will explore the way in which the papers' content created consistency and resolved diversity.

4.5 Letters

Shevelow has suggested that the inclusion of readers' letters within periodicals was key in 'establishing the appearance of a dialogue between parties mutually concerned in the production of the periodical'.⁶⁸ In the papers' earlier years this dialogue was often somewhat distorted, because the letters themselves were not printed, and although the question could often be inferred by the response, in some cases the present-day reader can only speculate. In 1919 for example, one response merely stated 'Many such introductions do not end well'.⁶⁹ Yet even without the readers' letters, *BOP's* correspondence section

⁶⁵ Rahn, 'St. Nicholas and Its Friends', p. 93.

⁶⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, pp. 17, 24; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1954*, pp. 22-23, 86-93.

⁶⁷ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, p. 37.

⁶⁹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, p. 126.

was still a key point of intersection between editors and readers, and from the responses it is clear that letters had a variety of subjects and intended outcomes. During the 1910s and 1920s readers tended to use the magazines as a reference tool, such as the *BOP* reader who asked for advice on the care of tortoises, or the other who wanted to know how to make a sundial.⁷⁰ Answers could be brusque, and there was a particular hostility towards those who were perceived as failing to help themselves. One such seeker after knowledge received the response: ‘why not use your eyes? The firm advertises on the inside of our back cover *every* month’, whilst another asking about a coin was informed that ‘The reference in the inscription is to Luke XX. 25, to which you should have referred, as the lettering is clear enough’.⁷¹ Stamp collectors who tried to persuade *BOP* to identify specimens on their behalf were particularly castigated and instructed to buy a stamp catalogue and do the work themselves.⁷²

GOP featured relatively few readers’ enquiries during Klickmann’s editorship, and reader visibility actually declined between Volumes 36 (1914-1915) and 46 (1924-1925). Those letters that were answered tended to be about crafts such as needlework, knitting and crochet, although one reader in March 1915 who had sought advice on a potential suitor was told she was ‘on the way to miss true happiness through timidity and over-scrupulousness’.⁷³ Readers did not always get the answers they were looking for, and in March 1915 one *GOP* reader seeking practical advice on how to earn a living as an artist, was advised to abandon her ambition, because ‘the only direction in which money is to be made in the present day is in one of the branches of domestic science’. This was reinforced by a response to another reader printed immediately

⁷⁰ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 126; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, p. 429.

⁷¹ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 647; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, p. 319.

⁷² Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, p. 691.

⁷³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1915*, p. 28.

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underneath, which read: 'I think you are exceedingly wise to decide to specialise in cookery'.⁷⁴

Letters were also answered privately and the Society's annual reports emphasised that 'no more useful work is being done by the RTS than this personally conducted moral and spiritual guidance to enquiring and sometimes lonely souls'.⁷⁵ This practice reinforced Klickmann's personal identification with the paper, discussed in Chapter Three, encouraging readers to see Klickmann as a friend and confidante, and such letters indicate that there was a high level of reader identification with *GOP* at this time. One reader's letter to Klickmann, published in an annual report noted that 'I think I would miss almost anything than give up the *Girl's Own*, and have induced my friends to read it, and now we are all staunch Girl's Ownites, if I may use such a phrase'.⁷⁶ Another long-term reader testified that 'I recommend [*GOP*] to my present friends, but I find that those for whom I have the greatest esteem already take it'.⁷⁷

During the 1930s both Spratt and Harding began to paraphrase letters, and included sometimes lengthy quotes in features which promoted a (false) sense of intimacy between editor and reader. Harding's 'Keeping in Touch' feature ran as a fictionalised conversation between 'the Editor' and 'Puck', as they examined the contents of the mail-bag, and discussed the contents of readers' letters.⁷⁸ Spratt's 'Postbag' feature similarly scanned as though 'Jill' was

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

⁷⁵ Whilst the published rules for correspondents stated that 'NO Correspondence can be answered through the post', the magazine also published lists of readers whose letters *had* been answered by post. Flora Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, November 1914* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1914), pp. 2, 16; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 128th', USCL/RTS/05/18.

⁷⁶ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 116th', USCL/RTS/05/15.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, January 1941* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1941), p. 4.

reading readers' letters aloud, and responding directly to their authors.⁷⁹ However, it was not until the 1950s that readers' letters, or at least parts of them, were printed, and Cox recorded receiving 'over double' the number of letters of any previous editor, on average 600 per week in the winter months, and 300 to 350 in the summer months (the discrepancy he explains as due to holidays and school exams in the summertime).⁸⁰ These numbers cannot of course be verified, but as Shevelow notes, 'the sheer volume and variety of correspondence in a number of different types of periodicals' supports the idea that readers were eager to correspond with magazine editors.⁸¹ Cox was honest enough to admit that the reason for some of the many letters he received was that *BOP* paid for those which were selected for publication, anything from seven shillings and six pence up to two guineas for the star letter, for as he acknowledged, 'boys are realists'.⁸²

Even when letters began to be printed the readers as they appeared on the page were inevitably an editorial construction, presented through an abbreviated version of their letters with a 'compelling heading' to draw the eye. Whilst Cox claims this was done to 'save money and space' it also allowed editors to shape readers' correspondence into a cohesive feature, which served as a powerful tool in presenting readers an image of themselves as a community. As Shevelow asserts, even if the letters published by periodicals were edited, or even manufactured, 'they were *represented* as the work of the periodical's readership', and thus she suggests they were a key tool for editors 'to project an image of a community of readers mutually engaged in the production of the text'.⁸³

Any letter chosen for publication formed part of a projected identity, but the use of a star letter was a means to signal the ideal type of *BOP* or *GOP* reader.

⁷⁹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933*, p. xii.

⁸⁰ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 119-20.

⁸¹ Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, pp. 37-38.

⁸² Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 119-20.

⁸³ Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, p. 38.

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In December 1954 the star letter was from a reader in Mombasa, Kenya, and described a cycling tour which the reader and his friends had undertaken under extremely difficult conditions, due to the climate and poor roads, after being inspired by the cycling column in *BOP*. Here, on display for other readers to see, was a young person who not only read *BOP* but engaged with it and acted upon it, who embraced healthy outdoor pursuits despite tremendous difficulties.⁸⁴ The fact that this was an overseas reader engaging in a popular and familiar activity with which domestic readers could identify, was almost certainly not co-incidental, given that Cox had used his editorial in this paper to emphasise international harmony, in an article entitled 'One World One Family'.⁸⁵ Other published letters in this month were from a Japanese reader seeking pen friends in order to make 'relations between us more close and friendly', and a reader in Mauritius praising Cox's recent series of articles 'on the work of UNICEF'.⁸⁶ Readers' letters could therefore also give each issue of the paper a common thread of identity. Cox saw this as a key part of his role, and in his 1952 report on the papers one of his primary criticisms of the failing *Heiress* was that 'one rarely sees articles and stories linking up, or cartoons and readers' letters linking with the professional material'.⁸⁷

Whilst one can never be completely certain that readers' letters appearing in magazines were genuine, and not created by the editor, in Cox's case it appears likely that the letters were authentic. The Jack Cox Archive hold several original handwritten letters from readers which Cox kept in his desk diaries, from as far afield as Pretoria, on subjects from girlfriends to education. In the case of the cyclist from Mombasa, the letter can be externally verified, because it was described many years later by its author Dr Cornell da Costa who recalled that his teacher at The Goan High School in Mombasa encouraged his students to write and submit articles to both their local newspaper 'and UK published magazines like *Boys Own* [sic]'. Dr da Costa went on to recall that

⁸⁴ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1954*, p. 80.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 80.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 84.

⁸⁷ Cox, 'Private & Confidential report to the Board of Directors Lutterworth Periodicals: From Jack Cox 7th February 1952', USCL/RTS/02/21.

'one of my earliest articles to get accepted by *Boys Own Magazine* [sic] was about a cycling trip organised [...] from Mombasa to Kilifi and back that turned out to be on an incredibly hot day. The magazine editor could not resist including an original cartoon of us roasting in the sun with my piece!'. What Dr da Costa did not point out was that the illustration showed two *white* boys, rather than reflecting the actual ethnicity of the cyclists.⁸⁸

4.5.1 Readers' Lives

Yet, whilst editors could use readers' letters to present an image of readers as a cohesive community, as Bristow highlights the letters page also 'explicitly acknowledged [readers] as individual participants in the paper'.⁸⁹ By publishing readers' names alongside their letters full of personal concerns, views and issues, the individual reader gained a voice and a stake within the text, and correspondence features afforded readers a space within which to explore issues of importance to them. During the Second World War *BOP* readers wrote describing their experiences, from being called up, to one reader whose house was 'demolished by a bomb', and wrote to report that he had 'managed to rescue his "B.O.Ps."'.⁹⁰ More prosaically, *Heiress* readers of the 1950s used the 'Rendez-vous' correspondence feature as a forum for sharing the details of their lives, such as a trip around the film studios at Elstree, a recent 'climbing and trekking holiday', and one reader's description of her close relationship with her mother.⁹¹ Such letters, placed in print not only reinforced the kinds of girls *Heiress* readers were or should be, but also gave the unequivocal message that girls' lives were important and interesting in their own right. Letters could also be used by editors to gain information about readers and their interests, and in 1950 two separate advertisements for

⁸⁸ Dr Cornel DaCosta, 'Leo Noronha: A personal tribute to an inspirational and charismatic teacher. By Cornel DaCosta, a former student' <<http://www.goanvoice.org.uk/supplement/LeoNoronha.html>> [accessed 15th July 2013]; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1954*, p. 80.

⁸⁹ Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', pp. 42-43.

⁹⁰ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 4.

⁹¹ Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, pp. 38-39.

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BOP appeared in *Advertiser's Weekly* which drew on analysis of reader correspondence to encourage advertisement of relevant products.⁹²

Arguably there was sometimes also an element of ritualised performance around readers' engagement with the paper, and it seems likely that many readers knew what to write or do in order to get their letters published. For example, Ann Brewer won the star letter award of 10 shillings in *Heiress* in June 1955 by writing in to thank the editor for a prize she had won in a previous competition. She concluded on a different note with a tip for examinations: 'When work has been faithfully done, then "trust and be not afraid"'. Her letter therefore showed approved traits of good manners, diligence and religious faith.⁹³ One *BOP* reader was evidently aware of this practice, complaining about correspondents who 'make the most outrageous statements with the obvious intention of cornering the 5s postal order'. Cox, responded by awarding this reader 'a 5s postal order for his "outrageous" suggestion!'.⁹⁴

4.5.2 Inter-reader Debate

Such 'outrageous' letters could be extremely useful as a starting point for inter-reader debate, and Cox described running 'Fors and Againsts on issues of the day', which were intended to generate reader interest and drive up readership.⁹⁵ A controversial letter such as that from Terence Wallace in 1950 suggesting cutting the ever-popular stamp collecting pages would lead to a deluge of reader views and debate with Cox serving as final adjudicator, in this case concluding that 'Our postman groaned with the heavy burden of letters received on the merits and otherwise of stamp collecting', but those against

⁹² 'Advertisement for Boy's Own Paper', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 16th February 1950, p. 276; 'Is it included in your schedule? Boy's Own Paper', *Advertiser's Weekly*, 20th July 1950, p. 118.

⁹³ Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, p. 38.

⁹⁴ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, p. 51.

⁹⁵ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Box 11/1iv.

were 'hopelessly outnumbered!'. Thus Cox facilitated debate between readers, allowed their voices to be heard and taken seriously, before bringing the issue to a light-hearted conclusion.⁹⁶ This was not a new idea, and was used by Pocklington, who in 1930 sought readers' views regarding the public school system of fagging, after a 14 year old boy's suicide had been attributed to the practice.⁹⁷ The incident had generated a great deal of interest in the contemporary media, and Pocklington was deliberately engaging his readers in a controversial issue which cast a boy of their own age as the central, and news-worthy figure.⁹⁸ However, the slow nature of the papers' publication cycle made them particularly unsuited to current affairs, and by the time Pocklington's coverage was published in September, the furore in the newspapers predominantly in May and June, had largely died down, rendering the debate, if not redundant, then at least a little tired.⁹⁹ It is questionable therefore whether these kinds of debate were sufficiently timely or relevant to cause any real change in circulation figures, and it is likely they were most effective for encouraging readers to think beyond individual dialogue with the editor, and to see themselves as part of a community of readers. Spratt was particularly skilled at undermining the implicit didacticism of the editor-reader dialogue, by encouraging readers to answer each other's questions, comment on each other's suggestions, and critique the paper's content.¹⁰⁰ This gave the message that readers were valued, and elevated them from relatively powerless schoolgirls to individuals with a right to be heard.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), pp. 60-61.

⁹⁷ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, p. 857.

⁹⁸ For some examples of coverage of this incident in the media see, 'A Schoolboy's Suicide: Dislike of Fagging', *The Times*, 10 May 1930, p. 9; T A Hale, 'Fagging at Sedbergh (Letters to the Editor)', *The Times*, 12 May 1930, p. 17; John W Wilson, 'Fagging at Sedbergh (Letters to the Editor)', *The Times*, 13th May 1930, p. 17; A Knyvett Gordon, 'Fagging in Public Schools', *The Times*, 14 May 1930, p. 17; 'School Speech Days, Clifton School, Headmaster's Defence of Fagging', *The Times*, 30th June 1930, p. 9.

⁹⁹ Klickmann, *The Lure of the Pen*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁰ For example, in April 1931 Spratt asked readers to write in with 'suggestions for new hockey attire' in response to a reader's request, and asked 'Does any Club Member know the meaning attached to Thelma, please? I am not quite sure about it'. Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper incorporating Every Girl's Paper, April 1931*, pp. x, xii.

¹⁰¹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933*, p. xiii.

4.5.3 Challenging Authority

Letters pages could therefore serve as a space within which readers could enter into debate about the papers and challenge their content. In *GOP* this was largely confined to Spratt's editorship, when readers asked for additional features, whereas before and after this there was a marked tendency for readers' letters to express gratitude and compliance with editorial policy.¹⁰² However, challenge was a consistent part of *BOP*'s culture and throughout the period of this study readers took the opportunity to engage critically with the periodicals, writing in to make corrections, ask for clarification, or to offer criticism.¹⁰³ *BOP* editors were acutely aware that their audience was extremely quick to identify inaccuracies, and Cox ruefully noted that 'one ambiguous fact, one hurried and false conclusion may bring a thousand letters and more'.¹⁰⁴ Northcroft recalled a boy who wrote to complain that his construction of the 'Boy's Own Reflecting Magic Lantern', had been 'a dismal failure', and the author was able to offer advice which Northcroft noted, with seeming relief, 'showed the boy his mistake and justified the author'.¹⁰⁵ Authors, however, were not always correct, and when a reader in 1949 challenged a contributor on the accuracy of an article, the author was forced to admit that 'The error is mine'.¹⁰⁶ Discussions such as these could develop, and draw in multiple readers as well as authors or illustrators and the editor, and in 1950 one reader, who had written in to correct an error in an artist's illustration in the paper, found himself in turn challenged by a fellow-reader.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, p. 4; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, pp. 38-39; Joni Murray (ed.), *Heiress, March 1955* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1955), pp. 30-31.

¹⁰³ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 319; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1949* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1949), pp. 50-51.

¹⁰⁴ Cox, 'For the Journal of the Institute of Journalists', Box 6/10 iii.

¹⁰⁵ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, pp. 102-03.

¹⁰⁶ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1949*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁷ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1950*, p. 61.

4.6 Associational Activities within the Papers

One key way in which both papers engaged readers, encouraged participation, fostered corporate identity across their readership, and attempted to increase circulation was through inter-reader clubs. Associational activities were a key part of young people's lives during the first part of the twentieth century, and Ward found that in 1947 around three quarters of the young people she interviewed aged 11 to 15 were in some form of club or organisation.¹⁰⁸ In the 1930s even the royal family were in uniform, as Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret joined the Guides and Brownies, and 'hiked and earned badges in the Windsor Great Forest and the gardens of the palace as members of the 1st Buckingham Palace Company'.¹⁰⁹ Thus the use of associational groups in *GOP* and *BOP* seems astute, and in tune with the enthusiasms of contemporary youth, and a wider societal belief in the benefits of associational life.

Such youth organisations had at their core the belief that adolescence was a time of danger, and that youthful (often male) energy should be channelled away from commercial leisure and street games towards 'healthy, manly activity'.¹¹⁰ Thus, Springhall suggests, adolescent leisure was seen as distinct from adult leisure well before the supposed rise of an independent youth culture in the 1950s and 1960s, and he argues that it is 'no coincidence that youth organisations and clubs...emerged at a time ...when adolescence was coming to be seen as a distinct social category'.¹¹¹ This argument is taken up by Fowler, who asserts that the development of a 'distinctive teenage culture' was initiated in the interwar years, rather than the 1950s.¹¹² He points to the 'discrepancy between the ideals of youth leaders and the activities that were popular at their clubs', and the need for youth leaders to 'adapt their

¹⁰⁸ Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁹ Tammy M Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', *History Workshop Journal*, 45 (1998), pp. 103-34 (p. 129).

¹¹⁰ Springhall, *Coming of Age*, p. 147.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 155.

¹¹² David Fowler, *The First Teenagers: the lifestyle of young wage-earners in interwar Britain* (London & Portland: Woburn Press, 1995), p. 1.

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movements' to meeting members' needs or suffer losses of membership.¹¹³ Proctor also points to the agency of young people involved in youth groups in the interwar years, suggesting that individual members' engagement in the 'rituals, language, and uniforms' of Scouting and Guiding 'drew from and contributed to the building of a youth subculture in the interwar years', and 'represented the desire of youth to carve out independent spaces for themselves in interwar society'.¹¹⁴ Thus, the study of the associational activities offered by both *BOP* and *GOP* and the way in which these were accessed and used by their readers is of great interest. As will be shown, it was precisely this desire to achieve a unique space for youth which was so clearly expressed in the enthusiasm with which the readers of *BOP* and *GOP* took up the associational activities offered to them, and then altered and extended them to meet their own needs.

4.6.1 Types of Club

In the early years of this study there were differences between the kinds of associational opportunities offered by each paper. During Klickmann's editorship, *GOP*'s clubs, such as 'The Music Club', 'The Literary Club' and 'The Art Club' were run by prominent contributors, and were primarily focused on correcting and instructing their readers. Criticism could be harsh, and one 14 year old reader was informed that 'you have not yet acquired the art of writing anything more than a child-like sort of letter [...] and your style is generally amateur'.¹¹⁵ Yet, whilst the columns may have been intended to instruct, readers also appropriated them for their own ends. Some of those using the literary club did so in the hope of getting their work published, whilst one music club correspondent sought help finding a post as a music teacher.¹¹⁶ The clubs were subscription-free in this period, but each enquiry required a separate coupon from the current month's issue so multiple questions

¹¹³ Ibid., pp. 159, 170.

¹¹⁴ Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', p. 129.

¹¹⁵ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1915*, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, November 1914*. p. 3; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1915*, p. 14.

required the purchase of additional copies, and readers who wanted their work critiqued by the papers' 'experts' had to pay a fee of six shillings.¹¹⁷ The system was rigorously enforced, and in 1915 'Charity' was advised through the art club column that because she did 'not appear to have enclosed the necessary fee', her work would not be dealt with until the money was received.¹¹⁸

By contrast, the clubs initiated by *BOP* under Haydon and Pocklington focused on international friendship, outreach to other readers, and active engagement in the world. In 1912 Haydon launched the *BOP* League of Friendship, 'with a view to its forming a bond of union between readers of the *B.O.P.* the world over'. It was evidently successful in reaching a transnational audience, for in October 1916 Haydon related news of a club in Melbourne, Australia, set up in connection with the League of Friendship, which was holding weekly meetings, and producing its own magazine.¹¹⁹ Compared to clubs organised by both papers in later years, it was unstructured, and ill-defined. Members were not required to make 'any definite vows', but were urged 'to lead a clean, manly, Christian life, to be active workers for good in the world, not to be slackers or merely passive lookers-on'. A membership number and card were provided, and members were entered on the 'League register'. Those 'who desire some form of recognition' could also purchase a badge for seven pence.¹²⁰

There was considerable reader enthusiasm for such clubs, and when Haydon proposed a new 'Naturalists' Corresponding Club' in 1915, he was inundated with readers' letters, one of which envisaged 'a branch in every town, with a "County Controller" to supervise the branches in his county'. Haydon's more modest vision was for 'a page [...] each month [devoted] to the doings of the Club and to natural history subjects generally', to which readers from Britain

¹¹⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1915*, p. 2; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper and Woman's Magazine, July 1914*, p. 2.

¹¹⁸ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1915*, p. 26.

¹¹⁹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, p. 26.

¹²⁰ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 90.

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and overseas could submit notes, articles and drawings.¹²¹ By 1919 the club, now entitled the Boy's Own Field Club (BOFC), was well-established as 'a department of the paper [...] open to every reader', with its own competitions and correspondence section, and this greatly increased the visibility of readers within the paper.¹²² Like the League of Friendship, the BOFC was also relatively unstructured, with no membership fee, although again there were extras for those who could afford it, with 'Silk badges, specially made for members' use' offered for three pence.¹²³ Readers had evidently been successful in extending the club beyond the printed page, and were encouraged to form local groups such as 'rambling clubs in connection with the B.O.F.C.', but whilst advice might be given on planning 'work to do, specimens to collect, observations to be made', readers were left in no doubt that *BOP* could offer no financial or organisational support.¹²⁴

It is evident that editors initiated clubs in which they were personally interested, for once Haydon left, the BOFC was downgraded by Pocklington who removed its separate correspondence page and finally in 1927 'merged' it with the League of Friendship to form the '*BOP* Club'.¹²⁵ This new club was a vehicle for Pocklington's favoured project, a pen friends scheme which linked readers from all over the world 'in the interests of world peace among young people'.¹²⁶ Pocklington appropriated the idea from scouting, where it had had some success, and used it to forge transnational links between readers. Unlike Haydon's loose unstructured approach to clubs, in line with Pocklington's general didacticism, the pen friend scheme emphasised quality rather than quantity, and readers were limited to at most three correspondents, but were expected to write well and regularly. Unsurprisingly, this scheme was well

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 614, 671.

¹²² Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 124-25.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 122, 125.

¹²⁵ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, pp. 97-98; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 574.

¹²⁶ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 3.

supported by adults in position of parental responsibility, such as teachers, youth leaders and clergy, as well as parents themselves.¹²⁷

Whilst up until 1930 *GOP* had clubs which were vastly different to those of *BOP*, this was probably because of the differences in the ages and interests of the papers' intended readerships. The broader and older readership of *GOP* would not have been well-served by pen-friend schemes or nature field clubs. The differences were evidently not predicated on gender, for after 1930, *BOP* and *GOP* clubs were remarkably similar in structure and intention, and the new *GOP* Club had the similar aim 'to promote friendliness among the girls of all nations', as well as enabling readers to 'form a close friendship with Jill'.¹²⁸ Both clubs were now charging three pence for membership, which offered readers who could pay more than the cost of the papers access to additional features. Whilst for *BOP* Club members this was simply the right to participate in the pen-friend scheme, *GOP* Club afforded a broader range of privileges, including special competitions and prizes, and exclusive access to the 'post bag' feature, which included readers' correspondence, the pen friends section, careers advice, and reader to reader features such as Cookery Nook where club members shared recipes. This meant that membership was a pre-requisite if readers wanted to see their letters in print, or engage with each other and the editor.

Where *GOP* led, *BOP* followed, but not until later in the 1930s and early 1940s, when *BOP* Club members had access to exclusive features such as the Notice Board which welcomed contributions, including letters, from members only, and offered them 'Special Prizes'.¹²⁹ After the Second World War, during Cox's editorship, the *BOP* Club became increasingly sophisticated and expensive

¹²⁷ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Box 11/1iv.

¹²⁸ At the outset the *GOP* Club was actually known as the *Every Girl's Paper* (*EGP*) Club, because when *GOP* was merged with *Every Girl's Paper* it already had its own club. This anomaly was resolved during 1933. Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, inside front cover.

¹²⁹ Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 34.

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offering boys a range of benefits through the *BOP* Reader Advisory Service, including advice on ‘hobbies, sports and interests, and especially careers’, a pen-pal service, and extra prizes, in return for a joining fee of one shilling and nine pence.¹³⁰ Readers were given personally tailored careers advice which drew on the ‘Laban Lawrence Aptitude Test’, and one reader wrote to thank *BOP* because ‘As a direct result of your advice, help and assistance [...] I have been awarded a scholarship to study forestry at Oxford University’.¹³¹ Cox also met regularly with Cedric Raphael the Head of Shell News Division in 1958 and 1959, and forged ties with Shell to provide careers opportunities for readers, and Cox recorded that Shell estimated ‘12 to 20 suitable boys came to them from [...] *BOP* schemes’.¹³² *Heiress* also refocused club provision, in the late 1940s and 1950s to match the older audience, and provided expert advice on ‘careers and sport [...] cosmetics and dress’.¹³³

In addition to the main *BOP* and *GOP* clubs, specific interests were also addressed through clubs such as *BOP*’s Flying League, and *GOP*’s Skylarks which responded to the national fascination with flight in the 1930s and 1940s.¹³⁴ *GOP* also featured a modern language club, around this time, the ‘*GOP* Language Circle’, which set monthly lessons and translations in French, Spanish and German, and corrected readers’ work and issued prizes.

¹³⁰ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950*, pp. 64-65.

¹³¹ Cox, 'The Story of BOP', Box 7/4 Folder C ii, p. 4.

¹³² Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 3.

¹³³ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, p. 77.

¹³⁴ The Flying League was a separate club with its own membership charge and benefits such as special competitions, and advice on ‘model aeroplane construction’ and aviation, and was intended to ‘develop “air-mindedness” and ‘foster the sport of Model Flying’. The Skylarks was a section of the *GOP* Club, and dealt with ‘anything to do with flying’, and ran its own competitions. Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, January 1941*, p. 3; G J H Northcroft, *Boy's Own Paper, November 1933* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1933), p. xxvi; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, April 1941* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1941), p. 19; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, p. vi.

4.6.2 Reader-led Initiatives

Both papers also showed responsiveness to reader interests, and the large numbers of letters Spratt received about readers' pets, probably influenced the introduction of a 'Pets Corner' section of *GOP* Club which allowed members to enrol their pets and send letters to be answered by a fictional 'GOP' cat, 'Napoleon'.¹³⁵ *BOP* recognised readers' own private clubs, running a series of 'Camera Chats' in 1941 which provided ideas for boys who were 'running a camera club', and featuring news of the 'Allumette Society' in the same year. The latter, for collectors of matchboxes, is an example of the way in which readers used the papers as a starting point from which to build their own interests and networks. It was initiated by a reader's announcement in the May 1940 issue of *BOP*, as a result of which other like-minded readers contacted him, and by January 1941 the 'Allumette Society' had 'fifteen members, including two from South Africa, one from Bombay, and another from Ceylon', all receiving a 'fortnightly bulletin, complete with coloured, illustrated cover, distributed free', and run by readers independently of *BOP*.¹³⁶

With Harding's encouragement, club members used the 'Notice Board' to appeal to other members living near them to form local club branches, both for the *BOP* Club and the Flying League.¹³⁷ There were varying levels of sophistication, with some producing their own newsletters, whilst in 1941 the Penwortham Branch organised a variety of fundraising activities for the war effort.¹³⁸ Such local clubs could be particularly useful for those with unusual interests such as the boy seeking others interested in 'small-dinghy racing', or readers who found themselves isolated in unfamiliar areas, such as L Wilks, who set up a branch in early 1941 after being evacuated to Weston-Super-

¹³⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, December 1933, pp. vi, vii; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, July 1939, p. iv; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, June 1945, p. 8.

¹³⁶ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, January 1941, pp. 13, 86.

¹³⁷ Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, June 1945, p. 44; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, January 1941, p. 13; Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, June 1945, p. 44.

¹³⁸ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, December 1941, p. 44; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, February 1941, p. 12.

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Mare.¹³⁹ Researchers have observed similar behaviour amongst young people who attended youth organisations and clubs, and Reed's 1950 study found that 'whatever be the motives of the leader in promoting his organization, its chief value in the eyes of many of its members is that it gives them a chance to find themselves in a society of their contemporaries'.¹⁴⁰ Thus the seemingly individualised act of reading the paper not only led to virtual networks established by post and through reader to reader exchange in the columns of the papers, but could also serve as a springboard for readers to establish social relationships close to home, and to band together with other young people into youth groups which were, significantly, member-led.¹⁴¹

4.6.3 Consumerism

It had been part of Pocklington's original intention that the *BOP* Club should bring readers 'into closer touch' and that merchandise such as badges and pennants would allow them 'to recognise one another'.¹⁴² This expanded somewhat, and during the 1930s both *BOP* and *GOP* Club members could purchase a range of items such as 'Club Stationery' printed with the club badge, at a cost in 1939 of 3 shillings for 100 sheets and envelopes.¹⁴³ Other merchandise included a *BOP* pennant and the *BOP* diary, and a 'three-coloured enamel Badge'.¹⁴⁴ *GOP* readers could buy wristlet bands, blazer badges, necklets, and brooches, although it was stressed that 'the use of these things is quite optional'.¹⁴⁵ Thus, just as Proctor found a 'seductive consumer paradise' within the scouting and guiding movement which she argued

¹³⁹ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1949*, pp. 50-51; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1950*, p. 61; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁰ Reed, *Eighty Thousand Adolescents*, p. 100.

¹⁴¹ Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1944*, p. 40.

¹⁴² Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930*, p. vi.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. vi; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933*, inside front cover; Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, January 1939* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1939), p. xx.

¹⁴⁴ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 2nd March 1949; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1949*, p. 75; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, January 1941*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. x.

demonstrated that 'status and rank had not disappeared', so the readers of *BOP* and *GOP* were also stratified according to spending power. Indeed Proctor suggests that the collection of such consumer items was 'almost as important a part of the movement as activities and ideology'.¹⁴⁶ However, although the purchase of pins, banners and diaries did introduce differentiation amongst the readers, such items could also, as Pocklington had hoped, serve as signifiers to other readers, allowing 'real-world' relationships to form. In September 1950, Eddie Burtwell wrote in to *BOP* describing how whilst 'out cycling [...] my B.O.P. pennant flying in the wind, [...] I passed another boy who was also proudly flying the pennant. We both stopped and in no time at all were exchanging names, addresses, hobbies – *and* opinions of B.O.P.!'.¹⁴⁷

4.6.4 Raising Circulation

The clubs were also used to encourage regular readership. *GOP* readers were required to provide verification from a newsagent that they had taken out a 12 month subscription in order to join the *GOP* Club, and this was also introduced in *BOP* in later years.¹⁴⁸ Club members could also claim free gifts such as fountain pens and books if they introduced a new reader who had taken out a twelve month subscription.¹⁴⁹ Under Spratt, the *GOP* Club was explicitly structured to increase readership, with club members progressing through a series of ranks such as 'Petal', 'Big Ben' and 'Blue Butterfly', solely on the basis of numbers of new readers recruited to the club. Each new reader introduced had to have their own twelve month subscription, and on achieving each rank members received a small gift such as a 'solid gold bar [...] brooch'.¹⁵⁰ By the time club members achieved the rank of Blue Butterfly, they would have had to recruit 31 other readers, but astonishingly some readers went much further,

¹⁴⁶ Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', pp. 104, 125.

¹⁴⁷ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, p. 51.

¹⁴⁸ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. vi; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. ix; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930*, p. xv; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, inside rear cover.

¹⁵⁰ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933*, inside front cover.

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and in 1939 Enid Wilkinson received a 'Statuette of Friendship' in recognition that she now had 'over 200 recruits to her credit'.¹⁵¹ Thus girls were encouraged to see themselves as active participants in the paper, with a stake in its successes, and readers were linked to each other through networks of introductions. Interestingly, within 'real world' youth movements, this level of organisation and ritual tended to be more popular with the middle classes, as many working class young people preferred the club movement which as perceived as less structured and controlled.¹⁵²

This system of referrals, unique to *GOP* was also almost certainly the reason why the *GOP* Club appears to have been far more popular than the *BOP* Club. In 1931, Spratt claimed that *GOP* Club membership was twice that of the *BOP* Club, and with her encouragement, the club grew rapidly from 14,000 members in February 1933, to 18,000 by the end of that year, reaching 44,000 in 1939. By 1941 there were an astounding 57,000 girls in the club, more than four times as many as *BOP* Club, which had 13,000 members.¹⁵³ Given Lutterworth's circulation figures, this suggests that in 1941 there were more members of *GOP* Club than there were copies of the magazine being purchased, presumably because members were not being rigorously removed once they stopped buying the magazine, whilst just over a third of those who bought *BOP* were club members. Whilst these figures cannot be independently verified, they suggest that the readers of *GOP* engaged differently, and in a more active way than the readers of *BOP*. This is also consistent with membership figures for the Guides and Scouts, which show that membership figures for the Guides consistently outstripped those for the Scouts from the

¹⁵¹ Ibid., inside front cover; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1939* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1939), p. ii.

¹⁵² Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', p. 105.

¹⁵³ To place this in context, numbers of Girl Guides in Britain peaked at around 623,000 in 1933, see *ibid.*, p. 106; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933*, p. xi; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, p. ii; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1939*, inside front cover; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 2; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, August 1940* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1940), p. 2; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, April 1941*, p. 12; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper incorporating Every Girl's Paper, April 1931*, p. xiv; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 102.

early 1920s onwards, and at times, there were around 30 per cent more Guides than there were Scouts.¹⁵⁴

4.6.5 Internationalism

With the exception of those run by Klickmann, all the clubs shared a common aim, to promote international friendship. Membership was transnational, and in 1933 Spratt reported that ‘most of our [...] Club Members are scattered in different countries throughout the world’.¹⁵⁵ Both clubs appear to have been successful in recruiting members from a wide variety of countries, and in 1930 Pocklington reported members in France, Germany, Greece, Egypt, India, Singapore, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Nigeria, North and South America and the West Indies.¹⁵⁶ As Spratt highlighted, the aim of this internationalism was that readers living far apart, in different countries and continents ‘will be corresponding, reading the magazine, and doing the same competitions, and thus the *GOP* Club will be helping in its own way to promote peace and friendship throughout the world’.¹⁵⁷ Readers became increasingly sophisticated participants in a transnational social-networking service, often making specific demands, such as *BOP* readers who requested correspondents ‘in “British and Mediterranean lands”’ or on the ‘Gold Coast’.¹⁵⁸ It was not uncommon for *GOP* Club readers to extend the pen friend scheme beyond letters, and to visit their pen friends abroad, and in 1939 a French reader specifically requested ‘to receive an English girl of her own age for a holiday’.¹⁵⁹

When war came in 1939, in many ways the papers continued to advocate peaceful co-operation. In November 1939, Spratt professed her hope that

¹⁵⁴ Proctor, '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39', p. 106.

¹⁵⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1933*, p. xi.

¹⁵⁶ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930*, p. vi.

¹⁵⁷ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, inside front cover.

¹⁵⁸ Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1939* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1939), p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, p. 42; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1939*, p. iv.

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'though the nations may be at war [...] the school-girls of the world can find a common meeting place in the *Girl's Own Paper*'.¹⁶⁰ The clubs' membership pulled together, and in October 1940 at the start of the Blitz, Spratt revealed that *GOP* club members had been contacted by the parents of overseas' pen friends 'offering them the hospitality of their homes for the duration of the war and as long afterwards as they would care to accept'.¹⁶¹ Just four months later, after Greece had entered the war as an ally, *BOP* featured a lengthy article from regular contributor Sercombe Griffin, about a visit to Greece as a '*BOP* Special Representative', commissioned by Harding 'to visit the Greek *B.O.P.*-ites in Athens'.¹⁶² The article was used to re-emphasise the unity of the world-wide community of *BOP* readers and made the extraordinary statement, at a time of war, that 'All *B.O.P.*-ites are brothers the world over, and it's a brotherhood which transcends even patriotism'. Griffin concluded, 'what a heaven the world would be if rulers but acted on these *B.O.P.* principles!'.¹⁶³ Whilst it might be suggested that this unity was being extended to allies only, *GOP*'s modern language club continued to teach German throughout the war, under the tutelage of 'Fraulein'.¹⁶⁴ Yet despite this, the clubs did rally to patriotic causes, and *GOP* club members were asked to knit for the war effort, at first knitting squares for blankets for the Personal Service League, and towards the end of the war making garments for the ATS. However, this was still couched in terms of the mutuality which was a hallmark of the *GOP* Club in particular, as it was promoted as 'doing a real service to the girls who are serving YOU'.¹⁶⁵ A *GOP* Junior Land Corps was also formed which required members to 'promise to help my country by growing whatever I can, wherever I can, to increase our food supply'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, November 1939* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1939), p. 2.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, October 1940* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1940), inside front cover and p. 2.

¹⁶² Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 102.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁴ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 2; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, p. 40.

¹⁶⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, p. 40; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 16.

¹⁶⁶ Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, pp. 12-13.

When war ended both clubs continued their focus on international goodwill and looked to the healing of transnational relations. *Heiress* encouraged club members to learn a language in order to ‘cement a firm and lasting international friendship’ and those that did were named and acknowledged, and in 1955 German girls were seeking pen friends to undertake exchange holidays.¹⁶⁷ Global links were also seen as valuable for promoting unity in the Commonwealth, and in his editor’s page in August 1960, Cox claimed that ‘The Queen was interested in our efforts to link *B.O.P.* readers throughout the world with each other through pen friendships and personal contacts’, and was pleased to learn of its readership overseas ‘throughout the Commonwealth [...] in fifty-four countries at the present time’.¹⁶⁸

Whilst it is difficult to evaluate how successful the clubs were in their aim to promote international understanding, perhaps the strongest testament to the strength of club members’ bonds is their longevity. Cox came across many readers who had been introduced in the 1920s, and whose correspondence had not only survived the war but continued into the 1950s which, as he observed, upheld Pocklington’s belief that the club was a zero-cost means of creating ‘goodwill between readers in as many as 40 countries’.¹⁶⁹

4.7 Competitions

Competitions were another key point of intersection between the readers and the papers, and some readers entered on a regular basis, and won multiple prizes, sometimes in the same issue, and in the December 1939 issue of *GOP* four readers won two prizes each in a variety of competitions.¹⁷⁰ Members of

¹⁶⁷ Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, June 1955, p. 42.

¹⁶⁸ Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, August 1960 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960), p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1iv.

¹⁷⁰ Lloyd Woodhouse was specially commended in the December 1919 and June 1920 *BOP* BOFC prize awards, and in March won first prize of a guinea in the paper’s picture story competition. Kathleen Bateman, L Eleanor Symons, Anne-Marie Giles, Nita Stevens and Desda Coates all won

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the same family also won prizes, such as Stella and Edna Rose in the December 1919 and March 1920 BOFC competitions respectively; and in the March 1920 picture story competition four boys living at the Orphan House in Bristol were awarded prizes.¹⁷¹ The emphasis on an international community of readers was sometimes undermined by the problems which overseas readers faced in trying to enter competitions with relatively short deadlines. Pocklington made some attempts early in his editorship to address this by launching a photography competition specifically for readers living abroad, which would roll over from month to month.¹⁷² However this was somewhat divisive as it did not allow overseas readers to compete alongside other readers in the same competitions and in 1930 the correspondence page was again addressing the 'difficulties of distant overseas readers' in entering competitions.¹⁷³

The number and type of competitions, and the prizes available, varied over time. Competitions were broadly divided between those initiated by the papers themselves, and those funded by advertisers, and of the 14 competition results announced in *GOP* in December 1939 two were associated with advertisers. Advertisers' competitions tended to give cash prizes, of as much as three pounds, whilst the papers' own prizes were a combination of money and items such as books, sports equipment, craft equipment, paint boxes, or cameras.¹⁷⁴ The editor could influence the way in which competitions were delivered, and whilst under Haydon competitions were often large in scope, after Pocklington took over he rapidly decreased the number of prizes available, arguing that 'To win a prize in a "B.O.P." competition ought to be something of a distinction, and not merely a chance of adding another book to your shelves without

prizes in *GOP* Club Language circle competitions in December 1939 and June 1940, several of them in multiple languages. Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 124, 313, 509; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, pp. 17-18, 24; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷¹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 124, 313, 317.

¹⁷² Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 612.

¹⁷³ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, p. 645.

¹⁷⁴ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. ii; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 5.

expense to yourself'.¹⁷⁵ Similar differences occurred within *GOP* from editor to editor, and Spratt's editorship was particularly notable for the number of competitions readers could enter. In December 1939 alone, 137 entrants won prizes or special mentions for their work in 14 different competitions. By contrast, just five years later in December 1944, under Goodall's leadership, just nine prizes were awarded, in one competition.¹⁷⁶

The tone of competitions could change as well as the format and prizes. Spratt's competitions were varied, and readers could choose which suited them, from language skills, to painting and drawings, photography, essay writing, poetry, growing flowers, or solving puzzles. Her competitions were also inventive and playful, particularly in the earlier years, and having judged, with a 'broad smile', a competition entitled 'That Time at School When -', she declared it impossible to publish entries because the best 'tell of the callous hoaxing of teachers [...] and might lead to many regrettable breaches of law and order if the distinctly clever ideas were copied'.¹⁷⁷ By comparison the competition entry extracts published by Goodall in June 1945 seem far more staid, as one entrant to a competition on resolutions declared she would learn 'what I can of our Allies, and my own country, so I can take an active interest in national and international affairs', whilst a party planning competition attracted the suggestion to 'provide plenty of thin bread and butter and bridge rolls'.¹⁷⁸

Prior to *BOP*'s takeover by Purnells in 1963 there had been an increasing trend towards crossword competitions, possibly because, as Pocklington noted, they were simple, popular and generated large numbers of entries.¹⁷⁹ However, after the takeover, competitions became increasingly sophisticated both in

¹⁷⁵ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, p. 313; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 423.

¹⁷⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, pp. 17, 24; Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, p. 56.

¹⁷⁷ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper incorporating Every Girl's Paper, April 1931*, p. vi.

¹⁷⁸ Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁹ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, August 1930*, p. viii.

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terms of prizes and format, and were often themed around popular subjects such as flight and music, with prizes tailored to match. There was a return to large numbers of prizes, and links were made increasingly explicit between competitions and advertisements, and in June 1965 the first prize was £25 in vouchers 'to be spent with any advertisers in the current issues of *BOP*'.¹⁸⁰ The new-style competitions became a focal point of the magazine, and readers were encouraged to 'tell your friends about these wonderful *BOP* monthly competitions', but were reminded that 'they can't win on *your* copy', which was almost certainly intended to drive up circulation.¹⁸¹

4.7.1 Purpose of Competitions

Just as competitions varied in format, frequency, and prizes, they were also used by editors to serve different purposes. Competitions for club members only encouraged readers to join and therefore become regular subscribers, whilst exciting prizes could also be used to attract readers in the short-term. The latter technique was used by Spratt at the outset of her editorship when prize crossword puzzles offered a guinea to 'every Competitor who sends in a correct solution' with two copies of the puzzle in each issue so girls could enter twice or share with a friend.¹⁸² Some editors used competitions as a means to increase readers' sense of involvement and ownership, and Cox recalled that he 'liked to encourage boys to play some part in running *BOP* and one way in which we could do this was through competitions'.¹⁸³ Competitions could also raise reader visibility, and sometimes resulted in readers' work being published, their submissions woven into and becoming part of the text. In March 1925 a page of readers' illustrations for the *BOP* jokes page was published, as part of a competition, and in 1920 *GOP* produced an article comprised of a selection of readers' entries to a competition entitled 'What was

¹⁸⁰ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1965*, p. 27.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Competition supplement.

¹⁸² Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper incorporating Every Girl's Paper, April 1931*, p. ii; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. ii.

¹⁸³ 'Material typed up by Jack from his notes but not incorporated into the manuscript appertaining to past contributors of *BOP*', Jack Cox Archive, Box 11/1 vi.

the Best Idea you ever had', although feminine modesty was protected by anonymity.¹⁸⁴ No such modesty was required in June 1940, when June Harrington, the winner of a *GOP* story writing competition had her entry published within the paper, as a fully illustrated short story.¹⁸⁵

A Mass Observation report in 1940 noted that 'prize competitions' could be an opportunity to assess public opinion and gather information about readers, and this was a well-used formula in *BOP*.¹⁸⁶ In 1925 at the beginning of his editorship, Pocklington asked readers to 'design a standard heading' for the paper, and in August 1925 'to place in what you consider the order of their importance and popularity' twelve *BOP* features. In this way he was able to encourage readers to accept change by presenting it as a 'splendid opportunity for you to get your ideas widely known', and of course to win prizes.¹⁸⁷ Some competitions, whilst less overtly aimed at eliciting reader views, may also have been used to gauge reader interests. For example in June 1945 a competition which required entrants to 'Write as though you were an airman or an explorer, an escaped prisoner or a detective, a cowboy, or an engine-driver', could have established what genres of fiction were most popular.¹⁸⁸ The popularity of competitions could also act as a barometer for reader taste, and whilst in March 1920 the large number of BOFC competition entries was taken as an endorsement of the club's on-going popularity, in November 1933 nature competitions were suspended because 'the response to them has been so poor'.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 372; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 175.

¹⁸⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, pp. 388-90, 412.

¹⁸⁶ Mass Observation, *Report on the Press* (Mass Observation Online: Mass Observation, 1940), Section 1, Contents of Newspapers, p. 12.

¹⁸⁷ The features were: 'Complete Stories, Sports Articles, "How to Make" Articles, Historical Articles, Nature Articles, Travel Articles, Hobbies Page, Stamp Corner, Poetry, Humours Drawings, Correspondence Page, "In Lighter Mood" Page'. Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, pp. 391, 764.

¹⁸⁸ Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 48.

¹⁸⁹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, p. 316; Northcroft, *Boy's Own Paper, November 1933*, p. xiv.

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Perhaps the most explicit use of a competition to gather information on readers was the annual *Heiress* 'Girl of the Year' competition. The entry form contained questions such as 'What attention do you give to your hair?' and 'How much do you spend each week on beauty preparations?', both of which seem geared towards advertising interests. Readers were also asked to name their favourite feature 'in this issue of *Heiress*', whilst questions on fashion and beauty, and hobbies, sports and interests, education, ambitions and whether they were 'interested in a career, in marriage, or in both', may well have been used to tailor future content to best match girls' aspirations.¹⁹⁰

As discussed in Chapter Three, some editors viewed the papers as vehicles to educate young people, and at times both *BOP* and *GOP* also used competitions for didactic purposes, as an opportunity to correct readers, and grade and assess their work. In 1925 Pocklington observed that whilst some entries for a school poem competition had been 'excellent [...] on the whole the quality of the entries was poor'.¹⁹¹ Assessing the results of another competition he lamented that: 'A good many competitors misunderstood the perfectly clear instructions'.¹⁹² In 1950 Goodall berated the many *Heiress* readers who 'forgot to read carefully [...] conditions of this competition' or 'exceeded the 500-word limit'.¹⁹³ She concluded that whilst 'Entries were of a fairly good standard [...] imagination [...] seemed limited'.¹⁹⁴ Even Spratt who was copious in her praise for competition entrants, would not award prizes where she did not consider they had been earned, awarding only consolation prizes where 'entries were not quite up to First Prize standard', and imploring readers to 'be as tidy as you can; judges are prejudiced at once if they receive a scrawly, badly spelt piece of work'.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, p. 45.

¹⁹¹ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 765.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 612.

¹⁹³ Constance Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, June 1950* (London: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1950), p. 67.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁹⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper incorporating Every Girl's Paper, April 1931*, p. vi; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 24.

As Rahn has observed, such critique sent a message that readers ‘had to work hard to win adult approval’.¹⁹⁶ This was underlined in 1925, when for the first time in *BOP*, Pocklington raised the issue of trust in the readers. New competition rules were introduced which required all entrants to submit ‘A certificate [...] signed by a parent, schoolmaster or other responsible grown-up’ which would certify it was the reader’s own work.¹⁹⁷ This policy was also extended to BOFC competitions, the rules of which were also changed to emphasise ‘direct observation’, requiring all entries whether photographs, drawings or written work to be ‘actually observed by the competitor’.¹⁹⁸ Whilst at a practical level this may have created barriers to entry for children from chaotic families, or with lower levels of adult support who might not have been able to gain this certification, its greatest significance is that it cast readers firmly as minors in need of adult control and validation.

4.8 Direct Contributions

Shevelow describes invitations to readers to submit work to magazines as ‘Explicit invitations to share in the production of the text’.¹⁹⁹ This was most prevalent in *GOP* during Spratt’s editorship, when there was a pervasive participatory culture which celebrated readers’ knowledge and placed them in positions of power and authority. By the end of the 1930s *GOP* had become strongly reader-led, and included a column entitled ‘Deena’s Den’ which was described as ‘arranged entirely by members of the *GOP* club’, and featured their craft suggestions and tips.²⁰⁰ Through this column, readers such as Barbara from Croydon, who gave instructions on making papier mâché masks, and Mary from Olton who suggested using left over wool by knitting patchwork cushions, were placed in positions of authority previously reserved for the papers’ paid contributors, and provided with a platform to communicate to

¹⁹⁶ Rahn, ‘*St. Nicholas and Its Friends*’, p. 95.

¹⁹⁷ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy’s Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 612.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 646.

¹⁹⁹ Shevelow, *Women and Print Culture*, p. 41.

²⁰⁰ Spratt (ed.), *Girl’s Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 16.

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other readers.²⁰¹ It is notable that after Spratt's departure, self-confident readers no longer swapped tips, but instead anxious correspondents questioned, 'when I shake hands with [the hosts of a party], do I take off my evening gloves?'.²⁰² Whilst Spratt's focus on reader contributions was atypical of *GOP* editors, it was relatively common for *BOP* editors to encourage readers to contribute content to the papers. Harding encouraged club members to view the Notice Board as their feature, and readers supplied a variety of work, including photographs, history, poetry and art.²⁰³ Cox took this one step further in 1950, introducing a 'Readers' Page', which allowed readers to contribute whole features, which ranged from nature articles, to first-hand accounts of their lives and hobbies.²⁰⁴ This also happened in *Heiress* in its later years, although in a more limited way, and it was a little unclear whether articles such as a December 1954 account about a reader's holiday job at Bertram Mills' Circus, were genuinely written by readers.²⁰⁵

Direct participation worked best when it developed from readers' interests, and the least successful of these kinds of features were those led with an overly heavy hand by the editors. Thus when Halls introduced a *BOP* Discussion Group, to facilitate reader debate on topical issues, and chose topics which were oriented towards adult views of what young people should be interested in, such as October 1944's theme, 'Should Membership of Youth Organizations be Compulsory?' he found that this 'did not yield as many entries as the Chairman had hoped'.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁰² Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, June 1955, p. 13.

²⁰³ Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, April 1941 (London: Religious Tract Society, 1941), p. 12; Robert Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, March 1941 (London: Religious Tract Society, 1941), p. 12.

²⁰⁴ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, September 1950, pp. 52-53.

²⁰⁵ Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, December 1954, pp. 42-3.

²⁰⁶ Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, December 1944, p. 50.

A more light-hearted opportunity for reader involvement was *BOP*'s joke page.²⁰⁷ Month on month jokes appeared, at least some of which were submitted by readers, and whilst these jokes were often criticised for being tired or old, they often served a purpose beyond that of mere entertainment. Many jokes sent in to *BOP* by readers during the First World War centred on military life, focusing on the inexperience of new recruits to the army, the discipline and difficulties they might come across, the experiences of the wounded, and fears of waiting for the orders to attack.²⁰⁸ Readers therefore were able to make use of the pre-existing and familiar format of the monthly jokes page to create a safe space within which to play subversively with their concerns about military service, without fear of being condemned. Jokes could also serve as part of a broader whole, to reinforce the nature of the reading community, and to lend cohesiveness to a particular issue of the paper. Thus in an issue which had stressed *BOP*'s multicultural and international readership it is notable that the joke page featured a cast of different nationalities.²⁰⁹

Photographs were a particularly powerful means of making readers visible within the text, and from the 1930s onwards, readers were frequently encouraged to send in pictures of themselves. In the 1930s and 1940s Spratt featured large numbers of photographs of *GOP* club members, often in full-page collages on the inside front or rear covers of the papers, which served to give readers a personal investment in the paper, to show that *GOP* club members were ordinary girls, and perhaps most significantly to underline the transnational nature of the readership. Just two months before the start of

²⁰⁷ *GOP* never had a jokes page, although readers did suggest it. In response to one such suggestion, Spratt wrote that 'One of the difficulties is [...] original jokes; most of the jokes circulated are not original'. Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. xiii.

²⁰⁸ One particularly poignant joke featured in November 1916 told of two visitors to the British Museum looking at the statue of a Roman Gladiator, which had an arm and a leg missing, and 'several chips on the face of the warrior'. The title of the statue was 'Victory', and the two observers mused 'what must 'a' been the state of the chap wot lorst?'. Thus anxieties over disablement, and disfigurement of the body were raised and made safe through humour, and kept at a distance by making the observers demonstrably working class 'costermongers', and the statue a Roman Gladiator: Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, pp. 56, 224.

²⁰⁹ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 116.

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World War Two, the inside front cover of *GOP* featured 48 photographs of girls, with the title 'GOP Club Covers the World in Friendship'. The girls featured came from England, Scotland, Wales, France, Canada, The Falkland Islands, Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Italy, Portugal and Australia.²¹⁰ Photographs could also be used to privilege individual readers, such as Marjorie Dunn and Enid Wilkinson who had each enrolled 'over 200 new members'.²¹¹ Whilst Spratt made the most use of photographs of readers, Harding, Halls, and Cox also encouraged *BOP* readers to send in photographs of themselves, and these were used to promote things readers were doing and to shore up *BOP* values. In one 1950 feature Cox published two photographs one showing a boy using his recently constructed *BOP* canoe, and another showing three young readers playing jazz, which reinforced Cox's own interests in practical instruction and music.²¹² In a similar vein, in another issue in the same year, an entire reader's page section was devoted to reader Alan Davidson who had made a television set, and was illustrated with a photograph of the 17 year old with his project.²¹³ Goodall and Murray also printed readers' photographs in *GOP* and *Heiress* on occasion in the correspondence section or to promote competition winners, but this was much less common than during Spratt's editorship.²¹⁴

4.9 Swapping and Sharing

As Price has noted, 'reading is only one among many uses to which printed matter can be put. Bought, sold, exchanged, [...] books can be enlisted [...] in a range of transactions and rituals that stretch far beyond the literary or even the linguistic'.²¹⁵ It was common for readers to engage in a process of trading of magazines with their peers, in part to offset the costs of purchase, and whilst this posed a threat to profitability, it was also a highly effective means

²¹⁰ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, July 1939, inside front cover.

²¹¹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, November 1939, inside front cover; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, July 1939, inside rear cover.

²¹² Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, September 1950, p. 53.

²¹³ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, February 1950, pp. 52-53.

²¹⁴ Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, December 1954, pp. 12-13.

²¹⁵ Price, 'From The History of a Book to a "History of the Book"', p. 120.

by which readers could play a role in actively disseminating the papers' values.²¹⁶ Louis Golding recalled that during his childhood in the early 1900s 'there was always a busy traffic in the market-place during school playtimes', including 'The beloved *Boy's Own Paper*'.²¹⁷ In the early 1930's Engledow and Farr noted that 'complicated systems of exchange seem to exist between boys in a class or in a street', and in 1940 Jenkinson pointed to 'a great hand-to-hand trading of "bloods"', concluding that the number read 'must be far greater than the number sold', whilst in 1942 Jephcott also found that girls were borrowing magazines from older sisters or work colleagues who would 'pass them round among each other'.²¹⁸ Magazine clubs were formed in schools to allow boys to share magazines, readers offered to pass on years of back copies to other readers, and an American girl recounted that she received *Heiress* each month from her English penfriend.²¹⁹ Inscriptions inside annuals reveal that they were passed from owner to owner, and sold at jumble sales or second hand book shops.²²⁰ By passing the papers to others, the readers were tacitly endorsing their contents as well as creating networks of readership.

4.10 From Reader to Contributor

The papers' culture of enabling reader engagement appears to have been significant in encouraging readers to identify with the papers, and this can be traced in some of those who went on from being readers to become contributors. Jack Cox himself began his association with the paper as a young reader, and entered many competitions, winning 'book prizes for drawing, painting and photography', as well as 'a trio of Old English Game

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 126; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p 3.

²¹⁷ Louis Golding, 'I was a boy in Manchester, unpublished manuscript', Jack Cox Archive, Box 10/1 i, p. 4.

²¹⁸ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 14; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 67, 213; Jephcott, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 59, 99.

²¹⁹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p 3; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, March 1955*, pp. 30-31; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1954*, p. 80.

²²⁰ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, inside flyleaf.

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bantams' and '2 pairs of racing pigeons'.²²¹ Charles Fothergill first encountered *BOP* at his Sunday School in Carlisle during the First World War, when he was 11 years old. He later described his relationship with the paper as a 'great love affair', and 'an enlightening influence' upon his education; and he progressed from a loyal reader to a regular contributor via a series of unsuccessful attempts to win literary competitions in *BOP*.²²² Louis Golding, the novelist, who had read *BOP* as a child, was more successful in his competition entries, having 'a camping song and a marching song published in the paper' in 1925. Golding went on to contribute to *BOP* under both Haydon and Cox.²²³ J R Burgess who illustrated school stories for *BOP* under Haydon was a former *BOP* reader 'and a former prize-winner in our art competitions'.²²⁴ Cox claimed that comedian David Nixon sent in jokes but never won a prize, and Bob Monkhouse 'tried vainly for years to win our ten bob joke competition', and despite being an accomplished schoolboy cartoonist Monkhouse is said to have destroyed artwork prepared for *BOP* because he didn't think it was good enough.²²⁵ J L Garvin, later Editor of *The Observer* won a competition in *BOP* aged 16 in 1884. Gustav Theodore Holst, won a *BOP* musical competition as an Essex schoolboy, and a twelve year old Dylan Thomas is said to have plagiarised one of *BOP*'s poems written by long-serving contributor Lillian Gard, and sold it to his local newspaper.²²⁶ Sir Edwin Lutyens, architect and artist, won a book prize which he kept 'all his life'.²²⁷ Some readers found stimulation in the pages of *BOP* which encouraged them in their

²²¹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 2; 'Letter from Jack Cox to Michael Foxell, dated 26th May 1980', Box 7/4 Folder C iv.

²²² 'Collection of press cuttings and reviews for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Box 9/8, Charles Fothergill, 'Jobs for the Boys', *Bridgnorth Journal*, 3rd December 1982, p. 5.

²²³ Golding, 'I was a boy in Manchester', p. 4.

²²⁴ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, p. 414.

²²⁵ 'Collection of press cuttings and reviews for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Box 9/8, Charles Fothergill, 'Jobs for the Boys', *Bridgnorth Journal*, 3rd December 1982, p. 5; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 3; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 88.

²²⁶ 'B.O.P. ends its 88 years of adventure', p. 10; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 99; Jeff Towns, 'Dylan Thomas, Sherlock Holmes & the case of the Stolen Conversation', <<http://www.thedylanthomassocietyofgb.co.uk/?p=146>> [accessed 21st July 2013].

²²⁷ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 88.

future endeavours. Charles Tunnicliffe, artist and illustrator, who illustrated *Tarka The Otter* in 1932, told Cox that ‘he owed everything to the inspiration of the Rev J. G. Wood’s *BOP* writings and books, which he read and studied avidly as a boy’.²²⁸ The etcher James McBey wrote in his autobiography that he had been inspired to a life as an artist by a series of articles in *BOP* in 1895 and 1896 by Hume Nisbet, entitled ‘A Plain Guide to Oil Painting’.²²⁹

Whilst there is less evidence that readers progressed to become contributors in *GOP*, at least one *GOP* Club member went on to take up a career in writing and journalism. Dolores Frykberg, from Capetown, was featured in *Heiress* in March 1950, when she was described as ‘a former member of *Girl’s Own Paper* Club, who, at only twenty years of age, is Children’s Editor of *The Cape Times*’. She had come to Britain and visited the *Heiress* offices as part of a three month stay in Great Britain and Sweden to ‘enlarge her knowledge and experience’.²³⁰

4.11 Assessing Reader Impact

Cox claims to have taken readers’ needs and wishes seriously, noting that he drew on their letters as a source of information to shape the paper.²³¹ However, even if true, this was very much dependent on editorial whim, and it is questionable how influential readers actually were in directly shaping the paper to their own ends. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Society was clear that readers should change to adapt their taste to the papers, rather than the other way round. One of McAleer’s key criticisms of the Society is that it failed to analyse and respond to changes in their readership, in the same way as rivals such as D C Thomson.²³² However, it is questionable how much any

²²⁸ Cox, ‘Research: primary material for the *BOP* story’, Box 9/13, *The BOP Story/Lutterworth Press*, Synopsis Chapters I to V Period 1879-1897, Dated November 1980, p. 8.

²²⁹ James McBey and Nicolas Barker, *The Early Life of James McBey: an autobiography* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1993), pp. 17-18.

²³⁰ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, March 1950*, p. 17.

²³¹ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 118.

²³² McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, pp. 242-43.

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paper really responded to reader demands. Tinkler suggests that editors generally paid little heed to market research, unless it agreed with their views.²³³ Likewise, the 1940 Mass Observation *Report on the Press* observed, that whilst ‘newspapers are aware of the necessity of at least seeming to keep in touch with their readers’, they did not necessarily ‘make any deductions from them’.²³⁴ As with all forms of consultation and engagement, the risk of opening up issues to debate, or encouraging readers to give their views was that the editor might not wish to act upon what they heard. Thus, having encouraged readers to give him their views, Pocklington devoted nearly half of his February 1930 editorial to addressing a letter from a correspondent who had written to say that he disliked ‘serial stories of school-life’ so much that he had considered stopping taking the paper because of them, and he was ‘sure the majority of boys who read the *BOP* would agree with me’. A seemingly irate Pocklington insisted that ‘my own post-bag tells a very different story’, and several months later announced that as most readers were of the view that ‘*BOP* would hardly be the *BOP without* school serials [...] this confirms me in my determination to continue to include such stories’.²³⁵ Pocklington was not the only editor to openly reject reader demands, and even Spratt, rejected reader suggestions, although more kindly than Pocklington.²³⁶

However, whilst it is unlikely that the papers changed in any direct way in response to reader demands, this chapter has demonstrated that the editors sought reader views on popular content, and that readers were very much part of the text, and that their voices, even though filtered through editorial selection, and the Society’s policy, played an important role in the construction of the papers. Further, as Chapter Five will explore in more detail, both papers were acutely aware of their target readership, and changes to *GOP*’s content over time demonstrate that to this extent, the papers did respond to reader need, or at least the Society’s and editors’ perception of that need.

²³³ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 68.

²³⁴ Mass Observation, *Report on the Press*, Section 1, Contents of Newspapers, p. 12.

²³⁵ Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 52, pp. 320, 608.

²³⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, June 1940, p. 4.

4.12 Conclusion

Whilst no readership community is entirely homogenous, the readership of *BOP* and *GOP* was broadly a middle-class one, with readers distributed in a relatively consistent pattern in Britain and overseas. Whilst *GOP* was an increasingly female space from the 1920s onwards, prior to the Second World War girls were explicitly welcomed by *BOP*, although the next chapter will demonstrate that the content consistently reflected masculine interests. Under Cox female readers of *BOP* became less visible, and readership surveys suggest the female readership of the paper decreased. During the period of this study *BOP* remained consistently targeted at boys aged 12 to 18 years old, but *GOP* underwent several changes in the age range of its target readership, and Chapter Five will explore the impact this had on the content of both papers.

Readers were encouraged and enabled to engage actively with the papers, and through letters, clubs, competitions, and submission of stories and jokes, they became 'complicit [...] in the production of the text'.²³⁷ Whilst reader features were predominantly initiated by editors, readers showed great enthusiasm for such opportunities. Whatever the original intentions of the editors, readers used these interactions to gain a voice in the paper, to challenge content, and to enter into debate and discussion with the editor, contributors and other readers. They were keen to extend their reading into practical action, and many formed their own member-led groups, either as extensions of the *BOP* or *GOP* Clubs or as distinct organisations. Members took ownership of such groups, tailoring them to their own interests, and using them for their own ends, to make friends, or to seek like-minded peers. The papers were shared and swapped with others, and this also reinforced the idea of a community of readers.

Whilst readers constructed their own texts through the reading process, and could make their voices heard through reader engagement activities, the intention remained that readers would respond to the papers. The next

²³⁷ Shevelov, *Women and Print Culture*, p. 41.

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chapter will show that through reinforcement of key themes, consistent messages were put forward to readers, but that these messages were shaped according to the gender and age of the readership, and to that extent the readers did influence the papers' content.

Chapter 5: The Constructed Community

‘Some books are chewing gum, consumed in mass quantities but leaving no taste behind; others transform the lives of the readers’¹

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have focused on the construction of *BOP* and *GOP*, and have demonstrated that this was a complex and participatory process, and that the papers were created neither entirely from the dictat of a publisher, nor the unshakeable control of an editor, nor at the behest of the readers alone. It has been argued that there were three key strands of influence upon the papers; the publisher, the editors, and the readers, in addition to which might be added the advertisers, contributors, artists, sales and circulation staff. It has further been demonstrated that the publisher, editors and readers, whilst each having their own perspective, shared a key assumption that the papers were more than words upon the printed page to be read for entertainment and then thrown away. All agreed they were ‘more than just a magazine’, but represented values which could and should be carried through into ‘real’ life.

F J Harvey Darton argued that Hutchison, the first editor of *BOP*, may have been the single most influential factor on British boyhood.² The extent of juvenile papers’ influence on their readers has been much debated, and they are often considered as a key site of socialisation and a means to perpetuate and reinforce societal norms.³ Yet as Cullingford points out, ‘The level at which literature forms, as well as reflects, children’s tastes is as difficult to detect as that balance between the designs of the author and the response of the

¹ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 370.

² Darton, *Children's Books in England*, p. 299.

³ See for example, Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 4; Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', pp. 21, 43, 48; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 64-68, 219-21; Robert H. MacDonald, 'Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 24 (1989), pp. 519-39 (p. 520).

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reader'.⁴ A 1940 Mass Observation report concluded that 'the press is only one of the factors contributing toward opinion-formation', and gave it a percentage value of '20 per cent instrumental in forming opinions'. Periodicals, however, were only considered 10 per cent influential, whilst religion was just 0.65 per cent influential.⁵ One might therefore conjecture that a religious periodical would find it particularly challenging to exercise a great deal of influence over readers. Thus, whilst measuring periodicals' impact upon their readers, and attempting to unpick this from the other cultural influences at work upon personal identity would be extremely challenging, if not impossible; what can be seen is the process at work, the values being transmitted, negotiated, discussed and mediated.

Rosemary Auchmuty argues that 'Popular fiction [...] has a special significance because it sheds light on the value system of its era', but it is important to remember that periodicals were not a reflection of reality, but an interpretation of it.⁶ Moruzi suggests that girls' periodicals tailored their content so that each presented a 'unique model' and appealed to separate constituencies of readers.⁷ What is questionable, however, is whether such readership constituencies pre-exist, or whether they are constructed artificially through a publication's discourse. This question is particularly relevant when one considers *BOP* and *GOP* because of the Society's consistent aim to influence readers, to shape them rather than be responsive to them, and to progress the Society's evangelically driven programme. The content of *BOP* and *GOP* is a powerful source of evidence, not of the realities of young people's lives, but of the ways in which reader identities were represented, and contested. The values which the papers perpetuated, and the way this changed over time, is evidence of the ways in which the editors, readers and publishers negotiated

⁴ Cedric Cullingford, *Children's Literature and Its Effects: the formative years* (London & Washington: Cassell, 1998), p. 76. In ebrary < <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/soton/docDetail.action?docID=10250936> > [accessed 13th July 2013].

⁵ Mass Observation, *Report on the Press*, Section 5, *Is the Press Opinion-Forming?*, pp. 3-4.

⁶ Rosemary Auchmuty, 'You're a Dyke, Angela! Elsie J. Oxenham and the rise and fall of the schoolgirl story', in *Not a Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in History 1840-1985*, ed. by Lesbian History Group (London: The Women's Press Limited, 1989), pp. 119-40 (p. 124).

⁷ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 1-2.

and brought into being a particular version of reality, a 'meeting-place of soul and mind'.⁸

This chapter explores this constructed community, and the centrality of evangelical Christian values to the identities which were shaped and formed within both papers. It gives in-depth consideration to the core themes dealt with by both publications and how these demonstrated consistency or difference across publications and over time. As highlighted in Chapter Two, the Society intended that the papers would address all aspects of the readers' lives, providing them with a Christian world-view on everything from sport to knitting. The papers' content is therefore extremely broad, and reflected a broad range of interests. The themes of content reviewed in this chapter are far from an exhaustive list of the breadth of the papers' content, nor are they intended to be, but rather it is the intention of this chapter to tease out general patterns of change and continuity. It will be shown that whilst *BOP* was more successful in creating a secure and lasting identity and legacy, this was because it perpetuated a relatively consistent world-view of boyhood (linked as outlined in Chapter One to an ethos of public school ideals) which enabled it to be picked up and accessed by boys across generations. *GOP*, which was more commercially successful, but has vanished into virtual obscurity, may be seen by the modern eye as contradictory and ambiguous, but a closer study will reveal that the seemingly disparate nature of its content was part of its key strength in facilitating debate amongst female readers. Whilst *BOP* was focused outwards and was primarily concerned to mould British youth into useful citizens by showing them adventure, the empire and their role within it, *GOP* created a 'world of girls' in which female readers were able to debate their roles and aspirations.

⁸ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, p. 143.

5.2 A Christian Framework

As Chapter Two made clear, both papers were always intended to be underpinned by evangelical Christian principles, providing a Christian framework and interpretation on a full range of issues of relevance to their readers. This was the one matter on which the Society would not compromise, and Chapter Three demonstrated that editors were, without exception, expected to adhere to and deliver content within this framework. *BOP* and *GOP* were always first and foremost products of an evangelical organisation, which sought to influence readers, and shape them in moral and evangelical Christian modes of acceptable behaviour. As explored in Chapter Two, in their annual reports of the 1910s and 1920s the Society positioned *BOP* and *GOP* differently, with *GOP* seen as a repository of religious values, whilst in *BOP* overt religion was to be replaced by indirect appeals towards manliness.⁹ Yet the reality was more complex and fluid than this and the policy of both the Society and Lutterworth Periodicals made clear that *BOP* was also expected to demonstrate the Christian way of life.¹⁰

During Klickmann's period of editorship, articles and stories with themes of religion and faith were indeed far more prevalent in *GOP* than in *BOP*, and readers' perceived spiritual needs were addressed through prayers, poetry, and articles such as 'As Lights in the World', which encouraged women to show 'the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' in their daily lives; and 'When It's Hard to be Humble', which addressed 'attacks of spiritual pride'.¹¹ This was content which was predicated on the assumption that readers were already Christians, communicated with them on that basis, and sought to nourish them spiritually and to prevent lapses in faith.

⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 123rd', USCL/RTS/05/16.

¹⁰ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 132nd', USCL/RTS/05/22; 'Lutterworth Periodicals Limited: Purpose', Box 6/9 ii.

¹¹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 754-56, 776.

From 1930, when *GOP* was refocused towards 12 to 16 year olds, religious content was reaching readers at a different stage in their spiritual lives and was tailored accordingly. It is a key tenet of evangelicalism that the individual must go through a conversion experience, a moment at which they turn away from sin towards a faith in Jesus, and evangelicals believed this was most likely to happen during the teenage years.¹² Content aimed at 12 to 16 year olds therefore could not assume conversion had already taken place, and this is almost certainly why, when one considers *GOP* during Spratt's editorship, the amount of overt spiritual content not only decreased, but the tone of it also changed from details of faith to homilies based on Bible stories, and a previously unthinkable acknowledgement that many people thought 'to be a Christian was a sad business', and that 'some would be surprised to be told that they were Christians without knowing it'.¹³

However, once Goodall took over, directly religious content increased somewhat, although not to the level seen under Klickmann, with articles by Reverend Wigley debating issues such as 'Does God Want Us to Do without Doctors?', and should Christians go to the cinema.¹⁴ This was probably due in part to Goodall's personal religious fervour, detailed in Chapter Three, but also because between 1944 and 1947 the Society and Goodall were repositioning the content towards an older audience, which might be expected to deal with more complex theological issues. Goodall continued to feature Wigley's answers to readers' questions on matters such as faith, doubt, and the best physical position for prayer, up until the early 1950s, and whilst after this directly religious material again receded, Christmas continued to be described as 'the Birthday... of our Very Best Friend', and Reverend Cecil Northcott, the

¹² Bebbington highlights that evangelicals believed that 'Conversion was statistically less likely the older a person was', and a survey of 5000 Christians undertaken by the Evangelical Alliance in the 1960s concluded that 'one in six had been converted before the age of twelve and three in four before the age of twenty'. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, pp. 5, 279.

¹³ Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1935), p. 131; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 754-56, 776; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, p. 131; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1933*, p. 98.

¹⁴ Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, p. 14; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 20.

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USCL's Editorial Secretary continued to answer 'problems of faith and conduct', and advice was dispensed on engaging in a Christian spirit with leisure pursuits such as dancing.¹⁵ There were also attempts to use content on beauty as a vehicle for religious and moral instruction, and one article suggested that a Christian life would lead to 'real beauty [...] with moral fitness vitality glows in your body, too'.¹⁶ This was, of course, engaging with a centuries' long debate on the link between religion, morality and beauty, and what Synnott has termed the 'beauty mystique', which has tended to 'equate beauty, goodness, and God'.¹⁷

BOP readers were also encouraged to lead actively religious lives. In March 1915, *BOP* readers were asked, 'Have you cultivated the habit of reading a chapter or part of a chapter of the Bible every day?', and no-one reading Cox's editorial in February 1950 could be left in any doubt of *BOP*'s unequivocal stance on religious belief as he declared 'What *does BOP* stand for?... We believe in the Christian way of life. We stand for a clean, manly faith based on the life and teaching of Christ'.¹⁸ Whilst religious content in *BOP* was often less overt than this, the paper was not, as Callum Brown suggests, 'devoid of evangelical discourse'.¹⁹ Boys' faith was often mediated through ideals of Christian manliness, with boys exhorted to show 'the kind of courage the Lord Jesus Christ expects every boy to have', and regular articles such as 'Talks to

¹⁵ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, March 1950*, p. 45; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, December 1954*, pp. 11, 44; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, March 1955*, p. 42.

¹⁶ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, March 1950*, pp. 26-28.

¹⁷ Anthony Synnott, 'Truth and Goodness, Mirrors and Masks Part II: A Sociology of Beauty and the Face', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 41 (1990), pp. 55-76 (p. 55); Conversely, however, Christian women such as Maude Royden, writing out of a longstanding tradition of 'devout churchwomen', contended that ideas and ideals of feminine beauty could act as a barrier to women participating fully in Christian life, as she suggested that resistance to women as priests was linked to male fears of 'being sexually excited if they are addressed by a woman-preacher': Sue Morgan, 'Sex and Common-Sense: Maude Royden, Religion and Modern Sexuality', *Journal of British Studies*, 52 (2013) [accessed 6th May 2014], pp. 153-178 (pp. 158, 161).

¹⁸ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 318; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950*, p. 17.

¹⁹ Callum G Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 113.

the Boys' and 'The Padre's Talk', were full of detailed Bible quotes. Thus it was evidently expected that boys would be familiar with at least the basic tenets of Christianity.²⁰ As explored in Chapter Two, once *BOP* was transferred to the secular publisher Purnells, religious material ceased, but until this point, religion remained a consistent underlying element of *BOP*'s discourse.

Directly religious material was supplemented by a significant discourse on morals and behaviour, which could be even more far-reaching. Under Klickmann direct instruction was provided on what to read, what to wear, how to prioritise leisure time, how to feel (being cheerful was a strong priority), and even the correct way to stand.²¹ There was less of this kind of material under Spratt's editorship, and indeed during her tenure there was significantly more on morals and behaviour in *BOP* than *GOP*. When direct instruction on behaviour became more prevalent again with the shift to *Heiress*, it was primarily focused on more superficial issues such as etiquette and behaviour in social situations, although there were moral lessons on greed, sharing, and putting others first.²² *BOP* readers meanwhile were consistently encouraged through non-fiction, poetry, serials and short stories to internalise a complex code of honour based on decency, trying one's best, accepting unjust punishments in stoic silence, refusing to tell tales, and a rejection of laziness and boasting.²³ Readers of both papers were encouraged to see themselves as moral beings, charitable towards those less fortunate than themselves and willing and able to do their duty and sacrifice themselves for others. For a key

²⁰ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 31, 73.

²¹ See for example 'Every Girl Should Know The Right Way to Stand, Sleep and Walk', 'A Gymnasium of Character', 'Such a Pretty Girl!', 'Books about Books', 'How to Judge a Book', in Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 87-88, 142-43, 177, 188-90, 736-37; 'Obsessions in Oddities' and 'On Seeing Drab', in Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 363-64, 367-69.

²² See for example 'Little Miss Scrooge' in Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, pp. 39-41, 82; 'Manners Maketh Maid! (Charm School)', in Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, September 1950*, pp. 28-29; 'Our Experts take over', in Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, p. 13.

²³ See for example, 'The Land of Do-Your-Best' and 'The Best Man Wins', in Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 305, 714; 'The Runaway' and 'The Brand', in Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, pp. 627-33, 637-43; 'The Editor's Page' in Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1950*, p. 17.

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part of evangelicalism was the notion that there was 'something to be lived for beyond the mere satisfaction of self', and a 'concern for the betterment of the underprivileged'.²⁴ *BOP* contained heavy-handed appeals to readers to see themselves as 'lads of Advantage and Opportunity and Privilege' who should 'feel a responsibility for the lads who are not so well placed', whilst girls were consistently advised that true happiness was to be found in sublimating their own desires to the needs of others.²⁵ Both papers targeted readers directly for charitable donations, seeking subscriptions for cots in hospitals, or lifeboats, or support for Spratt's Fairy Godmother scheme which encouraged girls to make toys for homeless and orphaned children. Charities such as Dr Barnardo's and The League of Pity also targeted readers directly through advertisements in the papers.²⁶

Yet perhaps the greatest service was asked of readers in wartime, particularly during the First World War, when the papers acted to mobilise readers in a range of patriotic endeavours. During the First World War *BOP* carefully constructed an identity which showed boys as the heroes of their own wartime adventure. The 'boy hero' was a device much used, and photographs of young boys who had fought, died, or been decorated as war heroes stared out of the page at readers who were their own age or older, and must have been powerful tools in aiding boys to imagine their own future place in the war.²⁷ Fiction showed schoolboy heroes easily outwitting Germans, transferring effortlessly from school to battlefield and joining forces with boys from Allied nations,

²⁴ Wolffe, 'Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal' (p. 1); David Bebbington, 'The Decline and Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern 1918-1980', in *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal*, ed. by Wolffe, pp. 175-97 (p. 175).

²⁵ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 474; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 686-88; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 689-94; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 754-56; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, p. 131; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, March 1955*, pp. 34-35.

²⁶ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 52; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 4; Gladys Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1940* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1940), p. 4; Leonard Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, March 1945* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1945), inside front cover; Constance Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1945* (Redhill: Lutterworth Periodicals, 1945), p. 13.

²⁷ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, pp. 82, 201, 260, 312, 576-77.

whilst non-fiction articles and illustrations of Allied soldiers from around the world promoted an image of unity and accord.²⁸ As detailed in Chapter Two the Society operated a belligerent policy towards their own staff in World War One, and this evidently spilled over into *BOP*'s content, but when the Second World War came, both the Society and *BOP* were more circumspect, and the paper was far more open in discussing the danger and horror of war, and pacifist views were aired in features such as 'The Padre's Talk' column in November 1939.²⁹ The strong internationalist drive of the papers, elevated to such prominence in the clubs of the late 1920s and 1930s created conflicts that had to be carefully negotiated, and Harding had to reassure readers that war was part of policing the global community, advising a concerned reader 'We have no bitter feelings against our enemies', but 'It's bullying brute-force we're up against – the big chap torturing a little chap'.³⁰ There was some acknowledgement of readers' active involvement in the Second World War, but the main focus was on boys helping out on the home front, doing good turns for their elders, rendering assistance to the weak, or using their practical skills to make do and mend, and, as indicated in Chapter Three, readers of both papers were encouraged to save money in National Savings Certificates, in order to contribute to the war effort.³¹

Whilst *BOP*'s response to the First World War was to prepare readers for active participation, whether fighting, or joining pre-training organisations, *GOP*'s response to war was inevitably, more complex. Drawing on an article by regular contributor Mary Frances Billington written near the outset of war in

²⁸ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 38*, pp. 2, 10, 40, 48, 66, 74, 97, 105, 115, 131, 157, 178, 194; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, pp. 1-10, 15-19, 65-75, 143-53, 178-88, 233-44, 301-11, 337-46; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 257; For further discussion of the role of *BOP* and other juvenile periodicals in promoting Allied co-operation during the First World War see: Michael Paris, *Over the Top: the Great War and juvenile literature in Britain* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2004)

²⁹ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, p. 73.

³⁰ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1939*, p. 3.

³¹ Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 101-03, 143; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, May 1941*, p. 4; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, February 1941*, p. 4; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, p. 36.

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October 1914, Cadogan has suggested that during the First World War, *GOP* 'tended to discourage readers' from taking up active roles as nurses, ambulance drivers and munitions workers, and that this was in stark contrast to the Second World War when 'the paper was to be far less conservative in its advice to readers'.³² However, Cadogan does not take account of the vast change which took place throughout the 1914 to 1915 volume, and beyond into the rest of the war. Just eleven months after Billington's article, Klickmann wrote: 'If we are called, then to a woman we shall respond, even to laying down our lives if it need be, just as bravely as our men at the front'.³³ Whilst much of *GOP*'s early response to the war was rooted in the domestic, encouraging women to make economies in their household shopping, and knit and sew for the war effort, there was a rapid recognition that women whose families did not need them should, and could, engage actively in war work. The paper encouraged its readers to work on the land, as nurses, as teachers, wherever they were needed, although they were repeatedly reminded of the service element of this work, and that approaching war work with anything other than altruistic motives was unacceptable.³⁴ As professionalization increased, so the ties that had previously bound girls in duty to their families weakened. An article entitled 'Girls Who Deserve the V.C.' in January 1917, emphasised not only girl telephonists' professionalism and bravery, but highlighted that despite bombs dropping near their homes, they stayed at their posts. The nation now took precedence over the family, and ideals of service were redefined in the interests of patriotism.³⁵

GOP's response during the Second World War was also less straightforward than Cadogan suggests, for whilst Spratt did set out an active vision, declaring boldly in September 1940, that girls 'should be conscripted like our brothers!', and the paper featured the regular exploits of 'one of the few clearly defined fictional idols to emerge from the Second World War', 'Worrals of the WAAF',

³² Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956), p. 166.

³³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, p. 753.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58, 115, 116, 335, 547, 621, 623-24, 632-34, 686-88, 751-55.

³⁵ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 38*, p. 203.

GOP's primary response was more prosaic.³⁶ As detailed in Chapter Four, girls continued to be encouraged to respond primarily through domestic activities such as growing vegetables with the *GOP* Junior Land Corps, and knitting for the troops.³⁷

5.3 A Gendered Community

Whilst ideals of religious belief, moral behaviour and service to others underpinned the content of both magazines, as Chapter Two set out, the Society was always flexible in the manner in which its core messages were delivered. Throughout its history it chose the vehicle most appropriate to the needs of the audience, and most likely to be accepted and received by them, in order to maximise the likelihood of its message reaching the intended target. *BOP* and *GOP* were of course divided by gender, and the remainder of this chapter will consider the distinct themes which were delivered by each paper. However, it will also show that gender intersected with the age of the readership in dictating the content. *BOP* with its stable readership of middle-class schoolboys created a secure identity, based on notions of eternal boyhood embedded within the dominant construction of masculinity which Richards suggests was in the ascendant until the 1960s, and altered little over time, with its editors performing the function of guardians of tradition.³⁸ *GOP*, by contrast, whilst also catering to a middle-class audience, did not achieve this consistency because the age of the target readership changed dramatically several times. Its editors therefore served as agents of change, overseeing alterations in target readership and ensuring the content was reflective of the changing needs of girls and women, as well as playing their own role in creating models of girlhood with which their readers were invited to identify. The core difference therefore between *BOP* and *GOP* in this regard was that

³⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1940*, p. 6; Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956), p.170.

³⁷ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, p. 40; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 16; Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, pp. 12-13.

³⁸ Richards, *Happiest Days: the public schools in English fiction*, pp. 235, 240.

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whilst *BOP* presented a relatively stable model of boyhood to its readers, *GOP* was both perpetuating and reflecting a broader range of possible identities.

Although *GOP* was originally created to exclude girls from *BOP* by providing them with their own magazine, Chapter Four has demonstrated that girls transgressed those boundaries and were acknowledged participants within *BOP*.³⁹ *GOP*, however, was almost exclusively a 'world of girls'. Early on under Klickmann's leadership *GOP* began to celebrate and explore girls' and women's difference, to tease out themes which were of concern to female readers, and to allow debate on contentious issues. The papers were gendered, issues were addressed differently; but this was not because female readers were being excluded from the patriarchal table, but because *GOP* was building an identity for itself which focused explicitly on the interests and priorities of girls and women. As Chapter Three has explored, from Klickmann onwards, *GOP* was edited by women, staffed by women, and written primarily by women, and increasingly gave female readers a voice, and a safe space within which to debate the key women's issues of the day.

5.3.1 *BOP*

Martin Barker has astutely observed that *BOP* 'became in the end its own tradition, its name becoming a centre of expectations'.⁴⁰ Indeed, this was an image which was deliberately fostered, and the Society itself publicised *BOP* as a 'national institution', thus positioning it as something established, familiar, and consistent.⁴¹ As explored in Chapter One, the term '*Boy's Own*' is frequently used in journalism to this day, and is so embedded within our national culture that it requires no further explanation. As one journalist concluded, when you describe a *Boy's Own* hero 'you sum up everything best in British pluck, endeavour, selfishness, courage, ingenuity, honesty and [...]

³⁹ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 143.

⁴⁰ Barker, 'Review: Jack Cox. Take a Cold Tub, Sir! The Story of the Boy's Own Paper', p. 45.

⁴¹ Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 134th', USCL/RTS/05/24.

every other admirable virtue'.⁴² Whilst *BOP* inevitably developed over time, responding to social change and reflecting individual editors' interests and styles, the paper's key hallmark was its continuity, underpinned by a set of values about what boyhood should be and 'for much of its life kept afloat on a powerful current of nostalgia, father to son'.⁴³ Stanley Baldwin, at the jubilee luncheon in 1929, declared that upon reading *BOP* for the first time in many years, he found that 'though the years go by, nothing really alters', and that *BOP* continued to promote 'that spirit of adventure which is the most essential part of the normal and healthy boy'.⁴⁴ When the content of the papers over the period from 1914 to 1967 is considered, it becomes apparent that this was not mere nostalgia on Baldwin's part, but an accurate reflection of stability within the papers' content. There were five key streams of content, which were consistently present and prominent under all of the editors, even after *BOP* had been sold by Lutterworth to Purnells. These themes were internationalism, transport, nature, sports and leisure, and hobbies and interests. Between them, they created a vision of the 'eternal boy': intelligent, active, and ready to take up his ordained position in the world.

5.3.1.1 International Outlook

BOP was always strongly engaged with the outside world, and consistently carried a broad range of content with a transnational outlook, such as accounts of foreign travel, fiction set in foreign countries, writings on the empire, and descriptions of non-British cultures. *GOP* also featured internationally-oriented content, particularly from the 1930s onwards, and as indicated in Chapter Four both the *BOP* and *GOP* clubs were strongly internationalist, but the transnational focus was always stronger in *BOP* than *GOP*, and it is particularly noticeable that fiction with a foreign setting was vastly more prevalent in *BOP*. The adventure genre was particularly strongly linked with overseas travel, both within the empire and further afield, and authors such as Charles Gilson,

⁴² 'Collection of press cuttings and reviews for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Box 9/8, 'Take a Cold Tub, Sir!', *Western Mail*, 7th December 1982.

⁴³ 'Collection of press cuttings and reviews for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Box 9/8, Bob Leeson, 'High minded, popular and patriotic paper', *Morning Star*, 30th December 1982.

⁴⁴ Baldwin, *This Torch of Freedom*, pp. 225-27.

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Robert Harding and C T Stoneham wrote stirring tales for *BOP* set in exotic foreign locations.⁴⁵ Although as Chapter Four explored, the *BOP* Club was founded to promote international understanding and peace, *BOP*'s internationalism was often far from benign, and Cyril Pearl claims *BOP* 'had a healthy contempt for foreigners and "lesser breeds", and presented a vision of Christian manliness as 'tough, hairy, conquering Nordics plunging through trackless forests and lethal swamps, wrestling with huge apes and enormous cobras, foiling villains of Latin origin'.⁴⁶ This was particularly manifest in the fictional content, and historians such as Kathryn Castle, Joseph Bristow and Kevin Carpenter have all pointed to the key role played by juvenile periodicals, and particularly boys' adventure stories, in educating boys 'to become tough and patriotic young men' within the imperial context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁷ Bernard Porter has suggested that *BOP* was a 'leader' amongst juvenile magazines in terms of the amount of its content devoted to the empire, as late as the 1910s, but he questions its impact, suggesting that 'Much of it seemed merely visceral'.⁴⁸ Similarly, Rose has argued that readers may not necessarily have read racial bigotry into what now seems 'obviously racist'.⁴⁹ Yet however visceral, the rhetoric of white supremacy which was consistently reinforced through *BOP*'s fiction prior to the Second World War must have made some impression on its readers, and Castle argues that through *BOP*'s imperialist tales 'Each generation of readers learned anew [...] that "the flag is immortal"'.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, pp. 1-11, 71-82, 145-56, 206-16, 266-77, 342-52, 395-405; G J H Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1935), pp. 33-50, 103-18; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 397-99; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1960* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960), pp. 15, 57; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, June 1965*, pp. 41, 43; Jack Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1965* (London: Purnell & Sons Ltd, 1965), pp. 36-37.

⁴⁶ 'Collection of press cuttings and reviews for *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*', Box 9/8, Cyril Pearl, 'The Boy's Own package of piety', *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, undated.

⁴⁷ Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', pp. 21, 41; Carpenter and Childhood, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, p. 43.

⁴⁸ Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, p. 179.

⁴⁹ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 382.

⁵⁰ Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: reading colonialism through children's books and magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 168.

Writing about American children's literature, MacCann has argued that boys' stories were 'the primary means of conveying the Black brute stereotype to the young', and in the 1910s and 1920s *BOP* was full of derogatory portrayals of black people who through fiction and caricature were ascribed animal and child-like characteristics.⁵¹ Tales consistently reinforced 'the white man's superiority to the black', and even schoolboys if white and British, could effortlessly overcome the armed might of Black native people.⁵² Black fictional characters were assigned linguistic patterns which cast them 'in the role "of clowns"', and cartoons portrayed black people within the traditions of minstrelsy, with enlarged white lips, hooped earrings, and 'comical' states of dress (or undress), and jeered at a suggested lack of 'civilisation'.⁵³ During the 1930s this racialised discourse widened out to embrace seemingly all non-Anglo-Saxon races, and those who were hostile to British power abroad were presented in grotesque caricature, such as 'a Levantine Greek with a nose that nearly touched the windscreen', and a gang of 'Afridi brigand[s]' as 'monstrous vultures, vilely feathered and crooked of neck'.⁵⁴

Fiction set overseas not only encouraged boys to rehearse ideals of racial supremacy, but together with historical fiction provided sufficient distance from everyday life to allow for the inclusion of detailed scenes of torture, gun fights, death by snake attack, fatal aeroplane crashes, human sacrifice, kidnapping, and salacious descriptions of women. As Carpenter observes, 'The violence and killing characteristic of the penny dreadful seem to have been perfectly acceptable in an imperial context'.⁵⁵ This kind of fiction blurred

⁵¹ Donnaræ MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature: characterizations of African Americans, 1830-1900* (New York & London: Routledge, 2001), p. 98. In ebrary <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/soton/docDetail.action?docID=10053895>> [accessed 13th July 2013].

⁵² Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, pp. 313-15; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 665-71.

⁵³ For examples see Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. iii, 691; MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, p. 106.

⁵⁴ Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, p. 77; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, p. 397.

⁵⁵ One story even made a nod to Jack Sheppard, the London apprentice and serial jail-breaker, a mainstay character in the penny dreadful genre which *BOP* had set out to overthrow.

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the lines between respectable and 'dreadful' fiction, and Rose notes that 'even classics could appropriate themes and devices from trash literature'.⁵⁶

Internationalist content was one of the key areas where there was a significant disconnect between fictional and non-fictional messages. For alongside such well-entrenched fictionalised racism there were more thoughtful non-fiction articles, such as 1915's 'Thinking Imperially', which explored the aggressiveness of imperial ideologies, advising boys that true imperialism was not 'yielding to the delusion that they were born to "rule the roost"', but rather an aspiration that 'the British Empire of the future shall stand for peace and justice'.⁵⁷ Others such as 'Tree-dwellers who are Older than History', and 'The Hardest Race', both published in Volume 57 (1934-1935), gave relatively sensitive, respectful and balanced accounts of tribal cultures.⁵⁸

After the Second World War there was a notable shift in racial discourse, and whilst in 1940 a story had described tribesmen who fearfully believed a British aeroplane was 'Edgith, the Bird-God [...] come to curse us', by the end of the 1940s a reader's joke undermined this narrative of the foolish native and the superior white man:

Explorer (pointing to 'plane): "See, N'gumbo, there is the white man's bird!"

Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 419; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 495-505, 673-84; Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, pp. 73-77, 104-05, 483-84; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, pp. 637-43, 847-50; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 47*, p. 410; Carpenter and Childhood, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics*, pp. 28, 43.

⁵⁶ Rose quotes George Acorn, who had grown up in the East End of London and had 'discerningly characterized *Treasure Island* as "the usual penny blood sort of story, with the halo of greatness about it."': Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 369.

⁵⁷ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, p. 265.

⁵⁸ Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, pp. 319, 457.

‘N’gumbo: “Ah yes, bwana, and unless I’m mistaken, it’s a thousand horse-power Rolls Merlin radial engine air-cooled job.”⁵⁹

Thus, by the time of Cox’s editorship, *BOP*’s jingoistic outlook had been largely transformed, and under his leadership, *BOP* increasingly focused on embracing and celebrating cultural difference. Cox’s editorials encouraged boys to think of themselves as global citizens and agents of change, arguing that by meeting with ‘foreign boys’ they could ‘build understanding and goodwill among the nations’.⁶⁰ This new mood of tolerance was probably partially born out of a pragmatic recognition that Britain’s empire, with its relationships based on dominance and casual exploitation, was shifting towards a new Commonwealth in which co-operation would be ever more necessary. However, it was also undoubtedly a reflection of Cox’s own ideology, deeply rooted in the scouting ethos of international brotherhood, and as touched upon in Chapter 3, in June 1955 he used *BOP* as a platform from which to attack the Colour Bar which ‘has appeared here and there in Britain like an ugly stain’. Despite a somewhat qualified message, which touched upon ‘blacks outraging whites in South Africa’, in the main this piece was progressive and bold, and concluded that ‘knowledge and understanding’ were the key to ending racism and ‘The progress of mankind lies in recognizing that we all belong to one family’.⁶¹ Yet despite Cox’s enthusiasm for international brotherhood, his influence over the content was not absolute, and it is notable that by 1965, after *BOP* began to be published by the secular Purnells, the proportion of internationalist content had almost halved, although it still remained high. It is likely that the internationalist outlook displayed throughout the majority of the paper’s life course was linked to the Society’s vision of boyhood, which as has been seen was enmeshed with a construction of masculinity which was broadly pervasive in society at this time. This was probably, as Castle notes, partially intended ‘to encourage the readers’ continued commitment to the uplifting and

⁵⁹ Harding (ed.), *Boy’s Own Annual, Volume 62*, p. 399; Cox (ed.), *Boy’s Own Paper, December 1949*, p. 67.

⁶⁰ Cox (ed.), *Boy’s Own Paper, June 1950*, p. 17.

⁶¹ Cox (ed.), *Boy’s Own Paper, June 1955*, pp. 17-19.

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improvement' believed to result from the Society's missionary endeavours overseas.⁶²

Whilst the message may have changed over the years, from imperialist rhetoric towards international co-operation, it is evident that one of the key features of *BOP's* community was that it was outward facing, and that it saw as part of its role the need to show boys their place in the world, and their responsibilities as citizens of empire and Britain. This was a gendered expectation, focused specifically at *BOP's* readers as boys, and it is significant that *GOP* not only had much less transnational content, but what it did have was qualitatively different. Although there was some casual stereotyping of racial characteristics, and Irish people were particularly singled out in fiction as hot-tempered, overall there was very little overt racism or fiction set overseas.⁶³

As Chapter Four illustrated, from the 1930s onward, the *GOP* Club was particularly ardent in promoting the idea of its female readers as a global community, but throughout the whole period of this study *GOP* readers were presented with a variety of predominantly non-fiction articles exploring foreign cultures and customs. In 1930, for example, there were features on Iceland, the Swiss Mountains, Baden-Baden, and Rome, and a poem on 'The Italian Exhibition: 1930'.⁶⁴ In Volume 56 (1934-1935) there were articles exploring Christmas traditions in various European countries, and a series on 'Schooldays at Home and Abroad' explored cultural differences and similarities in girls' lives, including an unfortunately positive account of girls in the Hitler Youth.⁶⁵ During the 1940s and 1950s Goodall and Murray featured articles which focused on individual readers from other countries, including India, Nigeria and Barbados.⁶⁶ These articles all promoted aspects of the girls' lives such as

⁶² Castle, *Britannia's Children*, pp. 87-88.

⁶³ For examples of Irish stereotyping in *GOP/Heiress* see: 'The Brown Study' in Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, p. 3; 'Leave it to Father!' in Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, pp. 26-27; 'Softly Comes O'Hara' in Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, pp. 14-15, 50.

⁶⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 363-65, 561-64, 571, 574-78, 741-44.

⁶⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 234-35, 263-64, 417-18, 435, 442, 509-10.

⁶⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, pp. 423, 426; Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, p. 17; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, December 1954*, pp. 18-19; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, March 1955*, pp. 22-21, 57.

schooling and career expectations which would enable British readers to identify with them, whilst also exploring and celebrating ethnicity through differences such as dress and diet, with all sharing a common love of *Heiress*. It is clear therefore that *GOP* and *BOP* demonstrated different expectations of their readers, and imparted gendered messages.

5.3.1.2 Transport

Transport was one of the most popular, or at least most prolific, themes within *BOP*, and both fiction and non-fiction explored developments in flight, cars and trains. Transport articles were representative of changes in technology and accessibility, with articles about cars only really coming to the fore from the mid-1950s onwards, whilst articles on trains and railways reached a noticeable peak in the 1930s. Chapter Four noted that both papers introduced aviation themed clubs in the 1930s, and *BOP*'s content also responded to reader interest in flight during the 1930s and 1940s, with fiction such as 'A Biff in Time, Saves "Nine"' which featured dashing boy-pilots, and non-fiction articles on subjects such as 'Inverted Flying' and 'Naming of Aircraft'.⁶⁷ However, by far the most popular transport theme, woven into every volume sampled in this study, was the sea and boats. Britain's naval heritage was manifest in stories such as 'Kongre, the Wrecker', 'The Mystery of the "Mayflower"', 'Bob Strickland's Log', and 'Storm Bird', whilst non-fictional content such as 'From Fo'c'sle To Quarter Deck', 'Talking at Sea', 'Crossing the Line', and 'What a Marine Engineer Must Know', gave boys factual information about naval life.⁶⁸ The sea was also a theme for poetry, and during Haydon's editorship, for cartoons and photographs.⁶⁹ It is significant that, with a few exceptions during

⁶⁷ Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, pp. 73-77, 664; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 279-80.

⁶⁸ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 37*, pp. 427-37, 497-508, 559-69, 627-35, 680-89, 745-51; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 43-49, 71-74, 105-12, 165-72, 241-47, 306-13, 369-77; Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, pp. 70-72; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 23-33, 69-77, 117-28, 169-78, 217-26, 263-70; Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1944*, pp. 27, 56; Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, March 1945*, pp. 30-32; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1965*, pp. 14-17.

⁶⁹ See for example: Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, pp. 4, 24, 56, 66, 70, 71, 164.

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Spratt's editorship, there was no such content on the sea in *GOP*, because in *BOP* this theme was strongly associated with adventure and breaking ties with the domestic. Fiction such as the serial 'Orchid Island' showed boys going to sea, independently of adults, having adventures which served as a rite of passage towards manhood.⁷⁰ During the First World War there was a particular focus on naval service, and there were plentiful non-fiction accounts of boys' bravery at sea, such as that of Boy-Seaman John Travers Cornwell whose death aged just 16 at Jutland, and his posthumously granted VC, were much publicised and glorified in *BOP*.⁷¹ At times of peace, boys were empowered to translate interest in the sea into personal action, and as well as being shown how to make model craft, they were also given detailed instructions to make their own boats, including a sailing flat in 1925 and a canoe in 1914 and 1949, said to have been 'built and used by hundreds of lads all over the world', and encouraged to try sports such as white water canoeing.⁷² All of which may have prepared boys to take up one of the many naval career and training opportunities advertised in *BOP* right up until 1967.⁷³

Transport played a much smaller part in the content of *GOP*, with the exception of flight, with both Klickmann and Spratt featuring factual articles on flying by well-known female pilots, Sicele O'Brien and Pauline Gower, which were situated within a discourse of gender and equality. O'Brien, who had 'won the first women's air race' in Britain and had lost her leg in a plane crash in 1928, argued that 'flying is almost unique in that it is one of the only [sports] in which [women] can compete with men on equal terms'.⁷⁴ Gower encouraged girls to see flying as a viable profession in 'Aviation as a Career for Girls', advising the schoolgirl audience that 'There is no reason why matrimony

⁷⁰ Halls (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, June 1945, p. 29.

⁷¹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 39, p. 82.

⁷² Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 47, pp. 739-40; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, September 1950, p. 53; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, June 1955, pp. 57-58; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 37, p. 89; Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 57, p. 657.

⁷³ Advertisements included cadet courses, pre-sea training, and marine radio training. See for example, Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, August 1930, p. 2; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, February 1950, pp. 11, 16; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, December 1964, p. 22.

⁷⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual*, Volume 51, pp. 41-42.

should terminate a girl pilot's career'.⁷⁵ Girls' potential as aviators was reinforced through fiction such as 'Island of Adventure' and 'Sally's Solo', both of which privileged female professional pilots.⁷⁶ Gardiner has highlighted that 'Independent, courageous women [...] played highly visible roles in the forward march of aviation in the 1930s'.⁷⁷ Flying was an important theme for girls because as Cadogan notes it 'implied liberation, control of the elements and modernity [...] Female aviators appeared to symbolise the widening spheres of activity sought by women and girls'.⁷⁸ As previously highlighted, it also proved a useful route through which to promote female participation in the Second World War, and in October 1940 *GOP* launched the first adventure of 'Worrals of the WAAF', which it has been suggested was created by Biggles author W.E. Johns 'in response to an Air Ministry request' in order to encourage girls to join the WAAF. Intriguingly, Cadogan suggests that 'only a few weeks after the first serial about her began, the WAAF had temporarily to halt its intake of new volunteers', because there was such a rise in interest, which may indicate *GOP*'s influence on its readers. However, as Cadogan notes, the Battle of Britain 'might also have had something to do with this'.⁷⁹

5.3.1.3 Nature, the Environment and Animals

BOP's content over this period was full of articles about nature, natural history, and animals, and there was a strong assumption that this was a core element of boyhood. Year on year, boys were encouraged to engage with the natural world, but in a way which was entirely distinct from *GOP*. During Klickmann's editorship of *GOP* articles frequently linked nature to religion, in line with

⁷⁵ Gower later headed the women's section of the ATA during the Second World War. Mary Cadogan, *Women with Wings: female flyers in fact and fiction* (London: Macmillan, 1992), p. 170; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 322-24.

⁷⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1940*, pp. 217-20, 222.

⁷⁷ Juliet Gardiner, *The Thirties: an intimate history* paperback edn (London: Harper Press, 2011), p. 962; For more on the importance of female aviators see: Constance Babington Smith, *Amy Johnson* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004); Midge Gillies, *Amy Johnson: Queen of the Air* (London: Phoenix, 2004); Mary S Lovell, *Straight on Till Morning: the biography of Beryl Markham* (London: Hutchinson, 1987).

⁷⁸ Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper*', p. 168.

⁷⁹ Cadogan, *Women with Wings*, pp. 160-61.

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Klickmann's reportedly green spiritualist outlook, and overall *GOP* encouraged readers in a passive appreciation of flowers, birds and gardens.⁸⁰ *BOP*'s vision for boys' engagement with nature conversely encouraged a hands-on approach. As explored in Chapter Four, the Boy's Own Field Club (BOFC) was extremely popular during Haydon's editorship, and the BOFC's mastheads which showed equipment for the collection, classification and study of nature, signalled the feature's emphasis on natural history as a science.⁸¹ When Pocklington merged the BOFC with the *BOP* Club, natural studies articles continued to be featured as part of the Club, and were an on-going feature of *BOP*. However, during Cox's editorship natural history features reduced, and there were more articles which instructed readers on looking after animals, such as 'Take Care of Your Laying Birds', and 'How to show Rabbits'.⁸² There was also a strong strain of animal-related fiction including a series of African tales from C T Stoneham, a big-game hunter turned author.⁸³ Whilst *GOP* did offer girls some articles on animals as a career, such as 'Goat Keeping: The Economical Production of Milk for the Home', and 'Rabbits! Angora Wool Production as an Occupation for Girls', in the main animals tended to feature as pets, in the 'Pets Corner' feature, or in non-fiction such as 'Isn't He a Darling? Look After Your Puppy', which focused on girls' nurturing ability.⁸⁴

5.3.1.4 Sport and Leisure

Sport was a key theme in *BOP*, primarily featuring in a range of non-fiction articles, but also referenced in cartoons, competitions, poetry, and fiction. A

⁸⁰ See for example the 'Thoughts in the Out-of-Doors' series of articles in Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual*, Volume 36, pp. 232-33, 275-76, 372-74, 413-14, 480-82, 525-27, 609-12, 656-58, 741-43.

⁸¹ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 42, p. 184; Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual*, Volume 47, p. 67.

⁸² Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, February 1950, pp. 46-47; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, December 1954, pp. 34-35.

⁸³ See for example, 'Veteran's Duty' in Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, September 1960, pp. 15, 57; 'The meat trail' in Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, June 1965, pp. 41, 43; 'The well-fed lion' in Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper*, September 1965, pp. 36-37.

⁸⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual*, Volume 41, pp. 540, 542; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual*, Volume 56, pp. 567-68; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, June 1940, pp. 388-90, 412, 417-18.

broad range of sporting activities were addressed including boxing, martial arts, tennis, athletics, swimming, football, rugby and fencing. By far the two most prolifically covered sports were cycling and cricket. Cricket played a key part in the paper's content, particularly during Haydon's and Northcroft's editorships, broadly coinciding with the interwar period, when Jack Williams asserts cricket was a significant 'metaphor for England and for Englishness'.⁸⁵ It was still featured post-war, but from the 1950s there was more coverage of football, which was in line with Ward's finding in 1947 that football was the most popular sport with boys, followed by cricket.⁸⁶ Although Haydon did feature some cycling articles, the subject really came to the fore from the Second World War onwards, and this probably reflected its prevalence in this period as sport, hobby and means of transport, with 37 per cent of journeys in Britain in 1949 undertaken by bicycle, compared to 1 per cent in 2002.⁸⁷ Advertisers recognised it as of significant interest to young boys, and *BOP*'s advertising content was consistently dominated by cycling.⁸⁸ In 1950, when 23 per cent of advertising in *BOP* was related to cycling, Lutterworth placed a notice in *The Advertisers Weekly* in which they emphasised boys' and particularly *BOP* readers' fascination with cycling. The notice claimed that 'A recent analysis of correspondence from readers of *Boy's Own Paper* shows that 80% was on the subject of cycling', and stressed that '*B.O.P.* gives special prominence to this famous sport'.⁸⁹ There was certainly a regular cycling feature, although it is questionable whether the four per cent of the magazine given over to cycling in February 1950 amounts to 'prominence', but cycling's profile was often boosted in fiction, such as September 1950's 'Night Ride' which featured two boys undertaking a cycling 'endurance test'.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Jack Williams, *Cricket and England: a cultural and social history of the inter-war years* (London & Portland: F Cass, 1999), p. 1.

⁸⁶ Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Paul Rosen, Peter Cox, and David Horton, *Cycling and Society* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 3, 5-6. In ebrary < <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/soton/docDetail.action?docID=10211309> > [accessed 19th October 2013].

⁸⁸ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapter IX and X, p. 2.

⁸⁹ 'Is it included in your schedule?', p. 118.

⁹⁰ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, pp. 18-21, 54-57, 70.

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Tony Collins has observed that the idea of war as a 'football match writ large was commonly expressed in Britain during the First World War', and this is evident in the way *BOP* channelled boys' enthusiasm for sport by linking it to ideals of warfare, patriotism and service to the nation.⁹¹ The courage and valiant deaths of real life sporting heroes were featured in articles such as 'Football and the War', and fictional characters progressed effortlessly from sporting triumph at school to victory on the battlefield. Both fiction and stirring poetry, drawing on the language of sport, enabled boys to visualise their cricketing or football triumphs transferred on to the field of war, and one character in a wartime serial enthusiastically declared 'Fancy taking part in a war! Better than a house-match'.⁹² After the war, Haydon reflected with pride that 'Certain it is that the British traditions of sport...made the British soldier of the past five years the finest fighting man in all the armies', and as late as 1950 *BOP* was still advocating sports as a means to build character, physical form and maintain robust mental health.⁹³

Whilst sport and sporting language saturated *BOP*, and was such an integral part of its identity that it frequently featured on the covers of annuals and monthly issues, for most of *GOP*'s history sport was marginalised. It was only during Spratt's editorship, when *GOP* was positioned as a true sister paper for *BOP*, that there was a sudden increase in sporting content. Fictional heroines, such as Pat in 'Tackle! A Hockey Story', not only played sport, but took pride in it and found it a source of fulfilment, gaining strength and confidence through working with other girls in a team.⁹⁴ Girls engaging in sports from lacrosse, to horse-riding, to skiing, featured on the monthly covers, and girls were urged to 'Play - and Keep Fit' by a range of articles on sports such as hockey, tennis,

⁹¹ Tony Collins, 'English Rugby Union and the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, 45 (2002), pp. 797-817 (p. 797); Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, p. 175.

⁹² Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, p. 144.

⁹³ Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 42*, p. 104; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 245-49.

roller skating, and rowing.⁹⁵ As with aviation, girls were also encouraged to consider sport as a career and in 1935 the article 'I want to be a Games Mistress' gave readers information about further education and career options in sport.⁹⁶ By bringing in expert contributors such as Marjorie Pollard, a 'foremost figure in the fight for the establishment and recognition of women's team games', Spratt demonstrated that she took girls' sport seriously, and sporting articles were practical rather than theoretical, and advised girls, often with pictures and diagrams, on techniques and tackles for various sports.⁹⁷ Although after Spratt's departure there was still some content which reflected girls' physical activity, there was a notable decrease in the quantity, but an upswing in articles focusing on famous sports players, and whilst Pollard continued to contribute to *Heiress*, her articles changed from practical instruction to a descriptive sports 'newsletter'.⁹⁸

Yet even during the 1930s when *BOP* and *GOP* were running more closely in tandem, there were still significant differences in the way the papers approached sport. *GOP* consistently linked the healthy well-exercised female body with aesthetics, stressing ways to 'become even more healthy and graceful than you are already', and suggesting that 'exercises endow you with strength and grace. They produce a good figure and posture'.⁹⁹ One article was illustrated with photographs of girls using exercises to attain 'a good position', one of which was a curtsey, whilst patterns to 'Make Your Own Swim-

⁹⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, June 1940, front cover; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, February 1940, front cover; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, March 1939, front cover; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, February 1933, front cover.

⁹⁶ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual*, Volume 56, p. 461.

⁹⁷ Pollard was an international women's hockey player, all-round athlete and journalist, who wrote for national papers including the *Guardian*, *The Times*, and the *Observer*, as well as editing *Hockey Field* and *Women's Cricket*. Judith Wilson, 'Pollard, Marjorie Anne (1899-1982)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004)

<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65061>> [accessed 18th July 2013]; See for example, 'How to Play Hockey' in Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, November 1939, pp. 59-61; 'Tennis Tips' in Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, July 1939, pp. 488-90.

⁹⁸ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress*, June 1950, p. 61.

⁹⁹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper*, July 1939, p. viii; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual*, Volume 56, pp. 344-45.

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Suit' and 'Floral crêpes for Sportswear' positioned sport within a discourse of fashion and beauty.¹⁰⁰ Female exercise was therefore projected as related to the improvement of physical attractiveness, whilst for boys sport was positioned as a preparation for manliness, a means by which to achieve 'supple muscles, a true eye and a quick brain, all of which are necessities in the swift-moving life of today'.¹⁰¹ *BOP* also encouraged boys in a range of outdoor pursuits, such as camping, hiking, and climbing, all of which encouraged them in independence and resilience. There was an unwritten expectation that activities like these would free boys from adult supervision, and camping articles taught boys to cook for themselves, although this was strictly camp cookery only; and in 1930 instructions for building a log hut were provided for those 'fortunate enough to possess a permanent camping site where [...] we can practise archery, fish, carve our totem poles'.¹⁰² There was very little of this kind of material in *GOP*, although there was a nod to the popularity of guiding, and guide camps, in stories such as 'Lieutenant: A Camping Story'.¹⁰³

5.3.1.5 Hobbies, Interests, Puzzles and Games

Articles on hobbies, interests, puzzles and games were not only more common in *BOP*, they were also more diverse, allowing boys vastly broader horizons, and encouraging a 'can-do' and hands on attitude to life. *BOP* readers were instructed in photography, amateur radio, fishing, model-making, building a television set, and making boats, challenged by chess and draughts problems, and amused by riddles, magic tricks and quizzes. Such a wealth of articles not only encouraged boys to experiment and engage in all manner of activities, but also created a sense of continuity across generations. For although there were clear trends over time, such as the focus on radio construction in the 1920s and early 1930s, by and large *BOP*'s practical features were remarkably enduring. Boys could, and did, pick up old copies of the paper and make things that boys, generations before, had made. In September 1950, a reader

¹⁰⁰ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 344-45; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1940*, pp. 14-15; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, July 1939*, p. xii.

¹⁰¹ Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, pp. 458-60.

¹⁰² Pocklington (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 52*, pp. 413-14.

¹⁰³ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 267-72, 325-29, 336, 359-65, 410-16.

wrote in to say he had been given an old *BOP* annual, and from it had built 'a 10-ft. 6-in. sailing dinghy', which he had finished 'just in time to spend a grand summer holiday sailing her'.¹⁰⁴ There were also regular columns in *BOP* on the collection of stamps and coins, and this is consistent with the findings of contemporary research such as the survey of St Pancras children published in 1933 which found that collecting was boys' second favourite pastime, favoured by twelve times as many boys as girls.¹⁰⁵

When *BOP* was transferred to Purnells the paper's briefly-enjoyed new look seemed to be even more firmly focused on the entertainment of readers, and directly aimed at tapping into contemporary youth culture and its interests. There was an upsurge in articles on jazz and pop music, and celebrity culture was embraced with articles on contemporary musicians. There was also a significant increase in puzzles and games, and practical articles from how to make a hydroplane and a kite, to photography, as well as features on cars, boats, and flight.

There was no comparable emphasis in *GOP* on entertaining and amusing readers. However, *GOP* readers seem to have been more prolific 'makers', and Northcroft recalled that 'The number of entries for making things received by the *Girl's Own Paper* runs into thousands, while similar ones for the *Boy's Own Paper* amount to hundreds'. Northcroft attributed this to gender differences as 'boys have not much patience'.¹⁰⁶ Whilst boys were instructed on making all manner of models, including planes, submarines, and a model theatre, as well as practical items such as a wind-vane, and frames for the black-out during the Second World War, making was never such a core part of *BOP*'s identity as it was for *GOP*.¹⁰⁷ Over the years, *GOP*'s readers were provided with instructions

¹⁰⁴ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, pp. 50-51.

¹⁰⁵ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁰⁶ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 103.

¹⁰⁷ Northcroft, *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 57*, pp. 645-47; Harding (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 62*, pp. 143, 282; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, pp. 38-39, 41; Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, December 1954*, pp. 24-25.

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and advice to make clothes for themselves and their families, toys for children, accessories for their homes, and gifts.¹⁰⁸ Some of the articles, such as ‘Making your own Undies’, implied an intimacy between the magazine and reader, and of course readers who could access the same knitting patterns and sew the same clothes, were drawn together by a bond, less identifiable, but potentially as powerful as the *GOP* Club activities.¹⁰⁹ *GOP* readers were also shown how to paint their furniture, decorate a flat or room on a budget, and even to build a summer house.¹¹⁰ Even in more adventurous projects such as these there was a distinct gender dynamic, for as with the majority of hobbies and making projects for girls, they were situated firmly within the parameters of the domestic. Yet, all the projects assumed that readers were competent, capable, and independent, and whilst content in *BOP* seemed primarily concerned with keeping boys entertained, *GOP* articles focused on empowering readers to do things for themselves.

5.3.1.6 ‘Whatever boys do makes up the mixture of our little book’¹¹¹

This examination of five key strands of *BOP*’s content has demonstrated that there were core messages which were consistent throughout this period. Whilst attitudes towards other races and cultures shifted and became more tolerant over the years, international content was focused on preparing boys to take their place within the global community. Sports and leisure articles showed boys that they were expected to be active, adventurous and made key links between sporting endeavour and patriotic virtues, particularly during the First World War. Content on transport encouraged boys to be interested in technological change, and the particular privileging of naval themes encouraged boys to look beyond the domestic, and to associate manliness with

¹⁰⁸ See for example, Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 188, 190-91, 508-09; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 57, 126-27; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 81, 111-12, 148, 164-65; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, pp. 24-25; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, March 1955*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁰⁹ Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, March 1945*, pp. 38-39.

¹¹⁰ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 306-07, 571-72; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 106-07, 407.

¹¹¹ This was the motto of *BOP* since its first publication.

adventure in the outside world. This was underscored by the emphasis in natural history articles on scientific classification and an active and direct study of nature. The broad range of information on hobbies as well as the large amount of puzzles and games also suggested that boyhood was a time for fun and diverse interests. Overall then, these core messages showed boys that they should look outwards, preparing to engage appropriately with the outside world, rather than inwards upon the domestic, and that they should be active, adventurous, and were entitled to spend leisure time enjoying themselves in appropriate pursuits. This is entirely consistent with the Society's vision for *BOP*, that it should be adventurous and exciting, and lead boys into righteousness by providing examples of decent living. *BOP* provided consistency, and whilst it adapted to changes over time, it gave, overall, a consistent vision of boyhood as a time of adventure, fun and preparation for manhood.

5.3.2 *GOP*

As detailed in Chapter One, *GOP* never established the same sense of permanence and enduring tradition as *BOP*, and went through three distinct phases, each of which was signalled to the public, advertisers and contributors by a change in title. This has often been interpreted as a failure, a sign of a chaotic approach to the publication, and Cadogan suggests 'For much of its almost eighty-year run, the paper's editors seemed to have difficulty in deciding whether they were writing for girls or for women'.¹¹² It will be demonstrated that there was indeed a great deal of alteration over time within the paper's content, but that this was not due to failures in editorial control, but rather that change was driven in each case by a shift in the intended audience and was closely allied with changes in editor. This in turn was both a reflection of societal change in the roles of girls and women, but the paper also played its own part in allowing its readers to explore a range of models of feminine identity. It will also be demonstrated that during Klickmann's tenure content was particularly ambiguous and even conflicting, not only from one

¹¹² Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper*', p. 162.

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volume to the next, but even within individual issues, but that this served a distinct purpose.

Tinkler suggests that magazines for girls were shaped by the stages of what she terms the 'heterosexual career'. She argues that the content of girls' periodicals was determined by which stage of this 'career' readers were expected to be on; thus content deemed appropriate for a schoolgirl would not be suitable for an older adolescent or young woman, and vice versa.¹¹³ After the First World War, Mackay and Thorne suggest there emerged a new kind of young woman, who 'was allowed [not only] a muted version of the qualities and capacity for action of the Englishman, but short-haired, flat-chested, short skirted, she was closer in appearance to a young boy than to a pre-war woman'. However, this permissive state of non-domesticity, they suggest, was not allowed to continue indefinitely and there was an expectation that in due course she 'would fall in love, marry, bear children, acquire a womanly appearance and real fulfilment'. Thus Mackay and Thorne argue, 'The two images of women had been reconciled by assigning them to different periods of life'.¹¹⁴

There is much evidence within *GOP* that during Klickmann's editorship the paper recognised a growing divergence in the identities open to girls and women. In the decade which followed the First World War, there was an increase in content which acknowledged girls as a group with their own priorities, problems and interests, entirely separate from older women. Articles like 'Beautifying the Bed-sitting-room', 'Lilac and Lavender for a Girl's Room', 'Books for Young People' and 'The School-girl's Room', were signifiers that *GOP* recognised girl culture as something entirely distinct from the trajectory of married women's lives. Such articles sat, uneasily at times, alongside 'Careers for the Middle-Aged', 'The Shopping Round', and 'Blessed are they that Mourn', which addressed the needs and interests of older women.

¹¹³ Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 3, 5.

¹¹⁴ Jane Mackay and Pat Thorne, 'The Englishwoman', in *Englishness: politics and culture 1880-1920*, ed. by Philip Dodd and Robert Colls (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 191-229 (p. 223).

Sally Mitchell has argued that by 1915 there was an increasing awareness and development of a distinct girl culture, which resulted in girls' conscious awareness that 'they could be (new) girls for only a few brief years, before they grew up to be (traditional) women'.¹¹⁵ This fracture in feminine identity may well have been the driver, probably underscored by women's full enfranchisement in 1928, behind the Society's desire to tease out some of this tangled web of content, and to create two separate publications, one which would speak to women as mothers and keepers of the domestic, and the other which would address the young girl in her ever expanding state of independence, education, enfranchisement and ambition.

Yet, following Tinkler, it can be seen that there were in fact more than two images of femininity during this time, and that there was a spectrum of expectation and identity dependent on the age and status of the girl or woman. She might be a schoolgirl, a young worker, engaged, just married, a young mother, or growing into middle or later years. Furthermore, girls and women were also performing in a multiplicity of intersecting and competing roles, whether as wives, mothers, daughters, friends, or workers. An advertisement placed by the Society in the *Advertiser's ABC* in 1925 demonstrates that diversity was deliberately cultivated, and acknowledged, as it encouraged advertisements for *GOP* for 'everything that the gentler sex can need for the enhancement of flapperdom, early womanhood, motherhood and beyond, and the home'.¹¹⁶ Thus, as well as providing articles for different life stages, under Klickmann the paper also recognised the diversity of female experience, situating articles on managing servants alongside practical advice for girls and women at work. Moruzi's study of girls' papers from 1850 to 1915, found that periodicals were able to 'provide spaces in which girls were exposed to different models of girlhood and could begin to choose models of femininity that most closely reflected their lives and interests', and she suggests that this disrupted the model of universalized middle-class girlhood found elsewhere in the press.¹¹⁷ In the same way, by providing a broad range

¹¹⁵ Mitchell, *The New Girl*, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ 'Her home is her office and her hours, all day!', p. 355.

¹¹⁷ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 2, 12.

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of content, *GOP* opened up debate and knowledge on different kinds and types of femininity, allowing the housewife to learn about the realities of working in an office, and showing the London typist how her peers in the countryside were living. Perhaps most significantly, it showed female readers that they had choices, and could move between or inhabit multiple seemingly divergent identities. It is unsurprising, therefore, that during this period the paper lacked the cohesive identity of *BOP*, and it is this which can be seen to account for the seemingly fractured and ambivalent nature of *GOP*'s content at this time.

From 1930, when *GOP* split from *Woman's Magazine* much of this diversity disappeared, and by focusing on a schoolgirl audience, the target readership was simplified, and it was this which enabled the paper to run more in parallel with *BOP*. Virtually overnight *GOP*'s content was entirely repositioned, with a steep decline in content on themes such as arts and literature, citizenship, domesticity, family life and children, and morals and behaviour. New genres emerged, particularly in fiction, notably school stories, historical fiction and tales of adventure. Whilst, as Chapters Three and Four have explored, changes to the paper's tone at this time were partially reflections of Spratt's style, such a significant shift in tone could not have taken place without this fundamental shift in the intended readership, and the changing social expectations of girls and women. For the years of Spratt's editorship, girls were encouraged to enjoy their lives, embrace their education, push their bodies to sporting excellence, be ambitious about their future lives and careers, and for a brief moment in time to stand on an almost equal footing with boys. In the ten years of her editorship the paper was the closest in style to *BOP* it had ever been, or would be again, and opened up windows of opportunity for its schoolgirl audience. Spratt's editorial style was inclusive and enabling, and as explored in Chapter Four, at this time there was also a sudden rise in reader contributions, which decreased once *GOP* made the shift towards *Heiress*.

Heiress with its strong focus on clothing, fashion and beauty was, as its subtitle made explicit, a magazine for 'the older girl'. However, analysis of the content confirms that, as discussed in Chapter Two, the shift towards an older

age group began to take place before the title change. Lutterworth Periodicals' minutes recorded in February 1947 that change had been on-going 'for four or five years'.¹¹⁸ This would place the change in editor from Spratt to Goodall around the time of this shift, and suggests that the Society tended to seek a new editor when they were looking to take a significant change in direction. By Volume 66 (1944 to 1945), Goodall had already made significant changes to the paper and its intended audience. School stories, mystery stories and historical adventure, articles on sport, hobbies, making, and all kinds of practical instruction, as well as opportunities for readers to actively engage with the paper, dramatically decreased. In their place content began to appear which addressed girls as young wage earners and consumers. Articles such as 'My First Job' demonstrated the shift from schoolgirl to waged worker, targeting the reader 'when you leave school and begin work for the first time'.¹¹⁹ This was reinforced in fiction by stories such as 'Chip of the Old Block', which featured a 17 year old protagonist, learning 'shorthand and typing', which as outlined in Chapter Four also underlined expectations of the kinds of girls who would be reading the paper.¹²⁰ The change in content during the 1940s was therefore part of a deliberate policy to drive the readership upwards in age, so that by 1947 the managing director was able to advise the Board that 'its title was not truly representative'.¹²¹ Once the magazine was consolidated as *Heiress*, articles about entertaining and socialising increased dramatically, and there was a fourfold increase in articles with themes of work, and romance.

Therefore, whilst *GOP* did not have the consistent sense of identity which *BOP* cultivated, it was far more reactive to change within broader society. Whilst Orwell's famous charge levied at boys' weeklies that 'The year is 1910 – or 1940, but it is all the same', can be seen to apply to some extent to *BOP* with its consistent threads of content, this is not the case for *GOP*.¹²² *GOP*

¹¹⁸ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th February 1947.

¹¹⁹ Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, pp. 7, 48.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18, 20.

¹²¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 26th February 1947.

¹²² Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies', p. 518.

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reinvented itself and its sense of community at regular intervals, and in each metamorphosis the paper adapted to girls' and women's changing lives. The content of *GOP* was therefore constantly evolving, and was far less unified than *BOP* with its five key themes.

5.3.2.1 Education, Work and Careers

Apart from the proliferation of articles on making, such as knitting patterns, dresses and toy-making, the only other category of content which appeared consistently in significant quantity in *GOP* was education, work and careers. Articles on these subjects were vastly more prevalent in *GOP* than *BOP*, and were particularly high profile during the decade from 1920 to 1930, at a time of debate over women's role in the workforce, as women 'were expected to slip painlessly back into an uncomplaining pre-war female role', but as Mackay and Thorne observe, 'the clock could not be turned back to 1914'.¹²³ Thus, whilst at the outset of the First World War, a serial had described working women with pity as 'countless hordes...for whom life was a monotonous round of grey-hued days, shadowed by the prospect of age and want', after the end of the war a short story explored the freedom from domestic drudgery of a women who had found that 'The secret fount of [...] joy was that she was being permitted to earn her own living'.¹²⁴ However, whilst work represented independence, and women's presence in the workplace was normalised through fictional characters such as Cathy Windermere a 'Business Girl', and Beth a 'Designer and Worker in Metals', there was still an underlying sense of pity for such women in need of rescue from the trials of working life.¹²⁵ Escape was most often provided through marriage, which was held out as a fictional reward for female characters, such as Ella, a teacher, who in a 1920 tale had just two weeks' notice to give up her career, in order to marry her fiancé.¹²⁶ Whilst to some extent this was merely a reflection of the reality that women were expected, and under the marriage bar required, to give up work upon

¹²³ Mackay and Thorne, 'The Englishwoman', p. 223.

¹²⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 193.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 708-10.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 706; Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble*, p. 82.

marriage, there was also underlying sexual tension as men professed themselves unable to wait for 'the consummation of a perfect happiness'.¹²⁷ Active female sexuality and work were therefore placed in opposition, and women shown choosing between marriage and employment, and thus in 1920's 'Fitting out Mrs McDermott', the business success of Esther, the female protagonist, is explained by the fact that she is 'not sentimentally interested in any man'.¹²⁸

Moruzi notes that from 1880 to the early 20th century, *GOP* presented a strong discourse of health and beauty, as part of which it was demonstrated that girls who were to be successful in marriage and romance had to be healthy and fit, without infirmity.¹²⁹ Under Klickmann's editorship this seems to have reversed. Stories appeared in the 1920s in which independent women, explicitly shown to be active in the workforce, were made physically humble through devices such as a twisted ankle or a fainting spell, and once rendered physically weak and dependent upon a man were made acceptable for marriage. In the progress of a short story women were transformed from defiant adventurous heroines to 'all conventionality and dainty airs'.¹³⁰

In this interwar era, when the paper frequently acknowledged that many readers' hopes and expectations of marriage had been dashed by the war, *GOP's* non-fiction showed a keen awareness that for many girls there would be no choice, and Klickmann advised against viewing careers as a 'mere stop-gap' until marriage.¹³¹ At a time when women were being pushed to return to the home, *GOP* showed them achieving fulfilment in the workplace, in 'positions of control of others, at the heads of departments', and several articles gave readers advice on launching their own businesses, including details of required

¹²⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, p. 728.

¹²⁸ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 733.

¹²⁹ Moruzi, *Constructing Girlhood*, pp. 88-90.

¹³⁰ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 257-62; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 203-09.

¹³¹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, p. 393.

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start-up capital, expenditure, annual charges, and income and profits involved. These were ambitious blueprints for action 'which might be duplicated by any woman with the requisite grit and training'.¹³² Advice was also issued on operating within the office where women were 'competing with men', noting that aggression was entirely permissible but 'to have an aggressive voice is a decided handicap', according to the intriguingly entitled 'Your Speaking voice: "She's All Right Until She Opens Her Mouth"'.¹³³

Given the young age of her audience, during Spratt's editorship the focus shifted from the realities of work towards careers advice, addressed regularly in the correspondence pages and through the 'Carol's Career Corner' feature. In-depth advice was provided on salaries, training costs, challenges and rewards on a diverse range of occupations from veterinarian to aeroplane ground engineer, and Spratt was 'always urging girls' to "carve out a career for yourself".¹³⁴ Marriage was still acknowledged as an alternative option to work, with one article claiming that girls were most perfectly suited to take up the role of wife, but overall Spratt set a culture of high expectation and aspiration for her readers.¹³⁵ By contrast Goodall was far less encouraging of girls' aspirations, advising a girl interested in aviation as a career that 'it would be wiser to have a second choice', and suggesting she seek advice from a head teacher who 'would know in what direction your abilities lie'.¹³⁶ Thus where Spratt had encouraged and enabled, Goodall undermined readers' independence and advocated reliance on the authority and wisdom of designated adults.

¹³² Braybon and Summerfield, *Out of the Cage*, p. 282; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 171-72, 341-43.

¹³³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 730-32.

¹³⁴ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, incorporating Every Girl's Paper, July 1931*, p. xiii; Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, p. 197.

¹³⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 193, 197.

¹³⁶ Goodall (ed.), *Girls Own Paper, December 1944*, p. 56.

5.3.2.2 Citizenship

Citizenship was dealt with far more in *GOP* than in *BOP* and articles and stories of this nature reached a significant peak in the 1929 to 1930 volume, just after the Equal Franchise Act of 1928 allowed women the same voting rights as men. This volume was a notable mix of anti-feminist rhetoric and progressive views, and whilst in one month an article declared that women ‘can and do equal the men, every time, in business, in the professions, in the arts; we better them in homemaking, and we are beginning to overtake them in political endeavour’, in the next month Klickmann would argue that ‘we have never encouraged the fallacy that equality is possible, or desirable, as regards the sexes’.¹³⁷ These contradictions were played out throughout the content and the volume featured fictional characters such as the ‘stupid little wife’ whose husband ‘*did* like to be master in his own house’, alongside a young woman launching her own travel business.¹³⁸ Two thirds of the references to citizenship in this volume were made in non-fiction and articles such as ‘Women Who Are Doing Things’ which published pictures and celebrated the achievements of women like Gudrun Trogstad, the first Norwegian woman to gain a ‘Master’s Certificate’ entitling her to ‘be captain of vessels up to 200 tons displacement’, and Miss Wheeler the ‘only woman B.S.c of Dairying’ who was planning to become a researcher at Reading University.¹³⁹

This sense of conflict and difference within feminine identity was given clearest expression through a monthly series of articles in this volume entitled ‘Club Chatter’, which provided a powerful forum for discussion of issues amongst women. Set in a fictionalised club for girls and women, it brought together a variety of female characters, and afforded them a safe space within which to give voice to and debate their hopes, fears and beliefs on weighty issues of the day including women in parliament, women as voters, pensions, and equality. Serious issues were played out through ‘characters’ putting forward differing points of view, and this allowed a remarkably frank and open discussion of

¹³⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 115, 131-32.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 369-73, 589, 600.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-401.

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political issues, and the role women should play in civic life. In September 1930 the 'Youngest Member' advocated equal pension rights for women choosing to stay single and work to support themselves, whilst 'a Feminist Member' championed women MPs' involvement in the passing of the Children and Young Persons Employment and Protection Bill.¹⁴⁰ Thus, as Cadogan points out, although the paper could be seemingly anti-feminist at times *GOP* did explore issues of suffrage and citizenship, in comparison to 'other papers who treated the subject with derision and truly knock-about humour'.¹⁴¹

During Spratt's editorship this kind of content disappeared almost entirely, but in 1945 Goodall introduced a 'Youth Forum' feature, in response, she claimed, to readers' 'requests for an opportunity to study and discuss various public questions that have puzzled you'. In contrast to 'Club Chatter', which was a female space, in which all ranges of female opinion were allowed voice, the feature was a heavily gendered fictionalised debate between two boys and two girls, taking different ideological viewpoints on political issues. The boys dispensed wisdom and knowledge to the girls in authoritative tones, whilst one girl's frequently declared ignorance was used as a device to lecture the readership on political concepts and the obligations of landowners and business people.¹⁴² Goodall described the feature as 'your platform, where speech is free', but although she promised to take readers' views seriously she was clear that 'We may challenge what you have to say'.¹⁴³ Thus there was little here of the genuine sense of debate fostered during Klickmann's readership when diverse opinions shared space within the text. This was, of course, in contrast to developments in youth culture in broader society. Whilst young people were increasingly gaining their own voice and distinctive culture, something which Fowler argues began in the interwar years, Goodall was continuing to seek to set the agenda. Although she may have signposted the

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 760-62.

¹⁴¹ Cadogan, 'The *Girl's Own Paper*', p. 164.

¹⁴² Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, September 1945*, pp. 8, 41.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

feature as a 'Youth Forum', as Fowler has noted, where young people's activities remained directed by adults, youth culture itself could not develop.¹⁴⁴

5.3.2.3 Poverty and Wealth

Whilst the early 1930s saw the discussion of women's newly enfranchised status, *GOP* had long recognised female economic power. Throughout the period of this study *GOP* consistently had far more articles and stories which dealt with matters of finance than *BOP*, and this was particularly noticeable in the 1920s when women were frequently depicted in difficult financial circumstances, and executing strategies to alleviate money worries.¹⁴⁵ This was, of course, a reflection of the difference in age-range of the papers' readership at this time, as well as of gender. Whilst *BOP* was addressing boys aged up to 18, at this time, as has been established in Chapter 4, *GOP* was providing articles for both girls and grown women with housekeeping responsibilities. Thus, non-fiction articles offered women support in achieving domestic economy through 'Inexpensive Recipes', demonstrations of how to adapt last year's clothes to meet this year's fashions, and advice on adhering to a budget rather than 'trying to keep up with other people who may be better off than we are financially'.¹⁴⁶ Even competitions were focused on austerity, and one competition launched in December 1919 entitled "'My Pet Economy" and What it has Saved me', invited readers to submit tips which had 'saved you time, trouble, or cash'.¹⁴⁷ Whilst moderate wealth was often a reward in *GOP*'s fiction, genteel poverty was generally portrayed as vastly preferable to materialistic greed, and a somewhat puritanical approach was taken to any signs of excess. An article in March 1920 railed against the 'Glorified Self-Indulgence' of consumer culture manifest in 'the astonishing increase in the

¹⁴⁴ Fowler, *The First Teenagers*, p. 1; David Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c.1920-c.1970: from ivory tower to global movement--a new history* (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 22.

¹⁴⁵ In August 1925 in 'No Children - or Animals!', the protagonist Mary Falmer decides to take in boarders after finding herself in straitened financial circumstances after her shares fail to pay their usual dividend: Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 665-70.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 523-25, 697; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 566-68, 744.

¹⁴⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 168.

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number of small shops for the sale of ready-made evening dresses' and 'displays of expensive sweets'. This was ostensibly set within a Christian framework, reminding readers that gluttony was one of the 'Seven Deadly Sins' and quoting Biblical admonitions against greed, but the article also showed an astute awareness of the injustice and dangers of such overt displays of social inequality, reflecting that 'demonstrations of luxury on the part of an arrogantly wealth minority can be followed by ruthless and even brutal retaliations'.¹⁴⁸

After 1930 articles and stories which examined the management of domestic expenditure naturally faded out as *GOP*'s readership shifted towards girls aged 12 to 16, but the awareness of financial difficulties and inequalities of wealth remained. The type of material changed, but the core theme continued. The heroines of school stories were frequently scholarship girls, and stories occasionally explored the barriers to social equality which these girls' lack of material advantage engendered. The assumptions of a middle-class readership were underscored by stories such as 'A Frock for the Fairy Queen' which for the benefit of the readers provided a literary 'tour' of poverty, detailing an 'untidy' house, a busy mother, just one sitting room, and no 'maids and nurses'.¹⁴⁹ The 'scholarship narrative', which had also appeared in *BOP* in the 1920s, often showed the poorer protagonist as morally superior, but nonetheless the fictional resolution was generally some form of incorporation into middle class values, and adoption, whether literally or figuratively, by wealthier benefactors.¹⁵⁰

5.3.2.4 Domesticity

One core sector of content which was almost entirely absent from *BOP* was that based around the home and personal relationships. Domestic content was almost exclusively the preserve of *GOP*, and was primarily explored through

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 365-66.

¹⁴⁹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 122, 124.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124; Haydon (ed.), *Boy's Own Annual, Volume 39*, pp. 628-41.

non-fiction which advised readers on cookery, housework and homecraft. Content of this nature reached a noticeable peak in Volume 46 (1924 to 1925), but figured significantly throughout Klickmann's editorship. Yet an article which appeared on the surface entirely domestic might upon deeper perusal contain surprising content. Mrs Gordon-Stables' 'Inside the Home' column often discussed domestic labour-saving devices, but in 1920 her article advised women on the technicalities of house-building so they would be equipped to negotiate with 'the architect or builder during the initial stages', and suggested readers equip themselves with 'a not too heavy hammer', pliers, knives and other tools 'by means of which the rawest tyro may set about the business of drilling holes in cement, plaster-concrete, or brick'.¹⁵¹

Fiction could also be used to explore the challenges of women's domestic lives, and Klickmann drew in contributors such as Zona Gale, an activist for women's causes and later a Pulitzer Prize Winner, who used her novels to explore 'women's frustration at their lack of opportunities'.¹⁵² Gale's short story 'The Christmas Dinner Mother Didn't Cook' published in *GOP* in December 1914 described one woman's joy in escaping the drudgery of cooking the Christmas dinner, and her husband's burgeoning appreciation of the burdens of domesticity.¹⁵³ Five years later, Elizabeth Jordan, former editor of *Harper's Bazaar*, and also a suffragist, provided a tale which like Gale's narrative featured a married woman, Mrs McDermott, experiencing frustration with her domestic routine, and demanding restitution after years of neglect from her husband. However, it also demonstrated that female unity could transcend women's different life experiences as Mrs McDermott, a farmer's wife, is united with Esther, a career woman who not only brings material wealth into Mrs McDermott's life but also acts as an advocate to improve her status within her marriage.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 721-23.

¹⁵² 'Zona Gale', <<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/topics/gale/>> [accessed 24th July 2013].

¹⁵³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 137-42.

¹⁵⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 733-39.

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Whilst articles on household management disappeared when the age of the readership dropped in 1930, domesticity remained a key part of *GOP*'s discourse, and female readers continued to be provided with a multiplicity of content which addressed them as participants within the home. As with other areas of content, whilst the detail of the content might change, the theme remained intact, and *GOP* continued to promote domestic chores such as cookery and housekeeping. Spratt's 'Cookery Nook' feature encouraged girls to swap recipes, whilst *Heiress* ran competitions and advice columns about the role of hostess, and articles which advised girls on packing suitcases, and featured fiction such as 'Double Entry for Dilys' which cast girls as fledgling housekeepers.¹⁵⁵

5.3.2.5 Family Life and Children

Stories and articles which dealt with family life and children were also far more dominant in *GOP* and unsurprisingly were most common during Klickmann's editorship, when there was a broader audience encompassing married women as well as girls. In this period the paper included many articles which addressed readers as mothers of young children, offering them patterns for young children's clothing, knitting patterns to make dolls' clothes, and parenting advice such as 'Training the Child to be Obedient', one of a series of articles 'for Youth Mothers'.¹⁵⁶ In several *GOP* stories of the 1910s and 1920s maternal instinct is portrayed as something which should be innate to femininity, and a prerequisite for male approval. One tale in 1925 depicts the protagonist's transformation from a lonely woman unnaturally attached to singleness, hostile to children and isolated from others, who achieves fulfilment and romance as soon as she accepts that maternal duty is her highest calling.¹⁵⁷ Yet other models of motherhood co-existed alongside these messages, and there were multiple depictions of mothers who were young,

¹⁵⁵ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, February 1940*, p. 12; Goodall (ed.), *Girl's Own Paper, June 1945*, p. 30; Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, pp. 18-22, 84, 86; Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, June 1950*, pp. 18-21, 68-73; Murray (ed.), *Heiress, June 1955*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁶ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 190-91, 527, 747-48.

¹⁵⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 1-8, 67-72, 130-36, 214-20, 292-97; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 665-70.

sexually attractive and active, focused on their own pleasure and interests, and decidedly un-nurturing towards their children.¹⁵⁸ When the paper shifted towards the younger readership in 1930 whilst family stories remained, they were less prevalent than in Klickmann's editorship and, naturally, addressed readers as sisters and daughters, rather than mothers.

5.3.2.6 Personal Relationships

References to personal relationships were also almost exclusively reserved for *GOP*, but the content was varied according to the target audience. During Klickmann's tenure, when the intended readership was somewhat older, there was much romantic fiction, which primarily covered courtship and the approach to marriage, whilst non-fiction tended to explore marriage itself, or from the mid-1920s, a new motif of singleness. However, Klickmann's autobiographical Flower-Patch stories, often featured in *GOP*, almost all gave centrality not to her marriage with Henderson-Smith, but to her close friendship with 'Ursula' and Virginia'. These sisters were probably Harriet and Marion Moore, unmarried elementary school teachers who shared a house with Klickmann prior to her marriage.¹⁵⁹ In her writings Klickmann described Harriet and Marion as 'family' and they often resided together at Brockweir whilst Henderson-Smith stayed in London. This depiction of an all-female household gave readers a positive image of female co-operation and friendship, with the women shown sharing in domestic tasks, cooking and caring for one another.¹⁶⁰ Tales such as these, and fiction such as 'Fitting Out Mrs

¹⁵⁸ For examples see 'The Independence of Claire' in Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 42-48, 80-86, 144-49, 224-31, 269-75, 349-56, 404-09, 468-74, 534-43, 601-08, 645-50, 725-29; and 'Her Father's Daughter' in Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 133-34.

¹⁵⁹ The 1911 census showed Flora living at 76 Ondine Road in East Dulwich, with Harriet and Marion, and a servant Ellen Elizabeth Jackaman. The house was recorded as two separate households, with Harriet and Marion occupying four rooms and Klickmann and Jackaman occupying the other, although the house does not appear to have been physically divided. '1911 England Census' <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgiin/sse.dll?db=1911England&h=3871313&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7619> [accessed 6th February 2013].

¹⁶⁰ Klickmann, *The Flower-Patch Among the Hills*, p. 9; Klickmann, *Between the Larch-Woods and the Weir*, p. 258.

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McDermott', previously highlighted, privileged female relationships over heterosexual ones, rendering male characters marginal.

With a younger audience from 1930 onward, female friendship received even greater prominence as articles on romance and marriage dwindled almost to nothing, and there was an increase in stories which celebrated girls' relationships with each other, particularly through girls' school stories which were immensely popular during the interwar period.¹⁶¹ These stories which privileged a cast of girls as heroes and villains, allowing them independence of thought and action, were significant because as Humphrey argues they 'profoundly challenged' the prevailing assumptions that 'the prime function in life of a girl was to be a mother'.¹⁶² Auchmuty argues that school stories provided girls with a 'rare vision of a women-only world' where 'female ambition and leadership are recognised and encouraged, and relationships between women are prioritised'.¹⁶³ Girls' school stories she suggests have been subsequently belittled, marginalised and mocked because the 'world of girls' they presented, where men were peripheral at best, was perceived as a threat to patriarchy.¹⁶⁴ She notes that during the 1920s and 1930s, there was a reaction against single-sex schools and 'passionate' female friendships as sites and symptoms of lesbianism, exacerbated by 'the lesbian witch-hunt which followed the prosecution of *The Well of Loneliness* in 1928'.¹⁶⁵ In this context it is interesting to note that school stories had a smaller presence in *GOP* by 1940 and most fiction included a mixed cast of male and female protagonists. Prior to this, under Spratt's editorship, when the intended readership was aged 12 to 16 heterosexual themes were suppressed. There were no tales of romance, and boys were often erased entirely from the narrative, or appeared as brothers or asexual childhood friends.

¹⁶¹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 277, 526-27.

¹⁶² Judith Humphrey, 'Subversion and Resistance in the Girls' School Story', in *The Sands of Time: Children's Literature: Culture, Politics & Identity*, ed. by Jenny Plastow and Margot Hillel (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2010), pp. 25-48 (pp. 26-28). In ebrary <<http://site.ebrary.com/lib/soton/docDetail.action?docID=10509054>> [accessed 13th July 2013].

¹⁶³ Auchmuty, *A World of Girls*, pp. 15, 18-19, 103.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 126.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

As the reader age range picked up with the shift towards a teenage audience, male characters featured in greater numbers and as *Heiress* began to encourage girls towards the formation of romantic heterosexual relationships there was a concomitant rise in fashion and beauty articles which trebled in number between 1945 and 1950. Whilst there had been some discussion of fashion and appearance prior to this, it had tended towards the utilitarian with Spratt running the occasional article on clear complexions, and Klickmann offering advice on ‘neat and tasteful’ footwear, and lambasting followers of fashion who ‘follow others like flocks of sheep crowding to the same gap’.¹⁶⁶ This was in stark contrast to *Heiress* which problematized the female body, portraying it as something to be disciplined into homogenous perfection, and this was explicitly linked to success in heterosexual relationships. An article on feet warned that girls who ‘look sloppy about the ankles’, ran the risk of repelling men, whilst an advertisement for a ‘Yeast-Pac Beauty Mask’ suggested that a ‘dingy-looking complexion’ would inevitably result in the loss of male interest.¹⁶⁷ Both articles and advertisements therefore sent clear messages that fashion and beauty were for the benefit of boys, and girls were instructed that looking good was ‘a kind of “social service” rather than a matter of personal prestige’.¹⁶⁸ *Heiress* also featured, albeit in relatively small numbers, a new type of fiction which focused on body image and weight, and this was also linked to attractiveness to the opposite sex. Female characters were made painfully aware that boys preferred ‘maypoles’ and that they were ‘much too fat’ to attract a boyfriend, and unable to wear fashionable clothing because “‘There’s too much of you for tight frocks’”.¹⁶⁹ Yet the need to lose weight was firmly linked to sexual maturity, and younger girls were advised to defer both weight loss and the hunt for a boyfriend until they were older.¹⁷⁰ In the meantime there was a strong steer that younger girls should concentrate on platonic friendships with boys with whom ‘they had tastes in common – stamp collecting, caterpillars, box cameras and cycling’.¹⁷¹ Yet these latter interests

¹⁶⁶ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 342-44, 363-64, 366.

¹⁶⁷ Murray (ed.), *Heiress, December 1954*, p. 71; Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, June 1950*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁸ Murray (ed.), *Heiress, December 1954*, pp. 34-5, 69.

¹⁶⁹ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, June 1950*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-7, 74-5; Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, December 1949*, pp. 23-27, 79.

¹⁷¹ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, June 1950*, p. 35.

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were precisely those which had been eradicated in the transition from *GOP* to *Heiress*, and the Board was well aware that they were running the risk of the younger girl being ‘crowded out’.¹⁷²

As discussed in Chapter Two Lutterworth’s decision to move to a teenage audience had been predicated on the assumption that it would ‘result in a steady increase in advertising revenue to pay for development’, thus it is unsurprising that *Heiress*’s content was tied more closely to its advertisements than *GOP* had been.¹⁷³ During Spratt’s editorship the majority of adverts were for books and magazines, charities, cycling, and hobbies’ supplies, whilst around one third of *Heiress*’s adverts were for grooming and beauty products, with an additional 14 per cent for clothing, fashion and footwear, and the ‘Judy’s Beauty Shop’ feature promoted cosmetic products from regular advertisers.¹⁷⁴ Yet, as Chapter Four established, in 1950 just over half of the readers were under 16, and particularly in its earlier years, *Heiress*’s content reflected the conflict in the needs of the different audiences reading it. Directly opposite a full page make-up advertisement, the problem page advised a 16 year old reader that ‘you are a little young to wear make-up’.¹⁷⁵ Despite its ostensible message that dieting was foolish and could wait, ‘Love is a Grown-up Thing’ began on a page immediately facing an advertisement for a ‘corsellete’, and the majority of illustrations of the female body in *Heiress* whether in advertisements, fiction or non-fiction, showed girls with impossibly small waists, and long slim legs.¹⁷⁶

5.3.2.7 Sexuality and Abuse

Exploration of sexuality is one area of *GOP*’s content which, unsurprisingly, was strongly dictated by the intended age of the readership. Thus, whilst the

¹⁷² ‘Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings’, USCL/RTS/02/21, 18th December 1947.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 29th February 1947.

¹⁷⁴ Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, March 1955, p. 45.

¹⁷⁵ Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, September 1955, p. 37.

¹⁷⁶ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress*, June 1950, p. 34; Goodall (ed.), *Heiress*, December 1949, p. 47.

prevalence of beauty, make-up and heterosexual romance in *Heiress* might suggest increased liberality, as girls were encouraged to consider preparing and improving their bodies for sexual fulfilment, as a religious publisher, the Society faced particular challenges in addressing a teenage and young adult audience. As highlighted in Chapter One, the twentieth century saw a series of moral panics which focused on female sexuality, and this was reflected in *Heiress* which singled out pursuits such as dancing as potentially leading to 'the over-stimulus of sexual passion'. probably because sexual activity was expected to be reserved for marriage.¹⁷⁷ During Spratt's editorship, when as previously highlighted, heterosexual relationships were suppressed, there were some hints at lesbian sexuality within school stories. However, as Auchmuty has highlighted, within a society that was increasingly hostile towards lesbianism, school story authors moved to attack 'crushes' and 'raves' amongst girls, promoting instead an ideology of 'sane and healthy' female friendships.¹⁷⁸ Thus whilst stories such as 'Dicket: A Story of Friendships' acknowledged lesbian sexual attraction, the protagonist is brought to a gradual realisation that 'crushes' on girls are unacceptable, and is restored first to more measured friendships with girls, and then heterosexual interest in a longstanding male friend.¹⁷⁹ The frankest acknowledgement of feminine sexuality was seen during Klickmann's editorship, and is most likely a reflection of the broader audience, which included married women as well as girls. Fiction such as 'Such a Dear Romantic Child!' and 'The Listening Post' acknowledged sexual passion, adultery, and cast women in positions of power within their relations as men.¹⁸⁰ Female readers were provided with challenging content which explored women's capacity for sexually predatory behaviour, discussed lesbianism and prostitution, and raised the spectre of child abuse.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress, September 1950*, p. 68; Dyhouse, *Girl Trouble*, p. 250.

¹⁷⁸ Auchmuty, *A World of Girls*, pp. 144-47.

¹⁷⁹ Spratt (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 56*, pp. 420, 572-75.

¹⁸⁰ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 149; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 384-85.

¹⁸¹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 188-90; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, pp. 149-52.

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This latter and most disturbing discourse confronted readers with notions of child neglect and abuse, and one tale described a child who had been hospitalised because ‘of the most cruel neglect’.¹⁸² However, two stories were particularly notable for what appear to be open depictions of child sexual abuse. ‘The Brown Study’, a serial which ran throughout 1914 and 1915, depicted a lonely vicar ‘starved for the human touch’ who regularly brings his neighbour’s two year old daughter alone into his house, in order to assuage a longing ‘so hard it aches like a bruise’.¹⁸³ Ten years later, the short story ‘The Flash of the Engine’, explored similar ground, centring once more upon a vicar who becomes besotted with a ‘pretty’ seven year old boy after sharing a bed with him at a holiday boarding house.¹⁸⁴ In both cases, physical intimacy is emphasised, the former tale describing ‘the lingering pressure of hungry lips in the soft, sweet creases of her silken skin’, and the latter featuring an uncomfortable scene in which the vicar undresses the boy in the middle of the night and ‘anointed Master Jacky freely’ with ointment, to treat bruises from a fall.¹⁸⁵ In ‘The Brown Study’, the relationship with the girl is relinquished once the vicar is to be married, but in ‘The Flash of the Engine’ the vicar proposes to the boy’s older sister, in part ‘because I can’t bear to part with Jacky’.¹⁸⁶ It is wholly inadequate to justify such tales by suggesting that perceptions of abuse have changed. By the early 1920s both the NSPCC and the government had been vociferous in their concerns that unregulated adoption was exposing young children to abuse.¹⁸⁷ Just one year after ‘The Flash of the Engine’ was published, the Adoption of Children Act 1926 was passed, but the NSPCC continued to raise concerns, citing the case of a seemingly respectable man who adopted a seven year old boy, but was later found to have ‘the boy sleeping with him’.¹⁸⁸ The parallels between this case and ‘The Flash of the Engine’ are remarkable. There was therefore a well-established contemporary

¹⁸² Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 41*, p. 524.

¹⁸³ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 1-8, 67-72, 130-36, 214-20, 292-97.

¹⁸⁴ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 656-59.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 656-57; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁸⁶ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 46*, pp. 658-59; Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 36*, pp. 295-97.

¹⁸⁷ Alyson Brown and David Barrett, *Knowledge of Evil: child prostitution and child sexual abuse in twentieth-century England* (Cullompton: Willan, 2002), p. 85.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

discourse regarding the dangers to children of unregulated adult contact with children, and bed-sharing. It is conceivable that the contributor and Klickmann believed that as both characters were clergymen this neutralised suspicion of impropriety, but it is also possible that such stories were intended to raise awareness of abuse as an issue, and to enable readers to consider their response to such issues.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has established that although the papers' content was clearly differentiated along gender lines, it also developed over time. Changes in editor were one cause of these shifts, but social circumstances and reader need also drove transformation. This was far more prevalent amongst girls in this period, and whilst *BOP*'s identity was predominantly stable, *GOP* was constantly in a state of evolution and transition. When the content of *BOP* is considered as a whole over the length of the period from 1914 to 1967, there are five key themes which appear both with regularity and in significant quantity to suggest that any boy reader picking up the paper could have identified them. Further, because of this continuity, it can be argued that a boy picking up any issue of *BOP* from any year would be able to identify it, and notice characteristic traits held in common. It is for this reason that the term 'boy's own' continues to resonate today, and is used easily in journalism with no need for explanation or definition.

Whilst *BOP*'s content entertained boys, gave them 'healthy' interests, stimulating hobbies, excitement, and a strong dose of moral exhortation, *GOP* was far more complex. Its contents were often highly contradictory, even from issue to issue, particularly during Klickmann's editorship, and the positioning of articles for younger girls alongside content which aimed to address issues of motherhood and marriage, sometimes seemed a little uneasy. However, it did reflect the confusion and conflicting views around women's roles during this period, and provided women with a space within which to consider the changes to their lives and roles that occurred through two World Wars, political emancipation, and increased participation in the labour market. Once Spratt

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took over and moved the paper towards a schoolgirl magazine the content changed in tone and intent and seemed admirably adapted to its purpose. It was at this stage that *GOP* was closest in style, tone, and content to *BOP*. However, the ill-fated change to a magazine for teenagers and young women which *Heiress* brought about seemed to push the paper towards a highly commercialised interpretation of femininity which was predominantly focused on relationships and consumerism.

It has been seen that both *BOP* and *GOP* were first and foremost religious publications, both of which intervened in their readers' spiritual lives, and reinforced modes of moral behaviour, and expectations of service. Beyond this, the papers were, as might be expected, gendered. However gender was constructed differentially according to age, and was linked to the perceived needs of the readership. Thus, the content was influenced by the readership, even if it did not directly respond to readers as individuals.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As set out in Chapter One, this thesis has brought an entirely new perspective to the study of these two important juvenile periodicals, employing a holistic approach to explore the way in which meaning and gendered and religious identity were debated and constructed within the papers. Whilst previous studies have examined the content of the magazines and interrogated it for significance and meaning, this study, by exploring the way in which the publisher, editors and contributors and readers were all part of a mutual process of production, has been able to explore the papers in greater depth. This innovative methodology has been vital for seeing the ways in which the content of the papers was formed by mutual consent and negotiation, rather than passed from an omniscient publisher to a passive reader, via an editorial gatekeeper. The exploration in Chapter Five of the way in which international issues were addressed within the papers provides an illustration of the value of this methodological approach.

As considered in Chapter One, historians such as Singh, Bratton and Smith have debated the extent to which juvenile periodicals such as *GOP* engaged with empire and presented a constructed feminine imperial identity or identities, and Bristow, Porter and Orwell have similarly explored the notion of boys' story papers creating a vision of white British boys at the top of the 'racial ladder and at the helm of all the world'.¹ Yet in taking a holistic approach, this study has been able to examine the *way* in which engagement with international issues, racial and cultural difference, and empire was negotiated over time and differentially across *BOP* and *GOP*. This has revealed the complexity of influence at work in the papers, and the interplay between

¹ Bristow, 'Reading for the Empire', p. 21; J. S. Bratton, 'British Imperialism and the Reproduction of Femininity in Girls' Fiction, 1900-1930', in *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature: Studies in Imperialism*, ed. by Jeffrey Richards (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 195-215; Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture*; Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives: guidance for girls in Victorian fiction*; Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*; Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies'.

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publishers, editors and contributors and readers, as well as an engagement with broader societal change.

As established in Chapter Three, the editor was not merely a passive gatekeeper implementing the publisher's policy, and each brought their own ideology and priorities to the role. Nonetheless they were required to work within the framework set for them by the Society, and were expected to produce papers which were both commercially viable and in-line with religious policy. It has been seen that in some cases this caused severe tensions between the editors and the Society, and examination of international content has provided an insight into the balance of power and influence between editor and publisher. As highlighted in Chapter Five, Jack Cox was able to effect significant changes to the tenor of *BOP*'s internationalist content, and used the paper as a platform for his own views which reflected the ethos of international brotherhood and scouting. Yet, through the complementary use of both quantitative and qualitative analysis of content, it has been established that after *BOP* was transferred from the Society to the ownership of Purnells, whilst international content remained high, the proportion of such content within the magazine almost halved. Since Cox was editor both before and after this change in publisher, this suggests that although the editor could steer the content, the publisher remained highly influential, and that in this case the Society, unsurprisingly perhaps as a Christian missionary organisation with a strong overseas infrastructure, enabled and perpetuated a strongly internationalist outlook.

Further, by taking a holistic approach it has been possible to explore the key role of the readership, teasing out, as in Chapter Four, the active role readers took, engaging not as passive recipients of the text, but as individual agents, interpreting meaning and extending the papers' influence into their 'real-world' social interactions. It has been seen that *BOP* in particular had a strong culture of readers challenging the authority of both the editor and contributors and fellow-readers. Thus, it is significant that it was a reader's joke which in 1949 served as a neat deconstruction of the narrative of white supremacy which had been so prevalent, particularly in *BOP*'s fiction, up until the start of

the Second World War. It has also been shown that the papers' content was tailored by editors and publisher to meet the perceived need of their expected readership, and that to this extent at least, the readership were influential over content. It has been a key contention of this work that it is vital to reposition *BOP* and *GOP* as companion papers, viewing them side by side, in contrast to the existing historiography which has tended to examine either one paper or the other. The value of this approach is well illustrated in the exploration of both fiction and non-fiction with an international theme, which was differentiated over time, but also across the two papers, reflecting the gender and age of the imagined community of readers. By revisiting the papers as they were intended to be read, alongside one another, a clearer picture has emerged of the way in which models of engagement with other races, cultures and empire were strongly gendered.

The use of a holistic methodology has also extended to considering the balance of all elements of the content of the papers, in contrast to many studies, which as highlighted in Chapter One, have tended to focus on the papers' fiction. The study of *BOP's* coverage of international issues provides a clear example of the dangers of a methodological approach which isolates just one aspect of juvenile periodicals and fails to situate them within their original context. In Chapter Five it was established that whilst up until the start of World War Two *BOP's* fiction carried a strong vein of jingoistic rhetoric, racism, and a discourse of effortless white supremacy enacted overseas, the non-fiction presented a more measured approach to other cultures. There were numerous instances of non-fiction articles which addressed cultural difference in a sensitive fashion, and as highlighted in Chapter Four, from 1912 *BOP* featured clubs which encouraged international friendship amongst readers. Whilst this neither negates nor excuses the racism of the fiction, it does present it within a different context, and supports Porter's contention that *BOP's* imperial content, whilst prevalent and 'visceral', may not have had as significant an impact on its readers as might be imagined.

Therefore, it can be seen that by taking an innovative methodological approach to the papers this study has been able to gain a deeper understanding of the

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way in which the papers were constructed as part of a process of negotiation between publisher, editors and readers. A holistic methodology has enabled a fresh perspective which has been further reinforced by exploring the papers at a time which has been largely neglected by previous studies. As outlined in Chapter One much of the existing writing on the papers has been focused on the Victorian and Edwardian years, when the papers have been considered to be most successful. By contrast, this thesis has examined the papers in the period from 1914 to 1967, which has been largely neglected in the historiography. This was a key period for the papers but also a significant time in British social history, with two World Wars, the Great Depression, rationing and austerity. In addition to which there were changes in constructions of gender, girlhood and femininity, developing youth culture, increasing secularisation of society, and shifts in Britain's role and position within the wider international community. *BOP* and *GOP* were inevitably enmeshed within these broader issues and events, and it was within this context that the papers were constructed and negotiated. Therefore whilst the papers were not a reflection of reality, the way in which they were constructed has broader resonance when considering British Society in the first two thirds of the twentieth century. The way in which contemporary and significant issues were addressed in the papers and the extent to which they were mediated through publishing policy, editorial practice and reader engagement, is indicative of the way in which issues such as religion, gender and culture are not fixed concepts, but social constructions.

From the evidence of the papers it would appear that there was a stable ideal of juvenile masculinity during this period, predicated on a vision of 'eternal' boyhood. Although it has been noted in Chapter One that this was not the sole construction of young masculinity in this period, it was a powerful one. Whilst it was based on middle class values it was also accessed by at least some working class readers, who appear to have internalised the values and ideals of institutions such as the public schools without needing ever to have attended them.² Indeed, many of the core middle-class readers of *BOP* probably did not attend public schools either, but the ethos was understandable and accessible.

² Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, p. 127.

Right across the political spectrum from Stanley Baldwin to Ramsay MacDonald, men who disagreed on matters of state shared affection for *BOP* which seems to have been deeply bound up with memories of boyhood.³ This affection and nostalgia for *BOP* and other boys' periodicals continued in the post-war period, when Lofts and Adley observed that collectors of juvenile periodicals were predominantly male, and the magazines collected were mainly boys' periodicals, rather than those for girls.⁴ This suggests that there was a security and confidence around this particular construction of juvenile masculine identity during this period, which was long-lasting. It is telling that the papers' key themes of content stayed so consistent over the whole of the period of this study, and that boys in later years were able to pick up a copy of *BOP* from years before and find it still relevant to their lives and interests.⁵ Orwell suggests that the world of boys' magazines stayed static between 1910 and 1940, but one must assume given the popularity of such magazines at least up until the end of the 1940s, that this was something which was broadly accepted.⁶

By contrast, girlhood and feminine identity was in a state of flux throughout this period. The study of *GOP* and its successor *Heiress* provides a view in microcosm of the way in which feminine identity was not only changing, but fracturing into multiple constructions which were differentiated by age, but also by other factors such as role within the family, economic position, and whether women worked or stayed at home. The debate around these different identities came to the fore in *GOP* in the late 1920s and is well illustrated by the series of 'Club Chatter' articles which deliberately put forward a range of 'characters' which might be seen to represent different models of femininity.⁷ From the evidence presented in this study in Chapter Four it appears that girls were comfortable with moving between identities and exploring different

³ Baldwin, *This Torch of Freedom*, p. 222.

⁴ Lofts and Adley, *Old Boys Books: a complete catalogue*, p. 20.

⁵ Cox (ed.), *Boy's Own Paper, September 1950*, pp. 50-51.

⁶ Orwell, 'Boys' Weeklies', p. 518.

⁷ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 12-14, 88-90, 140-42, 250-52, 325-27, 366-68, 444-46, 538-40, 602-04, 638-40, 684-86, 760-62.

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versions of femininity, but that through their reading of boys' magazines they were also able to appropriate aspects of masculine identity.⁸ This suggests that girls grew up becoming comfortable with moving between and playfully engaging with multiple identities, and periodicals such as *GOP* and *BOP* afforded them the opportunity to rehearse a diverse range of roles. Whilst feminine identity appeared at times divided and contradictory, in this respect at least it seems to have been less prescriptive and limiting than the relatively fixed ideals of boyhood.

This study has demonstrated that age was a key factor in constructions of gendered identity during this period. Up until the 1920s *GOP* was able to cater to a broad range of ages from young girls to older married women, and this reflects trends in broader society where the needs of girls were often met alongside those of women.⁹ As there was a growing awareness that girlhood was a distinct life stage with different expectations and opportunities from those for adult women, *GOP* split its readership. It is intriguing to note that the point at which *BOP*'s and *GOP*'s content was most aligned was during the 1930s and early 1940s when the papers were targeting a similar age of readership. Whilst there remained some gender differences in the papers in this period, as highlighted in Chapter Five, the greater commonalities suggest that young people at this time were increasingly being seen as a distinct group with needs in common with each other, and in opposition to adults. This is consistent with Fowler's suggestion that in the interwar years there is some evidence of a burgeoning youth culture 'novel in the sense of being, for the first time, quite distinct from adult leisure pursuits'.¹⁰ The surveys of young people's reading which took place during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s demonstrate that young people were seen as distinct from adults, and their

⁸ Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 379; Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe, 1859-1919: a study of English village life*, p. 242; Salmon, *Juvenile Literature As It Is*, pp. 23, 29-31.

⁹ Smith, *The New Survey of London Life & Labour*, p. 25.

¹⁰ Fowler, *The First Teenagers*, p. 105.

voracious consumption of juvenile periodicals was a particular object of adult concern.¹¹

Such reading could therefore be viewed as an act of independence from adult authority, and in this context it is interesting to note how active readers were in engaging with these publications. The readers of *BOP* and *GOP* were not merely passive consumers of the text, they were part of its construction, either through direct means such as contributing jokes, letters, drawings or stories, or more subtly through the reading process, and reader to reader swapping of periodicals, which set up a market of exchange and barter apparently outside of the control of adults. During this period, as in all ages, there was a great deal of concern about juvenile behaviour, and a belief that adults should police and monitor young people's leisure time.¹² The findings of this study suggest that however well organised the adults, and prescriptive the organisational structures, young people were always able to some extent to appropriate or subvert seemingly fixed agendas and use them for their own ends.

It is evident that the world of juvenile publishing was changing over the period of this study. Whilst up until the late 1940s and early 1950s girls were freely accessing boys' magazines, as well as reading their own, during the 1950s there was a shift in attention away from publications for boys towards those for girls. The establishment of *Heiress* in 1947 prefigured the development in the 1960s of teenage magazines for girls, but prior to this, women's magazines were also targeting young female readers.¹³ Whilst class played a role, it appears that increasingly the most successful juvenile periodicals were those which reached a cross-class audience, and during the 1950s gender

¹¹ Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, p. 13; Jenkinson, *What Do Boys and Girls Read?*, pp. 64-65, 211; Ward, *Children Out of School*, p. 43.

¹² Reed, *Eighty Thousand Adolescents*, p. 112; Engledow and Farr, *The Reading and Other Interests of School Children in St. Pancras*, pp. 17-19; Kenneth Roberts, *Youth and Leisure* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 10.

¹³ Grieve, *Millions Made My Story*, p. 178; White, *Women's Magazines*, pp. 172-74; Smith & Son Ltd and Harrap & Co., *Survey of Boys' and Girls' Reading Habits*, pp. 4-7.

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divisions became increasingly significant.¹⁴ From the evidence of *Heiress* it appears that the way in which femininity was constructed was differentiated by perceived sexual maturity as part of the dimension of age. Whilst girls who were considered too young for romantic relationships were encouraged to share interests with boys, and to prioritise friendships with other girls, older girls were presented with a more fixed feminine identity focused on heterosexual relationships and the problematization and control of the female body.¹⁵ The increasing focus of periodicals during the 1950s on teenage girls and young women was symbiotically linked with advertisers' increased interest in this group as consumers, and this suggests that at this time, the construction of adolescent femininity was being influenced by the growth of consumer culture.

One of the most remarkable findings to emerge from this study has been the power of the, predominantly male, members of the Religious Tract Society committee and the Board of Lutterworth Periodicals. Callum Brown notes that from 1800 'Christian piety... became located in femininity' and that it was women's 'religiosity that mattered'.¹⁶ Yet at a strategic and organisational level it is evident that there was a network of powerful men moving easily between secular and clerical worlds during this period. Whilst Brown's work focuses on identifying the point when secularisation took place in Britain, it is intriguing to note that the boundaries between the secular and the sacred are far less easily defined than might be imagined.¹⁷ Both Anglican and non-conformist evangelicals were active in both political and social circles, and holding a secular position of power did not mean that they did not take part in clerical roles as well, and vice versa. *BOP* and *GOP* were part of a broad programme of evangelical action which was managed and monitored by a diverse group of men who held prominent positions in government, the church, and a broad network of voluntary organisations.¹⁸ Their reach and

¹⁴ Drotner, *English Children and their Magazines*, p. 239.

¹⁵ Goodall (ed.), *Heiress*, June 1950, p. 35; Murray (ed.), *Heiress*, December 1954, pp. 34-5, 69.

¹⁶ Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, p. 195.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ See Appendix 3

influence was considerable, and these men were at the heart of the Protestant establishment, and were so well-connected in both the Church and secular circles that they were able to enlist support, not only from fellow-evangelicals but from other powerful figures that were in sympathy with the aims and objectives of their work.¹⁹ Morris has observed that the creation of Christian propaganda 'required an immense investment of time, money and effort', and this is evident in the creation of the papers.²⁰

It is testament to the centrality of evangelicalism in society during the period of this study that the papers were even able to compete within a commercial market. Whilst McAleer suggested that the papers secularised during the twentieth century, it has been shown that this was not the case.²¹ Indeed, it might be argued that the Society's prioritisation of their programme of publishing during this time suggests that the evangelical churches were finding new ways to establish, once more, their control and authority over all aspects of secular life. By insisting on writing on secular subjects as well as sacred, the relevance of the church to everyday life was reasserted. The papers provide evidence of the way in which evangelicalism adapted to changes in society and was consistently evolving in order to reach a changing audience.

It is hoped that this work will now provide a firm foundation from which other scholarship can develop and grow. Further study of each separate incarnation of *GOP* during this period would be fascinating, and in particular the development of *Heiress*, one of the earliest British magazines specifically aimed at teenage girls. It would be interesting to examine in greater depth the way in which both papers debated and mediated issues of peace and war to an international audience during the late 1930s and years of the Second World War. Research could also be undertaken into the papers' response, as

¹⁹ Klickmann (ed.), *Girl's Own Annual, Volume 51*, pp. 145-59; Baldwin, *This Torch of Freedom*, p. 222.

²⁰ Jeremy Morris, 'The Strange Death of Christian Britain: Another Look at the Secularization Debate', *The Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), pp. 963-76 (p. 969).

²¹ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 227.

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products of an evangelical organisation, to the rise of fascism and anti-Semitism in Britain during the 1930s. A closer comparative study of *BOP* and *Eagle* in the early 1950s might cast light on why precisely *Eagle*, also a Christian-based publication for boys, was able to succeed so dramatically in a commercial context, whilst *BOP* did not during this period. Conversely, it would be instructive to remove *BOP* and *GOP* entirely from comparisons with the commercial juvenile sector and compare their content, circulations and readership with other periodicals for young people published by religious organisations around the same time, such as the Salvation Army's *Young Soldier* first published in 1888.

The papers were a shared enterprise in which publisher, editors, and readers were all actively engaged. The balance of power between them was never equal, and the papers never responded to the readership in the sense that is commonly understood. *BOP* and *GOP* were not intended to entertain the readers at the expense of the Society's core values. Both papers were underpinned by a foundation of Christian evangelical belief, with varying amounts of direct religious content supplemented by instruction on morals and behaviour, and ideals of service. Yet, nonetheless, the readers played a part in influencing and constructing the text. Overall the content of the papers was gendered, and *BOP*'s core themes remained remarkably similar, as did its readership. Crucially, however, as *GOP* and *Heiress* made changes to the age of their target readership, the themes covered by the paper also altered. Age was therefore an important factor in the construction of identity within the papers, and when *GOP* was addressing an audience closest in age to the readership of *BOP*, was the time at which the content of the papers was most closely aligned. *GOP*'s content was most diverse, ambiguous and contradictory at times when its readership was split, either intentionally as under Klickmann's editorship when the paper tried to address a mixed mother and daughter audience, or unintentionally when the shift to an older readership under *Heiress* proved not entirely successful. Whilst the intention in creating a gendered community of readers may have been to exclude girls from male concerns and to ring-fence *BOP* for boys, the reality was very different. Girls could and did access *BOP* and other juvenile periodicals intended for boys, in significant numbers, but they also retained a space of their own, a world of

girls, relatively untouched by patriarchal concerns, in which they were free to play with their identities, share their ambitions, and enjoy a range of interests from knitting to carpentry, from high art to hockey.

The papers have often been seen as commercial failures, out of step in an increasingly secular world. Yet to compare *BOP* and *GOP* to their commercial rivals is to miss much. Whilst *BOP* has been remembered as the greater success, this study has shown that *GOP* was not only more commercially successful until the early 1950s, it was also more adaptive to its readers, and during the 1930s attracted a more loyal and engaged following than *BOP*. Whilst it is the 'Boy's Own Hero' who is referenced in contemporary journalism, it has been shown that this was because *BOP*'s identity was more stable, but also therefore more prescriptive. *GOP* was fluid and adaptable, but because it was more relevant to the particular moment in time it inhabited, it was less successful in creating a stable brand identity, and has tended to vanish behind *BOP*'s 'national institution' status. This study has restored both papers to their rightful place, alongside each other. For the Society *BOP* and *GOP* were a means of reaching readers, and providing a Christian perspective on every aspect of their lives. Religion was not to be preserved for sermons and Sundays, but to be diffuse and any activity could be viewed within a Christian ideological framework. Whilst each of the editors saw their pivotal role differently, most appear to have believed they had a greater responsibility than mere entertainment. There is evidence that for many readers *BOP* and *GOP* were seen as a friend, and through the papers readers entered into dialogue with the editors, contributors and fellow readers. The voices of the Society, the editors, and the readers have all been woven into the text, becoming part of its discourse. Both *BOP* and *GOP* were 'more than just a magazine'.

Appendices

Appendix 1 The Editors of *GOP* and *BOP 1914 to 1967*

The Editors of *Girl's Own Paper*

Flora Klickmann, 1908 - 1931

(Emily) Flora Klickmann, was born on 26th January 1867 in Brixton, and spent her youth in Lambeth. Her father, a timber merchant, was Prussian, but a naturalised British subject, and her mother was English. Klickmann's father was involved in youth work, teaching boys in a local German orphanage, and was also linked to the Religious Tract Society, accompanying C H Spurgeon to Berlin as a translator on the Society's behalf.¹ In her youth Klickmann trained as a musician, attending Trinity College of Music and the Royal College of Organists in London, with the intention of becoming a recitalist. She had longstanding connections with the musical world at Crystal Palace, and was organist and musical arranger of the Co-operative festivals which were organised there.² Klickmann suffered an early breakdown in her health, attributed to the stresses of her chosen musical career, and was advised to find a less strenuous future role. She is reported to have said of this breakdown that 'music was always in my mind [...] I was unable to get any peace', and she was left 'with a life-long weakness, sudden fluctuations in heart rhythm which necessitated rest'.³ At first she took up music teaching and became a piano tutor at HM Chapel Royal at St James' Palace, where her brother Martin was recruited through her, and 'subsequently shaped a musical career of his own'. She began to write articles for journals, primarily on musical subjects finally switching towards a journalistic career as she took up the assistant editor role on *Sylvia's Home Journal*, a Ward Lock publication focused primarily on

¹ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 11.

² Flora was recruited as a page-turner for pianists at the Crystal Palace, and she was one of the first women to play on the American Organ there. She was friends with Sir George Grove, the Conductor of the Crystal Palace Orchestra; and August Manns, the Conductor and Director of Music at the Crystal Palace, asked her to marry him, although she rejected the proposal. For more details see, Lazell, Klickmann, (Emily) Flora (1867–1958).

³ Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 16.

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domestic issues, where she wrote about music. In 1895 she joined *Windsor Magazine* as Assistant Editor to Coulson Kernahan, both of whom were recruited by Klickmann's friend and journalistic mentor James Bowden, a partner in Ward Lock & Bowden Co, the publishers of *Windsor Magazine*. Bowden became the general manager of the Religious Tract Society in July 1899, and in 1908, after the death of Charles Peters, *GOP*'s first editor, Klickmann was brought in to edit *GOP*, 'largely on the advice of Mr James Bowden'.⁴ By the time Klickmann took over the paper she already had a proven track record for transforming publications, initiating change, and making publications attractive to their readers. After *Windsor Magazine* she had edited and overhauled *Foreign Field*, the journal of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and went on to do the same for the journal of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Klickmann wished to carry on editing *Foreign Field*, said to have the 'largest sale of any missionary magazine in England', on a part time basis alongside her role at *GOP*, but the demands of the new role made this impossible.⁵

In her published writings Klickmann described in painful detail the severe breakdown she suffered in autumn 1912, when she collapsed ostensibly 'because her dog happened to tumble out of the window', but in reality from overwork. She suffered a severe exhaustion which took over her life for months, rendering her bed-bound, at first at Brockweir, a village in Gloucestershire where she had a cottage, and later at Mildmay Hospital in London, where she was referred by Professor Carless a member of the RTS Committee. She spent ten weeks at Mildmay in a private ward, where she was so intolerant of sound that staff were 'bandaging up door-handles to prevent noisy bangs' and putting down 'matting to deaden the sounds in the corridor'. She underwent an unspecified surgical procedure performed by Carless himself, and left the hospital in March 1913 to convalesce by the seaside.⁶ Just three months later in June 1913 she married Ebenezer Henderson-Smith, a

⁴ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', March 1921, December 1921; Lazell, *Flora Klickmann and her Flower Patch*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

widower, who was the long-serving Advertising Manager at the Religious Tract Society. The marriage between Flora and Ebenezer has been described as a companionate one, and Henderson Smith as an 'avuncular figure'.⁷

Gladys Spratt, 1930 - 1942

Gladys Spratt started her career with the Society in October 1924, when at the age of 22 she was appointed as Editorial Clerk for the *Sunday at Home*. When *GOP* was separated from *Woman's Magazine* in 1930, Spratt took on the role of editor of *GOP*, and by 1938 she was also editing *Little Dots Playways*.⁸ However, by September 1939 Spratt had suffered some kind of mental health difficulties and her doctor had pronounced that there was 'little hope of any speedy improvement in her mental condition'. It was therefore agreed to terminate her employment with the Society with immediate effect, paying her in full up until 25th October 1939. However by 24th October 1939, the General Manager was reporting a change of heart, noting that Spratt's doctor now believed her condition was less serious than at first anticipated and that she might be able to return to work at the start of December. The Society allowed Spratt to return, but on 'short term notice'.⁹ Spratt served as editor for just over a decade in total, and the Society appears to have been happy with her performance for the majority of her employment, and in March 1941 the General Manager 'paid tribute to the outlook and foresight of the *GOP* editor'.¹⁰ Yet the records indicate that she was never well paid, drawing the lowest salary of all the editors at any time in *BOP* and *GOP*'s history, and this may be due to the lack of status conferred upon the paper at this time by the Society as it was focusing exclusively on younger girls. It is also possible that the lower salary reflected the lower level of her experience, having only worked as an editorial clerk prior to her appointment, which was probably at least in part made in light of the financial pressures the Society was facing in the early 1930s. In late 1941, Spratt, along with Robert Harding the then editor of *BOP* was

⁷ Lazell, Klickmann, (Emily) Flora (1867-1958).

⁸ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 20th December 1938.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 24th September 1939, 24th October 1939.

¹⁰ 'General Committee Minutes, USCL', USCL/RTS/02/19, 18th March 1941.

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dismissed after the general manager declared he had been 'shocked' by the Christmas editions of the papers.¹¹

Constance Goodall, 1942 - 1950

Constance Goodall replaced Spratt as editor of *GOP*, with her first issue as editor in March 1942. Goodall was 37 when she joined Lutterworth from a previous appointment on *Christian Endeavours* and had worked as a sub-editor, as well as having six years' experience as a reporter. It was hoped that this experience 'would do much to raise the standard of *GOP*'.¹² She was started on a salary of £527 12s. 0d. for a one year contract. Goodall also edited *Woman's Magazine* from April 1943, initially on a temporary basis. However she was so successful in the role that she was appointed permanently, taking control of both magazines with an increase in salary to £600, with effect from May 1943.¹³ She was also later given control of *Playways*.

Goodall remained as editor of *Woman's Magazine* until its closure in March 1951, but relinquished the editorship of *Heiress* in September 1950 after the Board took steps at the end of 1949 to relieve the pressure upon her as advertising revenue fell and the circulation of *Woman's Magazine* dropped by 12,000 copies in just five months. When Goodall left the company in April 1951 after the closure of *Woman's Magazine* she refused the payments she was entitled to, because she did not wish to 'place further stain on the Company's resources'. Her loyalty was, nonetheless, rewarded with a gratuity of £200.¹⁴

¹¹ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 24th November 1941.

¹² *Ibid.*, 22nd January 1942.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 15th April 1943, 2nd June 1943.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15th February 1951.

Joni Murray, 1950 - 1956

Murray had been on the editorial staff of *Heiress* for two years before being appointed first as Assistant Editor, and then as Editor from October 1950. During her editorship circulations of the magazine declined, and in December 1951 she offered to tender her resignation. This was refused but Murray came under the supervision of Jack Cox until November 1953, at which point the Board deemed this had been unsuccessful, and Murray once more resumed control of *Heiress* and *Playways*.¹⁵ *Heiress* was eventually discontinued after December 1956, at the same time as *Playways*. Murray was paid in full until the end of December 1956, and then paid 500 guineas in compensation for the loss of her post.¹⁶ She wrote to the Board to express 'deep gratitude' for the 500 guineas, and informed them that she was now picking up free-lance work and was 'not dissatisfied with her future prospects'.¹⁷

Editors of *Boy's Own Paper*

Arthur Lincoln Haydon, 1912 - 1924

After much concern and several committees to investigate the declining fortunes of *BOP* in the early twentieth century, George Hutchison the first editor of *BOP* was finally replaced by Arthur Lincoln Haydon in 1912 when the Committee concluded that a younger man was needed. Hutchison became Consulting Editor, and died after a morning at work in the office, just eight months later.¹⁸ Haydon came to the Society from previous employment working for Cassells where he had started as assistant editor on their *Saturday*

¹⁵ Ibid., 12th December 1951, 17th November 1953.

¹⁶ Ibid., 10th April 1956, 23rd October 1956.

¹⁷ Ibid., 1st November 1956.

¹⁸ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 81.

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Journal, worked on *Little Folks* and *Chums* and then became editor of the highly patriotic boys' periodical *Boys of Our Empire*.¹⁹

It has been suggested that it was Haydon who gave Baden Powell's scouting movement the name of 'Boy Scouts'. Baden-Powell's brother Francis took the manuscript of *Aids to Scouting*, written in 1900, to *Boys of Our Empire* who eagerly purchased the serial rights, and Haydon who at that stage was chief sub-editor of the magazine, was tasked with working on it. It is said that Haydon gave the Scouts the title 'Boy Scouts' to distinguish from the Army's scouts 'who were soldiers specially trained in observation work'.²⁰

Haydon had a difficult relationship with the Religious Tract Society committee, yet remained as editor for twelve years, and brought his son Arthur C H Haydon to work on *BOP* in January 1922 aged 19, to train as a sub-editor. Both father and son departed the Society in October 1924.²¹ After leaving *BOP*, Haydon went to work for the London School of Journalism, becoming their Chief Tutor, although Cox believes that Haydon worked for them 'throughout all his *BOP* days'.²² Haydon has been described as a 'true "working journalist", and was a 'highly popular' secretary of the London Press Club during the First World War.²³

¹⁹ Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', March 1921.

²⁰ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 2.

²¹ Ibid., Synopsis, Chapter VII, 'No title as yet, Period 1912-1924', p. 1; Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 94; 'Certified Copy of an Entry of Death for Arthur Cecil Hillyard Haydon, 30th April 1939'; 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society', USCL/RTS/08/05.

²² 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to *The BOP Story*', Box 11/1iv.

²³ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, 'Additional Notes re: Arthur Lincoln Haydon, received from Geoffrey L Butler, Director London School of Journalism 6 June 1981'; Cox, 'The Story of *BOP*', Box 7/4 Folder C ii, p. 4.

Geoffrey Richard Pocklington, 1924 - 1933

Geoffrey Pocklington was the editor who steered *BOP* through the early years of the depression. When he took over from Arthur Lincoln Haydon in 1924, he was 45, and Cox emphasises that he was 'the only bachelor to edit *BOP*'.²⁴ He came from a privileged and educated background, attending the United Services College, where Kipling had gone some years earlier; Rossall School; and Baliol College, Oxford. His family were affluent, and his grandfather was a former principal of King's College London.²⁵ Pocklington had previous journalistic experience, having worked on the literary staff of WH Smith from 1906, and edited *Newsboy* the quarterly journal for boys of W H Smith from 1914 - 1931, overlapping with his time as editor of *BOP*. He also wrote *The History of W. H. Smith* in 1921, and wrote for 'several boys' papers including *Scout*'. From 1919 to 1924 he was in business as a publicity writer, prior to taking on the role of editor of *BOP*.²⁶ Pocklington saw active service during the First World War with the Suffolk Regiment, and was injured twice in France. His obituary described him as 'a pioneer in youth work'. He was involved with the Boy Scouts from 1909, serving as District Commissioner for the Scouts for Chelsworth and District for many years, organising Scout camps at his home village of Chelsworth, as well as acting as a benefactor to the organisation. In addition to the Scouts, Pocklington was also involved with the junior section of the YMCA, the universities' camps for public schools, and the Telegraph Messengers Christian Association. For Pocklington, it appears that *BOP* was an extension of other work with young people and in line with the ethos of scouting he saw *BOP* as 'a link between boys of many nations'.²⁷ He was also

²⁴ Cox, *Take a Cold Tub, Sir!*, p. 95.

²⁵ 'Educationist Dies at Ipswich: Mr G Pocklington, of Chelsworth', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 24 March 1958, Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/2.

²⁶ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946'; 'Pocklington, Geoffrey Richard', in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U241871>> [accessed 5th February 2013]; G. R. Pocklington, W. H. Smith, and Son, *The story of W. H. Smith & Son* (London: Printed for private circulation, 1921); I. R. Willison, *New Cambridge Bibliography of English literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1972), p. 106; Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, pp. 272-3.

²⁷ 'November 1980, annotated typescript of introduction and epilogue to The *BOP* Story', Box 11/1iv.

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engaged in his local community as a County Alderman and a school governor.²⁸ Despite his wide interests, when he died his role as editor of *BOP* featured heavily in all of the obituaries, with one simply entitled, 'He edited B.O.P.'.²⁹ When his contract expired in April 1933, it was not renewed, and this appears to have been part of a broad range of cuts made by the Society at the time to address financial difficulties.

George James Henry Northcroft, 1933 - 1935

Joseph McAleer describes Northcroft as a 'layman', but although Northcroft was a journalist, this was not his original career. He had started out as a Wesleyan Minister, spending a period of time in the Bahamas working as a missionary, and his first wife was the daughter of another Wesleyan missionary, although Northcroft himself later became a member of the Church of England. He had travelled widely, visiting America, Australia, and New Zealand, and sailing through the Suez Canal. By 1911 Northcroft was working as a journalist at the School of Authorship. He had been the editor of 'various trade journals', had contributed to *Great Thoughts*, and written several books including one on writing verse. Northcroft's first and second wives were both journalists, and Dorothea, his second wife was the editor of *Housecraft* magazine.³⁰ Northcroft described himself as a voracious reader as a child, only abandoning the 'joys of surreptitious reading [...] when the supreme responsibilities of editing the School magazine [...] claimed me'.³¹ His personal background was therefore very much in tune with the priorities of the Society, combining journalism, evangelism and missionary experience in foreign lands.

²⁸ 'Pocklington, Geoffrey Richard'; 'Mr G R Pocklington: Obituary', *The Times*, 24th March 1958, p. 14; 'Educationist Dies at Ipswich', 24th March 1958.

²⁹ 'He edited B.O.P.', *Daily Express*, 24 March 1958, Jack Cox Archive, Box 7/2.

³⁰ McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing*, p. 227; Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, p. 256; 'George James Henry Northcroft' <http://trees.ancestry.co.uk/tree/7323978/person/6988104281?ssrc=&ml_rpos=2> [accessed 3rd June 2012]; '1911 England Census' <http://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1911england&h=39690862&ti=5538&indiv=try&gss=pt&ssrc=pt_t7323978_p6988104281_kpidz0q3d6988104281z0q26pgz0q3d32768z0q26pgplz0q3dpid> [accessed 3rd June 2012]; Religious Tract Society, 'Annual Report, Religious Tract Society, 130th', USCL/RTS/05/20.

³¹ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, p. 21.

His career with the Society began in December 1928 when he was appointed as editor of *Sunday at Home* and in 1933 he took up the role of general editor, covering both *BOP* and *Sunday at Home*.³² His appointment should therefore be understood within the broader context of cuts at this time, and was most likely driven at least in part by economy. Officially he resigned due to ill health in June 1935, although there is anecdotal evidence which suggests that he was dismissed, and when informed of this decision ‘threatened to throw himself in the Thames’.³³

Robert Harding, 1935 - 1942

With Northcroft’s abrupt departure, Robert Harding was brought in quickly on a temporary three month contract, but went on to serve as editor for six years.³⁴ He was an established writer of boys’ stories, was ‘a great favourite with boys’ as a writer, and had contributed to *BOP* under both Pocklington and Northcroft, as well as writing for *Chums*, *Modern Boy* and *Boys Wonder Library*.³⁵ During the First World War he served from 1914 to 1919 in the Dorset Territorials, and he had travelled widely ‘especially India and Arabia’ and used these experiences to write ‘hundreds of stories and articles’, as well as books for boys. During the Second World War, after leaving *BOP* he served in the Military Police from 1942 to 1945, and again put this experience to good use, becoming ‘a recognised expert on both military and police matters’.³⁶

³² 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society ', USCL/RTS/08/05; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 15th November, 22nd November 1932.

³³ Arnold claimed he was asked to follow Northcroft ‘discreetly’, but was not told what he should do if Northcroft did attempt to harm himself. Arnold described following Northcroft to the Charing Cross tube station, but the journey was uneventful. 'Salaries Book, Religious Tract Society ', USCL/RTS/08/05; 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 14th November 1932, 4th June 1935; Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, ‘No title as yet, Period 1924-1946’, p. 4.

³⁴ 'Finance Sub-Committee Minutes', USCL/RTS/02/15, USCL/RTS/02/16, 4th June 1935.

³⁵ Northcroft, *Writing for Children*, pp. 35, 56.

³⁶ Lofts and Adley, *The Men Behind Boys' Fiction*, p. 172.

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Leonard A Halls, 1942 - 1946

Very little is known about Halls, who served as editor from 1942 to 1946. Prior to his role at *BOP* he had worked for Amalgamated Press for 30 years, where he had gained experience as a sub-editor, and had been placed in charge of juvenile papers and annuals.³⁷ Halls' contract was terminated in November 1946 because 'the results achieved [...] did not come up to expectation' and during his period of editorship 'the efforts made to raise the standards of the *BOP* had not been encouraging'.³⁸ Cox claims that he found work for Halls at the Coal Board in the library for 'someone used to photos'.³⁹

Jack Cox, 1947 - 1967

Cox was appointed as editor from January 1947, after initially being appointed in 1946 as a sub-editor to Halls. From 1952 until 1953 he served as managing editor for *BOP*, *Heiress*, and *Playways*, in an attempt to redress falling circulations, but the appointment was ultimately deemed unsuccessful, and Cox returned to his post as editor of *BOP*. Cox had a previous background in journalism, having worked as a relief reporter for the *Daily Mail*, *News-Chronicle*, *Guardian* and *Daily Mirror*, and served for a year at Scout HQ as Assistant Press Secretary before the war.⁴⁰ Cox had been a devoted reader of *BOP* when young entering many competitions and winning 'book prizes for drawing, painting and photography', as well as 'a trio of Old English Game bantams' and '2 pairs of racing pigeons'.⁴¹ Cox had close links to the Boy Scout movement having been through the cubs and scouts as a member and leader, written for *The Scout* magazine throughout his life, and served as an

³⁷ 'Minutes of Lutterworth Periodicals Board Meetings', USCL/RTS/02/21, 22nd January 1942.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 26th November 1946, 17th December 1946.

³⁹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis Chapters IX and X, p. 1.

⁴⁰ Jack Cox, 'Miscellaneous press cutting, newspaper articles and manuscript notes by Jack Cox', Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/14 iii & v, Handwritten biographical Note for *Scouting*, undated; Various, Box 9/15, Notes for G Platt, The Scout Association, 8th June 1976.

⁴¹ Cox, 'Research: primary material for the *BOP* story', Box 9/13, Synopsis, Chapter VIII, 'No title as yet, Period 1924-1946', p. 2.

'Letter from Jack Cox to Michael Foxell, dated 26th May 1980', Box 7/4 Folder C iv.

Assistant Commissioner for the Boy Scouts in London in the mid-1950s. He was evidently considered an authority on Baden-Powell, writing a book and various radio scripts and articles about him.⁴²

Like Haydon, Cox did other work alongside his editorial duties in order to supplement his income, including writing columns in various newspapers, and serving as a rugby reporter for the *Sunday Times* from 1951-1968, and the *Daily Telegraph* from 1956-72. He also wrote and edited over 70 books on a broad range of topics including fishing, hobbies, camping, cookery, rugby and conservation, with a variety of publishers, and was the author of a fictional series for boys, one of which was 'serialized on all regions of the BBC Children's Hour as a six-part serial'.⁴³ He worked on children's television programmes for both the BBC and the newly formed Independent Television Authority often spending time at recording studios such as Pinewood, Ealing Film Studios, Lime Grove and Television Centre, and in 1960 produced a series for ITA entitled *Geography Schools*.⁴⁴ In 1959 Cox had a, presumably unsuccessful, meeting to discuss the possibility of a television series related to *BOP*.⁴⁵ He stayed in post until *BOP*'s closure in February 1967, enduring several takeovers and changes of publisher in the last ten years.

⁴² Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Box 9/1; Cox wrote the script for a documentary on the life of Baden Powell in 1957, the centenary year, and another script for a double-sided gramophone record with commentary by Wynford Vaughan Thomas called 'The Jubilee of Scouting', as well as an article for the *Radio Times* in 1957. Various, Box 9/15, Notes for G Platt, The Scout Association, 8th June 1976; 'London Log No 7, Boy Scouts Association', Jack Cox Archive, Box 10/1 ix; Jack Cox, 'B.P.' - a Man with a Zest for Life', in *Radio Times*, 22nd February 1957, Jack Cox Archive, Box 9/12.

⁴³ 'Brief biographies of Jack Cox', Box 9/11, pp. 1-2; 'Selection of memoranda of agreement for the writing of various books and articles by Jack Cox dating from 1950 to 1968', Box 6/9 i; Various, Box 9/15; Cox, 'Letter from Jack Cox to The Managing Director, Associated-Rediffusion Ltd, dated 14th December 1957', Box 6/9 ii.

⁴⁴ Cox, 'Desk Diary 1957', Box 9/1, 30th October 1957; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1958', Box 9/1, 28th April 1958; Cox, 'Desk Diary 1960', Box 9/1, 6th July 1960.

⁴⁵ Cox, 'Desk Diary 1959', Box 9/1, 19th February 1959.

Appendix 2 List of Volumes Sampled

Volumes of *Girl's Own Paper* and *Heiress* sampled: listed by editor

Name	Period as Editor	Volumes Sampled
Flora Klickmann	1908 – 1931	Volume 36 (1914 to 1915) Volume 41 (1919 to 1920) Volume 46 (1924 to 1925) Volume 51 (1929 to 1930)
Gladys Spratt	1931 – 1942	Volume 56 (1934 to 1935) Volume 60 and 61 (1939 to 1940: Volume numbers temporarily did not follow their usual pattern in this year)
Constance Goodall	1942 – 1950	Volume 66 (1944 to 1945) Volume 71 (1949 to 1950) (now <i>Heiress</i>)
Joni Murray	1950 – 1956	Volume 76 (1954 to 1955)

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Volumes of *Boy's Own Paper* sampled: listed by editor

Editor	Period as Editor	Volumes Sampled
Arthur Lincoln Haydon	1912-1924	Volume 37 (1914 to 1915) Volume 42 (1919 to 1920) Volume 47 (part) (1924 to 1925)
Geoffrey Richard Pocklington	1924-1933	Volume 47 (part) (1924 to 1925) Volume 52 (1929 to 1930)
George James Henry Northcroft	1933-1935	Volume 57 (1934 to 1935)
Robert Harding	1935 – 1942	Volume 62 (1939 to 1940)
Leonard Halls	1942 – 1946	Volume 67 (1944 to 1945)
Jack Cox	1947 – 1967	Volume 72 (1949 to 1950) Volume 77 (1954 to 1955) Volume 82 (1959 to 1960) Volume 87 (1964 to 1965)

Appendix 3 Religious Tract Society and Lutterworth Periodicals Committee and Board Members

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev A Alexander	Committee Member	01/04/1922		RTS/USCL
	Presbyterian Minister			St Johns Wood
Sir William Frederick Alphonse Archibald	Editor			Articles on Courts and Interpleader in the Laws of England
	Committee Member			Seamen's National Insurance Society
	Chair			Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen
	Chair			Scrivenery Board, Royal Courts of Justice
	Chair	01/01/1914	31/12/1914	London Prescribed Officers and the Poor Persons Rules
	Treasurer	01/01/1914	03/04/1917	RTS/USCL

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Sir William Frederick Alphonse Archibald (continued from overleaf)	Master	01/01/1890	01/01/1916	Supreme Court, Kings Bench Division
	Linked to			Spurgeon's Homes
	Underground Surveyor			Metropolitan Board of Works
Rev George Edward Asker	Committee Member	01/01/1897	22/03/1921	RTS/USCL
	Linked to			Royal Hospital for Children and Women
	Vicar			St George's Tufnell Park
	Vicar			St Andrew's, Lambeth
Mr Francis Donald Bacon	Committee Member	24/04/1923		RTS/USCL
	Linked to			The Crusaders
	Possibly linked to			Church Mission to the Jews

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr Alfred Brauen	Committee Member	04/01/1921	11/04/1922	RTS/USCL
	Vice-President	01/01/1913		British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS)
	President			Le Union Chrétienne de langue Française de Londres
	President			Consistoire de l'église Suisse de Londres
	Worker			Suchard
	Linked to			Orphanages, various
	Linked to			Hospitals
	Linked to			Torrey Alexander Mission
	Linked to	01/01/1897		BFBS
	On Commission of			London City Mission

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr A H Caesar	Committee Member	01/01/1890	07/01/1916	RTS/USCL
Professor Albert Carless	Committee Member			RTS/USCL
	Author	01/01/1898		Manual of Surgery
	Honorary Medical Director			Barnardo Homes
	Colonel			Army Medical Services
	Consulting Surgeon			Eastern Command
	Consulting Surgeon			King's College
	Consulting Surgeon			St John's Hospital, Twickenham
	Consulting Surgeon			Memorial Hospital, Mildmay Park
	Consulting Surgeon			Cottage Hospital, Crieff

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Professor Albert Carless (continued from overleaf)	Emeritus Professor			King's College
	Fellow			King's College
	Honorary Fellow			American College of Surgeons
Mr W Eugene Charles	Committee Member			RTS/USCL
	Honorary Chaplain			Barnardo Homes
	Member of Council			Barnardo Homes
Mr John Chown	Committee Member	01/01/1894	11/08/1922	RTS/USCL
	Vice-President			BFBS
	Vice-President	26/04/1921		Baptist Union
	President			Willesden Liberal Association
	President	01/01/1922	01/01/1923	Baptist Union

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr John Chown (continued from overleaf)	Son			Rev J P Chown
	Father			John Stanley Chown
Mr John Stanley Chown	Committee Member	22/08/1922		RTS/USCL
	Treasurer			Mansfield House University settlement
	Solicitor	01/01/1909		Hewitt, Woollacott & Chown
	Son			John Chown
	Grandson			Rev J P Chown
	Permanent Member	12/09/1941		USCL
	Senior Partner			Hewitt, Woollacott & Chown
	Elder			Presbyterian Church of England
	Legal Adviser	01/01/1942	01/01/1962	Presbyterian Church of England

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr John Stanley Chown (continued from overleaf)	Honorary Solicitor			USCL
	Honorary Solicitor			British Council of Churches
	Awarded Military Cross	1918		Army
	Lieutenant	01/09/1918		Army
Mr George Stephen Crisford	Committee Member			Church Missionary Society (CMS)
	Committee Member			Church Pastoral Aid Society
	Committee Member	08/09/1914		RTS/USCL
	Vice-President			Institute of Actuaries
	Vice-President			Royal United Kingdom Beneficent Association
	Actuary			Rock Life Insurance Company

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr George Stephen Crisford (continued from overleaf)	Manager			Rock Life Insurance Company
	Worker			East London Ragged Schools
	Linked to			Church of England Men's Society
Dr Brysson Cunningham	Committee Member	01/01/1918	17/04/1923	RTS/USCL
	Member	01/01/1919	01/01/1920	House of Laymen
	Member	01/01/1919	01/01/1920	Representative Church Council
	Resident Engineer	01/01/1906	01/01/1921	London and India Docks Company
	Lecturer	01/01/1921	01/01/1936	University College London
Rev W Justin Evans	Committee Member	01/01/1914	30/04/1916	RTS/USCL
	Chair			London Congregational Union
	Chair			Brecon College

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev W Justin Evans (continued from overleaf)	Linked to			Metropolitan Tabernacle
	Linked to			Charles Spurgeon
	Brother			Rev Dr Herber Evans
Rev Frederic Goldsmith French	Committee Member			RTS/USCL
	Baptist Minister	01/01/1894	29/01/1947	Baptist Church, High Road, Lee, London
Rev Prebendary Alfred William Gough	Committee Member		01/02/1919	RTS/USCL
	Chair			Early Closing and Shop Assistants' Associations
	Chair	01/01/1921		Fellowship of the Maple Leaf
	Chair	01/12/1929		Christian Protest Movement
	Member			York Diocesan Conference

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Prebendary Alfred William Gough (continued from overleaf)	Vice-President			British Workers' League (during war)
	Prebendary	01/01/1916		St Paul's Cathedral
	Graduate	01/01/1882	01/01/1885	Oxford University
	supporter	01/01/1899		Universal Service
	Chaplain			12th London Rangers
	Chaplain	01/01/1917		Worshipful Company of Farriers
	Select Preacher	01/01/1920	31/12/1920	Cambridge
	Member of Central Executive	01/01/1923		National Citizens' Union
Mr G A Hardy	Committee Member	01/01/1914		RTS/USCL
	Director			London Missionary Society

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr G A Hardy (continued from overleaf)	Member			Tribunal, Camberwell
	Member	01/01/1898	01/01/1907	London County Council
	Justice of the Peace			County of London
	Linked to			social and philanthropic work
	Member of Parliament	01/01/1906	01/01/1910	Stowmarket, Suffolk
	Chair of Governors			Cheshunt College
	Alderman			London County Council
	Chair Managing Committee			National Liberal Club
	Captain			London Volunteer Training Corps
Rev G W Harte	Committee Member	01/01/1934		RTS/USCL

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev G W Harte (continued from overleaf)	Minister			Elm Road Baptist Church, Beckenham
Mr Lawrence Head	Committee Member	01/04/1925		RTS/USCL
Rev J M Hewitt	Committee Member	01/01/1934		RTS/USCL
	Vicar			Islington
Rev H W Hinde	Committee Member	24/06/1924		RTS/USCL
	Chair	16/02/1927		Islington Clerical Conference
	Linked to			Sunday Observance moves
	Vicar	01/01/1909	01/01/1921	St John the Baptist, Ipswich
	Vicar	01/01/1921	01/01/1930	Islington
	Vicar	01/01/1945	01/01/1948	Fairlight, Hastings

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev H W Hinde (continued from overleaf)	Prebendary	01/01/1928	01/01/1950	St Paul's Cathedral
	Graduate	01/01/1899		Cambridge University
	Chaplain	01/01/1909	01/01/1921	St John's Home
	Chaplain	01/01/1921	01/01/1930	London Fever Hospital
	Vice-Chair	18/07/1927		Evangelical Churchmen's Ordination Council
	Rural Dean	01/01/1921	01/01/1930	Islington
	Chair, Executive Committee	14/04/1927		Committee for the Maintenance of Truth and Faith
	Principal			Oak Hill College
	Principal	01/01/1942	01/01/1945	St John's Hall, Highbury

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr Leonard Thomas Horne	Committee Member	01/01/1908		RTS/USCL
	Assistant Secretary			General Post Office (GPO)
	Brother			Rev Charles Silvester Horne
	Clerk	01/01/1883		GPO
	Private Secretary	01/01/1899	01/01/1903	Sir George Murray
	Acting Assistant Secretary	01/01/1917		Ministry of Pensions
Viscount Caldecote Thomas Walker Hobart Inskip	Committee Member			Committee for the Maintenance of Truth and Faith
	Committee Member	01/01/1912	01/01/1924	RTS/USCL
	Chair			Council of Legal Education

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Viscount Caldecote Thomas Walker Hobart Inskip (continued from overleaf)	Chair	01/01/1921	01/01/1946	Council Westfield College, University of London
	Member			House of Laity
	Vice-President			Classical Association
	Justice of the Peace			Wigtownshire
	Linked to			Discharged Prisoners Aid Society
	Graduate	01/01/1897		Cambridge University
	Naval Intelligence	01/01/1915	01/01/1918	Admiralty
	Head of Naval Law Branch	01/01/1918		Admiralty
	Representative on War Crimes committee	01/01/1918	01/01/1919	Admiralty

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Viscount Caldecote Thomas Walker Hobart Inskip (continued from overleaf)	Chancellor	01/01/1920	01/01/1922	Truro Diocese
	Member of Parliament	01/01/1918	01/01/1929	Central Bristol
	Member of Parliament	01/01/1931	01/01/1939	Fareham
	Secretary of State	01/01/1939	01/01/1939	Dominion Affairs
	Recorder	01/01/1928	01/01/1939	Kingston-on-Thames
	Leader	May 1940	Oct 1940	House of Lords
Rev Dr Clarke Huston Irwin	Editor			<i>Presbyterian Churchman</i> , Dublin
	Editor			<i>Australian Weekly</i> , Melbourne
	Editor			<i>Sunday Hours</i>
	Editor	01/01/1900	01/01/1905	<i>The Leisure Hour</i> , RTS
	Editor	01/01/1900	01/01/1910	<i>Sunday at Home</i> , RTS

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Dr Clarke Huston Irwin (continued from overleaf)	Committee Member			RTS/USCL
	Honorary Secretary	01/01/1927	01/01/1931	RTS/USCL
	Assistant Secretary	01/01/1905		RTS/USCL
	Home Superintendent	01/01/1917		RTS/USCL
	General Editor	01/01/1924	01/01/1931	RTS/USCL
	Presbyterian Minister	01/01/1881	01/01/1892	Bray, Co Wicklow
	Presbyterian Minister	01/01/1892	01/01/1896	St Andrews Church Melbourne Australia
	General Secretary		01/09/1931	RTS/USCL
Rev Kennedy Williamson	Editor	01/03/1926	01/12/1928	<i>Sunday at Home</i>
	Committee Member	24/04/1923		RTS/USCL
	Minister			Presbyterian Church of England

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Kennedy Williamson (continued from overleaf)	Writer			<i>Sunday at Home</i>
Mr (Sir from 1924) George Anthony King	Committee Member	01/01/1912		RTS/USCL
	Treasurer			Church of England Men's Society
	Treasurer	01/01/1908		Pan Anglican Congress
	Treasurer	01/01/1916		National Mission of Repentance and Hope
	Treasurer	08/05/1917	17/01/1928	RTS/USCL
	Master	01/01/1902		Supreme Court Taxing Office
	Chief Master	01/01/1921		Supreme Court Taxing Office
	Member			Church Assembly
	Member	01/01/1906		House of Laity

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr (Sir from 1924) George Anthony King (continued from overleaf)	Vice-President			BFBS
	Vice-President			CMS
	Joint Editor			<i>the Annual Practice</i>
	Trustee			Wycliffe Hall, Oxford
	Graduate	01/01/1877	01/01/1884	Oxford University
	Masters Graduate		01/01/1884	Oxford University
Rev Canon Guy H King	Committee Member	19/04/1921	01/01/1934	RTS/USCL
	Author			Scripture Union Bible comments
	Author			Sunday School lesson helps for teachers
	Vicar			St Matthias, Upper Tulse Hill
	Vicar			Christ Church, Beckenham

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Canon Guy H King (continued from overleaf)	Speaker			to children re Bible
	Speaker			Keswick convention
	Reader	08/11/1921		<i>Childs Companion</i>
	Reader	08/11/1921		<i>Little Dots</i>
	Reader	08/11/1921		<i>Light in the Home</i>
Rev Maxwell Robert Kirkpatrick	Committee Member	01/01/1917	17/12/1918	RTS/USCL
	Linked to			Professor Gilbert Murray
	Minister			Congregational Church
	Assistant Secretary, Glasgow			YMCA

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr (later Lord Luke) George Lawson Johnston	Committee Member			Scripture Knowledge Foundation
	Committee Member	08/05/1917		RTS/USCL
	Chair	19/06/1941	23/02/1943	Lutterworth Periodicals
	Chair	01/01/1916	23/02/1943	Bovril
	Chair	01/01/1935	01/01/1941	Ministry of Health advisory committee on nutrition
	Chair	01/01/1941	01/01/1943	Ministry of Information advisory committee on advertising agents
	Board member			King Edward's Hospital fund
	Board member			Royal Northern Hospital

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr (later Lord Luke) George Lawson Johnston (continued from overleaf)	Board member			Thankoffering Fund for George V recovery
	Director			Lutterworth Periodicals
	Director			<i>Daily Express</i>
	Director			Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons
	Director			Lloyds Bank
	Director			Ashanti Goldfields Corporation
	Director			Forestal Land, Timber and Railways Company
	Director			Australian Mercantile, Land, and Finance Company
	President			Scripture Knowledge Foundation

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr (later Lord Luke) George Lawson Johnston (continued from overleaf)	President	12/09/1941		USCL
	Worker			Bovril
	Linked to		01/01/1920	Liberal Party
	Linked to	01/01/1920		Conservative Party
	Vice-Chair	01/01/1900		Bovril
	Joint Managing Director	01/01/1932	23/02/1943	Bovril
	Chair of national committee			International Chamber of Commerce
	Endowed			Scripture Knowledge Foundation
	Founder			The Luke Trust
	Governor	01/01/1915	01/01/1943	Regent Street Polytechnic

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr (later Lord Luke) George Lawson Johnston (continued from overleaf)	Fundraiser			Voluntary Hospitals
Mr Albert Mitchell	Committee Member	03/04/1917	29/07/1924	RTS/USCL
	Member	01/01/1920	01/01/1950	Church Assembly
	Member	01/01/1920	01/01/1950	House of Laity
	Vice-President			CMS
	Vice-President			Church Pastoral Aid Society
	Linked to			Committee for the Maintenance of Truth and Faith
Mr George Moody Stuart	Committee Member	01/01/1915	01/11/1920	RTS/USCL
	Chair			Antigua Sugar Factor Ltd

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Dr Norman	Committee Member	30/05/1922	01/01/1925	RTS/USCL
Dr George Orissa Taylor	Committee Member	01/04/1925		RTS/USCL
	Baptist missionary doctor	01/01/1907		Baptist Missionary Society medical mission auxiliary
	Superintendent			Islington medical mission
Mr Alexander James Parnell	Committee Member	01/05/1916		RTS/USCL
	Chair			Coffee Board of Great Britain
	Linked to	01/01/1928		Royal Hospital for Incurables
	Linked to	12/03/1934		Reedham School (formerly Asylum for Fatherless Children)
	Honorary Secretary	01/01/1916	28/11/1941	Coffee Trade Association of London

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr Alexander James Parnell (continued from overleaf)	Honorary Treasurer	01/03/1930	20/01/1941	RTS/USCL
	Co-treasurer	21/01/1941		RTS/USCL
Alderman A W Payne	Committee Member	01/01/1914		RTS/USCL
Mr Eliot Pye Smith Reed	Committee Member	01/01/1914		RTS/USCL
	Linked to			Reedham School (formerly Asylum for Fatherless Children)
	Linked to			Royal Earlswood Hospital (formerly Asylum for Idiots)
	Linked to			Royal Hospital for Incurables
	Son			Sir Charles Reed
	Brother			Talbot Baines Reed

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr Eliot Pye Smith Reed (continued from overleaf)	Grandson			Dr Andrew Reed
Mr Robert Ernest Ross	Committee Member	04/05/1915		RTS/USCL
	Chair			Advisory Committee re Young People's Branch, RTS
	Linked to			BFBS
	Linked to			Deep Sea Mission
	Principal Clerk	01/01/1907	01/01/1936	Court of Criminal Appeal
	Churchwarden			St Mary's, Hornsey Rise
Rev John Murdoch Ebenezer Ross	Editor	01/01/1913	01/01/1921	<i>Presbyterian Messenger</i>
	Editor	01/01/1923	03/08/1925	<i>British Weekly</i>

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev John Murdoch Ebenezer Ross (continued from overleaf)	Committee Member	01/01/1915		RTS/USCL
	Author			various
	Son			Rev William Ross
	Minister	01/01/1896	01/01/1900	Free Church of Scotland
	Minister	01/01/1900	01/01/1921	Presbyterian Church of England
	Minister	01/01/1911	01/01/1921	Presbyterian Church, Golders Green
	Editorial Secretary	01/01/1922	01/01/1923	Scottish Churches Press Bureau
	Husband			Margaret Macadam
Mr Alfred Henry Sabin	Committee Member	30/05/1922		RTS/USCL
	Chair	01/01/1937	01/01/1949	USCL
	Chair	15/04/1943		Lutterworth Periodicals

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr Alfred Henry Sabin (continued from overleaf)	Worker	01/01/1889		Prudential Assurance Company
	Linked to			youth work Congregational Church
	Leader			Youth Choir, Hampstead
	Vice-Chair	19/06/1941	15/04/1943	Lutterworth Periodicals
	Assistant Manager	01/01/1921	01/01/1934	Prudential Assurance Company
	Played organ			City Temple
Mr Norman Spicer	Committee Member	01/01/1934		RTS/USCL
	Honorary Treasurer			Religious Film Society
Mr Stubbs	Committee Member	01/01/1914		RTS/USCL
Mr (later Sir) Charles James Tarring	Committee Member	01/01/1914		RTS/USCL
	Chair	05/11/1915		Association for Moral and Social Hygiene

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Mr (later Sir) Charles James Tarring (continued from overleaf)	Member			National Liberal Club
	Professor of Law	01/01/1878	01/01/1880	Imperial University of Japan
	Assistant Judge	01/01/1883	01/01/1895	HBM Supreme Consular Court
	Judge	01/01/1895	01/01/1897	HBM Supreme Consular Court
	Chief Justice	01/01/1897	01/01/1905	Granada
	Justice of the Peace			County of London
Rev Prebendary Arthur Taylor	Committee Member	01/01/1919		RTS/USCL
	President	01/01/1931		Sion College
	Worker	01/07/1919	01/07/1922	<i>The Times</i>
	Linked to			St Bride Foundation, school of printing
	Vicar	01/01/1918	01/01/1951	St Bride's, Fleet Street

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Prebendary Arthur Taylor (continued from overleaf)	Prebendary	01/01/1940		St Paul's Cathedral
	Graduate		01/01/1890	Oxford
	Secretary	01/01/1901	01/01/1918	BFBS
	Honorary Chaplain			London Press Club
	Honorary Chaplain			Institute of Journalists
	Honorary Chaplain			British Legion, Fleet St branch
Sir Graeme Tyrrell	Committee Member	30/10/1941		USCL
Prebendary Rev Francis Scott Webster	Committee Member	01/01/1902	01/01/1909	RTS/USCL
	Chair	01/01/1910		Young Helpers League of Dr Barnardo's Homes
	Linked to	26/04/1900		South American Missionary Society

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Prebendary Rev Francis Scott Webster (continued from overleaf)	Honorary Secretary	01/01/1909	01/01/1920	RTS/USCL
	Rector	01/01/1898		All Souls, Langham Place
	Prebendary	01/01/1913		St Paul's Cathedral
	Head	01/01/1882	01/01/1888	Church Army Training Homes
	Chair Candidates Committee	01/01/1916		CMS
	Graduate	01/01/1878	01/01/1885	Oxford University
Mr R R Webster	Committee Member	01/01/1920		RTS/USCL
Mr T D Williams	Committee Member	01/01/1931		RTS/USCL
	Director	24/11/1941		Lutterworth Periodicals
	Co-treasurer	21/01/1941		USCL

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Richard Mercer Wilson	Editor			Lutterworth Library, vols i-xiii
	Committee Member	04/05/1915		RTS/USCL
	Author			Various
	Author			Book of Books
	Vicar	01/01/1940	01/01/1943	St Philip's, Arlington Square, Islington
	Rector			St George The Martyr, Holborn
	Clerical Secretary	01/01/1922		Irish Church Missions, London
	Curate	01/01/1910		Christ Church, Delagny
	General Secretary	01/06/1931	01/01/1940	RTS/USCL
	Anglican Chaplain	01/01/1944	01/01/1966	Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street

Name	Role	Start Date	End Date	Organisation
Rev Richard Mercer Wilson (continued from overleaf)	Incumbent	01/01/1916		St John's Church, Cork
	Professor of Church History	01/01/1927		Wycliffe College, Toronto
Mr WTB Woods	Committee Member	01/01/1914	08/04/1924	RTS/USCL

Appendix 4 Biographical Notes on Two Committee Members: George Anthony King and Howell Elvet-Lewis

As demonstrated in Appendix 3, the committee members of the Religious Tract Society had a broad range of interests and many of them would have known each other in other settings. Appendix 3 has illustrated the breadth of the committee members' interests, and these biographical notes look in more detail at two members, one a lay member, but heavily involved with the Church of England, and the other a Welsh Congregationalist minister. Exploring the connections each had with other members provides evidence of the complicated and intersecting networks of power and influence, which would have placed the Society at the heart of Protestant circles of power.

George Anthony King

George Anthony King was a long serving treasurer of the Religious Tract Society, performing that role from May 1917, although he had been a committee member for some years prior to that. King was an influential figure within the Church of England, serving as a member of the House of Laymen from 1906, and later the House of Laity and the National Church Assembly.¹ Albert Mitchell, Thomas Inskip, and Dr Brysson Cunningham were also members of the House of Laity and National Church Assembly.

King held high office at the Supreme Court, as did William Archibald. He would have had common ground with other legal professionals on the committee

¹ The House of Laity forms part of the Church Assembly and was formed by Act of Parliament in 1919, however, prior to this the House of Laymen was in existence for the convocations of Canterbury and York. The Church Assembly was replaced in 1970 by the General Synod. Colin Podmore, 'The Governance of the Church of England and the Anglican Communion', (2009) <<http://www.churchofengland.org/media/38963/gsmisc910.pdf>> [accessed 14th April 2012], p. 5.

Appendix 4

such as Robert Ross the Principal Clerk of the Court of Criminal Appeal, Sir Charles Tarring a Professor of Law, and Sir Thomas Inskip, Solicitor General and Attorney General.

A graduate of Oxford University in the 1880s, King was close friends at university with Francis Scott Webster and Augustus Robert Buckland. All three went on to be members of the RTS committee.² Buckland was clerical secretary of the RTS from 1902 to 1917 and was a journalist and editor of *The Record*, the newspaper of the Church of England, as well as an Anglican Rector, and later Archdeacon of Norfolk.³ He was also the author of a biography of King written in 1928, the year of King's death.⁴ Francis Scott Webster was an Honorary Secretary of the RTS from 1909 until his death in 1920 as well as the Rector of an Anglican Church, and Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral. Webster was also involved in the founding of the Church Army an evangelical outreach organisation of the Church of England, and was the first Principal of the Church Army Training Homes in Oxford and London from 1882 to 1888 and the first Editor of *The Battleaxe* or *Gazette of the Church Army Crusade and Mission Band Movement*.⁵ The Rev Hon William Talbot Rice, an Anglican Vicar and Honorary Secretary of the RTS from 1920 was also a contemporary of King, Buckland and Webster at Oxford.⁶

King was treasurer for a number of other organisations, including the Pan-Anglican Conference in 1908 and in 1916, the National Mission of Repentance and Hope, and the Church of England Men's Society (CEMS). King was also

² Religious Tract Society, 'Seed Time and Harvest', September 1924.

³ Ibid., September 1917, September 1924.

⁴ A R B Buckland and Randall Cantuar, *George Anthony King, Knight: a memoir* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1928).

⁵ 'Webster, Rev. Francis Scott', in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U204450>> [accessed 14th May 2012]; Captain Gordon Kitney, 'Wilson Carlile and Church Army- the early years', <<http://www.churcharmy.org.uk/pub/aboutus/125/125articles.aspx>> [accessed 30th March 2012].

⁶ 'Rice, Hon. and Rev. William Talbot', in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/view/article/oupww/whowaswho/U230965>> [accessed 30th April 2012].

Vice-President of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), an evangelical organisation with strong links to the Anglican Church, founded in the same year as the RTS and described as the ‘barometer’ of evangelicalism within the Church of England.⁷ Albert Mitchell, another RTS committee member also served as Vice-President of the CMS, Crisford was a committee member and Francis Scott Webster was Chair of the Candidates Committee in 1916. Mitchell and Crisford were also both involved with the Church Pastoral Aid Society, Mitchell as Vice-President, and Crisford as committee member.⁸

King was Vice-President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had been founded in 1804 by members of the RTS’s committee. The links between membership of the RTS committee and the British and Foreign Bible Society remained strong into the twentieth century and as well as King, John Chown, and Alfred Brauen were also Vice-Presidents of the BFBS. Rev Arthur Taylor was Secretary to the BFBS during the period of Brauen’s vice-presidency, and they were committee members of the RTS at the same time, so doubtless knew each other reasonably well.⁹

⁷ ‘King, Sir George Anthony’, in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/cite/article/oupww/whowaswho/U198854>> [accessed 20th February 2012]; The National Mission of Repentance and Hope was an Anglican movement to capitalise on the perceived increase in church attendance since the beginning of the First World War, and to ‘re-Christianise the country’ through evangelism: Peter Street, ‘Maude Royden, 1876-1956’, in *Celebrated Women: Women and the Church* <www.womenandthechurch.org/celebrated_women/Maude%20Royden.pdf> [accessed 14th April 2012]; Fyfe, *A Short History*, p. 14; D W Bebbington quotes C S Horne, the brother of Leonard Horne (a committee member) as describing the CMS as the ‘barometer of the Evangelical party’ in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 216.

⁸ ‘About CPAS: History’, <<http://www.cpas.org.uk/about-CPAS/history>> [accessed 14th April 2012]. The Church Pastoral Aid Society (CPAS) was (and still is) an Anglican Evangelical organisation founded to provide grants to enable churches to employ additional staff (clerical and laymen) to enable outreach to their communities.

⁹ Fyfe, ‘A Short History’, p. 18; ‘King, Sir George Anthony’, in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/cite/article/oupww/whowaswho/U198854>> [accessed 20th February 2012]; ‘Chown, John’, in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/cite/article/oupww/whowaswho/U194669>> [accessed 14th December 2011]; ‘Obituary: Prebendary A Taylor’, *The Times*, 16th March 1951, p. 6; ‘Obituary: Mr Alfred Brauen’, *The Times*, 23rd June 1962, p. 12.

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King was also a London Diocesan Reader, a powerful lay position which would have allowed King to ‘preach at any service, lead Morning and Evening Prayer, parts of the Communion service, and most other services [...] take consecrated bread and wine to the housebound, make pastoral visits, lead groups, and teach, and in certain circumstances officiate at funeral services’.¹⁰ It is unsurprising therefore that upon his death, his obituary in *The Times* noted that he was best known to the public for his work within the Church of England rather than for his legal career. He was knighted in 1924.¹¹

Howell Elvet Lewis

King was evidently deeply rooted in Anglicanism, and in English religious culture. The influence of such Anglicanism on the RTS and organisations like the BFBS would have been tempered by their cross-denominational nature. King’s colleagues on the committee included many influential men in the world of non-conformist religion, such as Howell Elvet Lewis, who makes a particularly interesting contrast to King. A committee member since at least 1914, and honorary secretary of the RTS from April 1925, Lewis was a Welsh Congregationalist minister as well as a hymn-writer and poet. His immersion in Welsh cultural life is evident from his involvement with the National Eisteddfod of Wales, where he had won the Bardic Crown in 1888 and 1889 and served as Chair in 1894, and as Arch-Druid from 1923 to 1927. He was President of the Welsh Union of League of Nations in 1927 as well as Chair of the Congregational Union of England Wales in 1933.¹²

Lewis also chaired the London Missionary Society (LMS) twice in 1910 and 1922, where he may well have come into contact with George A Hardy, who was director of the LMS. His Welsh identity appears to have been central to his spiritual life and he was minister of the Tabernacle Chapel in King’s Cross, a

¹⁰ "Reader Ministry", <<http://www.gloucester.anglican.org/ministry/diocesan/reader/>> [accessed 14th April 2012].

¹¹ 'Obituary, Sir G A King', 18th January 1928.

¹² 'Lewis, Howell Elvet', in *Who Was Who* (2007) <<http://www.ukwhoswho.com/cite/article/oupww/whowaswho/U239842>> [accessed 23rd May 2012].

welsh-speaking Congregationalist church, where he is said to have secured help and work for Welsh people during the depression era. Lewis was a prolific author, and amongst his work was a series of articles in 1889 of Welsh hymns translated into English which were published in the *Sunday at Home* and then later in book form by the RTS.¹³

¹³ 'Biography of Howell Elvet Lewis', Christian Classics Ethereal Library
<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/lewis_he?show=biography> [accessed 13th April 2012].

Appendix 5 Spatial Analysis of Readers

The following maps show geographical distribution of readers resident in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. The figures are based on a five year sampling of readers who during encounters with the papers such as letters and competition entries, provided their address. Each map marker represents one reader.

Girl's Own Paper Readers

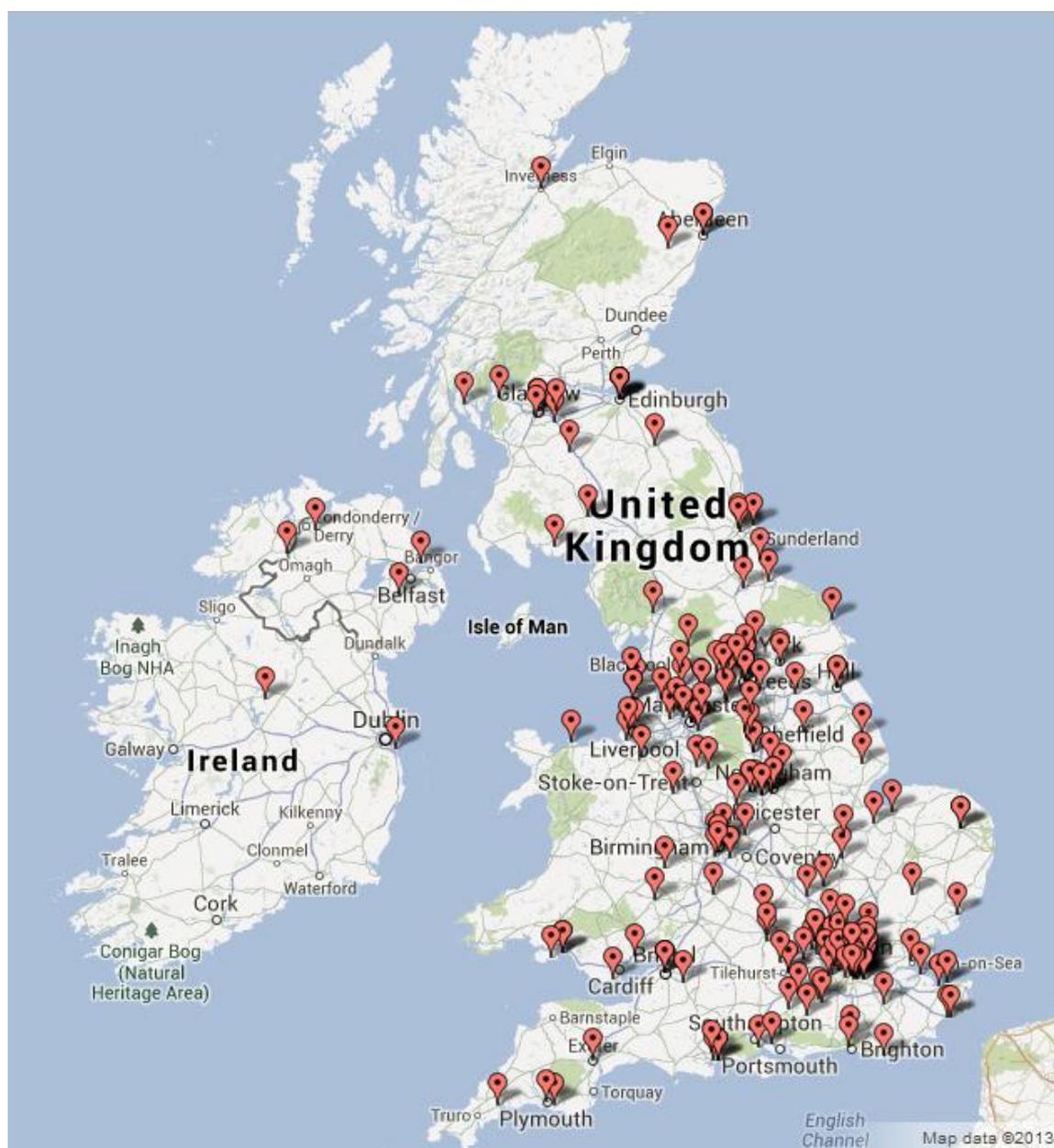


Figure 12 *GOP* Readership 1914 to 1915 and 1919 to 1920



Figure 13 *GOP* Readership 1939 to 1940



Figure 14 *GOP/Heiress* Readership 1944 to 1945 and 1949 to 1950

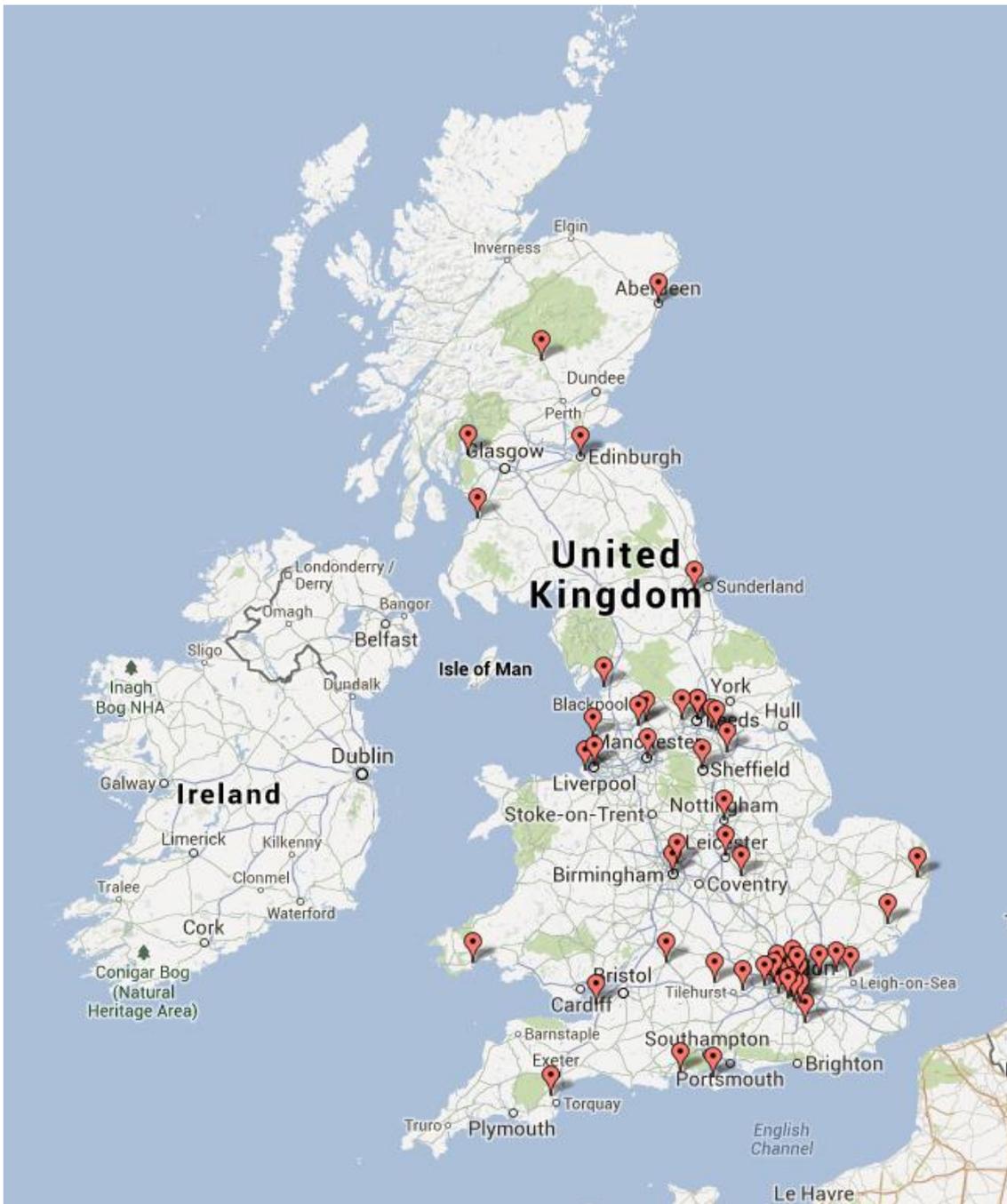


Figure 15 *Heiress* Readership 1954 to 1955

Boy's Own Paper Readers



Figure 16 *BOP Readership 1914 to 1915 and 1919 to 1920*

Appendix 5



Figure 17 *BOP Readership 1924 to 1925 and 1929 to 1930*

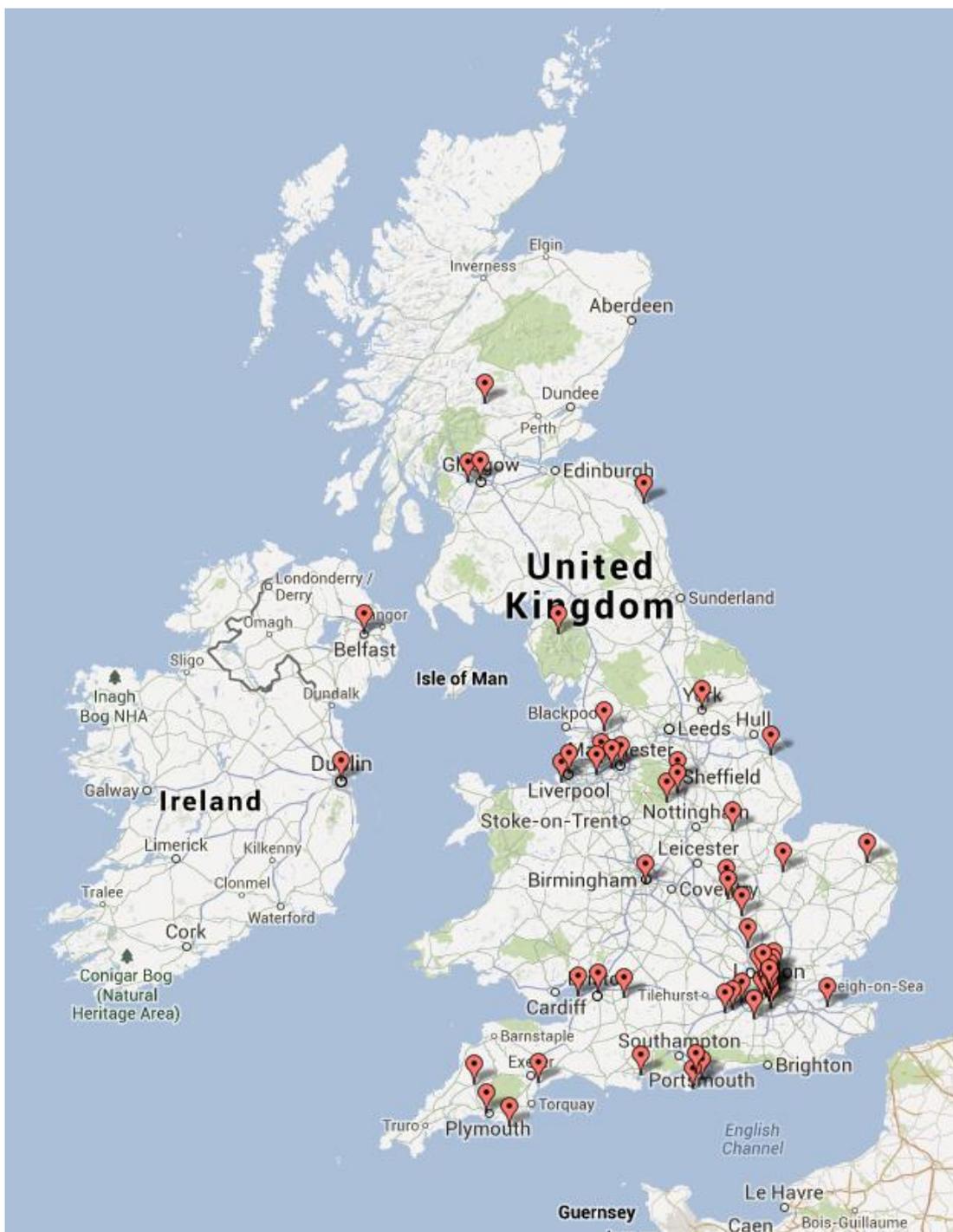


Figure 18 *BOP Readership 1934 to 1935 and 1939 to 1940*

Appendix 5



Figure 19 *BOP Readership 1944 to 1945*



Figure 20 BOP Readership 1949 to 1950



Figure 21 *BOP Readership 1959 to 1960 and 1964 to 1965*

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