PALGRAVE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside

Creating Good Citizens, 1930-1960

Sian Edwards

Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements

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Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. We conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. This new series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

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For my Mum – the strongest woman I know.

Preface

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, but we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. Our series reacts to what can be described as a recent boom in the history of social movements. We can observe a development from the crisis of labour history in the 1980s to the explosion in research on social movements in the 2000s. The rise of historical interest in the development of civil society and the role of strong civil societies and non-governmental organizations in stabilizing democratically constituted polities has strengthened the interest in social movements as a constituent element of civil societies.

In different parts of the world, social movements continue to have a strong influence on contemporary politics. In Latin America, trade unions, labour parties and various left-of-centre civil society organizations have succeeded in supporting left-of-centre governments. In Europe, peace movements, ecological movements and alliances intent on campaigning against poverty and racial discrimination and discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual orientation have been able to set important political agendas for decades. In other parts of the world, including Africa, India and Southeast Asia, social movements have played a significant role in various forms of community building and community politics. The contemporary political relevance of social movements has undoubtedly contributed to a growing historical interest in the topic.

Contemporary historians are not only beginning to historicize these relatively recent political developments; they are also trying to relate them

to a longer history of social movements, including traditional labour organizations, such as working-class parties and trade unions. In the longue durée, we recognize that social movements are by no means a recent phenomenon and are not even an exclusively modern phenomenon, although we acknowledge that the onset of modernity emanating from Europe and North America across the wider world from the eighteenth century onwards marks an important departure point for the development of civil societies and social movements.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the dominance of national history over all other forms of history writing led to a thorough nationalization of the historical sciences. Hence social movements have been examined traditionally within the framework of the nation state. Only during the last two decades have historians begun to question the validity of such methodological nationalism and to explore the development of social movements in comparative, connective and transnational perspective taking into account processes of transfer, reception and adaptation. Whilst our book series does not preclude work that is still being carried out within national frameworks (for, clearly, there is a place for such studies, given the historical importance of the nation state in history), it hopes to encourage comparative and transnational histories on social movements.

At the same time as historians have begun to research the history of those movements, a range of social theorists, from Jürgen Habermas to Pierre Bourdieu and from Slavoj Žižek to Alain Badiou as well as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to Miguel Abensour, to name but a few, have attempted to provide philosophical-cum-theoretical frameworks in which to place and contextualize the development of social movements. History has arguably been the most empirical of all the social and human sciences, but it will be necessary for historians to explore further to what extent these social theories can be helpful in guiding and framing the empirical work of the historian in making sense of the historical development of social movements. Hence, the current series is also hoping to make a contribution to the ongoing dialogue between social theory and the history of social movements.

This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. With this series, we seek to revive, within the

context of historiographical developments since the 1970s, a conversation between historians on the one hand and sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists on the other.

Unlike most of the concepts and theories developed by social scientists, we do not see social movements as directly linked, a priori, to processes of social and cultural change and therefore do not adhere to a view that distinguishes between old (labour) and new (middle-class) social movements. Instead, we want to establish the concept 'social movement' as a heuristic device that allows historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate social and political protests in novel settings. Our aim is to historicize notions of social and political activism in order to highlight different notions of political and social protest on both left and right.

Hence, we conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organizations and mere protest events. But we also include processes of social and cultural change more generally in our understanding of social movements: this goes back to nineteenth-century understandings of 'social movement' as processes of social and cultural change more generally. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. In short, this series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicize the concept of 'social movement'. It also hopes to revitalize the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

Sian Edwards' *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside* brings together a number of these themes in a richly textured study. The theory and history of social movements has so far mainly focused on urban settings, thereby revealing its roots in a modernization-theoretical interpretation of history that regarded urban spaces and places as the principal location of social conflicts. Similarly, in continental European historiography, youth movements and groups have tended to be located in urban spaces rather than in the countryside. Some scholarly attention has been paid to activity in rural areas, for instance research on the boy scouts and groups linked to the labour movement. Typically, however,

these have been interpreted as movements that went from the cities into the countryside in order to find relief from industrialization and environmental pollution.

This study is one of the first to break through this binary structure provided by assumptions about modernization. Instead, the study zooms in on a key moment of the development of English modernity—the period between, roughly, 1930 and 1960—to locate youth and youth movements directly in the political, social and cultural setting of rural England.

Edwards embeds her argument consistently within recent approaches to rural history and cultural geography, studies on citizenship as well as youth movements in British society. Using Mass Observation files, magazines and movement journals, Edwards seeks to historicize notions of citizenship, activism and political and social engagement by examining the rural activities of the Scouts together with the Woodcraft Folk and the Young Farmers' Club, groups on which there is very little recent research based on primary-sources. Rather than regarding the youth movements purely as leisure movements, Edwards covers their conceptualization of political and social involvement at work and at home as well as in the community.

This study, then, has relevance beyond its immediate subject matter: it highlights the connection between social and political activism and notions of citizenship. It does so in ways that does not necessarily identify them with standard progressive movements. And it highlights the importance of rural spaces as the social background for such movements and political activity.

Bochum, Germany — Stefan Berger

Stirling, UK — Holger Nehring

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My friends have provided unwavering support over the years. Thanks to Katy Blatch, Sophia Marazzi, Jamie Marchant and the Haddington cousins, for getting me through it all. Dave Geiringer has been a source of endless encouragement over the past few months and I don't know what I would have done without him.

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Contents

Abbreviations

BSA	Boy Scouts Association
CPRE	Council for the Preservation of Rural England
CTC	Cyclists Touring Club
GGA	Girl Guide Association
MO	Mass Observation
MOA	Mass Observation Archive
NCU	National Cyclists Union
NCSS	National Council of Social Service
NFU	National Farmers Union
NFYFC	National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs
WLA	Women's Land Army
YFC	Young Farmers' Club
YHA	Youth Hostel Association
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

On 16 June 1958, following a roll call and inspection, the 7th Dunstable Company of Girl Guides set out on a group excursion to the local downs. When they arrived they enthusiastically began activities including stalking (the practice of observing the land and tracking wild animals) and map reading. Until, that is, they met with 'interference' from some Teddy Boys who were also frequenting the area.[1] The experience of the 7th Dunstable Company, detailed in one of the club's logbooks, reveals an interesting contention in the relationship between young people and the countryside in the late 1950s: on the one hand the countryside was a space utilized by youth organizations in their citizenship training, while on the other it was a space of relative freedom for unsupervised adolescents.

The growth of 'youth' as a social category in the mid-twentieth century, resulting from shifts in patterns of education, work and leisure, has been well documented by historians. However, historical studies often pay little or no attention to the place of the countryside in experiences of young people at this time, whether that is that through experiences of rural youth, or of the use of the countryside by urban adolescents.[2] This project was born out of the realization that rural experiences of leisure have often been ignored or sidelined in favour of the urban. This is true in spite of the fact that, despite changing leisure patterns across the mid-century, the countryside remained a significant feature of the popular recreation at this time. The extent of this has not yet been sufficiently

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acknowledged in existing historical scholarship on young people's leisure experiences in the mid-twentieth century.[3]

Through an examination of four key movements, the Boy Scout Association (BSA), the Girl Guide Association (GGA), the Woodcraft Folk and the Young Farmers' Club (YFC) movement, this study explores the central position of the rural, and particularly the English Countryside, in understandings of good citizenship for young people across the mid-twentieth century.[4] In doing so it develops our understanding of youth and leisure in this period in two ways; firstly, by focusing on the structured and organized education and leisure activities provided by youth movements in the mid-century, and secondly, by exploring the centrality of the countryside within them. Through a study of organizational publications alongside contemporary materials, it reveals a number of continuities in the training provided by youth movements across the mid-century and the continued importance of the rural within this. In so doing, it uncovers a complex relationship between young people and the countryside in the mid-century and questions our predominantly urban understanding of youth and youth training in this period.

'Coming of Age': Youth in the Mid-Century

It is a truism amongst historians that the period from 1930 onwards witnessed distinctive and monumental shifts in the lives of adolescents in Britain. As such, the mid-century has been characterized as one in which young people 'came of age'.[5] This shift can most clearly be identified with the so-called post-war 'youthquake' and the emergence of the 'teenager' in the 1950s. In 1958, the Ministry of Education brought together sociologists, youth leaders and other interested parties to consider and investigate the state of the Youth Service in England and Wales. The committee, which included the likes of social investigator Pearl Jephcott, Woodcraft Folk leader Leslie Paul and academic Richard Hoggart, were appointed to study the changing world of post-war youth. In the subsequent report, widely referred to as the Albemarle Report, the committee declared, 'All times are times of change, but some change more quickly than others. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that in some periods the sense of change is particularly strong. Today is such a period.'[6] It is clear then, that prominent contemporaries believed that the post-war years were a time of upheaval for young people.

This idea was rooted in socio-economic shifts of the time in which both labour patterns and consumption trends were symptomatic of the newly

built welfare state. At this time, young people, and particularly those who were male and working class, were well placed to take advantage of both legislative and economic shifts. Employment opportunities in 'light' unskilled production industries, meant that many working-class youths could earn a considerable wage, which they could spend on a growing consumer-driven leisure industry, focused towards the newly defined 'teenager'.[7] This financial independence meant that adolescents' opportunities for leisure and consumption were wider than they had been previously. As a result, contemporaries such as Mark Abrams identified the emergence of a distinctly new breed of 'teenage consumer', with economic independence and consumption patterns distinct from their predecessors.[8]

Legislative shifts also saw the compression of the adolescent lifecycle and the intensification of the 'teenage' experience. The 1944 Butler Education Act extended the educational horizons of young people and in 1947 the school-leaving age was raised to 15, thus extending the period in which young people were reliant on parental support. Military service, introduced for all males at the age of 18 in 1947, meant that the period from school leaving (15), to call-up (18), became somewhat of a period of interregnum between childhood and adulthood, splintering the male lifecycle. As the Albemarle report suggested, the prospect of National Service came 'down like a shutter between the mind of the adolescent and his adult future.'[9] For girls a similar effect was felt by the declining age of first marriage. In the period from 1931 to 1935, 21 girls in every 1000 in England and Wales were first married between the ages of 16 and 19; by 1956–1960 this had risen to 72.7 girls.[10] This meant that young women were beginning their adult roles as wives and mothers earlier than they had previously. Both shifts served to create 'generational consciousness' amongst post-war youth.[11]

These changes were not witnessed in historical isolation however; as recent historiography has suggested, many shifts associated with the 'youth explosion' of the post war period were in existence before the war.[12] Foreshadowing what was to come, the interwar period saw the beginnings of a changing relationship between young people and the spheres of work and leisure, which was only to intensify as years progressed. A degree of financial independence in the interwar period meant that adolescents had the funds to experience and take advantage of leisure opportunities at this time. Furthermore, young people were targeted by radio, magazines and fashion companies, which marked the growing recognition of the power

of young people in their role as consumers. Certain leisure activities also attracted the attention of young people, with the cinema and the dancehall attracting large numbers of predominantly working-class adolescents. Therefore, the prominence of such leisure activities at this time, particularly the dancehall, as Andrew Davies argues, can be seen as symbolic of 'a new freedom among working class youths during the 1920s.'[13] Together these shifts, John Springhall suggests, were part of a wider institutionalization of the period of youth as a life-cycle stage in the twentieth century, with the increase in number and importance of educational, legislative, employment and cultural 'benchmarks' through which youth could be identified as a distinct social category.[14]

The recognition of the distinctiveness of adolescence also saw a growing concern towards young people, and as such the twentieth century saw a clear departure in approaches to youth. The identification of adolescence as a time of mental and emotional development by psychologist Stanley Hall in 1904 gave way to the idea that the period of youth was a time in which young people were both vulnerable and problematic. This coupled with, what John Gillis has termed, the 'democratisation' of the youth experience, meaning the extension of the middle class norm of adolescence to the working classes, saw contemporaries increasingly identifying a 'problem of youth' throughout this period.[15] The juvenile delinquent was the epitome of such concerns, as will be discussed in Chap. 3.

The acknowledgement that adolescents required moral guidance and training to combat problematic behaviour saw the expansion of youth organizations which aimed to do just this.[16] Youth movements including the BSA, GGA, Woodcraft Folk and the YFCs, played a central role in this preparation and training for citizenship, or so they themselves believed. By providing educational, rational and rewarding recreation, these movements hoped to inculcate in their members a notion of good citizenship and, in so doing, erase problematic behaviour. In 1939 these movements were brought together under the creation of the Youth Service by the Board of Education, in the hopes of centralizing youth training.[17] By drawing together voluntary organizations, along with education authorities and state organizations catering for young people, the service aimed to include and protect all young people aged 14–21.[18] But the Youth Service was not without problems and by 1959 the Albemarle Committee found that that the service was underfunded, lacked leadership and was in need of expansion. Until these problems were addressed, it concluded, it could not effectively tackle the 'puzzling' and 'shocking'[19] behaviour of

post-war youth and adequately prepare them for future duties of citizenship. Despite this finding, youth movements saw relatively high, although fluctuating, levels of membership across this period and as such a detailed study of the training provided by them becomes as central to our perception of mid-twentieth-century youth as the cinema is to our image of the post-war teenager.

Histories of Youth

Histories of youth in the mid-twentieth century are prolific to say the least and for the purpose of this study, they will be summarized within a discussion of two key themes: class and gender. Studies of the working class in the mid-century traditionally emphasized the improvement in living conditions experienced by the majority of working-class people, as a consequence of the creation of the post-war welfare state.[20] Many of these discussions surrounding post-war affluence have played themselves out in considerations of leisure, with increased opportunities for recreation being symbolic of an improvement in lifestyle. Initially, narratives of youth in this period had suggested that young people were the main beneficiaries of this post-war affluence and pointed to the emergence of young people as a homogeneous social group, in which generational difference replaced class difference. Young people with disposable income to spend and countless leisure opportunities on which to spend it became symbolic of a society in which class difference had been erased. Historians have, however, successfully challenged this narrative. The 1930s, often seen as a period of unemployment and depression, has been reappraised as a period of prosperity for some working-class people.[21] Similarly, the post-war period has been reconsidered, with historians emphasizing the persistence of poverty at this time.[22] Furthermore, scholars in the field of cultural studies have highlighted the continued significance of class identity in post-war youth subcultures.[23] Class has therefore become central to our understanding of youth in the mid-century particularly in terms of leisure. As Penny Tinkler found in her exploration of girls across the period from 1920 to 1950, class remained significant in experiences of girlhood at this time.[24]

The importance of class has also surfaced in historical debates surrounding youth movements. From the 1960s onwards there has existed a growing historical interest in youth movements. Springhall locates this shift within the cultural climate of the 1960s and the mounting student protests that were taking place, which led to an increased interest in the

way that young people, had been organized and mobilized in the past.[25] It was against this background that Paul Wilkinson produced his comprehensive discussion of youth movements in the early twentieth century.[26] Within this growing interest in youth movements, discussions of class have often been central. Historians of the BSA, in particular, have concerned themselves with debates surrounding social control and militarism. Springhall, for example, has placed the movement firmly within discussions of youth and social control, arguing that in the early years, members of the Scouts, for the most part made up of lower middle-class and upper working-class children, were being trained in the skills they needed to easily assimilate into the 'urban order'. With an ideology which inspired upward social mobility, membership of the Scouts was therefore a way in which members could better themselves, and this they did through a middle-class and public-school ethos.[27] The emphasis of the early Scouts on military training, identified by Michael Rosenthal and Springhall, underlines the importance of the movement in developing middle-class values of masculinity through preparation for their role as soldiers.

In contrast, revisionist historians, including Martin Dedman, Sam Pryke and Allen Warren, have argued that the period after the First World War saw a decline in the imperial sentiment of the movement and a growing internationalism, resulting in an emphasis on 'citizen' training.[28] However, despite such debates, discussions of Scouting have often assumed that the movements were in one way or another attempting to 'control' working-class youth. Revisions of this argument have, however, now taken place. Drawing upon a variety of sources, from logbooks to diaries, historians have begun to question the extent to which the movements acted as a mechanism for social control; suggesting that throughout the period, different levels of agency were at play within both the BSA and the GGA, providing the opportunity for youth to forge their own class identities. As Anne Summers concludes, although we can place the movements within understandings of militarism and social control, if we do so exclusively, we 'fail to understand an important experience in a great many young lives of the period.'[29] Personal meanings of membership have become an increasingly popular strand of Scouting studies.[30]

Through an exploration of selected youth movements across the mid-twentieth century this study contributes to historiographical discussions on class and youth in two ways. Firstly, it explores the training provided by these movements across the period and identifies the centrality of class

within it. In so doing, it highlights shifting understandings of the predominantly middle-class youth movements towards the working-class experience in this period, contributing to discussions surrounding the perception of increased affluence at this time. Secondly, this study will contribute to debates surrounding social control, by highlighting the tendency for movements to agonize over the 'problem of youth' in this period and the central role of youth movements in tackling this. This problem was considered to be a distinctly working-class one and, as such, this book will argue that class remained central to the ways in which youth organizations conceptualized and approached youth training in the mid-twentieth century.

Historians have also explored understandings of mid-century youth through the lens of gender.[31] In both the historiographical and popular memory of mid-century youth, girls have been somewhat missing from stories of youthful experience, particularly the more masculine youth subcultures of the 1950s. The first to critically discuss this omission were feminist cultural theorists in the 1980s who, after noting the omission of girls from the subcultural theory of their peers, set out to highlight the activities of females within subcultural activity. The most significant understanding of the gendered nature of youth culture has come from Angela McRobbie, who explained that the predominantly masculine narrative of youth was a result of the gendered ownership of cultural space in the post-war period.[32] While teenage boys in the 1950s took ownership of the public sphere, the street and the milk bar, girls, by comparison, created a space for leisure and consumption within the private sphere, the home and in particular the bedroom. These were not sites of compliance but places of subcultural resistance.[33]

This notion is one that has been challenged by historians, who see girls participating in many public arenas from the pub to the dancehall. As Bill Osgerby writes, they 'have rarely been excluded altogether. Instead of simply sitting in their bedrooms since 1945 … teenage girls have actively participated in numerous public arenas.'[34] Nonetheless, historians concerned with women's leisure have found that girls would often face more restrictions on their leisure time, in comparison to boys.[35] Notions of appropriate behaviour, alongside expectations that girls would assist in the running of the home, often limited the amount of time and opportunities girls had for leisure in comparison to the relatively 'free' time of boys of the same age. As such, as Tinkler notes, experiences, meanings and definitions of girlhood throughout the first half of the twentieth century were distinct from boyhood.[36]

The importance of gender has also come into focus in the historiography of youth movements. Historians, including Carol Dyhouse and Emma Latham, have noted the distinctly gendered socialization of youth organizations.[37] Discussion of gender within the historiography of the Scout and Guide movements was however initially limited, with the participation of girls usually ending up as a footnote in the grand narrative of Scouting history.[38] It was not until the 1990s that a number of historians began to take notice of the Guide movement, and works by Warren and Richard Voeltz began to elucidate the training and experiences of girls.[39] A number of these have highlighted the importance of domesticity in Girl Guide activities and the central role of the home in understandings of citizenship for girls, particularly within the context of the British Empire. Tammy Proctor, however, has challenged this idea, suggesting that while an ideology of domesticity was dominant, it was so amongst a growing 'modern' agenda, in which the organization increasingly played an important role in providing acceptable spaces of girlhood, which girls could take ownership of and in which they could subvert gendered boundaries of behaviour.[40] Drawing upon Alison Light's concept of 'conservative modernity'—the idea that English culture was both forward-looking and backward-looking—Proctor suggests that while traditional gender roles and notions of service remained central to Guiding principles fundamentally they operated through a rhetoric of 'adventure and opportunity' in an attempt to attract and hold the attention of the 'modern girl', who was increasingly taking on roles outside the home, in both paid work and philanthropic endeavours.[41] The idea of cultural space and its relationship to subcultural activity, championed by McRobbie, has therefore important resonances for our understanding of Guiding and gendered leisure practices in the twentieth century.

This study will contribute to discussions of gender and youth by focusing on the gendered training provided by youth movements at this time. It will highlight the way in which the GGA framed the activities that the organization offered to girls within a discourse of adventure and opportunity and in doing so allowed members a modicum of freedom to subvert traditional gendered expectations. Despite this, however, understandings of citizenship remained predominantly traditional in nature, with domesticity and gendered notions of acceptable behaviour remaining important throughout the period. This Janus-faced tendency is what Jim Gledhill has idenitifed in his study of the Guide movement in the 1960s as the 'central contradiction in Guiding'.[42] Thus this study argues that, while the

post-war period exacerbated concern about 'modern youth', the tension between 'modern girlhood' and traditional values had a long history in twentieth-century youth organizations.

More broadly, this study is also contributing to a general field of historiography surrounding the mid-twentieth century. The period from 1930 to 1960 has traditionally been categorized as one of enormous change in terms of class, gender and youth culture, with the war often being seen as a turning point.[43] This study, however, by exploring this period through the eyes of youth movements' members and leaders themselves, will follow a growing number of studies that question the notion of the Second World War as a turning point.[44] By highlighting the continuities in youth movements across the mid-twentieth century, it suggests that while the war was a driver of a number of organizational changes, it fundamentally served to reinforce classed and gendered conceptualizations of good citizenship within youth movements. Laura Tisdall has argued that the Second World War should be seen as a catalyst for shifts in approaches to the education of young people, which did not really manifest themselves until the 1950s.[45] This is in some ways true for youth organizations, which were increasingly preoccupied with declining membership as a result of the shifting landscape of youth after the war. However, the organizational agendas and philosophy of youth movements meant that change, when it did occur, often occurred slowly. As Gledhill has noted with regards to the GGA, by the start of the 1960s the organization still retained many of its pre-war practices.[46] One of these practices was the use of the countryside as a site for youth training.

The Importance of the Rural

We have seen then, how the historiography of youth and of youth movements have conceptualized experience in terms of predominantly two categories, class and gender. This study informs these discussions by suggesting that, essentially, mid-twentieth century youth movements' approach to young people reveals important continuities. It makes a departure from existing historiography, however, in its central focus: the importance of the rural in understandings of mid-century youth training. This is significant, as, while young people have received a large amount of attention from historians, many historical conceptions of youth are strictly urban. There are identifiable reasons for this. Firstly, the growth of a distinctive youth culture across this period developed from shifts in

employment—the growth of clerical jobs and rising wages for example—which were particularly beneficial to urban youth. Those living in rural areas, by contrast, saw less dramatic improvements in opportunities and were often reliant on local transport to access the jobs that were central to youthful affluence. Similarly, the increasingly influential commercial leisure pursuits, for example the cinema, did not reach rural villages to the extent that they did the city. This suggests that the hallmarks of mid-century youth are in many ways urban constructs. Therefore, for the historian keen to explore rural experiences of youthful leisure, the account of the chance meeting between the 7th Dunstable Company and a gang of Teddy Boys with which this book began is quite revealing: the figure of the 'Teddy' here symbolizing the hedonistic, urban behavioural patterns of post-war youth, directly contrasted, in this account, with the image of the dutiful, environmentally conscious and rural-based Girl Guide. There are a number of dichotomies at play here: boy/girl, middle class/working class and, most importantly for this study, the urban/rural.

The differences identified here are significant. While the metropolitan experience of the Teddy Boy was a reality for relatively few boys at this time, there were, in 1958 alone, over 1 million Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, and both of these movements placed the countryside at the heart of their activities.[47] The sheer numbers of members at this time suggests that many young people were seeking pleasure in the countryside and taking part in adult-controlled leisure experiences. Rural and urban identities were not automatically incompatible of course. 'Teddies' could be Boy Scouts and vice versa. However, within youth movements at this time, an overt distinction was often drawn between the urban 'problem' youth and the rural good citizen. It is clear that historians' reliance upon an urban construction of 'youth' needs to be challenged if we are to fully understand the complex nature of youth across the mid-twentieth century.

Furthermore, when historians have explored the role of the countryside within mainstream youth movements, they have seen the countryside as being part of a wider popular imperialist discourse, rather than considering in more depth the implications of the rural-centred citizenship extolled by these organizations. For example, Springhall's important study of youth organizations and the British Empire highlights the significance of the outdoors in youth training but argues that this was part of a broader aim to encourage the assimilation of upper working-class and lower middle-class children into imperial society.[48] In contrast, Warren points to the importance of the outdoors within the Boy Scout and Girl Guide

movements. He argues that: 'It was therefore the camp, not the Empire, which remained for both Scouts and Guides the most enduring symbol and metaphor of their ideals in the sphere of training for the young',[49] while David Matless has argued that the BSA constructed a landscaped ideal of citizenship through its emphasis on outdoor activities.[50]

The analyses of both Warren and Matless are vital to the argument of this book. While previous studies have highlighted the importance of the Empire in youth training, this study explores the centrality of the countryside to understandings of good citizenship in a period of decolonization. The study therefore, makes an intervention in the historiography of these movements by focusing on the role of the English countryside within them. All four of the movements considered here believed their training and activities to be of the utmost importance in generating good citizenship. The English countryside was fundamental to that training; the rural sphere provided the basis for the physical and spiritual development of all members and, although the English countryside was certainly not the only landscape to be utilized symbolically within the organizations, it was the dominant image.[51] But precisely how did the landscape inform these movements? Did the importance of landscape persist across the period, particularly as Empire declined? How did the movements map their gendered ideologies onto the landscape? And in what manner did they use the countryside as a tool for the training of youth? Fundamentally, this study suggests that the centrality of the countryside in youth training in the period from 1930 to 1960, a time in which the British Empire saw significant decline, reveals increasing concern about urban modernity and its impact on youth. It is to conceptualizations of modernity that we will now turn.

Meanings of Modernity

In 1959 the Albemarle Report determined that 'The "problems of youth" are deeply rooted in the soil of a disturbed modern world.'[52] Throughout the mid-twentieth century, discourses surrounding problematic youth often involved a discussion of the impact of modernity. In July 1936 the Girl Guide organization asked itself in a response to a recent drop in membership, 'Is Anything Wrong? Does Guiding Appeal to the Modern Girl?'[53] Twenty years later the Boy Scout publication, *The Scouter*, presented the topic 'The Place of Scouting in a Modern Society.'[54] The idea of modernity was therefore central to the discussion of youth within these movements at this time. But what did this term mean and how did they define it?

'Modern' is a term which is often used without consideration or reflection. As such the abstract idea of 'modernity' conjures up diverse images. Architecture, art, film, beauty and fitness are just a few of an array of elements that have been ascribed the elusive term. A number of academics, at first sociologists and more recently historians, have discussed the negotiations and experiences of twentieth-century modernity resulting in numerous debates which are central to our understanding of modernity within these movements.[55] A number of these discussions will be reflected upon here.

The first is the understanding of the twentieth century as witnessing a form of 'popular' modernity. Mid-century youth movements often drew on an understanding of 'mass modernity', as they believed technological innovation and social development to be reaching the majority of the population, affecting their behaviour and ultimately creating a modern society. This was part of a wider understanding of modernity as being a 'transformation in experience' and part of a discourse of progress and betterment surrounding meanings of 'modernity'.[56] As such, the post-war period represented somewhat of an epoch of modernity for these movements, which saw shifts in education, health care, family life and the creation of the welfare state as being symbolic of a modern society. The 'universal' nature of such shifts suggested that modern living was community-driven and a liberal process in which all were equal. Equality, then, or at least perceived equality, is linked with post-war understandings of modernity.

Children and youth were seen as being the ultimate beneficiaries of these shifts and were thus conceptualized as being inherently modern.[57] Perceptions of change were, however, as Gillis has shown, not always positive; 'modern' youth drew much attention from contemporaries within these movements, who voiced concern over the effect of modernity upon young people.[58] Indeed, as Laura King has noted, while in the post-war period children were often represented in a positive light in public discourse surrounding the future of the nation, adolescents could incite fear.[59] This concern was sparked particularly by the inclusion of the working classes in aspects of modern living, including mass entertainment, post-war affluence and the affect that 'modern' shifts were having upon their behaviour.

Secondly, a discussion of modernity within youth movements supports the assertion that the post-war period in particular witnessed the growth of 'self-conscious' modernity.[60] While Alan O'Shea has recognized this self-

awareness in the consumer culture of the 1950s, this study identifies a conscious understanding of youth movements regarding the 'modern' world around them.[61] This is seen in comments in youth organizations' publications describing post-war society as an 'atomic'[62] or 'chromium-plated age'[63] and consistent references to the rapidly changing lives of young people. Ideas of 'the modern' were always categorized in relation to the permanent 'other', that of tradition. As Mica Nava and O'Shea write 'Within modernity, there is no escape from historicization; in fact, it is only within modernity that tradition is invented, and that the past is an essential tool for addressing the new.'[64] This was illustrated quite clearly in a 1959 poem published in the Girl Guide magazine *The Guider* entitled 'Grandmama, Mother and Me' in which the writer compares experiences of growing up across three generations. In doing so, the poem draws on past experiences of youth, and particularly the figure of 'Grandmama' and mother, to support an understanding of a distinctly modern experience of youth at the end of the 1950s. Specifically it draws upon 'modern' post-war shifts including changes in education, 'I failed the 11 plus', early marriage, 'Eighteen for me', and mass commercial leisure 'Tommy [Steele] for me'.[65] In doing so it contrasts past experiences with the present to demonstrate the distinctiveness of youth in 1959.

Thirdly, understandings of modernity and the opposition between tradition and the 'modern' within the mid-twentieth century also took on a socio-geographic form. At this time, ideas about modernity was were imposed upon two spheres, the urban and the rural, with the latter seemingly preserving historical ideas, values and morals and the former being a site of constant change and flux. Historians studying understandings of Englishness and national identity have long acknowledged this spatial understanding of modernity. A study of the centrality of the rural idyll in the mid-century will be looked at in more detail in the following chapter. Bound up in discussions of the rural within these youth movements was an inherent nostalgia regarding the historical place of the countryside within the nation. Further to this, the rural was portrayed as being innately and organically beneficial to 'modern' youth, as it provided an antidote to an urban problem. Importantly, youth were often characterized as urban, if only for the sheer fact that the modern influences, particularly of leisure, which were so vital in the creation of a distinct youth identity in the post-war period, were not as available to those living in rural areas.

This geographical juxtaposition has been somewhat dispersed in recent years by a wave of historical research which draws a link between ideas of tradition and modernity within the twentieth-century countryside. The

acknowledgement of the complexity of the interwar outdoor movement, which has often been used as evidence to support the popularity of 'anti-modernity' at this time, is one strand of this understanding, with historians suggesting that the outdoor movement, while drawing on historical notions of the rural, also created a complex notion of rural modernity. A key advocate of this argument is Matless, who suggests that the enthusiasm for the outdoors in the mid-twentieth century and the growing preservation movement which grew from this were innately modern, drawing upon the aesthetically modern ideas of order and design, as part of a modern redesigning of the rural landscape.[66] Frank Trentmann, on the other hand, has identified the diverse nature of anti-modernism at the core of the movement and the ambivalence of the understandings of modernity that underpinned this.[67]

Another angle of study has drawn attention to images and representations of the rural in the mid-twentieth century. Alex Potts, for example, highlights the 'modern' nature of rural imagery and suggests that while images of the rural conjured up nostalgic reflections for some, in other ways images of the countryside also drew upon understandings of a rural modernity with a focus on order, neatness and light.[68] A recent focus on the political use of the countryside has also led to a rethinking of the 'traditional' (suggesting conservative) rural sphere. Studies have sought to bring to the fore the growing identification of liberal politics with the countryside and understandings of community.[69] The recognition of rights within the countryside, particularly rights to access for all, suggests an increasingly 'modern' and progressive understanding of citizenship and ownership. Therefore, there has been a recent growing historical understanding of the countryside in the mid-twentieth century, as conceptually straddling the line of both traditional and modern.

Here then, an understanding of the complex nature of geographical modernity suggests much about youth movements and their constructions of 'modern' youth. The countryside was utilized by these movements as a traditional, but in many ways contemporary, solution to the problems of modern youth. Simply put, the role of the rural within these youth movements was not wholly 'traditional'. While they certainly did not situate themselves within the 'modern' sphere, neither did they represent themselves as being the torchbearers of tradition. Indeed, aspects of the training provided by the clubs, particularly surrounding fitness, but also technology, cannot be removed from the 'modern' context from which they were generated, and the movements clearly envisaged themselves

as being the vanguard of a new generation of young people. We see this in the forward-thinking, future-driven training provided by the clubs in which an acceptance, of and enthusiasm for, future roles within the nation was key. Ideas of betterment and improvement were central here, with the movements placing understandings of self-development within the sphere of the country. So, while the idea of modernity was somewhat demonized, the notion of the 'future' was anything but. This distinction between modernity and the future is one that has been made by Matless, who notes the positioning of the countryside, in particular in the planner–preservationist movement, as a symbol of a 'better future'.[70] This can clearly be seen when looking at conceptualizations of young people within youth organizations. Ultimately, as Osgerby notes, young people presented a dichotomy for contemporaries. On the one hand they were representatives of a promising future as good citizens; while on the other, youth could represent a deviant 'modern' present and as representations of contemporary decline.[71]

Within youth movements this distinction was clear, on the one hand young people represented the ills of modern society while, on the other, with the correct training, they could become the good citizens of tomorrow. The idea of good citizenship is one that was regularly used by these movements and it is to understandings of citizenship that we will now turn.

Understandings of Citizenship

The growing recognition of 'youth' as a separate and independent group in society, and particularly the emergence of the 'teenager' post-war, revealed an increasing need for the training and instruction of young people in their duties and role as future citizens of the nation. The symbolic idea of the figure of the good citizen is one that pervades youth movements in the mid-twentieth century. This was true, despite the fact that, as Edmund Neill has acknowledged; politicians and intellectuals steered away from engaging in discussion of meanings of citizenship after the Second World War, believing that the welfare state had made such discussions unnecessary.[72] Through the provision of leisure and training, these movements hoped to develop an awareness of the importance of understanding citizenship and acting in accordance with modes of good citizenship. There has been much discussion on citizenship, both sociological and historical.[73] In a recent article exploring meanings of citizenship in post-war

Britain, Matthew Grant argues that post-war citizenship can be understood in three 'registers': formal citizenship; the idea of being a member of a national community; and the continued differentiation between 'good' and 'bad' citizenship.[74] Certainly, the last two concepts of citizenship were prevalent in youth organizations across the mid-twentieth century, while community membership emerged as a key element of conceptualizations of citizenship after the Second World War.

Within youth movements good citizenship could be upheld in two ways: firstly, by exhibiting desired behaviour in the present; and secondly, through an understanding and acceptance of future roles in society. Thus, as Sarah Mills has acknowledged in reference to the Scout movement, the organization conceptualized members as 'citizens in the making', while simultaneously encouraging them to see themselves as 'active citizens' with duties in the present.[75] Citizenship was thus a status—something members were awarded—and a practice—something that members were expected to demonstrate in their day-to-day lives.[76] As such it was believed that the preparation provided for the spheres of leisure, work, home and the community in youth organizations was the first step in the creation of the future good citizens, while the outdoor activities and training provided by youth movements could counteract negative influences on young people. Ideas of duty and service to the nation were important here, particularly in the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, which depicted actions of service, be it to the community, or indeed to the land, as being central to negotiations of good citizenship. This was internalized by members themselves. As a member of the Marylebone Rangers Company wrote in April 1930:

> There are many societies trying to lift high the ideal of citizenship, among them the great organisation of Scouts and Guides. They give a resumé of our duty and privilege as citizen in that one magic word which binds us altogether, 'Service.'[77]

This relationship between citizenship and national duty has been identified by a number of historians focusing on citizenship. Sonya Rose has discussed the ideal of self-sacrifice, which was bound up with ideas of citizenship within the national community across Britain in the Second World War,[78] while Richard Weight and Abigail Beech have highlighted the relationship between citizenship and national identity, suggesting that across this period: 'It was generally accepted that the nation could not survive without its people adhering to certain codes of conduct and receiving in

return certain rights.'[79] However, while the importance of the nation to understandings of citizenship was apparent across the mid-twentieth century, the movements did experience a shift in understandings of 'nation'. In the 1930s training for citizenship was often intertwined with the centrality of the British Empire, particularly at the beginning of the decade.

As the period progressed however, the focus on Empire declined. This is a general trend recognized by Brad Beaven in his study of male leisure and citizenship that recognizes that while the interwar period saw ideas of good citizenship centred on debates surrounding national efficiency, by wartime this had shifted to discussions about social cohesion.[80] While King has argued that conceptualizations of future citizenship after the Second World War categorized children as 'citizens-to-be', rather than as 'future imperialists', as they had once been understood.[81] In terms of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, the increasing international aspect of the movements and their growing worldwide membership, along with the subsequent loss of colonies in the post-war period, meant that understandings of British citizenship (for those who identified as English), while still directly centred upon the nation, became more explicitly developed around the sphere of the English countryside. This was certainly also true for the YFCs, which since its inception, being predominantly rural by nature, had consistently situated meanings of good citizenship around proficiency in the agricultural sphere.

Ideas of duty and service were central to these youth movements and their understanding of good citizenship, but alongside this was another aspect of citizenship, centred upon rhetoric of rights. This was part of a wider social trend at this time, which saw the liberalization of citizenship and shifting understandings of the relationship between citizen and state, as legal frameworks for citizenship were in flux.[82] The movements understood that there was a negotiation between the citizen and the state, which required a knowledge and understanding of both rights and duties. This attitude was solidified in the post-war period, with the introduction of the welfare state and an understanding of the universality of its reach, but in youth movements it can be pinpointed before then. In the 1930s the Guide movement, in preparing members for their 'Citizenship' badge, provided information on the state and the provision of education, including information on scholarships and evening classes, along with information on employment exchanges.[83] There was thus an acknowledgement here that citizenship necessitated a dual relationship with the state, based on duty and rights; similarly the YFCs, although more politically fluid than

the Scouting movements, also kept their members up-to-date on shifts and opportunities in agricultural education.

This rhetoric of rights was also highly visible in the Woodcraft Folk, whose aim was to make its members aware of the rights and struggle of the working classes in the hope of inspiring a 'new world order'. In 1943 the left-wing movement declared:

> The Folk can still be a fine auxiliary weapon for political and economic emancipation through the social training of children; still the ideal training ground for the future fighters of freedom; still one of the best practical experiments in communal living and education ever developed.[84]

Here then, the movement, in their training of 'fighters for freedom', separated themselves from the likes of the Scouts. While the Scouts were training youth for their position as citizens of the nation, the Woodcraft were encouraging a critical thinking and revolutionary attitude amongst the young working classes. Here we see how meanings of citizenship within the movements were varied and illusive, for the most part setting up a distinctive idea of citizenship which involved a dual understanding of duties and rights. Conceptions of citizenship thus balanced an emphasis on service and national duty, within the social and legal frameworks of citizenship that developed throughout the mid-twentieth century.[85]

Ideas of duties and rights were, however, strictly defined by gender: the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and YFCs propagated ideas of good citizenship that were distinctly gendered. The public/private divide, so often identified by historians, can once again be pinpointed here, with the role of girls within the movement often being linked to the home. Melanie Tebbutt has recently identified this trend in her study of interwar masculinities. She writes that meanings of good citizenship for boys were often designed around understandings of 'service' and in juxtaposition to feminine forms of service.[86]

Alongside understandings of citizenship within youth movements themselves, this study also situates itself within two current historiographical approaches to citizenship. Firstly, it follows a growing school of study, which links an understanding of citizenship to the sphere of leisure. Throughout history, ideas of citizenship have often been played out in the leisure sphere, and the relationship between citizenship and leisure is therefore a complex one. Contemporary commentators repeatedly focused on leisure as a place where people could enhance or, in some cases, dimin-

ish their citizenship and where meanings and ideas of citizenship could be contested.[87] This relationship became particularly salient in the twentieth century, which saw the rise of mass leisure and the recognition that leisure, defined in relation to paid work, should be available to all.[88] This shift saw a torrent of concern from social observers concerned with the 'leisure problem' and anxious over the effect of mass leisure upon the working classes. As Beaven notes, 'bad' leisure practices were seen as a critical problem in the development of good citizenship.[89] Similarly, if used wisely, leisure time could enhance a person, build character and prepare them for their role as a citizen of the nation.[90] Additionally, Grant argues that cultural emphasis on affluence and the home led to 'spare time' becoming crucial in debates over citizenship and civil defence in the post-war period, having a fundamental effect on the relationship between citizen and the state.[91]

There was also a socio-geographic dichotomy at play in understandings of leisure and citizenship at this time. As Matless argues, the growing popularity of open-air leisure and the pervasiveness of the countryside in ideas of Englishness following the First World War saw the growth of the idea of a 'landscaped citizenship'.[92] This ideal appeared as outdoor leisure became desirable and part of an 'art of right living',[93] whereby good citizenship could emerge through 'cultures of landscape'—three in particular: the intellectual, the spiritual and the physical.[94] He argues 'In short, an essential part of belonging to the nation was to take pleasure in the environment. In the 1940s, taking pleasure in England, whether through leisurely walking or concentrated field study could be a route to good citizenship.'[95] The youth movements that are the subject of this study followed this ideal, engaging with the spiritual, intellectual and physical 'cultures of landscape' as a route to the betterment of the nation's youth. Indeed, leisure organizations for youth were considered the most appropriate way through which young people could learn and develop their role as citizens.[96] The movements examined in this study became instrumental in shaping the leisure pursuits of their members and, in so doing, improving their citizenship through providing access to the land.

This study situates its argument within these two concurrent strands of thinking on twentieth-century citizenship by suggesting that meanings of good citizenship in youth movements were implicitly linked with an outdoor ethos. The youth movements that are the subject of this study worked within the dominant theory that a healthy, active leisure life could teach young people desirable qualities and train them for their responsibilities

as future citizens of the nation. This emphasis on the rural reflects the persistence of the countryside in understandings of national identity at this time but also reveals a continued preoccupation with the idea of modernity. With the countryside believed to be central to combating problems of youth, which were believed to be inherently modern. Moreover, members of these organizations were encouraged to protect the countryside from the onset from aspects of bad 'modernity', in essence protecting and serving the nation as the Scouts had once done for the Empire. Within these movements, therefore, the countryside was not painted as the traditional antithesis of the modern but instead as canvas on which the future good citizens of the nation could be created. This is not to suggest that urban spaces were less important or insignificant. As Matthew Thomson has identified, the urban landscape, and in particular the space of the street, held a central place in conceptualizations of, and debates around, childhood after the Second World War,[97] while Richard Kyle, in his study of the Boys' Brigade, has argued that the symbolism of outdoor spaces within informal education for young people can only be understood as being 'co-created' in tandem with indoor spaces.[98] Similarly, Mills has challenged the 'idealized geographies of scouting' that are largely rural, suggesting that it is arguably more useful to think about how Scouting practices were used in both urban and rural spaces.[99] This is in many ways true; for example, personal testimony of ex-Scout members does reveal that indoor or urban activities such as 'Gang Shows' remained an important part of the movement, particulary in the 1950s. Nonetheless, this study suggests that the rural landscape remained central to the way in which youth organizations conceptualized good citizenship across the period, and thus was largely considered a superior space to the urban environment when it came to the task of citizenship training.

Examining Youth Movements

This book will examine the role of the countryside in the citizenship of four youth organizations across the mid-twentieth century. The decision to focus solely on these four was taken for numerous reasons. The Scouts and the Guides were the most popular youth movements in this period, attracting consistently larger membership numbers than any other youth movement. This popularity is an important factor when studying received notions of citizenship at this time. The YFC, on the other hand, provides a rural perspective (although not wholly), while the Woodcraft Folk is a

good example of a movement which was outside the mainstream of public thought, being left-wing and, arguably, somewhat radical.

Both the YFCs and the Woodcraft Folk, it should be noted, have been the subject of very few historical studies; of the two, the Woodcraft Folk have received the most attention with a number of studies on its left-wing agenda. For example, Brian Morris has researched the origins of the movement and its evolution from smaller leftist youth groups, to the relatively popular movement the Woodcraft Folk became.[100] David Prynn and Bruce Leslie have also paid attention to the movement's political affiliations with both socialism and the Labour party, and Rich Palser has explored its radicalism in the latter period of the twentieth century.[101] Such interest often originates from those historians working on the history of the political left in twentieth-century Britain, and understandably so. The Woodcraft Folk was certainly an important, albeit at times unsuccessful, force for the politicization of working-class youth in this period.

In comparison, the historical attention given to the YFCs is practically non-existent. Both Lynne Thompson and Alice Kirke included the organization in their work on interwar rural education but other than that, official histories make up the bulk of the work that has been undertaken on the subject.[102]

The scarcity of literature on both these movements can be understood as being a direct result of their role as organizations on the fringe of youth training, both in terms of membership numbers and in terms of the training they provided. The predominantly rural YFCs have often been ignored as a result of the urban-centred focus of experiences of youth. But the fringe position of both movements also resulted from their overtly ideological and political stance. The YFCs, although not wedded to one political party, were highly focused on the political fortunes (or indeed misfortunes) of agriculture, while the Woodcraft Folk were, in no uncertain terms, calling for a radical overhaul of the class-based structure of British society.

Historians have debated the radical nature of the Woodcraft movement. Most recently, Palser has challenged Davis' claim that the radicalism within the Woodcraft Folk declined following the Second World War.[103] Indeed, despite claims of those in the organization to the contrary, the political basis of the movement is undeniable. The content of a 1953 questionnaire sent out to members of the movements reflects this ideological basis. Questions included 'Why should we support the co-operative movement?', 'Why should I join a Trade Union when I start work?' and 'What is meant by Socialism?' reveal the focus of the movement on the political

education of its members.[104] Beyond this the movement and its members were politically active across the mid-century, campaigning for peace, taking in Spanish Basque refugees, assisting conscientious objectors and campaigning for nuclear disarmament.[105] This left-wing affiliation culminated in the 1970s when the organization was the target of a 'Red Scare' by the Conservative Party, during which, *The Guardian* claimed The Conservative party was 'seeing Reds under the trees'.[106] This affiliation, Springhall suggests, meant that membership of the movement remained low, until the political 'tolerance' developed later in the 1970s.[107]

This means that these organizations are often not seen as being particularly useful in understanding the mainstream experience of young people and of youth training in the twentieth century and as such, historians have tended to focus on the statistically more popular 'Scouting' movements (the BSA and the GGA). This is not to say that these two 'mainstream' organizations were apolitical, far from it in fact, but that, significantly, they positioned themselves as being beyond this. Certainly, their policies, training and activities were shaped by a political understanding of the world around them but importantly, this was presented as being part of a distinctive Scouting ideology which was separate although on the whole not entirely different, to mainstream political thought. As such the Scouting movements could attract a larger number of members and have therefore been the subject of more extensive historical studies.

The 'fringe' nature of both the YFCs and the Woodcraft has thus meant that until recently the training they provided has been explored separately, if at all, to the more popular and mainstream movements. This study will address this problem by making use of sources relating to both movements to explore the role of the countryside in the citizen training they provided and the similarities and differences between these organizations and the popular Scouting movements. It will assert that, although there are a number of differences between them, there are, nonetheless, significant overarching similarities, which should be explored. A study of the mainstream alongside the fringe can therefore help to complete a well-rounded image of the training provided by youth movements in the twentieth century.

In terms of periodization, this study focuses on the thirty-year period from 1930–1960 for a number of reasons. The period is distinct in terms of the growing presence of youth at this time, which allows for an investigation into responses to the growing visibility of young people from youth movements themselves. In terms of the youth movements, this period also

provides an interesting basis for study due to the consistently high membership. This periodization has further importance as the historiography of youth movements is often limited to the period from 1909–1939, with very little being written on the movements following the Second World War.[108]

This study negotiates a difficulty between identifications and definitions of youth. Historians have often defined youth as being the period between the age of school leaving and the age of marriage. In terms of youth movements, however, definitions of youth are complex. Each of the movements had different age ranges and varying degrees of success in attracting members within them. As such, a definition of 'youth' could range from childhood to early adulthood. Devoted as it is to 'problems of youth', this book will focus heavily on young men and women aged from 14 to 25. Shifting understandings of the youth life cycle across this period, including the extension of education, the fall in average age of marriage and the implementation of national service, affected conceptions of youth at this time. However, despite these shifts, movements consistently offered opportunities for involvement beyond these stages. The concept of 'youth' is thus somewhat of a fluid term when discussing youth movements.

Defining the term 'youth' is difficult but defining class is possibly even more complex. Joanna Burke argues that across the twentieth century British people have constantly defined and redefined themselves in terms of class, but definitions have been complex and varied—economic indicators, cultural capital and social standing have all been used as frameworks to understand class in the twentieth century.[109] Indeed, the youth movements of this study rarely ever categorized class in explicit terms. When class difference was drawn upon in the Scouts and Guides, it was often through descriptive measures. Discussions of appearance and living conditions were common, with working-class members being described as being physically deficient and unkempt, while, in the post-war period, education was also drawn upon to categorize members, with working-class youth being described as those 'comprehensive' youth. Finally, class difference was often brought out in discussions of behaviour, with working-class youth being categorized as troublesome but also naturally adventurous and suited to activities of Scouting. Paradoxically, it was the youth that that were considered to 'need' and 'enjoy' Scouting activities who the movement found most difficult to attract. This is a fundamental paradox when discussing class in the movements. They all focused much time considering working-class youth, despite the fact that all the movements

across the period remained primarily middle class. Definitions of class within the Woodcraft were clearer, however, being a movement that was catering to the children of 'working masses' and aimed to foster class-consciousness. In comparison, explicit discussions of class within the YFC movement were rare, with the assumption that all members were training for their role as farmers or farmer's wives. The implications of this will be discussed further in this study.

Defining meanings of Englishness within principally British youth organizations is equally as challenging. As we shall see in Chap. 2, countless scholars have argued for the distinctive position of the landscape in popular conceptualizations of Englishness in the twentieth century, with the southern countryside often being called upon to represent the nation. This specifically English conception of the rural was dominant in discussions of the countryside at this time in youth movements, despite the fact that their membership also spanned Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. The dominance of the English voice within the Guides was a particular bone of contention for members, who in 1942 wrote to *The Guide* magazine:

> Dear Editor,—In such-and-such a copy of The Guide I notice that you refer to *English Guides*, when obviously what you mean is British Guides. As far as I can see, our Headquarters paper has no interest in the Scottish Guides whatever, and as far as we are concerned it might as well be called THE ENGLISH GUIDE.[110]

This was just one of numerous letters that the Guide received at this time on the matter of British identity. In the same issue, the Editor also printed letters from Welsh members complaining that the magazine put too much emphasis on the Scottish contingent of the organization as well as a letter from an Irish Guide concerning the fact the English, Scottish and Welsh got more coverage in the publication than them. Finally, a letter from an English Guide who bemoaned the fact that the successes of English groups were not being celebrated enough.[111] Although these examples were printed by the organization partly in jest, they do reveal a clear tension in ideas of national community within the organization. Indeed, beyond such complaints it is clear that contributors to the magazines of the Scouts and the Guides often spoke of Britain and England interchangeably and that the organization did privilege articles and information on England.[112] Similarly, as Kirke has acknowledged, within the

national publications of the YFC organization Britain was generally synonymous with England, and the countryside was constructed as the core of Englishness.[113]

This is not to suggest that the rural national imagery was not also important to Welsh, Scottish and Irish national identity. Indeed, Paul Cloke has acknowledged that conceptualizations of the rural vary depending on context.[114] As Pyrs Gruffudd has identified, distinctive Welsh rural imagery was central to Welsh nationalist politics in the period from 1925 to 1950.[115] Moreover, as well as embodying different types of landscapes, developments in the British countryside occurred at a different pace in different parts of the country. For example, while National Parks were formed in England and Wales in 1949, Scotland did not see the creation of a National Park until 1961.[116] In addition, as Alun Howkins has remarked, regional variations in farming, even simply within England, persisted well into the twentieth century.[117] A more localized study of different conceptualizations of rurality within these organizations would thus be extremely beneficial in exploring the ways in which ideas of rural citizenship were regionalized across this period. Such as study would not only illuminate differences in conceptualizations of rurality but also highlight the differences and tensions between the training that was prescribed by the organizations and the practices of clubs on a localized scale, but, alas, this is an ambition beyond the scope of this study. Instead, this book will explore constructions of Englishness and rurality within youth organizations on a national level to identify what broader narratives reveal about the status of rural conceptualizations of citizenship in the mid-twentieth century.

This study is by no means a history of these movements and does not intend to be. Official histories are comprehensive in charting the individual shifts that occurred in each movement and the effect that this had on the organizations and their members.[118] While historians have focused on each individual movement as a subject of analysis and criticism, with a lot of attention being focused towards the Scouting movements in recent years, this study takes a different approach. Its argument is largely based on the published organizational sources of the four key movements. These include books, magazines, annual reports and instructional material. Primarily though, it is based on a comprehensive examination of the movements' magazines across the period from 1930 to 1960. These include Boy Scout magazines *The Scout* and *The Scouter*, the Girl Guide publications *The Guide* and *The Guider*, the YFC magazine *The Young*

Farmer and the Woodcraft publications *The Herald of the Folk*, *The Pioneer of the Folk* and *The Helper*. For the Scouting and YFC material this study draws upon a reading of each issue of these magazines from January 1930 until December 1960 (although *The Young Farmer* did not publish during wartime). This 'long study' manner of reading these publications allowed for a close analysis of change over time and a clear understanding of the way the movements operated. There are, of course, pitfalls with this system, as with all research. Such reading did not allow for a 'deeper' analysis of the written page or the layout for example. Moreover, evidence could have been missed in the methodical manner of reading that was applied. Another issue with this process is revealed when the Woodcraft Folk publications are discussed. The Woodcraft Folk magazines are somewhat sporadic across the period from 1930–1960 and so my reading of the Woodcraft training had to rely on other sources more heavily than for the the BSA, GGA or the YFC.

The use of magazines as a historical source has been discussed most commonly in the context of the growing popularity of women's magazines across the mid-twentieth century, or, in contrast to this, in the study of masculinity and imperialism in boys' papers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[119] The former highlighting the recognition of the spending power of girls across the period while the latter unpacking representations of masculinity. A study of organizational magazines marks a departure from this however, with the nature and purpose of the magazines being ultimately focused on 'training' and therefore often more overtly instructional than wider publications for both boys and girls at this time.

The magazines of the Scouts and Guides had two clear purposes; firstly to instruct and secondly to entertain. This was important as the movements, being on such a large scale, needed to be able to spread information to all those enrolled, whether rural or urban, in a company or a lone member. The magazines, therefore, included hints, tips, and instructions on different activities including how to gain badges, the best ways to camp and how to enjoy the countryside. There were, however, two kinds of magazine publications and the difference is worth noting. *The Guide* and *The Scout* were magazines aimed at the slightly younger age bracket from around 11–15, with occasional pages for older members of the organizations. They included large numbers of fiction stories, as well as tips on gaining badges, hints on camping and general Scouting information. *The Scouter* and *The Guider* were aimed at the older members, often Guiders or Scouters (adult leaders in the organisations) who ran their own companies, and provided more information, hints

and tips on organizing activities, as well as instructing on how to deal with Scouts and Guides and how to help them get the best out of the experience. These kinds of publication, for obvious reasons, provided more instructive articles on the purposes and aims behind the movement and were therefore particularly useful for the purposes of this study. As Dyhouse argues the literature produced by these movements can provide significant insight into the socialization of young people in the twentieth century.[120]

The Scouting publications were also published to entertain members. Often taking the format of popular magazines, they included stories, games, competitions and activities. This was a method of attracting but also retaining members. The movements were presented to youth as being 'constructive leisure' and therefore maintenance of entertainment was imperative. This does not mean that such features are useless to the research of this study; in fact quite the opposite: the stories and games often reinforced underlying understandings of good citizenship and so are just as useful in uncovering the meanings of the training provided.

In contrast to the Scouting publications *The Young Farmer* was published as an instructive source but also to keep members updated with the successes of the movement. The magazine therefore included regular reports on the successes of club farms and club stock. The magazine also instructed members on farming practices and shifts in agricultural processes. Alongside this, it did include a range of topics for entertainment, though these were gendered. For example, girls were given tips on cookery and dressmaking, whereas by contrast boys were less likely to receive separate items for leisure. Here, there seemed to be an underlying assumption that boys ultimately took pleasure from work on the land and therefore did not require separate entertainment sections. This can best be seen in the regular reading recommendations, which addressed almost exclusively books on the subject of farming. Finally, *The Herald of the Folk* was the most overtly instructive of the magazines and had little else in the way of entertainment. Much of the *Herald* was preoccupied with discussions of class struggle and the need for political involvement and learning amongst the working classes. Discussions of activities and entertainment were therefore quite rare within these publications. Here then we see a difference in the purposes of these publications, with the Woodcraft Folk seeing its magazine as a way of spreading Woodcraft ideology amongst members. The Woodcraft magazines are also problematic because there is a tendency for hidden authorship, using organizational nicknames, which makes 'identifying the voice' of an author extremely difficult. This also

means that at times the magazines presented competing attitudes and opinions on various topics; this was the case with the other magazines as well, but more so with the Woodcraft.

There are also a few overarching considerations to be made regarding these magazines. In terms of accessibility and popularity, they tended to be priced reasonably so that members could afford to purchase them.[121] However, the popularity of the magazines was a worry across the period, with periodic concerns about low circulation. This of course is relative to the movements themselves, with low circulation in the Scouts being relatively high compared to the smaller movements of the YFC and Woodcraft. Additionally, readership is difficult to measure, as it is clear that members shared and circulated the magazines amongst their friends and patrols.

The magazines then, despite differences in content and purpose, provide detailed representations to the historian, surrounding understandings of citizenship within the movements. Importantly, the Letters to the Editor feature, which can be found in the majority of these publications, also provides an insight into the negotiations between the movements and their members. Here we see when actions of the organizations are contested and indeed when demands from members spark changes within the movement. The magazines thus provided instruction for readers, while at the same time allowing for a considerable amount of input from the members themselves, through the letters, but also through competition pages, advice pages and stories. Hence, whilst Harry Hendricks identifies the way in which surviving sources on the experiences of youth were often produced by middle-class adults, this approach allows for an exploration of the movements' training, while also uncovering some of the responses to such training from members themselves.[122]

As I have identified, authorship is also generally an issue with these magazines. The movements actively encouraged contributions from members of the organization, leaders of the movements and from outsiders and thus the magazines do not necessarily convey one dominant message about the countryside, often publishing competing messages. Where possible I have identified the author of the content of these magazines but, as is often the case with the Woodcraft Folk, this is not always a possibility. Nonetheless, despite these competing voices, one can detect a general consensus within the magazines—as, of course, they were edited to put forward a dominant ideal to their readers.

Alongside these magazines, this study uses a selection of other materials to support its findings, including contemporaneous publications, the magazine

of the Youth Hostel Association (YHA), *The Rucksack,* and the later *Youth Hosteller*, and a selection of newspapers including *The Daily Mirror*, *The Times*, *The Manchester Guardian* and *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, as well as Royal Commissions, the Mass Observation Archive (MOA) and unpublished organizational sources such as logbooks and questionnaire replies.[123] The variety of sources here allows for an overarching understanding of relationship between youth and the rural sphere across this period.

The material in the MOA in particular provides an interesting comparison with the evidence found in the archives of youth organizations. Using a variety of research methods, Mass Observation (MO) was a social investigative organization, formed in 1936 by Tom Harrisson, Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings, which aimed to discover as much about the people of Britain as possible and create an 'anthropology of ourselves'.[124] MO regularly sent out 'directives' to a volunteer panel of, predominantly female and middle class, 'respondents'. . The directives would include a number of carefully worded set questions, and respondents were free to choose to answer or leave whichever they chose. There was not a set reply length and as such, respondents could choose to write as little or as much as they wanted. These replies were then read and consolidated by MO into what was termed a 'File Report', which summarized the responses to the directive. MO would also draw information from its 'Mass Observers', who would investigate society by observing its goings-on. For example, a Mass Observer might note the dress, behaviour, speech, eating habits and so on of those around him. The observer might also interview and question those around him. These observations were then drawn together in a report. This study will draw upon these two different MO research techniques. Of course MO is a source that is not without its limitations or complications, as many historians have acknowledged, nonetheless, it is both an interesting and useful asset to this study, particularly for its interest in young people and in leisure practices. Over the years, MO paid a significant amount of attention to the wider significance and meaning of leisure in the lives of many. For example, during a consideration of the popular dance craze, the 'Lambeth Walk' in 1940, Charles Madge and Tom Harrison concluded that:

> if we can get at the reason for the fashion, and see it in its setting, it may help us to understand the way in which the mass is tending. We may learn something about the future of democracy if we take a closer look at the Lambeth Walk.[125]

The study of leisure then was, as indeed it was for youth organizations, a way of understanding the state and future of society.

MO is also invaluable to this project due to its focus (or indeed lack of focus) on the rural sphere. It has previously been thought that MO has very little content for the rural historian. This is in many ways true. Apart from a small amount of select research there is very little focus on rural living within the organization. This can be understood as being a by-product of the predominantly middle-class urban bias of the movement. Nonetheless, what MO does provide is access to urban public opinion towards the countryside at this time as it asked questions of their urban contributors on topics such as evacuation and the state of post-war agriculture. As an archive, MO processed and collated public attitudes towards the countryside and then presented these opinions via File Reports. Youth movements certainly worked with a similar dynamic, being both inward- and outward-looking. This dynamic can be seen, quite overtly, in the organizations' magazines, which were both a means of disseminating received knowledge and practice and shaping such practice as a recycler of opinions and ideas from the members themselves. Like MO, then, youth organizations were instrumental in shaping received notions of citizenship and the place of the countryside within this, while synonymously, gathering input from members themselves.

In addition to its use of MO and magazines this study will also draw from a range of popular sources including advertisements and literature, both fiction and non-fiction. In doing so, it will explore, the predominant and popular image of the countryside propagated within these media and reflect on the ways in which the image of the landscape was central to the popular identification with the countryside at this time. This is extremely important. Across the mid-century, the ideal of the English countryside became inseparable from the image of the landscape as increasingly available images of the landscape came to shape wider public perceptions of the rural sphere. This played itself out in many forms; through the evocative descriptions of Mass Observers, the use of the image of rural life in advertisements and the almost mystical descriptions of camp life in organizational literature. The use of additional popular sources therefore highlights the wider popular discourse within which the training of youth movements sits, and the importance of the image of the English countryside within this. Of course this image was a complex one and will be the focus of further discussion in the coming chapters.

Youth Organizations and the Good Citizen in the Mid-Twentieth Century

This study explores the central role of the countryside in understandings of good citizenship within youth movements of the mid-twentieth century. It contends that the rise in the popularity of countryside recreation at this time helped shape meanings of citizenship, which were directly centred on a relationship with the countryside. Young people in particular were seen as benefiting from access to the countryside; an education into the ways of which could elevate their citizenship and mould them for their future roles as adult citizens of the nation.

In doing so, it builds upon an already comprehensive field of study regarding experiences of youthful leisure in the mid-twentieth century. Its intervention however develops out of two specific areas of study. Firstly, through an inclusion of the rural in our understanding of the leisure experiences of young people and secondly, by evidencing the continuation of formal spheres of leisure for adolescents across the mid-twentieth century. In doing so, it will intervene in a number of historical debates, ranging from discussions of mid-twentieth century work patterns to shifting understandings of the 'home'. Fundamentally, it argues that the mid-twentieth century saw a continuity in the approaches of youth movements to the 'problem of youth', with the English countryside maintaining a symbolic role in understandings of good citizenship.

The overarching concern for the working classes at this time played itself out in discussions of the leisure, work and home lives of 'modern' youth who were continually considered as being almost innately deviant. This discourse does, however, reveal some discontinuities in approaches to youth at this time. The tendency for the more traditional Boy Scouts and Girl Guides to reinforce the traditional narrative of working-class history, particularly in the mid-twentieth century, as being one of progress and development is important. While 'problems' of youth in the 1930s were directly centred on experiences of poverty, by contrast in the 1950s concerns for youth became focused on self-indulgence and the shifting relationships within the working-class home. Therefore, a study of youth movements suggests that although class remained the single most important determinant in 'problems of youth', such movements noted the changing experience of working-class living across the mid-twentieth century.

If, for these youth movements, shifts in working-class life represented progress (at least in conditions of living), by contrast understandings of gender, both masculinities and femininities, suggest a continuity in gender roles through the mid-twentieth century. Across the period the centrality of domesticity, restrictions on leisure and discourses surrounding female deviance, suggest that ultimately interactions between domesticity and femininity remained central to understandings of gender roles and indeed to the leisure-time training of girls. This tendency went beyond divides of class, with movements suggesting that the role of housewife and mother was central to the good citizenship of *all* girls, but, most importantly for this study, beyond divides of region as well. A study of the role of girls within the Young Farmers' Clubs suggests this, with the importance of the role of girls within the home, albeit in the distinctly rural home, remaining prominent. This book will, however, emphasis the continued tensions within youth organizations between attracting female members through 'adventurous' activities and reinforcing traditional gender roles.

Lastly, this study develops our existing understanding of the relationship between landscape and national identity in the mid-twentieth century. It suggests that the persistence of the central role of the English countryside in understandings of national duty and particularly in meanings of good citizenship for young people, points to the continued importance of the landscape in understandings of national identity at this time. Furthermore, it argues that the growing identification of good citizenry and the countryside, particularly for young people at this time, reflected an increasing uneasiness with 'modern' living. 'Modern' problems of youth, categorized as urban, could be cured through outdoor recreation, an enthusiasm for which could create good citizens. By contrast, young people were expected to protect the land from threats of modernity, be that litter or the declining position of agriculture. Discussions of modernity were therefore central in creating the good citizen.

Chapter 2 explores the shifting relationship between the countryside and the public, particularly the urban public, across the period. It suggests that the popularity of these youth organizations must be placed within the context of the growing popularity of the countryside as a space for leisure in the mid-twentieth century. It shows that conceptions of citizenship within these movements were part of much wider debates about rights to access and obligations of appropriate countryside conduct, which culminated in the creation of public parks and introduction of the Countryside Code in the 1950s.

Chapter 3 pinpoints the significance of leisure to our understanding of the role of the rural in the creation of the good citizen. It argues that youth movements utilized the English countryside to combat the figure of the juvenile delinquent and in so doing reinforced the idea that embracing outdoor leisure was fundamental to notions of good citizenship, due to the positive impact countryside recreations could have on the behaviour and fitness of young people. This chapter therefore shows how young people could improve their status as citizens, by adjusting their leisure practices.

Chapters 4 and 5 look to the future and at the spheres in which young people were expected to have a prominent role when they reached adulthood. Chapter 4 looks at the sphere of work and argues that across the period of 1930–1960 the movements encouraged good citizenship through the performance of agricultural work on the land, particularly in wartime. Chapter 5, on the other hand, turns to the sphere of the home and argues that while in many ways female members of the movements were encouraged to see their place in society being wider than that of the home, fundamentally the home remained principal to the understanding of good citizenship for girls across this period. However, meanings and conceptions of the home were not homogeneous within these movements, far from it, with the experiences of housewifery being essentially different in the rural sphere and conceptualized as so by the YFC movement.

Chapter 6 explores the information and training giving to young people about their future role in community life. It charts the way camping served to teach members their responsibility to society, and moves on to discuss the national and the international community. It serves to highlight the ways in which meanings of citizenship, framed through rhetoric of duty and rights, developed across the mid-twentieth century. To evidence this, this chapter explores the ways in which ideas about citizenship and community played out in discussions of access to and protection of the land. In doing so, it once again highlights the importance of the rural in conceptualizations of national identity in the mid-century as the Empire was in decline.

Fundamentally, this study suggests that by studying the centrality of the rural in the training provided by youth movements across the mid-twentieth century, the historian can pinpoint a number of continuities in approaches to youth in the mid-century. Although the period witnessed significant shifts in the lives of the working classes, particularly with the impact of the

welfare state in the post-war period, in actuality, within youth movements, there was continuity, with problematic youth being positioned as being predominately working class. The centrality of gendered ideologies of good citizenship within these youth movements also remained, with girls consistently being trained for their role in the home. Thus the 'landscaped citizen' that was developed by these organizations was a complex construction framed in response to numerous social shifts across the period and framed by both gender and class. Nonetheless, the symbolism of the rural was a consistent one throughout the years from 1930 to 1960, thus suggesting that the rural landscape is an important way through which we can understand youth movements in the mid-twentieth century.

Notes

1. Endnotes
   Girl Guide Logbook, 7th Dunstable Company, 16 June 1958, ST2/S4/BZ, Girl Guide Association (hereafter GGA), London.
2. With the exception of Selina Todd's important article on young women in interwar rural England, Helena Mills' brief acknowledgement of the discrepancies in women's experiences of growing up in the 1960s, Melanie Tebbutt's exploration of boys experiences of camping in the interwar period and Rebecca Andrew's examination of the leisure of rural youth in Lakeland. S. Todd (2004), 'Young women, work and family in inter-war rural England', *The Agricultural History Review*, 52, 83–98; H. Mills (2016), 'Using the personal to critique the popular: women's memories of 1960s youth', *Contemporary British History*, 30, 463–483; M. Tebbutt, *Being Boys: youth, leisure and identity in the inter-war years* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); R. Andrew, 'The leisure identities of rural youth: tradition, change and sense of place in Lakeland, 1930–early 1950s' (PhD Diss: Manchester Metropolitan University, 2012).
3. Although geographers have been more attentive to rurality and childhood/youth, see: K. Halfacree (2004), 'Introduction: turning neglect into engagement with rural geographies of childhood and youth', *Children's Geographies*, 2, 5–11.
4. Although these organisations included membership from across Britain, they often spoke of Britain and England synonymously. By focusing on England this book thus deliberately and unavoidably follows the practice of the publications on which the study is based.
5. For a discussion of youth in this period see D. Fowler, *Youth Culture in Modern Britain, c.1920–c.1970: from ivory tower to global movement—a new history* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); J. Gillis, *Youth and*

History: tradition and change in European age relations, 1770–present. Expanded Student Edition. (New York: New York Academic Press, 1981); B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); J. Springhall, *Coming of Age: adolescence in Britain, 1860–1960* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986); M. Tebbutt, *Making Youth: a history of youth in modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); S. Todd (2012), 'Baby-boomers to "beanstalkers": making the modern teenager in post-war Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9, 451–467.

6. Ministry of Education. *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (London: HMSO, 1960), Cmd. 929, p. 13.
7. A trend identified by Bill Osgerby, *Youth in Britain*, p. 22.
8. M. Abrams, *The Teenage Consumer* (London: London Press Exchange, 1959). Abrams' findings have been critiqued by the likes of Osgerby and David Fowler. See Osgerby, *Youth in Britain*, pp. 24–26; D. Fowler, 'Teenager Consumers? Young wage-earners and leisure in Manchester, 1919–1939', in A. Davies and S. Fielding (eds.), *Workers' Worlds: cultures and communities in Manchester and Salford 1880–1939.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).
9. Ministry of Education. *Youth Service*, p. 59.
10. Taken from a 'Table of First Marriage Rates by Sex and Age, 1901–95, England and Wales', in A. H. Halsey and J. Webb (eds.), *Twentieth-Century British Social Trends* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 56.
11. Osgerby makes this comment regarding the impact of national service on young men but it can arguably be used in context of the female situation as well. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain*, p. 21.
12. D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers. The lifestyle of young wage-earners in inter-war Britain* (London: The Woburn Press, 1995); J. Savage, *Teenage: the creation of youth 1875–1945* (London: Pimlico, 2008); S. Todd (2006), 'Flappers and factory lads: youth and youth culture in interwar Britain', *History Compass*, 4, 715–730; M. Tebbutt, *Being Boys*; although Todd has criticized Fowler's use of the term 'teenager' to describe interwar youth, see: S. Todd (2007), 'Breadwinners and dependents: working class young people in England, 1918–1955', *International Review of Social History*, 52, p. 58. Also see Osgerby, *Youth in Britain*, Chapter Two.
13. A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: working class culture in Salford and Manchester 1900–1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p. 89.
14. Springhall, *Coming of Age*, pp. 27–28.
15. Gillis, *Youth and History*, pp. 133–134.
16. Peter Selten argues that the growth of youth movements across Europe was a result of the shifting relationship between adults and adolescents in modern industrial society. P. Selten (1996) 'Youth movements as agencies of cultural transmission. The emergence of youth movements at the beginning of the twentieth century', *Paedagogica Historica*, 32, 280.

17. For more on the youth service see: S. Bradford, 'Managing spaces of freedom: mid-twentieth-century youth work', in S. Mills and P. Kraftl (eds.), *Informal Education, Childhood and Youth: geographies, histories, practices* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
18. For a discussion of the Youth Service in England and Wales see B. Davies, *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: history of the youth service in England Volume 1 1939–1979* (Leicester: National Youth Agency, 1999); M. Nava, 'Youth service provision, social order and the question of girls', in A. McRobbie and M. Nava (eds.), *Gender and Generation* (London: Macmillan, 1984); P. Tinkler (1994), 'An all-round education. The Board of Education's policy for the leisure-time training of girls, 1939–50', *History of Education*, 23, 385–403; Osgerby, *Youth in Britain*, Chapter Ten.
19. Ministry of Education, *Youth Service*, p. 1.
20. For discussions of the working-class affluence in this period see P. Hennessy, *Having It So Good: Britain in the Fifties* (London: Penguin, 2006); E. Hopkins, *The Rise and Decline of the English Working Classes 1918–1990* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1991)[A. Marwick, *Class: Image and Reality in Britain, France and the USA since 1930*, Second Edition (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990).
21. See M. Pugh, *We Danced All Night: a social history of Britain between the wars* (London: Bodley Head, 2008); J. Stevenson and C. Cook, *The Slump: Britain in the Great Depression*, Third Edition (Oxon: Routledge, 2013). For a discussion of the working class in this period see A. August, *The British Working Class 1832–1940* (Harlow: Pearson, 2007); J. Benson, *The Working Class in Britain 1850–1939* (Harlow: Longman, 1989); M. Savage and A. Miles, *The Remaking of the British Working Class* (London: Routledge, 1994).
22. For a discussion of working-class experience in this period see B. Jones, *The Working Class in Mid Twentieth Century-England: community, identity and social memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); J. Lawrence (2013) 'Class, "Affluence" and the study of everyday life in Britain, c. 1930–64', *Cultural and Social History*, 10, 273–299; S. Todd (2008), 'Affluence, class and Crown Street: reinvestigating the post-war working class', *Contemporary British History*, 22, 501–518; M. Savage (2008), 'Contesting affluence: an introduction', *Contemporary British History*, 22, 445–455. Bourke has highlighted the continued prominence of historical constructions of class in understandings of self-identity in the mid-century. J. Bourke, *Working Class Cultures in Britain, 1890–1960: gender, class and ethnicity* (London: Routledge, 2002). Discussions of class identity can also be found in S. Brooke (2001), 'Gender and working class identity in Britain during the 1950s', *Journal of Social History*, 34, 773–795. For the continued importance of social class across this

period see R. McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

23. J. Clarke and T. Jefferson, 'Working class youth cultures', in G. Mungham and G. Pearson (eds.), *Working Class Youth Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds.), *Resistance through Rituals: youth subcultures in post-war Britain*. (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1975); D. Hebdige. *Subculture: the meaning of style*. (London: Methuen, 2002. Originally published 1979); G. Murdock and R. McCron, 'Youth and Class: the career of a confusion', in G. Mungham and G. Pearson (eds.), *Working Class Youth Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976); P. Rock and S. Cohen, 'The Teddy Boy', in V. Bognanor and R. Skidelsky, *The Age of Affluence: 1951–1964* (London: Macmillan, 1970).
24. P. Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood: popular magazines for girls growing up in England, 1920–1950* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1995), p. 1.
25. J. Springhall (1971), 'The Boy Scouts, class and militarism in relation to British youth movements 1908–1930', *International Review of Social History*, 16, 125.
26. P. Wilkinson (1969), 'English Youth Movements, 1908–30', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4, 3–23.
27. J. Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British youth movements, 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 121.
28. M. Dedman (1993), 'Baden-Powell, militarism, and the "invisible contributors" to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904–1920', *Twentieth-Century British History*, 4, 201–223; S. Pryke (1998), 'The popularity of nationalism in the early British Boy Scout Movement', *Social History*, 23, 309–324; A. Warren (1986), 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900–1920', *The English Historical Review*, 101, 376–398. Replies to Warren's article from Springhall and Summers in the *English Historical Review* are useful in understanding the nuances of the militarism vs. citizenship debate: see J. Springhall (1987), 'Debate: Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: citizen training or soldiers of the future?', *English Historical Review*, 102, 934–942 and A. Summers (1987), 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: a note in reply to Allen Warren', *The English Historical Review*, 943–947. For Warren's reply to these criticisms see A. Warren (1987), 'Baden-Powell: a final comment', *The English Historical Review*, 102, 948–950.
29. A. Summers (1987), 'Scouts, Guides and VADs: a note in reply to Allen Warren', *The English Historical Review*, 102, p. 943.
30. For example, T. Proctor (1998), '(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908–39', *History Workshop Journal*, 45, 103–134.

31. Of course discussions of class and gender can never truly be seen in isolation and a growing field of historiographical research acknowledges this complexity, particularly in relation to leisure experiences. Davies, for example, has examined the multi-faceted complexities of experiences of working-class leisure in the interwar period and argues that while poverty had an important impact on leisure experiences, this was further mitigated by gendered experience and family structure. Davies, *Leisure*.
32. A. McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture: From* Jackie *to* Just Seventeen (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 14.
33. McRobbie, *Feminism and Youth Culture*, p. 14. See also S. Lincoln, *Youth Culture and Private Space* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
34. Osgerby. *Youth in Britain*, p. 57.
35. For constraints on girl's leisure time see: C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920–60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 88–99.
36. Tinkler, *Constructing Girlhood*, p. 1.
37. C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); E. Latham (2000), 'The Liverpool Boys' Association and the Liverpool Union of Youth Clubs: youth organisations and gender, 1940–70', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35, 423–437.
38. For example, Springhall discussed girls only as an appendix to his work on youth movements. Despite the fact, that he himself acknowledges, that in the 1960s an estimated 60 per cent of British women had been Girl Guides at some point in their lives. Springhall. *Youth, Empire and Society*, p. 131.
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50. D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), pp. 74–75.
51. Coastal landscapes were prominent, particularly for the 'Sea Scouts', while mountainous landscapes were conspicuous in the Scout organization, although less so in the Guides.
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53. *The Guider*, July 1936, p. 267.
54. *The Scouter*, January 1956, p. 8.
55. For a discussion of modernity see: M. Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air: the experience of modernity.* New Edition. (London: Verso, 2010); B. Conekin, F. Mort and C. Waters (eds.), *Moments of Modernity: reconstructing Britain 1945–1964* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1999); M. Daunton and B. Rieger, *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the late-Victorian era to World War II* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); D. Gilbert, D. Matless and B. Short (eds.), *Geographies of British Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003); Light, *Forever England*; M. Nava and A. O'Shea, *Modern Times: reflections on a century of English modernity* (London: Routledge, 1996).

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62. *The Guider*, April 1959, p. 108.
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111. *The Guide*, 27 August 1942, p. 410.
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118. For example, see: H. Collis, R. Hazelwood and F. Hurill, *B-P's Scouts* (London: Collins, 1951); E. E Reynolds, *The Scout Movement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); Rose Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides.* Revised edition. (London: Girl Guide Association, 1954); National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs, *50 Not Out: A History of Young Farmers in England & Wales* (Kenilworth: National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs, 1971).
119. See R. Ballaster, M. Beetham, E. Frazer and S. Hebron, *Women's Worlds: ideology, femininity and the women's magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991); K. Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: a cultural history, 1855–1940* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).M. Ferguson, *Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity* (Exeter: Heineman, 1983); Tinkler. *Constucting Girhood*; J. Winship, *Inside Women's Magazines* (London: Pandora, 1987); C. White, *Women's Magazines 1693–1968* (London: Michael Joseph, 1970).
120. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up*, p. 104.
121. Evidence from the Mass Observation Archive shows that copies of *The Scout* and *The Guide* were available in Fulham public library in 1940.

Mass Observation Archive (hereafter MOA). File Report (hereafter FR) 96, 'Children's Reading at Fulham Library', 8 May 1940, p. 4.

122. H. Hendricks, *Children, Childhood and English Society 1880–1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 3.
123. It should be noted that while this study makes use of YHA material it does not engage with the movement as a case study. The YHA, formed in 1930 under the presidency of G. M. Trevelyan, was tremendously influential in the interwar period in getting young, working-class people into the countryside for leisure. This study, however, explicitly focuses on movements that supplied 'training' for its members, through regular activities, meetings and publications. Therefore, while this study occasionally draws upon examples from the YHA to support its findings, it does not focus on its role in the socialization of young people at this time.
124. For a discussion of Mass-Observation see: N. Hubble, *Mass-Observation and Everyday Life: culture, history and theory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); T. Kushner, *We Europeans? Mass-Observation, 'race' and british identity in the twentieth century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); T. Jeffrey, *Mass-Observation: a short history* (Brighton: Mass Observation Archive, 1999); P. Summerfield (1985), 'Mass-Observation: social research or social movement?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20, 439–452.
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CHAPTER 2

The Good Citizen and the English Countryside

> Greatest of our possessions is our *country* itself, that exquisite scenery in which man has been a partner with nature in which the old cottages and the trees around them, are infused with the same spirit and seem designed by the same hand. Let us learn to know our country, not primarily by travelling by train or char-a-bancs to "celebrated beauty spots" (although this may have to be done sometimes), but by going humbly on foot, in the spirit of pilgrims, through the fields and forests that are nearest within our reach.[1]

In 1934 Rose Kerr, a prominent figure in the GSA, wrote in the organization's publication *The Guider* on the topic of patriotism. In the article she celebrated the beauty of the English countryside and encouraged her readers, 'in the spirit of pilgrims', to explore the land. In doing so, she drew on deep-rooted notions of a national identity that was inextricably tied with the rural, which mirrored wider popular culture at this time. Throughout the period from 1930 to 1960, the English countryside gained significant resonance in the hearts and minds of the English people. To the extent that, for many, English national identity at this time became centred upon a rural idyll, which was often tied to notions of the past.[2] The fast-paced growth of the outdoor leisure movement interwar period was a testament to this, when the popularity of leisure pursuits such as rambling, hiking, cycling and picnicking soared as an increasing number of urban people became impelled to 'discover' the countryside, and therefore a piece of their national heritage, for themselves.[3] Young people were

S. Edwards, *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65157-6_2

especially drawn to such outdoor activities, and by far one of the most notable features at this time was the growth in the membership of youth movements that positioned outdoor activities and woodcraft at the forefront of their training programmes for good citizenship. Thus, whether they were camping, cycling, hiking or swimming, with their patrols, with their friends or on their own, in wartime or in peacetime, members of youth movements were a regular feature of the English landscape throughout the thirty years from 1930 to 1960.

In encouraging their members to explore the landscape as a route to good citizenship, these organizations were responding to, and formed part of, a prominent national discourse in the mid-twentieth century that celebrated the central position of the countryside in understandings of Englishness. Indeed, when during the midst of war in 1941 the social investigative organization Mass Observation (MO) asked its panel of volunteer respondents 'What does Britain mean to you?' many respondents wrote evocatively of their love of England and of their enthusiasm for the English countryside; regularly recalling images of idyllic rural scenes in an attempt to describe what England meant to them. As one man wrote 'England … means Devonshire chess-board fields and red cliffs—the country back of the Sussex downs, and above all the little village of Salcombe in South Devon which is the most beautiful place I know.'[4] While another, this time a city dweller, described a typical English scene that was for him, despite his urban roots, dominantly rural in nature. He replied; 'The pleasant English scene, then, I record first. The leafy lanes of Warwickshire and Worcestershire, the peacefulness of the Cotswold country, the hills and mountains of the Lake District'.[5] In fact, MO found that the land or the countryside was the most frequently mentioned subject when respondents were asked about their feeling about Britain, while town scenes came seventh in this list.[6] While notably the MO respondents were asked to write about their feelings about Britain, a number chose to write about the English countryside. Similar evocations of the countryside can also be found in the pages of the periodicals of youth organizations throughout the mid-twentieth century. For example, in March 1949 Reg Gammon, a regular contributor to *The Scout* magazine, celebrated he fact that spring had arrived by recalling a 'typical' Sussex village scene. He wrote:

> In many a village church the loud cawing of the rooks in the elms about the church can be heard above the parson's voice or the singing of hymns and psalms. Perhaps you are too young or too modern and citified, to under-

> stand what I mean when I say that to my mind this is a sound more typical of England than any other.[7]

Paradoxically however, while the rural maintained a presence in the hearts and minds of youth organizations at this time, the mid-twentieth century also saw an important shift in role of the countryside; with the 'decline' of agriculture, the rise of outdoor recreations and the development of discourses of citizenship rooted in understandings of the relationship between the individual and the countryside. The growth of the popularity of youth organizations in the mid-century must therefore be understood within this context, in which the position of the countryside was undergoing significant change, while at the same time remaining entrenched in public consciousness as a symbol of English identity. This chapter will explore the impact of rural change on the position of the countryside in meanings of Englishness across the mid-century. It argues that, as larger numbers of people became impelled to discover the countryside, meanings of good citizenship became increasingly tied to the land. This was the context from which the growing popularity of youth movements emerged; a popularity that was cemented by the growing discussions of the protection of the landscape in the post-war period.

'The Authentic Nation': Englishness and the Countryside in the Mid-century

Historians have long acknowledged the central role of rural imagery in understandings of national identity in modern England. However, this attachment to the countryside was not a unique development of the twentieth century: a growing fondness of, and identification with, the rural sphere had long been an aspect of national pride and nostalgia and had flourished during the nineteenth century when industrialization arguably romanticized the difference between town and country living and served to undermine the economic importance of agriculture.[8] This led some to lament the lost rural society and take on a 'back to the land' philosophy.[9]

Romanticized notions of the countryside did intensify in the twentieth century, however, when social change and technological innovation dramatically impacted the lives of those living in both urban and rural areas. In particular, the social upheaval caused by the First World War led to an increasing rural nostalgia, as the government, media and wartime authors drew on pastoral images as a symbol of pre-war beliefs and values.[10] Such

imaginings continued in the interwar period. In his famous 1933 exploration of England, social commentator J.B. Priestley, wrote of the evocative nature of the English landscape and called upon a romantic conception of the rural past to explain his innate love of the countryside:

> I believe most of my pleasure in looking at the countryside comes from its more vague associations. Clamping the past on to the present, turning history and art into an exact topography, makes no appeal to me; I do not care where the battle was fought or the queen slept, nor out of what window the poet looked; but a landscape rich in these vague associations—some of them without a name—gives me a deep pleasure.[11]

The onset of the Second World War and the consequent emphasis on agricultural production only served to reinforce the importance of the rural in the hearts and minds of the nation. To the extent that, by the end of the war, Sonya Rose argues, the rural had been consolidated in the consciousness of the British public, with images of the countryside often used to represent the 'true nation'.[12] These sentiments led the way in the post-war period in both public and private debates concerning reconstruction and the agricultural sphere.[13] Throughout the mid-twentieth century then, the rural idyll, as a simply of the national past, remained central to English identity.

It is important to note, however, that in many ways the countryside was not simply a nostalgic image but a symbol of the future. Indeed, numerous scholars have argued that the emphasis on the romanticism of the rural idyll has been exaggerated.[14] Most prominently, Peter Mandler has challenged the idea that ideas about England in the interwar period were 'backward looking' and instead has suggested that a growing identification with the countryside at this time was more a 'post-urban' tendency, than a nostalgic yearning for a lost rural society,[15] while Paul Fussell has argued that during the First World War authors drew upon pastoral images as a symbol of a 'model world'.[16]

However, whether representative of a pastoral past or rural future, the rural idyll could only be evoked in direct opposition to constructed images of the urban, particularly in the 1930s when growing negative connotations of working-class urban life led some to romanticize about rural living. The growth of unemployment in the 1930s, alongside the persistence of urban poverty in some areas, meant that the image of the city became increasingly connected with the negative aspects of urban living. Such connotations are clear in George Orwell's 1937 exploration of England,

The Road to Wigan Pier. In the first chapter, Orwell described the moment when he left the industrialized area that he had been staying in and by train made his way into the open countryside:

> But quite soon the train drew into open country, and that seemed strange… for in the industrial areas one always feels that the smoke and filth must go on for ever … I had hardly been in the train half an hour, but it seemed a very long way from the Brookers' back-kitchen to the empty slopes of snow, the bright sunshine and the big gleaming birds.[17]

Juxtapositions between the virtues of country living and the gloominess of city life were also evident in the MO responses of 1941. For many of the respondents, the gloriousness of the countryside existed in comparison to an urban 'other'. The organization concluded from its findings that 'Above all England is memories; of homes and people, countryside and slum'[18] and went to on surmise that:

> it can safely be said that the nostalgia which people feel for the countryside of Britain combined with the uncomfortable thought of dirty cities and 'horrible roads plastered with advertisements' are closely parallel to the horrible feeling that Britain is a home in which all is not well.[19]

Two things are notable here. The first is how MO itself slips from discussing England and Britain interchangably. The second is the distinction between the romanticised rural setting and the image of the 'uncomfortable' urban world. Of course this geographical distinction is generalized. Rural areas also experienced abject poverty; similarly, not all of the urban working classes lived in these conditions, and, most importantly, experiences were extremely regionalized.[20] As Selina Todd identified, in the 1930s, in the Midlands and the southeast of England, a division appeared between areas of urban prosperity and rural poverty.[21] Nonetheless, it is clear that the downtrodden image of urban England was extremely poignant in maintaining public identification with the rural sphere in the mid-twentieth century. This is not also to suggest that urban images did not also hold significance. As Richard Weight has found, during the Second World War images of the character northern England were just as prominent in wartime national imagery.[22]

Moreover, the countryside invoked by the MO respondents was quite often regionally specific, with images of the tamed, rolling countryside of southern England, for example, the Sussex Downs or Devonshire, being

repeatedly mentioned. This reflects the tendency for a regional projection of national identity, with southern Englishness being dominant.[23] In contrast, as Dave Russell suggests, representations of the north of England have often been characterized as distinctly urban, despite the mixture of urban and rural identities in the north.[24] Therefore, when MO concluded that above all memories of England were of 'countryside and slum'[25] we see a socio-geographical understanding of England at play; the southern countryside compared to the northern city. Indeed, although central London represented for many the archetype of metropolitan life, images of urban working-class life, particularly of poverty and slum conditions were regularly located as being northern. This regional division is, of course, not an exact representation of life in England at this time. As Ben Jones has recently shown in his study of the working classes in the mid-twentieth century, despite the lived experience of poverty and slum conditions in the south, it was often the northern working-class communities which received attention and focus from contemporaries.[26] The representation of England gathered from the 1941 MO responses, therefore, reinforces the recent findings of historians who have explored the complexity of region and identity in the twentieth century.

There was, then, a popular identification with, and understanding of, the English countryside across the mid-twentieth century which was intricately bound up with representations of the urban, be that through worries over modernity or through a contrast of lifestyles. This is important, as the contrast between the two spheres remained prominent, at a time when the distinctiveness of the rural sphere was seen as being erased and the relationship between the countryside and the urban public was undergoing a fundamental change.

'The People's Playground': Outdoor Recreations and the Rural Idyll

In 1941 one respondent replied to the previously discussed MO survey on meanings of Britain as follows:

> Britain simply doesn't count. Britain is an artificial, man-made absurdity … But I love England, her fields, her woods, her homes, her Wordsworth. I love her soil and some of her cities. I love her rain and her sunshine (when I can get it) that's all mine and I'm proud of it. "England" means home.[27]

The depiction of England in this quotation is clearly of rural England, indeed while cities are mentioned, it is the land that remains central to the

respondent's understanding of home. The mention of the 'soil' in particular reveals the relationship between agriculture and the romanticism of the rural. Indeed agriculture had long played a central part in the mysticism of the rural idyll. In Stanley Baldwin's infamous 1924 address to the Royal Society of St George it was the agricultural nature of English villages that drew much of his admiration. He declared:

> To me, England is the country and the country is England … the tinkle of the hammer on the anvil in the country smithy, the corncrake on a dewy morning, the sound of the scythe against the whetstone, and the sight of a plough team coming over the brow of a hill.[28]

This was an admiration that went beyond political rhetoric and echoed across the period through other avenues, including advertising; for example, advertisements for Players cigarettes in the 1950s used the romanticized view of agriculture to extol the benefits of purchasing their brand. One in particular, depicted a female farm-worker taking a break from harvesting with Players cigarettes. While another portrays a couple picking fruit from the orchard, enjoying Players as they do so.[29] Popular advertisements such as these draw upon the healthy image of agricultural life to attract consumers. This is not to say that other images did not also hold sway in public imagination, but that the ideal of agricultural life was a strong one. The persistence of this image in national culture was paradoxical to say the least. While agriculture was a continued feature of national belonging, in reality the rural sphere was witnessing a large amount of change, with the decline of the importance of the agricultural sphere in the national economy and in the numbers of men working on the land, alongside increasing mechanization.

As a result, the twentieth century has often been characterized as a period of agricultural decline in which industrialization diminished the importance of agriculture and the prominence of the agricultural community in England.[30] Certainly, the mid-twentieth century saw significant change in the process of working on the land and a decline in the agricultural population. In Britain from 1921 to 1981, the number of men and women who made a living from agriculture fell from over 900,000, to slightly over 300,000.[31] This signifies the shift to a countryside that was no longer focused on agriculture, to the extent that, as a result of suburbanization, a large number of people living in the countryside by the end of the century rarely made a living from the land. Paradoxically, however, at a time when the importance of agricultural production was in decline, the

countryside gained increasing importance in a society that increasingly looked to the rural sphere as a place of leisure and consumption.

The pervasiveness of the rural idyll amongst the urban public thus must be understood in the context of the rising popularity of outdoor leisure pursuits at this time. In the interwar period rising real incomes and shorter working hours meant that most people had more money and more time to spend it.[32] At the same time, a growing ease of access to, and identification with, the countryside for urban people meant that the growth of the outdoor leisure movement was fast-paced. Many people were enticed to the countryside by the rural myth, which encouraged the belief that the countryside offered a healthier and more rewarding existence to that in towns. Portrayed as an 'antidote' to the ills of the city, the benefits of country life attracted many townspeople who wished to escape urban life. As one urban MO respondent made clear: 'Britain is a pleasant place to live in. Many of its cities and towns depress me, but they are easy to escape! There is so much variety, so many chances of finding something fresh'.[33] The belief in the innate healing qualities of the countryside together with the emphasis on national fitness in the late 1930s, through which government propaganda encouraged physical fitness as a duty of citizenship, led to countryside recreation being an increasingly attractive leisure pursuit.[34] This resulted in a growth in the numbers of organizations and people, who forged an identity within the open-air movement.

The popularity of leisure pursuits such as rambling, hiking, cycling and picnicking soared in the interwar period, as an increasing number of city-dwellers became impelled to 'discover' the countryside, and therefore a piece of their national heritage, for themselves. The growth in popularity of outdoor leisure activities following the First World War was staggering, as groups of ramblers, families of picnickers and lone hikers and cyclists became regular features of the English countryside. Activities such as cycling and rambling enjoyed a surge of popularity at this time, the latter attracting some 500,000 walkers each year and with sales figures for bicycles reaching 1.61 million in 1935.[35] In 1931, Rosa Ward, the Girl Guide Commissioner for Camping, acknowledged the growing popularity of outdoor recreations when she predicted that:

> This is to all appearances going to be a record year for camping. Never before have so many organisations existed for getting people out of doors, and never before have the advantages of an open air life been so boomed by the press.[36]

Similarly, in 1932, founder of the BSA, Robert Baden-Powell, informed the readers of the Boy Scout periodical, *The Scouter*, that the organization was at the forefront of the growing outdoor recreation movement. He declared:

> A few years ago, when Scouts first started hiking, very few outside our movement practiced it, and no one wore shorts. Look at them now! All over the country men are following your example in dress and in camp craft; no doubt, as they come to recognise your ready chivalry and kindly courtesy they will follow in that line also. Thus we shall have in a very short time a nation of healthy, happy, gentle men. Then will Britain be a better place to live in.[37]

However, despite Baden-Powell's assertion that the Scouts were somewhat trailblazers in their exploration of the countryside, in truth the popularity of outdoor recreation and identification with the English countryside, was not new: upper and middle class enthusiasts had been embracing the countryside as a site of leisure since well before the First World War.[38] The growth of working-class participation in the interwar period, as a result of economic and social shifts, was however notable.[39] In this sense, the interwar era provided a strengthened and more egalitarian outdoor movement than what had come before.[40] Alongside this, technological innovation in the form of the motor car and the bus eased access to the country for town-dwellers. In particular, advancements in rail and bus services transformed working-class involvement in outdoor recreations. For example, railway networks, such as the Southern Railway, provided cheap deals for working-class ramblers such as 'Go-as-you-please'[41] tickets that allowed them to make a return journey from a different train station than their outward destination; as well as organizing popular ramblers' excursions throughout the 1930s.[42] Offers such as these, along with improved bus services, were influential in 'placing the ordinary man on a mobile footing relative to the more opulent car owner'[43] and therefore in opening the countryside to the working classes.

Working class participation in countryside leisure pursuits, including rambling and cycling, was also made possible through the growth of a number of organizations that catered to the needs of the working class enthusiast. The YHA, the Ramblers Association (set up in 1935 but preceded by the National Council of Rambling Federation of 1931), the Cyclists Touring Club (1878), the Co-operative Holidays Association

(1893) and the Camping Club of Great Britain and Ireland (formed under a different name in the early 1900s and changed in 1919 under the presidency of Robert Baden-Powell), all gained popularity in the 1930s amongst the backdrop of the rising interest in outdoor activities, and in turn enabled large numbers of the working class to explore the countryside.[44] Such groups planned excursions, provided cheap accommodation and organized concessions for members, as well as defending the right of way of the public.[45] Specific figures for each individual organization are hard to find, but it is a general consensus amongst historians that the 1930s witnessed a general rise in membership of outdoor organizations.[46] Take the YHA as an example: it recorded a membership of 79,821 in 1938 having accumulated over 70,000 members in the space of seven years.[47] Another example of the growing popularity of outdoor recreations amongst the working classes is the growth of the Cyclists Touring Club (CTC) and another cycling organization the National Cyclists Union (NCU), which had attracted 60,000 members by 1938.[48] These movements were therefore highly important in facilitating a mass participation in an increasingly popular outdoor culture, gathering momentum and national attention in the interwar period. Furthermore, the numbers of men and women who participated in outdoor pursuits outside the framework of official organizations, going on independent rambling and cycling excursions is impossible to calculate.[49] Therefore, while outdoor recreation had existed before the First World War, never had it been so 'visible' in national culture, or existed on such a large scale as a 'mass' movement.

This had a striking effect on urban public identification with the countryside, as nineteenth-century romanticism surrounding the rural had been confined to those urbanites who had access to the countryside, namely the upper classes and cultural 'elite'.[50] The twentieth century, in contrast, saw the opening of the countryside to other classes and as a result the scope of people who had experience of, and therefore could identify, with the rural sphere widened. No longer was the rural a mystical, intangible notion of the past; now it was a physical presence in many people's lives. With this in mind the responses of the MO respondents become comprehensible. MO, and by extension the replies to its survey, was a predominantly middle-class organization with largely urban roots.[51] This being the case, the observers' impressions of and identification with the countryside reflect the changing relationship of the countryside and urban people. For example, the city-dweller who recalled the Cotswolds and the Lake District was drawing upon the leisure-focused countryside of the

mid-twentieth century. It stands to reason, therefore, that the image of the English countryside which was evoked by the respondents, and by in large the general public as well, was often, although not exclusively (as the Lake District example suggests) that of the southern commercial countryside. This can be partly attributed to the fact that it was, for the most part, the areas of the English countryside in the south of England which most benefited from the growth in outdoor leisure industries at this time, with conditions being less harsh and therefore more accessible to the inexperienced urban walker. Of course this is a generalization: some rural areas of the north, such as the Peak District, were to become symbolic of the countryside across this period.[52] Despite this, it is clear that images of arable farmland and the controlled landscape of the south were often linked with the rural idyll.

Following the Second World War societal shifts saw a changing pattern of leisure in the countryside. An intensification of pre-war trends saw car ownership increase, particularly in the 1950s (albeit slowly), which made day trips and weekend breaks to the countryside more accessible than they had been before.[53] Furthermore, the shortening of the working week and a continued increase in household average income meant that more people could take advantage of this.[54] As a result a wide variety of rural leisure activities gained popularity at this time, from the continued popularity of rambling and cycling to bird-watching and rock climbing.[55] There was also a rise of car-centred, family orientated leisure such as country drives, picnicking, and touring historic country estates.[56]

However, while the popularity of countryside recreation continued to grow, post-war shifts saw a decline in the membership and popularity of outdoor associations. The CTC, for example, saw its membership decrease from 35,000 in 1951 to 22,000 in 1967.[57] Arguably this was a result of the increased independence of urban enthusiasts who, with improvements in hostel provision, growing access to private vehicles and improved map-reading skills, were no longer reliant on movements such as the CTC to help them enter and navigate their way around the countryside.[58] Moreover, the emergence of increasingly varied leisure opportunities post-war amongst the working classes also contributed to the decline in membership.[59] The YHA on the other hand saw continued high levels of popularity at this time despite fluctuations in members, peaking in 1952 with 197,826 members.[60] The YHA, a less structured movement, maintained popularity for this reason. Being a cheap method of accommodation for those wishing to explore the countryside and providing family

membership meant that the organization attracted members in the family-orientated leisure environment of the 1950s.[61] Therefore, while countryside recreation remained as integral to the leisure of the urban public as it had been before the war, despite the anomaly of the YHA, traditional interwar recreations or at least membership of official clubs had weakened. This trend continued into the later part of the twentieth century.[62] It is clear that the growing popularity of outdoor recreations thus marked a distinctive shift in the public's relationship with the countryside in the mid-twentieth century. Youth organizations played a significant part in this by encouraging children and young people to explore the countryside and facilitating access for their members. It is to the history of these youth organizations that this chapter will now turn.

The Popularity of Youth Movements

Born out of anxieties over Britain's moral, physical and military weakness the Boy Scout movement was founded in 1907 by Robert Baden-Powell, a veteran of the South African War, famously hero of the Siege of Mafeking, and aimed to provide constructive recreation for boys and prepare them for future citizenship.[63] Baden-Powell outlined his plan for the movement in the 1908 Boy Scout Handbook *Scouting for Boys* and warned that influences such as gambling, alcohol, intellectualism and a preoccupation with women were leading to the degeneration of the British male. The Scouting regime tackled the negative effects of such influences including indifference, self-indulgence and physical deficiency through a system of training in both character and physical health.[64] Under the motto 'Be Prepared' Scouting targeted these problems with a programme consisting of a range of outdoor activities and camp craft, and through this aimed to instil typical 'masculine' virtues in young boys including a 'pioneering' spirit, bravery, resourcefulness and obedience as well as a patriotic attitude.

As members of the movement, boys were also required to follow a number of rules, which were called the 'Scout Law' and swear allegiance to the movement by reciting the Scout oath. Scouting ideology promoted positivity, loyalty, truthfulness, politeness and thrift, which were aspects of 'character' that were considered highly important to becoming a good citizen. These attributes were historicized by Baden-Powell in *Scouting for Boys* as being the attributes learned from the 'real *men*'[65] of days past. He wrote; 'The History of the Empire has been made by British adventurers and explorers, the Scouts of the nation, for hundreds of years past up to

the present time.'[66] Drawing upon the romantic heroism of past figures, crusaders and adventurers such as the Knights of King Arthur or John Smith, Baden-Powell directly linked the protection and expansion of the Empire with the masculine attributes above.

The concept of service and duty to the British Empire was of utmost importance to the movement and these characteristics were seen as important in not only strengthening the standard of British manhood, but in protecting the British Empire from a number of threats. He wrote in *Scouting for Boys* that:

> Every boy ought to learn how to shoot and to obey orders; else he is no more good when war breaks out than an old woman, and merely gets killed like a squealing rabbit, being unable to defend himself.[67]

It was therefore down to the young boys of Britain to prepare to face the threats ahead of them and Scouting, he believed, was the best way to do so. The book and the movement in general were therefore a response to the national anxieties over masculinity and empire at the start of the twentieth century.[68]

Baden-Powell also saw an important role for girls, albeit a very distinct and separate role to the one he envisioned for boys. While the Scouts were to be the vanguard in the attack against an increasingly weakening society and a youth army lying in wait to defend the country, girls were to fulfil the motherly and nurturing role of caretaker and homemaker. Baden-Powell, in the handbook, drew on the legacies of famous nurses and missionaries such as Florence Nightingale to prove that girls had an important but different role in the future of the British Empire.[69] However, despite this recognition, Baden-Powell did not immediately create a sister movement or include girls in Scouting activities. The Girl Guides were only formed a couple of years after the Scouts, the impetus for which came from girls themselves who wanted the opportunity to belong to the movement and enjoy the same activities as boys.[70] After the publication of *Scouting for Boys* it is estimated by early Guide histories that around 2000 girls registered as Scouts using only their initials in their application to mask their gender.[71] Baden-Powell could not ignore this demand especially following the famous incident at the Crystal Palace official rally in 1909, when a number of girls joined in wearing shorts and labelling themselves as 'Girl Scouts'.[72] As a response the Scouting movement 'opened its tents to girls'[73] a year later in 1910 with the official formation of the Girl

Guides under the leadership of Agnes Baden-Powell (later succeeded by Olave Baden-Powell) and its official handbook, *The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire*, was published in 1912.

Meanings of good citizenship within the movement were directly gendered, with the handbook defining a distinctly feminized form of Scouting. Despite participating in similar activities the end aim of the movements were to cultivate and inculcate specific feminized and masculine traits. In 1912 the Girl Guide Handbook warned against girls trying to act and play like boys. It declared:

> An imitation diamond is not as good as a real diamond; an imitation fur coat is nothing like as good as a real fur. Girls will do no good by imitating boys. Do not be a bad imitation. It is far finer to be a real girl, such as no boy can be. One loves a girl who is sweet and tender, and who can gently soothe when wearied with pain. Some girls like to do Scouting, but Scouting for girls is not the same as for boys. The chief difference in the training of the two courses of instruction is that Scouting for boys makes for MANLINESS, but the training for Guides makes for WOMANLINESS, and enables girls the better to help in the battle of life.[74]

Here the role of girls is clear—they were to be the nurturing and gentle comrades of men.[75] Interestingly the use of the term 'battle' in this quote suggests that while Guiding was taking the training provided by Scouting away from the military landscape, the skills learnt would be useful for a girl in preparing for the struggles of the future. These 'struggles' were depicted as being of similar importance to those that boys might face, but different. This difference is evidenced in some of the changes made by the Guide movement to Scout tradition. For example, some merit badges were changed to reflect these ideas, including the 'Missioner' badge for Scouts that became the 'Sick Nurse' for Girls, while others with distinctly domestic purposes were added such as the 'Laundry' badge.[76] The names of patrols also indicate the gendered difference between the two movements, with names for Guide patrols being chosen because of their feminine connotations: flowers were popular, for example 'Rose', 'Cornflower' and 'lily-of-the-valley'.[77] Furthermore, girls were also subject to restrictive and feminine uniforms, prohibited from marching with Scouts and were, in some case, prohibited from camping outdoors.[78] This displeased many Guides, who disliked the restrictions that ideas surrounding appropriate femininity placed on their Scouting experience. It was particularly disappointing for some girls who joined the movement in hopes of becoming a 'Girl Scout' and experi-

encing the adventure and excitement Scouting offered to boys. As one 'Girl Scout' recounted 'One can still remember the feeling of anti-climax, of being let-down, almost insulted. Who wanted to be womanly at our age?'[79]

The title of the Girl Guide handbook clearly outlines the reasoning behind this 'feminine' form of Scouting. While the improvement of boys was essential for the defence of the Empire, girls, on the other hand, were to be depended upon to propagate the future citizens of the Empire.[80] It was this imperial ideology, which saw the strict separation of boys and girls within the Scouting movement and the emphasis on the role of girls as future wives, and mothers. The Guide handbook declared that:

> It is in your power to make or to spoil the British nation. … As women have the bringing up and teaching of the little ones, they wield a great power. As citizens, you can help make every child into a good citizen. You can also help to keep up the moral standard of the nation.[81]

Notions of service and of good citizenship in the early Baden-Powell movements were, therefore, highly gendered. Despite this the movements did follow a similar structure to the extent that large sections of the Guide handbook had been directly lifted from *Scouting for Boys*.[82]

The Scouting movements attracted boys and girls of all ages from 10 to 15 with younger branches, the Cubs and the Brownies, being formed at the start of the First World War and elder branches, catering for those older than 15, formed just after the war. As such, from the interwar period onwards the movement included members from the ages of 7 to 18-plus. Members were encouraged to progress to the next level when they were ready, creating a kind of Scouting life-cycle depending not just on age but on character progression and indicated by a shift in uniform.[83]

Under the motto 'Be Prepared', the movements embraced outdoor life as a way of teaching young people their role and duties as future citizens. They did this through regular group meetings, rallies and camping trips where boys and girls were educated in different technical skills. Proficiency badges could be earned if one excelled in a certain area and when considered ready members were encouraged to go for their Second Class and then later on their First Class test, which assessed how skilled they were and how much they had retained from their experience. Passing these tests then meant that one could become Patrol Leader, and further progression could be explored in adulthood by taking on roles of further leadership through becoming Scouters or Guiders. The Scouting system, therefore, encouraged self-improvement and upward mobility through a series of

tests and rewards. The movements also encouraged members to elevate their 'citizenship' through participating in a 'good turn', which simply entailed an unselfish action or thought to help or lend a hand to a member of the national or local community (whether they wanted it or not).

After their genesis before the First World War, the movements saw a number of organizational changes across the mid-twentieth century. In the 1930s one notable change was the growing internationalism of the movements, with a growth in membership and cooperation around the globe. This burgeoning internationalism saw the move away from traditional military leanings in the Scout movement and a turn away from overt discussions of Empire. The membership of the Girl Guides, too, expanded, as a result of increasingly widespread technologies such as the radio, which allowed Guides to communicate with one another. This, Kristine Alexander argues, fostered an 'interwar imperial internationalism' which encouraged cooperation and sisterly goodwill amongst girls on an international setting.[84] Following the death of Baden-Powell in 1941 the movements also saw organizational reconstruction and changes to uniform, the handbook and a number of tests and certificates. Despite such shifts it can be asserted that, for the most part, the organizations maintained many of the practices originated at the genesis of the movements.[85]

If the Girl Guides were a product of demands for a 'Girl Scout' movement, the Woodcraft Folk (or the Federation of Co-operative Woodcraft Fellowship), could be labelled the 'Labour Scouts',[86] a name given previously to its ideological predecessor the Kibbo Kift. The Folk followed similar organizational and practical structures as the Baden-Powell movements, although the movement differed hugely in ideology, its motto being 'Be Strong! Live Kindly! Love the sun and follow the trail.'[87] The Woodcraft was a socialist movement formed in 1925 by nineteen-year-old Leslie Paul, which aimed to supply working-class youth with access to the improving leisure of the countryside where they could escape the confines of industrial society and learn about the ways of socialism.[*]

In 1930 the Woodcraft publication, *Herald of the Folk*, declared that the movement 'believed that it was possible to organise society so that everyone had his just share of the necessities and the pleasures of life. There was the desire to see everyone enjoying 'life in a garden'.[88] Encompassing many

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*The Woodcraft Folk in the 21st century remains a non-party political educational, empowerment and advocacy movement for children and young people. It is open to all, with the aim of building an environmentally sustainable world built on children's and human rights, equality, friendship, peace, economic and social justice and co-operation.

of the activities of the Scouts, including camping, hiking and skills tests, the movement emphasized Woodcraft above all as the most important aspect of the regime and sought to influence children so that a new generation might arise 'with eyes to see the sun'.[89] The Woodcraft Folk were, however, less wedded to ideas of Englishness than the Baden-Powell organization and instead it took a particularly romantic view on Native American culture, with many tribal stories, ceremonies and exercises celebrating the tribal and primitive lifestyle, although these aspects declined from about 1934 onwards when the movement began to distance itself from its predecessors.[90] Originally aimed at those who were in their early teens to their mid-twenties, it became particularly popular within the 10–15 age bracket. This group, labelled the 'Pioneers', made up the majority of the Woodcrafts' membership, while the 'Elfins' (aged 10 or under) and the 'Kinfolk' or 'Hardihoods' (for members over 16) were less popular.[91]

There were many differences, between the Baden-Powell movements and the Woodcraft, both ideological and organizational. One of the most notable of these was the co-educational nature of the Woodcraft which was, at the time, one of the few youth groups to practice mixed-sex activities. As historian Bruce Leslie points out, the co-educational nature of the movement was never discussed, or called upon, by those in the movement, it was simply considered to be the first small steps towards the commitment of the movement to social change.[92] Therefore, while gender was a divisive aspect in experiences of Scouting, it was less so within the Woodcraft. The movements also differed greatly in ideology. The leaders of the Woodcraft believed that the Scouts were simply trying to conserve the old order of society by training working class youth in the ways that the middle class founders of the movement believed they should behave. The Woodcraft was, on the other hand, 'the cultural and educational expression of the working masses'.[93] A quote from a 1930 issue of the monthly Woodcraft magazine *The Herald of the Folk* illustrates the view that the movement was recruiting youth in an ideological battle against the forces of the conventional order (the Scouts). The author wrote that:

> Soon the cleavage will become sharp: there will be two great educational organisations—the Scouts on the one hand, standing for Imperialism and the old order of life, and on the other—the Folk, the cultural avant garde of the new world that science offers us.[94]

The movement also disagreed with what they saw as the highly imperialist and militaristic tendencies of the early Boy Scout movement and,

being pacifist in nature, was highly critical of this. In 1942 a report by the Woodcraft on the prospects for post-war camping accused the Scout movement of training young people to be the mindless instruments of the government. In outlining the main organizations which explore the countryside the council reported: 'The Scouts, etc. whose camping ideas were to produce healthy youngsters to be used without question by the government for any purpose it wished, including, of course, the most obvious one of cannon fodder.'[95] A quote from an earlier issue of *The Herald of the Folk* in 1930 outlined the key grievances the Woodcraft had with the Scouting movement. Talking of the Scouts the author wrote:

> This body claims to be the 'national' movement, but its definite policy has alienated large sections of the community. It prides itself on its war-work; it has been exploited by folk of the dominating "conservator" classes and it is thoroughly unsympathetic with democratic and 'modernist' thought; it is allied to the official Churches; and it taboos the very idea of co-education.[96]

While an article from a separate 1930 issue declared 'we are rebels while the Scouts are constitutionalists'.[97] Here then we see a consciousness of modernity within the Woodcraft. Following the thought that modernism was connected to liberalism they saw their democratic ideals in opposition to the 'traditional' Boy Scouts.

The different movements did utilize similar methods however, particularly through the philosophy of 'learning by doing'. Both promoted highly physical programmes and attempted to educate young people in their future roles as good citizens of the nation through this activity. The Woodcraft movement was highly impressed by Scouting's ability to capture the imagination of youth and adopted a similar regime.[98] As Paul wrote in 1930:

> The whole of the work of the Folk has this 'active' orientation. They believe that sitting children down and talking to them is only a secondary part of education; real education comes from activity – play – making things – dramatic work – dancing and singing and dressing up – learning to look after oneself in the open – these are the real education.[99]

In so doing the Woodcraft was initiating young working-class people into a growing culture that situated left-wing politics within the countryside.[100] There was, therefore, an understanding that young people required

education alongside formal schooling to prepare them for the future. Understandings of what form future roles would take differed, however; in this case, as a result of political stance.

By contrast the Young Farmers' Club movement was, while politically motivated, less overt and partisan than the Woodcraft. Political thought within the movement often reflected the tendency of the wider agricultural community to support the party who best met the interests of agriculture. Of the four movements that are the subject of this study, the YFC was the only one to cater explicitly to a rural audience. Under the motto 'Good Farmers, Good Countrymen, Good Citizens' this co-educational organization aimed to stimulate a vocational interest in agriculture and encourage good rural citizenship by encouraging a keen interest in agricultural life and active involvement within the rural community.

The first Young Farmers' Club opened in 1922 in Hemyock, Devon, and the movement grew across the 1920s, developed by the Ministry of Agriculture until 1929, when responsibility for the clubs was passed to the National Council for Social Services.[101] In 1932 the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs was formed and from then on the movement saw slow but steady growth, with the number of clubs increasing from 100 in 1932 to 412 in 1939.[102] The clubs, in theory, accepted membership from anyone aged between 10 and 25, regardless of occupation, social class or agricultural background, although this had not always been the case, with the keeping of livestock being a condition of membership in the 1920s.[103]

At a time of increasing agricultural migration the movement aimed to encourage young people to stay and take up an agricultural career by instilling in its members the importance of their future role on the land through a programme of educational activities. Alongside this, the movement aimed to also train future farmers in increasingly specialized and scientific forms of farming. Of course these clubs were not the only avenue of agricultural education for young people; membership could be pursued alongside an apprenticeship scheme or national diploma, but it was an important one nonetheless. Additionally, membership was not restricted to those who aimed to take up a career in farming; members could simply participate as a hobby in leisure time.

All four of these youth movements were subject to fluctuating membership rates across the mid-century. In the 1930s membership was generally high, with the YFCs and the Woodcraft seeing a steady rise in membership across the period. This suggests that popularity increased as the outdoor

movement continued to take hold. By contrast however, while the Baden-Powell movements maintained dominance in terms of numbers, they saw a dramatic fall in membership in the period from 1934 to 1937. By 1938 the Scouts had recovered from this, being only 254 members behind its 1934 figure at 533,130. The Guides, on the other hand, were still dramatically behind their early 1930s membership having 72,447 members fewer than in 1934. This is significant, both Scouting and Guiding histories have emphasized the growth in membership in the interwar period, but a closer look at the period from 1934 to 1937 suggests that the popularity of both movements was actually in decline, although the Boy Scouts had recovered by the outbreak of war in 1939.[104] Nonetheless, in terms of members the Baden-Powell movements were unsurpassed by any other youth organization in this period and as such Tammy Proctor's suggestion that 'In many ways the Scouts and the Guides defined youth in interwar Britain'[105] is correct.[106]

The onset of war saw a significant decline in membership in nearly all the movements' due to restrictions of wartime, particularly on camping. In the first year of war Woodcraft membership dropped by over 50 per cent and the Scouts and Guides also saw a decline from their pre-war figures. In contrast, the YFC prospered with the onset of war. While actual club membership is difficult to obtain, the number of clubs and membership of the National Federation grew steadily in the first years of war and continued to do so afterwards. For example, the number of YFCs rose from 412 in 1939 to 1234 in 1945 (a rise of 300 per cent). This was a result of the importance of agricultural work in the war effort, the encouragement of young people to 'lend a hand on the land' and of course the influx of people from urban areas into the countryside via evacuation and the Land Army, which increased the number who were available to join the movement, and highlighted the importance of the agricultural training it provided. The other movements, too, experienced a rise in membership in the later years of war. This increase in membership for these movements at various points in the war can be understood as rooted in ideas of 'service' and symptomatic of the encouragement of youth to join in with the war effort. The Woodcraft was somewhat of an exception to this, as will be discussed in Chap. 6.

In general the immediate post-war period saw a steady rise of membership of these movements, with some notable exceptions. The Guide movement saw a decline in numbers after the war up until 1949 but from then on figures continued to grow until 1960. However, even at its post-war

peak Guide membership could never fully recapture the numbers of the interwar period and particularly its peak of 1933. The Scouts on the other hand, apart from a distinct drop in 1947 (most likely an effect of the introduction of conscription) and a few anomalies, for the most part saw continual growth across the post-war period, reaching its peak in 1960. The popularity of the Guides in comparison to the Scouts has often been noted by historians, however, the post-war period provides an anomaly in this case when across the 1950s the Scouts maintained higher membership than the Guides. This, I would suggest, is a direct result of gendered practices of leisure and will be discussed in Chap. 5 of this study. The popularity of the Baden-Powell movements at this time can be seen in comparison with the continually low membership figures of the Woodcraft across the post-war period. This suggests that while in the interwar period the Woodcraft were relatively popular in in the distinctive political climate of the period, a shift towards relative affluence post-war led to a decline in popularity. On the other hand YFCs membership grew, and peaked at 55,100 club members in 1955. Following this, both club membership and federation membership gradually declined. This decline can be attributed to the easier availability of transport and leisure opportunities, as well as the diminishing number of people working in agriculture.

Of course, such figures are troublesome, being patchy and lacking detailed nuances of region, age and gender. Membership was indeed regionally specific. The Scouting movements attracted members from across England but were most popular in urban areas, the Young Farmers' Clubs members mainly came from a rural background from the south-east of England and the Woodcraft was more popular in the urban areas of southern England.[107] Despite this, the figures do reveal interesting trends. For example, that on the eve of the cultural explosion of the 1960s the 'traditional' Boy Scout movement had attracted more members than ever. This supports Jim Gledhill's reinterpretation of the dominant narrative of the youth and social change in post-war period.[108] Furthermore, the failure of the Girl Guides to attract membership numbers to match its peak in the 1930s suggests that across the period, the popularity of organized youth movements amongst girls was weaker than amongst boys and that restrictions on female leisure continued across this period. Finally, overall these figures suggest something interesting regarding the declining popularity of organized outdoor recreations at this time. While historians have noted this phenomenon, if one looks at youth movements a continuing popularity of movements based in the countryside is clearly visible. Of

course there are issues of life-cycle stage here; as we will see later, the movements were often more popular with younger members and found difficulty attracting a 'teen' membership. Nonetheless, this popularity still suggests an identification with and enthusiasm for the rural sphere.

There is also an interesting distinction to be made between the class compositions of these movements, which differed. Historians, particularly Springhall, initially considered membership of the Baden-Powell movements to be principally middle class.[109] This opinion has been challenged, most notably by Proctor who, through a detailed study of the statistics and records of three differing counties in England, unveiled the cross-class membership of the organization, which attracted both working-class and middle-class members, although the latter did predominate.[110] This was certainly a view encouraged by the movements themselves, with the fourth Scout law being 'A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what social class the other belongs.'[111] How far this was the case however is questionable. While the popularity of the movements amongst middle-class members has been documented, a study of the movements' publications also reveals a conflict between 'school' groups (largely middle class) and ordinary groups. The extent to which cross-class harmony was achieved within the movement can therefore be questioned, with group activities being divisive in terms of experience.

Similarly, the YFCs membership also considered itself to be attractive to all those who were interested in the workings of the farm. However, the majority of members were usually the sons or daughters of farmers. A 1944 survey of 27 counties found that 49 per cent of YFC members were the sons or daughters of farmers while only 20 per cent were the sons and daughters of farm workers.[112] This suggests that membership was largely middle class. In comparison, the Woodcraft actively sought members from the working classes, although it attracted membership largely from the upper working classes. Its programmes and activities specifically provided cheap and easy access for young people with limited means. Here, then, we see a group of movements that attracted members from both the middle-class and the working class.

We have seen how the movements differed in aim, membership and popularity across the period, but consideration should be given to the similarities between them. Two are notable: Firstly, a strand of internationalism ran through the majority of these movements with the Scouting organizations, the YFCs and the Woodcraft encouraging their members to take part in an international community; this will be discussed further in

Chap. 6. Secondly, all four placed significant emphasis on the landscape as a place of renewal and a site of citizenship development, particularly for young people. In doing so, the movements were placing themselves alongside a broader rhetoric of the mid-century, which increasingly saw meanings of citizenship that were tied to the rural sphere. It is to the development of the 'country-conscious citizen' in the mid-twentieth century that this chapter will now turn.

The 'Country-Conscious' Citizen: Landscape and Citizenship in the Mid-century

We have seen how the relationship between the countryside and the English people was in transition in the mid-twentieth century with more and more urbanites visiting rural areas for purposes of leisure. The shift away from the countryside as exclusively a site of production and towards its use as a leisure space had a deep impact on the relationship between the countryside and the public. Importantly, this shift brought to the fore issues over authority and use, with questions of whom and what the countryside was for becoming increasingly pressing as more and more urban people laid claim to the countryside as a site of leisure.

In August 1942 the government published the Scott Report, following the Royal Commission into land utilization in rural areas. The questions at hand were simple: How could the government best protect rural communities and amenities and how should the countryside be reconstructed after the war? The report was the work of a number of key figures in agricultural life, including chairman Sir Leslie Frederic Scott, member and executive of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, vice chairman Laurence Dudley Stamp, and Lady Gertrude Mary Denman, well known for her roles in the Women's Institutes, as Director of the Women's Land Army and as head of the women's branch of the Ministry of Agriculture. It paints a pretty dismal picture of the state of the land in England and Wales, drawing attention to the drift of young workers away from agriculture, forced out by low wages and poor living conditions, shortages in housing, a lack of sufficient schooling and the decline of village life and community.

The report also describes the threat of urban influence over the countryside, including the growing sprawl of suburbia and the damage caused by an ever-growing number of urban pleasure-seekers. The committee was fully aware of the shift, which had occurred over the first half of the

century, with leisure overtaking agriculture in importance. If this trend were to continue, it asked, how might the problem of leisure be tackled? This 'problem of leisure' had two aspects. Firstly, how to prevent the anti-social, landscape-damaging behaviour of urban picnickers? Secondly, how to settle this problem while facilitating access for all? The report envisioned the countryside as a vital part of creating a better post-war world, but, for it to be so, such questions needed to be answered.[113] These issues had not sprung up in wartime, but had been fermenting since the end of the First World War and even before then. As Harvey Taylor argues in his history of the outdoor movement, the popularity of outdoor recreations had grown not exclusively out of the romanticism of the rural idyll but out of the long-standing tradition of the rhetoric of rights.[114]

The interwar influx of pleasure-seeking urbanites into the countryside had served to intensify existing conflicts between town and country. Chiefly, the problem of disrespectful and selfish behaviour on behalf of day-trippers was the cause of much anger and annoyance. Regular instances of trespassing, littering and flower picking led to allegations of the misuse and destruction of the countryside from visitors who either did not care about, or were unaware of, the consequences of their actions. This kind of behaviour was detailed in the Scott Report:

> From the countryman's point of view the townsman often exhibits a regrettable lack of manners… he frequently does not understand country ways or needs; he tramples down the crops; he leaves gates open; or he lets his dog roam over sheep-grazing country. Quite unconsciously he even destroys the very beauty he comes to seek by carrying home armfuls of wild flowers and scattering litter over the land.[115]

This had been an issue throughout the interwar period, and was close to the heart of contemporary commentators who spoke vehemently on the topic of the spoliation of the countryside. In 1928 Clough Williams Ellis, an influential figure in the National Parks movement, wrote emotionally on the topic of the destruction of the countryside. He declared, 'In the late war we were invited to fight to preserve England. We believed, we fought… We saved our country that we might ourselves destroy it.'[116] Echoing his apocalyptic tone Sheila Kaye-Smith, a novelist concerned with rural issues, commented nearly ten years later, 'The countryside has been opened to all, both for Sunday recreation and for the healthy and peaceful spending of life's last leisure. But how much of it will be there to benefit the next generation?'[117]

But who were these destructors and how did contemporaries hope to curb their impact? This is an important issue. As D.N. Jeans asserts, arguments over the countryside were 'bound up with claims to cultural authority over its value and purpose',[118] who and what the countryside was for. Firstly and arguably most importantly, the people who were showing such lack of manners and courtesy were, in the majority of cases, represented as being urban. Arguments over the preservation of the countryside have, therefore, been read as battles between the urban and rural, the city and countryside. As Matless notes, the 'anti-citizen' by nature was characterized geographically as an urbanite and more frequently a 'cockney', disregarding the fact that many visitors were from other areas.[119]

There are also representations of class at play here, with the damage to the countryside being largely considered to be the responsibility of the 'uneducated' working classes who, from the interwar period onwards, could enter the countryside relatively cheaply. This caused a backlash from middle-class and upper-class conservationists and 'resident trippers' who were interested in protecting the countryside for the select few.[120] However, while landowners were concerned with trespassing, and were keen to block the large numbers of urban walkers exploring their land, many of the individuals living in rural areas could benefit handsomely from the outdoor movement. Farmers could benefit financially by catering to visitors through cafés and tearooms or by providing lodging and meals for ramblers and cyclists.[121] Importantly, many new trades and jobs opened up as villages had to cope with the large numbers of tourists who would visit. For example, tearooms and souvenir shops emerged around the south of England, whilst petrol stations, garages and repair shops were built to tend to the many vehicles passing through.[122] Even the Scott Report surmised: 'Some have said that a judicious mixture of town and country in this way has been a good means of revivifying rural life and bringing back prosperity to the countryside.'[123] The preservation of the countryside was, therefore, predominantly a class issue, and the conflicts that emerged were rooted in class difference. The countryside, previously the preserve of the elite, was now open to all, and this caused disgruntlement to those who disliked the effect that the working classes were having on the land.[124]

Symbolic of this class distinction was the membership of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (CPRE), an organization formed in 1926 with the aim of protecting the countryside from outside threats. Membership was drawn from academics, prominent public figures and the rural elite, who were all keen to preserve the countryside and protect it

from the looming figure of the mass public.[125] The vehement concern of conservationists did not, therefore, represent the majority view of countryside residents but that of a select few attempting to protect the countryside from working-class influence. Nowhere is this more evident than in the 'battles' between urban ramblers and landowners over the 'right to roam' in the interwar period as tensions over rights to land grew. At this time, fury over the fact that ramblers were denied access to open moorland in the north of England resulted in a number of 'mass trespasses' taking place in an attempt to contest the issues over rights of way.[126] The best-known examples of this were the 'mass trespasses' in the Pennines at the beginning of the 1930s, organized by the working class ramblers' associations.[127]

It became increasingly clear that tide of urban pleasure-seekers could not be turned and the issue became not how to halt the influx of visitors, but how to guard the land from its 'destructors'. As the Scott Committee concluded in 1942:

> It had also become obvious that the townsman's demands on the country were no mere passing fashion, and that from now on he is likely to claim his place there and demand that he should be given all reasonable facilities for the enjoyment of what, after all, is the heritage of all.[128]

The basis of the post-war attitude to access and protection of the countryside therefore followed the principle pronounced in 1942: 'The principle that the countryside is the heritage of all involves the corollary that there must be facility of access for all.'[129] This was not just a result of the Scott Report, however, but a culmination of factors. The Labour Party had consistently supported access for all to the countryside in the interwar period.[130] But in the post-war period, in the shadow of the recent 'People's War', it became difficult for anyone to argue that the countryside should continue to be restricted in such a way as it had been.[131] The National Parks and Access to Countryside Act came into being in 1949. When the Member of Parliament Lewis Silkin introduced the second reading of the Bill he asserted, 'This is not just a Bill. It is a people's charter—a people's charter for the open air.'[132] From 1951 to 1956 ten National Parks were set up in Britain, which meant that these areas were now areas of national importance and subject to protection but also visitation from all those who so wished.[133]

Despite enthusiasm for the Bill, however, particularly from the CPRE, the issue of access and guardianship was a particularly troublesome for

contemporary commentators. A number were critical of the movement towards National Parks in the post war period, as they believed it would only further intensify the problem, following Ellis' assertion in 1928 that 'The National Trust is England's executor'.[134] Despite criticism, the creation of National Parks in the post-war period was part of the wider nationalization of the protection of rural areas. Alongside this was the introduction of the Country Code in 1951. Produced by the National Parks Commission, it outlined several simple rules of behaviour that, if followed, would prevent the destruction of the countryside and improve relations between town and country. The simple code of conduct was as follows:

Guard against all risk of fire
Fasten all gates
Keep dogs under proper control
Keep to the paths across farmland
Avoid damaging fences, hedges and walls
Leave no litter
Safeguard water supplies
Protect wild life, wild plants and trees
Go carefully on country roads
Respect the life of the countryside.[135]

The code, therefore, clearly condemned the acts of carelessness that it was believed were so often exhibited by urban visitors. It was advertised all over the country and every single citizen was expected to treat the countryside with the levels of respect set out in the code; the preservation and protection of the countryside becoming central to ideas of citizenship on a national scale. At the same time the rise of the *Keep Britain Tidy* campaign cemented the idea that litter was a national problem and that it was the duty of the citizen to keep the country safe and free of litter. Preservation of the countryside, therefore, moved from being an issue that concerned a particular social stratum in the interwar period to being one that was of national importance and the duty of every single citizen. By providing access to all, through National Parks, the government made it possible to pass the duty of looking after the countryside to the general public. Within this context, we see the development of a meaning of public citizenship, which Matless has termed 'landscaped citizenship', that at its core held the epitome of good citizenship to be maintaining a good relationship to the countryside and the people within it. The good citizens

were placed in opposition to the anti-citizen, exhibiting care and thoughtfulness in their countryside conduct.[136]

Throughout the period from 1930 to 1960, then, tensions of class and regional conflict played themselves out in the rural sphere as large numbers of people from the towns entered the country for leisure. Successive governments faced a paradoxical situation, with calls for the protection and preservation of the countryside at the same time as calls for access for all. Following the suggestions of the Scott Report, behaviour in the countryside became nationalized to a degree it had never been before. The creation of National Parks in 1949 and the production of the Country Code in 1951 codified a new kind of citizenship, which officially labelled the countryside as the responsibility of all.

It was within this discourse of citizenship that youth movements developed their training and education for their members. Indeed, a study of all four movements reveals a consistent understanding of citizenship that was linked to the rural sphere, resulting from the continued national identification with the countryside and urban association with the land. In youth movements of the mid-twentieth century, this 'mythical' presence of the English countryside was overt. Evident in their rhetoric, training and publications was the idea that the rural landscape was the ideal background on which to teach young people their duties as members of the nation and instruct them in good citizenship; this was continuous across the thirty-year period from 1930 to 1960. As such, the countryside was portrayed as a place that could combat the ills of urban modernity and produce a generation of young people who were prepared to protect the landscape from an encroaching metropolitan force. Therefore, while the English countryside resonated in the hearts and minds of the urban public at this time as a place of historical permanence, these movements saw the countryside as a battleground. A landscape on which the fight for the soul of 'modern' youth could be fought and ultimately won; parallel to this there was another fight to be won: that between the countryside and an encroaching urban modernity, a battle in which youth could play a vital role.

Conclusion

This chapter has asserted that through the mid-twentieth century the English countryside continued to play a central role in understandings of Englishness, as a site of historical and moral permanence. Alongside this, however, the rural sphere saw a large amount of change. For this study the

most important of these was the shifting relationship between the public and countryside. The growth of the outdoor leisure industry allowed access to, and an identification with, the countryside, which many had not had the opportunity to have before. This reinforced the role of the countryside in the hearts and minds of the nation. At the same time, however, the shifting purpose of the countryside led to an increased concern over modern encroachments on the land and the decline of agriculture. The apparent destruction of the countryside and the loss of so-called 'authentic' rural culture led some to lament the effect of modernity upon the land. This had a significant impact on discourses of citizenship at this time, a strand of which became heavily centred on countryside activity and behaviour. Similarly, discussion on the use and ownership of the countryside led to a growing rhetoric of rights. This set up an understanding of good citizenship that was centred on a mutually respectful relationship between the public and the land. While people were expected to respect the countryside and follow specific rules regarding their conduct, there was also a mounting belief that the countryside was the heritage of all and that, as such, the government should facilitate access for all.

It was within this context that youth movements developed, placing their training, activities and sense of citizenship against the backdrop of this rhetoric. Consequently, despite differences in class make-up, purpose and in activities, all of these movements directly encouraged an understanding of good citizenship, which was intricately centred upon a mutually respectful relationship with the countryside. This study will explore this relationship looking at the training provided by these movements and the role of the countryside within it. It will do so by studying the training provided for four spheres of adolescent life in the mid-twentieth century, those of leisure, work, the home and the community.

Notes

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4. MOA, FR 878, 'What does Britain mean to you?', 20 September 1941, pp. 5–6.

5. MOA, FR 878, p. 6.
6. MOA, FR 904, 'Article for "World Review": "What Britain means to me", 8 October 1941, p. 9.
7. *The Scout*, 31 March 1949, p. 417.
8. M. Wiener, *English culture and the decline of the industrial spirit 1850–1980* (London: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 47.
9. J. Marsh, *Back to the Land: the pastoral impulse in England, from 1880 to 1914* (London: Quartet: 1982).
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11. J.B. Priestley, *English Journey* (London: Mandarin, 1994. Original work published 1934), p. 22.
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13. A. Howkins. (1998) 'A country at war: Mass-Observation and rural England, 1939–1945', *Rural History*, 9, 81.
14. R. Weight, *Patriots: national identity in Britain 1940–2000* (London: Macmillan, 2002), p. 159.
15. P. Mandler (1997), 'Against "Englishness": English culture and the limits to rural nostalgia, 1850–1940", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 7, 170–174.
16. P. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 233.
17. G. Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (London: Penguin Classics, 2001. Original work published 1937), pp. 15–16.
18. MOA, FR 878, p. 1.
19. MOA, FR 878, pp. 6–7.
20. A study by Rowntree and Kendall in 1913, using 42 case studies, highlighted the malnourishment and financial difficulty experienced by the rural labourer. B. Seebohm Rowntree and M Kendall, *How the Labourer Lives: a study of the rural labour problem* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1913). Also see Ian Gazeley's work on rural poverty. Ian Gazeley, *Poverty in Britain, 1900–1965* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 49–55.
21. S. Todd (2004), 'Young women, work and family in interwar rural England', *The Agricultural History Review*, 52, 83–98, p. 89.
22. Weight, *Patriots*, p. 72.
23. Matless has also suggested that there is a more complicated east/west divide at play too. D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 17.
24. D. Russell, *Looking North: Northern England and the national imagination* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 8. See also

H. Jewell, *The North-Divide: The origins of northern consciousness in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994); A. Baker and M. Billange (eds.), *Geographies of England: the north–south divide, imagined and material* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.)

25. MOA, FR 878, p. 1.
26. B. Jones, *The Working Class in Mid Twentieth Century-England: community, identity and social memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), pp. 10–11.
27. MOA, FR 878, p. 3.
28. S. Baldwin, *On England and Other Addresses* (London: Phillip Allan, 1926), pp. 6–7.
29. *The Manchester Guardian*, 19 February 1952, p. 10, and 30 September 1952, p. 12.
30. G. Mingay (ed.), *The Vanishing Countryman*, (London: Routledge. 1989), p. 1.
31. A. Howkins, 'Qualifying the evidence: perceptions of rural change in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century', in D. Gilbert, B. Short and D. Matless (eds.), *Geographies of British Modernity: space and society in the twentieth century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 97.
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34. I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Managing the Body: beauty, health, and fitness in Britain, 1880–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Also see Matless. *Landscape and Englishness*, Chapter 2.
35. A. Howkins (2007), 'What is the countryside for?' p. 174; Jones, *Workers at Play*, p. 64.
36. *The Guider*, May 1931, p. 163.
37. *The Scouter*, July 1932, p. 249.
38. Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?', p. 169.
39. This is a trend that has been identified by a number of historians. See J. Lowerson, 'Battles for the countryside', in F. Gloversmith (ed.), *Class, Culture and Social Change: a new view of the 1930s* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p. 258; Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?'; H. Walker, 'The outdoor movement in England and Wales, 1900–1939', (PhD Diss., University of Sussex, 1988); M. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American images of landscape* (London: Routledge, 1994), Chapter 4.

40. Lowerson, 'Battles for the Countryside', p. 258; Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?', p. 173.
41. B. Cole and T. Hillman, *South for Sunshine: Southern Railway publicity and posters, 1923 to 1947* (Middlesex: Capital Transport Books, 1999), p. 23.
42. Lowerson cites the example of a midnight excursion across Sussex in 1932 that attracted 16,000 people and required four extra trains, and states that groups of 800 were typical at such events for the rest of the 1930s. Lowerson, 'Battles for the countryside', p. 269.
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44. For a detailed discussion of the formation of these movements see: D. Prynn (1976), 'The Clarion Clubs, rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11, 65–77.
45. Walker has given a detailed discussion of these movements and their actions in her thesis. Walker, 'The Outdoor Movement'.
46. See: Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?'; Lowerson, 'Battles for the countryside'.
47. Figures taken from Youth Hostel Annual Reports across the period. See Appendix.
48. Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?', p. 173.
49. Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?', p. 169.
50. Walker, 'The Outdoor Movement', p. 6.
51. For a discussion of MO and class see J. Hinton (2008), "The 'class' complex': Mass-Observation and cultural distinction in pre-war Britain', *Past and Present*, 199, 207–236.
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55. Burchardt, *Paradise lost*, pp. 11–12.
56. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, p. 253.
57. Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?' p. 177.
58. Walker. 'The Outdoor Movement', p. 143.
59. Walker. 'The Outdoor Movement', p. 142.
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66. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p. 13.
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68. E. Boehmer, 'Introduction' in Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys,* p. xii.
69. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p. 14.
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71. T. Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), p. 21.
72. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 110.
73. T. Proctor, 'Gender, generation, and the politics of Guiding and Scouting in interwar Britain' (PhD Diss., Rutgers University, 1995), p. 237.
74. A. Baden-Powell and R. Baden-Powell, *The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls can Help Build the Empire* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1993. Original Work Published 1912), p. 22.
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76. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 26.
77. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, p. 111.
78. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 26.
79. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 26.
80. This imperial ideology has been explored by Anna Davin in A. Davin (1978), 'Imperialism and motherhood', *History Workshop*, 5, 9–65. See also Warren, 'Mothers for the Empire' and M. Smith (2006), 'Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, colonial life, and national strength', *Limina*, 12, 52–62.
81. Baden-Powell and Baden-Powell, *The Handbook for Girl Guides*, p. 413.
82. Smith, 'Be(ing) Prepared', p. 1. Furthermore if one compares the Guide laws to those of the Scouts and the oaths taken by both groups there is evidence of a number of similarities in the basic foundations of the movements.
83. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 118.
84. K. Alexander (2009), 'The Girl Guide Movement and imperial internationalism during the 1920s and 1930s', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2, p. 38.

85. This is a point Gledhill acknowledged in his discussion of the Guides in the 1960s: J. Gledhill (2013), 'White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s', *Contemporary History*, 27.
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87. *The Woodcraft Folk Handbook of Folk Law & Constitution 1936*, YMA/WF/91, p. 12.
88. *Herald of the Folk*, August 1930, p. 3. FH_007_04, https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive/item/herald-of-the-folk-new-issue-no-16-august/
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91. Leslie, 'Socialist', p. 303.
92. Leslie, 'Socialist', p. 302.
93. In the same publication the movement declared that Scouts were 'simply bulwarks of the old order of things'. *Herald of the Folk*, July 1930, p. 5, FH_007_003, https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive/item/herald-of-the-folk-july/
94. *Herald of the Folk*, July 1930, p. 5, FH_007_003, https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive/item/herald-of-the-folk-july/
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103. G.P. Hirsch. *Young Farmers' Clubs: a report on a survey of their history, organisation and activities, with recommendations for their future development* (London: National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs, 1952), p. 27.
104. David Fowler has looked at the 'leakage' problem in the 1930s. See his section on the Boy Scouts in D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers. The lifestyle of young wage-earners in interwar Britain* (London: The Woburn Press, 1995), pp. 144–153.
105. Proctor. 'Gender, Generation', p. 3.
106. UK figures for the Guides, Scouts and YFC (England and Wales) courtesy of the movements themselves. Please remove index term for YHA. As I have deleted the reference to the YHA in this footnote. Woodcraft figures taken from contemporary sources. For a full list of membership see Appendix.
107. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 83; Hirsch, *Young Farmers' Clubs*, p. 29; J. Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British youth movements, 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 116.
108. Gledhill, 'White Heat', p. 79.
109. . Springhall (1971), 'The Boy Scouts, class and militarism in relation to British youth movements 1908–1930', *International Review of Social History*, 16, 138.
110. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 102.
111. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, p. 45.
112. Hirsch, *Young Farmers' Clubs*, p. 106. Social commentator H.C. Bracey commented in 1959 that the Young Farmers' Clubs did not 'represent a cross-section of the young people of rural England'. H.C. Bracey, *English Rural Life: village activities, organisations and institutions* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959), p. 231.
113. The report states that 'It is our firm belief that a vital incentive to the war effort is the presentation of a clear picture of a better world which lies ahead and which, if plans are drawn up and the essential preparations made in advance, can be achieved after this struggle is over.' Ministry of Agriculture, *Report of the Commission on Land Utilisation in Rural Areas* (London: HMSO, 1942), Cmd. 6378, p. vi.
114. H. Taylor, *A Claim to the Countryside* (Keele: Keele University Press, 1997), p. 4.
115. Ministry of Agriculture, *Land Utilisation*, p. 31.
116. C. Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus* (Portmeirion: Golden Dragon, 1975. Original work published 1928), p. 20.

117. S. Kaye-Smith, 'Laughter in the South East', in C. Williams Ellis, *Britain and the Beast* (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), p. 34.
118. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, p. 62.
119. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, pp. 67–68.
120. Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?' p. 172.
121. A. Howkins, *The Death of Rural England: a social history of the countryside since 1900* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 107.
122. Wild, *Village England*, p. 120.
123. Ministry of Agriculture, *Land Utilisation*, p. 31.
124. An argument supported by D.N. Jeans who argues that 'The idealised countryside, hitherto the recreational and aesthetic preserve of the gentry and the middle class, was now being invaded by the urban masses. The countryside conservation movement was a class resistance.' D. N. Jeans (1990), 'Planning and the myth of the English countryside in the inter-war period', *Rural History* 1, 259.
125. Moore-Colyer, 'Great Wen to Toad Hall', p. 113.
126. Howkins, 'What is the countryside for?' p. 174.
127. Howkins, *Death of Rural England*, p. 107.
128. Ministry of Agriculture, *Land Utilisation*, p. 27.
129. Ministry of Agriculture, *Land Utilisation*, p. 57.
130. Griffiths, *Labour and the Countryside*, p. 309.
131. Howkins, *Death of Rural England*, p. 176.
132. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, p. 250.
133. I. Whyte, *Landscape and History* (London: Reaktion, 2002), p. 192.
134. Williams-Ellis, *England and the Octopus*, p. 108.
135. The National Parks Commission. *The Country Code: For Visitors to the Countryside* (London: HMSO, 1951).
136. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, p. 6.

CHAPTER 3

Leisure and the Good Citizen

In 1959, Alan Sillitoe told the tale of Colin, a teenage boy sent to borstal for delinquent behaviour, where the institution's officers encourage him to participate in long-distance running. He does so unenthusiastically, only to find that physical exercise in the countryside provides him with a release of tension and a sense of freedom. The curative and calming influence of outdoor recreations can be seen in the extract below, in which the protagonist describes the effects of running. He tells the reader:

> I go my rounds in a dream, turning at lane or footpath corners without knowing I'm turning, leaping brooks without knowing they're there, and shouting good morning to the early cow-milker without seeing him. It's a treat being a long-distance runner, out in the world by yourself with not a soul to make you bad-tempered or tell you what to do or that there's a shop to break and enter a bit back from the next street.[1]

With its evocative description of country scenes and criminal urban behaviour, this extract quite clearly reveals strong assumptions regarding urban living, which were at play in discussions youth, leisure and delinquency in mid-twentieth century England.[2] Youth organizations were similarly concerned with the impact of the urban environment on the behaviour of young people and championed their programmes of constructive outdoor leisure as an antidote to the problem of delinquency. In doing so, they constructed an ideal of citizenship framed around choices of leisure.

S. Edwards, *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
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This chapter explores the significance of rural leisure in conceptualizations of good citizenship within youth movements across the period from 1930 to 1960. Drawing on organizational publications, it highlights the symbolic place of the countryside in youth training in this period and unpicks the gendered and class-based assumptions that underlay this. It argues that a study of the leisure training provided by popular youth organizations reveals a number of significant continuities in approaches to youth at this time; in particular the continued problematization of urban working-class youth and the persistence of gendered approaches to youth training. In doing so, it highlights the post-war period as a time in which concerns about working class youth both shifted and strengthened, as a response to the growing visibility of the affluent teenager and the decline in popularity of youth organizations as a result. Consequently, this chapter reveals the ways in which youth movements self-consciously negotiated a relationship between the landscape and ideas of modernity across the mid-twentieth century.

An Education for Leisure

In 1934, *The Guider* evidenced dismay at the ways in which some young people were spending their leisure time. The article, written by a leader in the Brownie section of the movement, complained: 'It is sad to see children playing cards sitting on the sands just because they do not know how to use the freedom given to them.'[3] Only a year before *The Scouter* had voiced similar concerns, stating that the 'inability to occupy wisely, happily and healthfully leisure, whether trust upon us or occurring in the course of daily life is one of the salient problems of the present time'.[4] Historians have identified the interwar period as a time in which young people could increasingly take advantage of emerging consumer and leisure industries. This shift was evident in youth organizations, which identified the choices and freedom available to their members when it came to leisure and worried over their inability to dedicate their time to constructive pursuits.[5]

This problematization of leisure was not new. Scholars have identified a historic tendency for contemporaries to focus their interest and concern on the consumption and leisure choices of those around them, as a potential cause of social disruption.[6] Indeed, since the nineteenth century, shifts in leisure patterns drew trepidation from contemporaries, who turned to

'rational' forms of leisure in an attempt to 'civilise the worker'.[7] In the twentieth century, public preoccupation with practices of leisure remained prominent and intensified in the period following the First World War, with the emergence of arguably more 'democratized' leisure opportunities.[8] At this time, benefitting from the growth of new industries and the availability of white-collar clerical jobs, as well as shortened working hours, sections of the working classes found that they now had more time and money to focus on leisure pursuits. Working-class people could therefore take advantage of the changing technological landscape of leisure at this time and could take part, on an increasingly regular basis, in popular commercialized activities, such as the cinema.

The growing accessibility of commercial leisure pursuits at this time was both feared and welcomed by contemporaries, who identified the prominence of leisure in British social and cultural life as both a signifier of the development of a modern egalitarian society on the one hand and as an agent of its destruction on the other.[9] This concern was particularly focused toward the working classes who were considered easily subverted and morally corrupted by 'escapist' forms of mass leisure. The popularity of cinema-going in the 1930s, for example, drew much attention from middle-class commentators, such as the members of the Birmingham Cinema Enquiry, fearful of the influence films were having upon its audiences.[10] The dance hall, meanwhile, was looked upon by many as places of low moral character and as a 'tawdry form of cheap entertainment'.[11] As such, leisure grew increasingly important in discourses of citizenship at this time, evident in government policy, youth training and the popular press, where contemporaries, often steeped in assumptions about gender and class, were quick to denounce certain leisure spaces as conductive of 'bad' citizenship.[12] Young people were considered particularly vulnerable to such influences, being in a natural state of transition and adjustment. That, along with the fact that in the period before 1944, the majority were outside the education system by the age of 14, meant that some youth leaders saw the need for guidance and education for young people in the face of the seemingly endless and corruptible leisure activities of the modern world.[13]

The continued and looming presence of the figure of the juvenile delinquent across the mid-twentieth century is a useful lens through which we can understand these concerns. At this time, the delinquent attracted intense attention and criticism, as contemporaries debated the root cause

of his behaviour, argued over his punishment, and discussed preventive measures for the future.[14] In 1949, Mass-Observation author H.D. Willcock observed that:

> Delinquency and youth, then are one of the main focuses of attention today. They are being statistically, psychologically, journalistically examined, by magistrates, magistrates' clerks, welfare workers, club leaders, clergy; written about by anyone and everyone in every sort of medium from learned journal to women's magazine, textbook to Penguin book.[15]

This concern was not without precedent—numbers of juvenile delinquents, defined as a young person, under the age of 21, found guilty of an indictable offence, were steadily on the rise across the mid-twentieth century, with numbers of males aged 14 to 21 found guilty of an indictable offence doubling from 21,776 to 42,950 across the period from 1938 to 1958.[16] Despite criticisms of the reliability of such figures, and recent scholarship, which has, quite rightly, challenged this dominant narrative of youthful delinquency and generational disharmony, it is clear that there was a perception at this time that juvenile delinquency was a pressing social problem.[17]

For many contemporaries, conditions of leisure were vital in understanding this problem. As Tom Harrisson observed in a report for MO following the Second World War, while the delinquent was an issue, he was seen as part of a much wider youth 'problem'. Harrisson stated:

> I do not wish to over-generalise. But it seems to me clear that Juvenile Delinquency is only part of a much deeper problem—the problem of uninspired and unadjusted youth. Kicking the bucket around or the endless intoxication of the slot machine in an Oxford Street arcade, reflects something just as grave as breaking a window or pinching a watch. We have to deal with the one *ad hoc*, but we also have to deal with the other. It is indeed the key to the whole future of our way of life and the surviving health of our society.[18]

The problem of youth, he asserted, was therefore a problem of leisure. This opinion was prominent in youth organizations across the 1930s, which continually identified the growing amount of choice in the leisure lives of young people as the cause of a general decline in morals, character and health. Of particular concern were those leisure pursuits that were considered 'passive' and unconstructive, the most prominent of these being cinema-going and urban street culture.

Across the 1930s, the increasing popularity of cinema-going, evidenced by the growth of cinema admissions from 903 million in 1934 to 1,027 million in 1940, posed a particular problem for youth organizations, who believed that films, as an escapist leisure form, could easily incite young people into acts of delinquency as a means of experiencing the adventure presented to them onscreen.[19] Referring to the popularity of cinema-going among the young, *The Guide* reported in 1935:

> at times the lure of the pictures where you can have a plush seat and imagine you are the heroine for a whole hour at least, for sixpence or so, must tempt anyone to give up the exhausting business of searching for the real thing. … if you want adventure the only way to satisfy your ambitions is to experience it.[20]

In declaring the escapist nature of cinema-going the Guides were echoing the thoughts of social commentator Cyril Burt, who had written ten years previously of the noxious effect of 'the pictures'. He wrote:

> quite apart from the definite presentation of wrongdoing, the social dramas and the pictures of high life, with a force as subtle as it is cumulative, stir the curiosity, heat the imagination, and work upon the fantasies of boys and girls of every age. They provide models and material for all-engrossing day-dreams, and create a yearning for a life of gaiety—a craze for fun, frolic, and adventure, for personal admiration and for extravagant self-display—to a degree that is usually unwholesome and almost invariably unwise.[21]

Youth organizations hoped to counteract the popularity of these pursuits by educating their members in the 'right' use of their leisure time. In 1933, Alison Greenlees, a prominent member of the Scottish GGA, spoke at the Scottish Commissioner's Conference on the topic of education and recreation. Published in *The Guider* in 1934, the speech reveals the importance of encouraging members to use their leisure time wisely:

> I believe that it is through recreation, through the re-creating of their leisure time, that we can best help our Guides to face this world of rush and speed, of fleeting and fictitious pleasures, and very often of false values… if we can train our girls to make good use of their leisure time, and give them interests that will last them solidly and steadily all their lives then we will be doing something towards helping and preparing them to face a difficult and discontented world.[22]

Accordingly, they encouraged their members to see leisure as a means to self-development and personal growth. In 1938, *The Guider* suggested that its readers might like to take a night course to expand their interests in politics, philosophy, languages, arts and crafts, millinery, dressmaking, mechanical engineering, house decorating or cookery, or spend their leisure time acquiring knowledge of first-aid or home nursing. Additionally, leisure time could be used to develop practical skills and hobbies. The same 1938 article suggested that Guides might prefer to spend their time working on manual hobbies such as carpentering or dress-making, or work as a helper in the 'keep fit' movement.[23] This emphasis on personal growth was encouraged through merit badges; with members of the all four movements being given ample chance to work towards proficiency badges, in a variety of skills and accomplishments, while the Woodcraft Folk offered correspondence courses, such as the Leaders' Diploma, to encourage self-development. This technique was believed to be particularly effective in tackling the problem of juvenile delinquency. In 1934, an article from *The Scouter* declared that, 'It has so often been stated, by people both inside and outside the movement, "Scouting is the finest antidote to juvenile crime that was ever invented."'[24] Such comments were, of course, bound up with class assumptions, with much of the concern with regards to youthful leisure stemming from a preoccupation with the manifestations and temptations of working-class living. Categorizations of the juvenile delinquent are important here, with the figure of the delinquent often been painted as urban, working class and, above all, male.[25]

In the 1930s, worries regarding the impact of the cinema were underscored directly by concerns over working-class poverty and slum conditions. In his study of York in 1936, Seebohm Rowntree found that 31.1 per cent of working-class households were living on insufficient income to enable them to have an acceptable standard of living.[26] Such conditions were considered breeding grounds for juvenile delinquents, with the possibility that material deprivation, feelings of worthlessness and a hunger to break free from a monotonous existence could all manifest as criminal behaviour. As the Albemarle report concluded in its retrospective look on causes of criminal behaviour in 1960, the correlation between crime and poverty was, in times of hardship, believed to be a strong one, because 'The poorest and most socially deprived elements of a population were always those who had most to gain and least to lose from active crime.'[27]

Contemporaries worried over the effect of the cinema on those working classes who lived in conditions such as those identified by Rowntree.

The cinema could be enjoyed by those who were living in conditions of poverty, given that seats were cheap, a ticket for 6d was available in the 1930s, meaning that attendance patterns were not as restricted by poverty as other forms of leisure; although the extent to which this was true has been debated by scholars.[28] The cinema was believed to be particularly problematic for those living in conditions of poverty and hardship, as it was believed to incite escapist fantasies and a yearning for adventure, which could manifest itself in criminal behaviour. In 1933, a member of the Scout movement wrote a letter to the editor of *The Scouter* that directly related the pursuit of adventure with the rise of juvenile crime:

> It may be immoral of me, but I cannot help feeling pleased when I read every day of fresh crimes of violence. Motor robberies, smash and grabs, bag snatching, cat burglaring, etc. It is not because I think that women swanking in £500 fur coats and thousand pound necklaces deserve to lose them, but because it shows that the spirit of adventure, which so many critics say is dead, is still very much alive among the lads of today.[29]

While years later, reflecting on the popularity of the Scouts in the 1930s, *The Scouter* recalled the reasons behind the popularity of the movement. The author wrote: 'The boys loved it because the boy loves fun and fighting and mischief and noise.'[30] It was thus not the playful and boisterous character traits that were problematic for some in the organization but the spaces in which boys were expressing these characteristics, which was understood as being the root cause of the issue.

The living environment of the working classes was also a preoccupation for the left-wing Woodcraft Folk at this time, although for different reasons. The organization worried about the impact of growing affluence on some members of the working classes at this time, and particularly voiced concern that an imbalance between work and leisure in the working-class lifestyle was leading to a decline in what was considered good citizenship—defined for their purposes as energetic political action and an engagement with civil processes.[31] For the Woodcraft, the popularity of mass leisure pursuits such as the cinema symbolized a growing apathy towards 'the struggle for economic and cultural emancipation'.[32] As *The Pioneer of the Folk* reported in 1935, 'Shut up in the cities, working on machine-tending or clerking, surrounded by amusements like greyhound racing and the talkie films, we must easily be in danger of becoming cut off entirely from the world beyond.'[33] The cinema, as this quote suggests, was a particular concern as it removed working-class youth from their

environment and distracted them from their situation, acting as an 'opiate of the masses'.[34] To counteract this, organization devised a programme of educational activities in the hopes of encouraging members to think more critically about the world in which they lived. The utilization of leisure as a tool for education was central to this. For example, the Woodcraft took its members hiking, encouraged them to play games and take part in amateur dramatics, as well as learning craftwork alongside training camps. As the movement declared of their members in 1932, 'Besides learning to become 'useful and intelligent citizens of the world' they are having a real jolly time.'[35]

This concern with regards to passivity was not restricted to Woodcraft Folk. For the Guides the tendency for girls to accept at face value the stories presented to them on the cinema screen was problematic. Such worries were focused particularly around the representation of romance onscreen. In 1936, a contributor to *The Guider* declared that:

> The expression, 'but I saw it at the pictures' indicates that what is seen is nearly always believed; but the real danger of the film lies in the unconscious assimilation of ideas which later seem our own. To a great number of people at an age when romance is a natural and harmless pre-occupation, adventure, love and married life are presented with no possible relation to ordinary experience.[36]

This comment represents the gendered nature of concerns about leisure at this time, with the organization particularly concerned about the ways in which girls might interpret and mimic romantic behaviour onscreen.[37] This reflects the gendered nature of deviance in this period, and will be considered further in Chap. 5. It was therefore not the popularity of the cinema that was the issue for the Guides—in fact, as early as 1936 the organization embraced the value of film as an aid to teaching members about nature, as well as about other nations and customs—but, it was the passive way in which films were being consumed. As one contributor to *The Guider* declared: 'it is not enough to bewail the "evil influence of the cinema" and do no more about it. Properly used, the film can be a strong force in shaping international understanding and prosperity'.[38]

It is clear that responses to concerns over working-class leisure practices in the 1930s were far from uniform. Reflecting the political beliefs and agendas of individual organizations, the concerns exhibited by these movements reflect the varied interpretations and experiences

working-class people in this period. Importantly, while the Scouts evidenced concern with regards to the quality of working-class life and the ways in which the cinema might tempt boys into active crime; in contrast Woodcraft Folk worried that the increasing affluence of working-class youth and their growing participation in mass leisure was encouraging passivity and an acceptance of their position. A comparison between the two supports those who have identified the Janus-faced experience of working-class life in the 1930s.

Following the Second World War, the increasing visibility of teenagers in public life, and the growth of consumer industries that targeted them, served to encourage further reflection on the leisure lives the young. In 1958 a contributor to *The Scouter*, Eric Simm, ruminated over the leisure patterns of the modern boy:

> It is certainly frightening to learn that millions of these 'pop discs' are sold each week, that youngsters have 'money to burn' on them and use them in a way that reminds one more of a voodoo ceremony in tropical Africa than anything akin to civilization.[39]

Such concerns have been well documented by sociologists and historians alike, who have identified the strengthening of the link between delinquency and leisure practices in the 1950s.[40] One only has to look at the reactions to the 'Rock around the Clock' riots of the 1950s to see the symbolic importance of leisure in understandings of delinquency and worries over modern youth at this time.[41] A study of youth organizations supports this claim. In 1948, reflecting on the growing prominence of juvenile delinquency as a result of wartime dislocation, Sir Oswald Bell, a supporter of the Scouting movements, stated that it was the delinquents 'the Teddies, both boy and girl. These—the failures, the frustrated, the apathetic, the unhappy—these are the ones who need us most sorely.'[42] While just under a year later, Sir Basil Henriques, chairman of the East London Juvenile Court, declared at an English County Commissioner's conference in 1955:

> One of the most frequent offences is breaking into the modern child's money-box (which is the gas meter or the electric light meter). I ask them why they did it. 'To go to the pictures.' Then I ask, 'Wouldn't your mother give you the money?' and I get this terrifying answer: 'Yes, she would have given me the money, but she wasn't in.' That is to say, children are learning that they can gratify a desire as soon as they have that desire … they are getting for themselves this new philosophy of 'I see, I want, I take.'[43]

The distinctiveness of discussions of leisure and delinquency following the Second World War was evidently the focus on working-class excess and extravagance. For Henriques, the cinema did not simply present an issue because of the content of films, but the mere desire to attend can lead to criminal behaviour in itself. This culture of 'want and take' could result in unruly behaviour, including theft and was exaggerated in the post-war period when the emergence of the hedonistic, consumer-driven Teddy Boys further confirmed the connection between consumption, leisure and youthful identity for contemporary commentators.

The focus on youthful affluence is important here. The fact that young working-class people had 'money to burn' and the freedom to do so led to further discussion in youth organizations about the decline of working-class character. This concern was directly linked to the belief that there existed a process of class 'levelling' at this time. That is, that the shifts which occurred following the Second World War—the creation of the welfare state, the rise in real earnings and full employment which followed, and a mass consumer culture—had joined together to erode class difference, particularly amongst young people. This image of 'classlessness' was largely mythical, as many historians and sociologists have demonstrated; nevertheless, it was a worry that pervaded youth movements.[44] Some contemporaries saw the popularity of mass leisure as being symbolic of a passive generation, who lacked confidence and a sense of identity and character. As an article from *The Scouter* discussed in 1958, the popularity of the television and more widely, the social shifts, which had occurred post-war, revealed the decline of a distinctive working class. The article declared:

> And now the 'telly' has come to reinforce the process of levelling the old working class—in spite of its poverty and miseries—it had folklore, a sense of 'belonging', something we call 'character'. The new product lives in nice little houses, takes the same papers; listens to the same programmes, dresses in mass-produced shirts; works in mass production factories. You see, the kind of man the new mass media (press, radio, television) must reach, is about a passive a creature as they can continue to make him.[45]

While a different issue of *The Scouter* reported in that same year: 'The Teddy Boy—Isn't he striving to be noticed in this man made world which daily destroys the place and potentialities of the individual?'[46] Such concerns were compounded by the increasing unpopularity of organized youth

groups and a growing concern that without them young people would remain unengaged with their civic responsibilities. In the 1950s, the threat of an increasingly modernized leisure landscape loomed large over the youth movements and there grew a concern that Scouting and Woodcraft Folk activities would no longer fit into the lifestyles of the 'modern' teenager. A cartoon in a 1951 issue of *The Scouter* which depicted a Boy Scout learning about Rudyard Kipling's *The Jungle Book* and commenting, with a tagline that read 'No Herbert, Shere Khan did *not* marry Rita Hayworth!'[47] evidences this concern. While years later, Oswald Bell, Director of the Cambridge Institute of Education, questioned the relevance of Scouting to the modern teenager in 1960, when he asked: 'Do knots or shorties or woggles mean anything in the chromium-plated age?'[48]

This fear can most clearly be seen when looking at the discussion of 'leakage' at this time. The loss of members had been a problem in both the BSA and GGA during the interwar period, with membership being in flux throughout the 1930s. However, this became more acute in the post-war period, when members, especially those who were working class and over the age of 15, left the movements on a regular basis. In July 1955, *The Guider* reported on the loss of girls from secondary modern schools, 'We must accept and face the fact that we fail to attract and hold many of these girls—yet they are without doubt the ones who most need an auxiliary educational force.'[49] *The Scouter* too reported a loss of older members, despite the fact that numbers consistently grew from 1950 to 1960, reaching peak popularity amongst boys over the age of 15 in 1960, with 61,452 members.[50] On a local level, both organizations also record a loss in older members, from their companies. For example, a single south-eastern Scout troop recorded in 1956 that over the previous three years the troop had lost over 28 boys; while the log books of the 7th Dunstable Girl Guide Company recorded regular losses from 1955 onwards.[51]

This juxtaposition can also be identified in the conflicts that arose in the Scout movement in the 1950s over the wearing of shorts. Scouts were considered old-fashioned in their uniform and were often teased about wearing shorts in all weathers. The practice of wearing shorts year round, one Norfolk man went so far as to suggest to *The Scouter* in 1956, was the reason behind the large numbers of older members that were believed to be leaving the movement in the post-war period. He also suggested that many were intimidated by the criticism from those young people who had adopted fashion as a form of self-expression, such as Teddy Boys.[52] Here and in other contexts, Teddy Boys appeared as

antagonists towards the youth movement. Against the face of the growing urban youth culture and the rock n' roll behaviour and lifestyle with which Teddy Boys were associated, youth organizations seemed outdated in the ways that they were approaching youth. The *Daily Mirror* reported in 1960 that Scouts across the country were regularly subjected to abuse from youths wearing a 'distinguishable uniform of knee-length jackets'. It reported that:

> the Scouts are finding it harder to keep their oath to be 'a friend to all' when they hear the catcalls of 'goofs,' 'squares' and 'cissies'—not to mention quips like: 'Do me a good turn will ya, get dressed!'[53]

The Scouter received much correspondence on this topic. A letter to the editor from February 1951 declared that:

> In this area, where the sign of manhood is 'long-'uns' at the age of twelve, preferably with the Spiv tie, padded shoulders and convenient street-corner on which to meet 'the lads', it still calls for a great deal of moral courage to don shorts and run the gauntlet on the way to a troop meeting.[54]

This fast became an issue in the movement with on-going debate throughout the 1950s on the wearing of shorts. Finally, after nearly a decade, the organization put the Scout uniform to a vote. The decision between shorts or trousers was one which the *Daily Mirror* declared could have led to 'one of the most fundamental changes in the movement since it started in this country fifty years ago.'[55] The Folk faced the same problem. The report of an enquiry committee, charged in 1949 with investigating the lack of progress in the movement since the end of the Second World War, recommended that a change of costume to allow long trousers to be worn by all those over 16 would likely increase membership.[56] The wearing of shorts is one example of the conflict within these movements between organizational tradition and 'modernity'. The juxtaposition between members and the urban 'teenager' at this time was one that was internalized within these movements, who clearly saw the leisure time of 'modern' youth, and particularly the leisure spaces that they occupied, as being increasingly problematic.

For the YFCs, however, boredom could be just as malign an influence as immoral leisure and were worried that the mass leisure provided in towns and cities was enticing young people away from their duties on the

land. As this account from the Harden, York Women's Institute village scrapbook suggests:

> From the age of about 3 to 14 years, when I still 'played out', I thought Harden was a marvellous place. But then I began to have doubts. The village has no cinema, coffee bar or dance hall where young people can meet and enjoy themselves.[57]

This is not to suggest that rural areas were not experiencing a growth of leisure opportunities at time. In theory, electrification and the increasing availability of transport across this period opened up many leisure opportunities for those living in rural areas. While, the introduction of the radio and regular bus and train routes in the 1930s meant that rural leisure patterns were no longer distinctly separate to those of the towns. Further to this, the creation of the village hall as the focal point of the community provided many important leisure opportunities, including village dances, flower shows, jumble sales, adult education classes, amateur dramatics, sports and games.[58] Village halls also saw the introduction of 'urban cultural forms' of leisure, as Jeremy Burchardt has shown, such as jazz and keep-fit classes.[59] In reality however, such changes were far from universal. Not all villages were provided with a reliable electricity supply, not all were served by a regular bus service and certainly not all villagers had the available time, or money, to take advantage of these shifts. As Mass Observation found in 1944, the village of Luccombe in Somerset was far from the recreationally developed villages discussed above, having only superficial 'modern' developments, with one shop and one pub.[60] The inhabitants of the village were thus reliant on the nearby town of Porlock for 'modern' leisure activities such as cinema-going. Experiences of leisure for rural youth were thus highly regionalized.

In response to concerns about the lack of leisure opportunities, the YFC organization embraced a variety of leisure forms ranging from agricultural competitions, such as ploughing matches, to sporting events, field strips, and dances. In 1932, a member of the organization celebrated these activities. She commented that: 'From the social side of club life the individual member is given pleasure and amusement, and made to forget the soil and the brain-racking problems of the daily routine.'[61]

By the 1950s, the gradual growth of car ownership and the introduction of the television, in theory, further served to open up a wider range of leisure opportunities for rural dwellers. Despite this, even in the late

1950s, the leisure lives of many rural dwellers remained markedly different from the urban. Far from experiencing the independence and excitement of the symbolic metropolitan teenage lifestyle of milk bars, cinemas and street corners, rural teenagers faced a less commercialized leisure existence. Youth clubs, hugely popular in towns in aiding the socializing of younger people, were also less of a feature in rural areas (for many reasons such as lack of sufficient space, lack of supervision and lack of attendance) resulting, in many areas, in a discontent amongst young people towards the nature of leisure pursuits on offer to them. This for many, was considered to be one of the main reasons for the 'drift from the land', which blighted the countryside, to the extent that, in 1957, farmers were advertising the fact that they owned televisions to entice young workers.[62] According to *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, the youth of 1957 did not just want work 'They want a Job—and Television.'[63]

The provision of leisure thus remained an important aspect of YFC training. Comically a 1952 round-table discussion of Young Farmers in Elsted, West Sussex, concluded that an active village YFC could '"stop the feeling that the district was dead from the ankles up" and that one had to go to the town for enjoyment.'[64] This was important. As one member of the organization identified in 1950, because 'mischief' could be caused if young people didn't have access to suitable outlets for their energies:

> You see, in our district there is quite a large H.M. Borstal Institution … Is it anything to do with boredom and not having a particular interest in life where they can let off steam in useful ways? … Our club has achieved something by making an opening for any boy or girl who wishes to join, and keeping them entertained, and yet busily thinking and learning from the programme, and working for club competitions … so that, when these young people meet at nights, they have more to think about and plan than just mischief.[65]

It is clear that, despite the different leisure landscape in which they operated, the YFCs worked on many of the same principles that the Scouting organization followed, with leisure constructed as both the problem and the answer to the behaviour of modern youth.

Throughout the mid-twentieth century, youth organizations identified dissatisfaction with leisure as being one of the prime reasons behind rising juvenile delinquency. As such, criminal behaviour was understood as being, at least in part, a result of an underlying yearning for adventure and

excitement. The cinema was identified as being particularly problematic as it provided youth with escapist fantasies but could not satisfy their restlessness and 'boundless energy'.[66] The working-class adolescent remained prominent in these discussions throughout the period, with the movements emphasizing that those from 'less fortunate' backgrounds were the ones most in need of intervention. This was true despite the fact that, as even the movements themselves acknowledged, youth organizations found it increasingly difficult to attract and hold working-class members, particularly in the post-war climate of affluence.

The Authenticity of the Countryside

In 1935, Richard Schirrman, the Chairman of the International Conference of Youth Hostel Associations, wrote an article for the organization's magazine, *The Rucksack*, in which he worried that the current generation of young people were being imprisoned by urban life, and argued for the freeing effect of the countryside for those who embraced it. The article was a declaration of the intent of outdoor organizations to create a generation who lived by the physical and moral codes that access to the country could provide them with. The quote below reflects the passionate way in which some believed in this philosophy:

> This hunger for space and air produces in young people an unappeasable longing for distant places. With some unfortunately it only goes as far as the all-night cabaret, the nearest public- house, the circus and the six-day races. Like cage-born birds they no longer dare to take the flight into the open, although in former times they or their parents had their home there, hurrying from the chase of work to pleasure and back again to the yoke of work, their life flutters by … And when the other, town-encaged 'coffeehouse' youth retires and dies out, this one will live on from generation to generation. To travel on foot through the countryside is to live.[67]

In this extract, the YHA was dwelling on the restrictions placed upon urban youth, both spatially and temporally, and questioning the extent to which urban life was truly 'living'. The importance placed on ideas of space and freedom here is significant, with the article setting up a clear dichotomy between the constricting nature of urban space and the rural sphere. In making this statement, the author challenged the authenticity of urban living and made a claim for the superior nature of rural life. The

emphasis placed on leisure in this extract is also noteworthy, as the author identified the choice that young people had at this time with regards to their leisure time, but also the moral implications of these choices. In doing so, this article challenged its readers to think critically about their leisure choices and to embrace outdoor recreations as a path to good citizenship. This was a theme that was echoed by numerous youth organizations across the mid-century who all, in varying ways, laid claim to the countryside as a sphere of authentic and nurturing leisure.

Within youth organizations, countryside was almost universally understood as being the most natural setting for constructive leisure. Guiding Commissioner Brenda Arkless highlighted this in a discussion in *The Guider* in March 1947:

> The Guide who has found fresh interests and occupations in camp will return home with new ideas for making good use of her leisure. The Commissioner might find it interesting to study the faces of children in two different queues, one for the cinema and one for the camp meal![68]

As such, youth organizations both encouraged and facilitated regular trips into the countryside, where members would take part in physical exercise, camping and outdoor recreations. One of the most prominent of these was rambling and hiking, which across the mid-twentieth century consistently maintained their position as popular activities in the Scouts, Guides and Woodcraft, with members being encouraged to undertake a variety of hikes and rambles, ranging from 'starvation hikes' to night rambles. In 1947, the First Class Girl Guide test even necessitated that members 'Go on foot for an expedition of not less than six miles.'[69] Additionally, both the Scouts and the Guides encouraged members to become keen cyclists. In May 1931, *The Scout* urged members to discover the 'delights and pleasures of "Rolling Wheels on the Open Road"':

> If you are in doubt, choose a spring morning to get astride your bicycle, and wend your way from the smoky city into the country-side. Next, choose a leafy side lane, and your cup of happiness will begin to fill.[70]

Similarly, the GGA included regular information in its publications on bicycle maintenance, road safety and the Highway Code, and cycling practice, with articles such as 'Cycle with Safety', 'Take Care of Your Bicycle and Your Bicycle will take Care of You' and 'Be a Competent Cyclist'.[71] In addition to such advice, Bicycle manufacturers advertised their products

to members through these organizational magazines. In 1933, readers of *The Guider* were encouraged to choose a Raleigh bicycle for their outings: 'A girl can have fine times on a bike—get about—see new places.'[72] While twenty years later, readers of *The Guide* were informed that The James 'Arrow Ace' bicycle, priced at £18 10s was their 'passport to pleasure'.[73]

Activities such as hiking and cycling were considered nurturing as they allowed urban youth access to the natural landscape and acted as an escape from the rigid confines of the town environment. Undeniably, when *The Rucksack* declared, 'To travel on foot through the countryside is to live' they were making value judgements about the quality of urban living.[74] Importantly, numerous youth organizations and schools followed a similar mantra at this time.[75] In 1930, an editorial in the magazine of Woodcraft Folk, *Herald of the Folk*, declared to its readers:

> There's LIFE in the sunlight, and the wind moving over the grasses and heathland. There's LIFE for us in the ripple of muscle and swing of sun-tanned limbs on our hikes and at our camps. Life- which stuffy, ill-built cities and so-called civilized … homes cannot give.[76]

As such, Woodcraft tests such as the 'Test of Sunburnt Skin' and the 'Test of the Supple Limb' were designed to encourage younger members to spend a significant amount of time out-of-doors.[77]

Similarly, four years later Guide leader P.M. Bond declared to the County Commissioners' Conference that: 'Directly you are out of doors things are *real*.'[78] For these organizations then, the rural environment held a particular authenticity that the urban sphere, with its lack of space, freedom and beauty, could not measure. In August 1958, A.M. Maynard, Guiding author and regular contributor to *The Guider*, reflected on the continued prominence and popularity of such activities within the movement.

> Is there a Guider who has never enjoyed living in the open with every sense sharpened, or one who has never know the thrill of a tramp in the country, knapsack on back, battling against the elements, feeling sorry for those hugging the fire at home?[79]

It is clear that members relished the opportunity to escape the town, and the pages of organizational publications are littered with members discussing, debating and retelling their experiences of exploring the countryside.

It was for this reason, so Woodcraft Folk's Leslie Paul observed in 1938, that the Scouting movements retained large numbers of members in the interwar period as they provided urban children with an access to nature that was denied to them in their day-to-day life. He wrote that, 'Scouting captured the imagination of children who, in drab cities, were hungry for some brightness and romance.'[80] The use of the word 'hungry' here suggests that the 'brightness and romance' of the countryside was not something that young people wanted but something they *needed* and indeed craved; the insinuation being that there existed an innate desire for country living in the English character, which living in city tenements could not address. This innate symbiosis with nature was confirmed by an article from a 1931 issue of *The Guider* which repeated a line from the Glasgow *Evening Citizen* that stated that: 'Every child craves beauty, and if it can find it in nature it will never again be starved in mind or lonely in heart.'[81] While, in 1932 Woodcraft Folk celebrated that young people 'despite all the repressions of their home and school life, still retain something of that instinctive urge to freedom which is usually stifled in the adult by the onslaughts of industrialism'.[82] Even in the extract from Sillitoe's 1959 short story used to introduce this chapter, we see the continued prominence of ideas about the existence of an innate belonging to the countryside. Colin has grown up in the city, yet when he is running he leaps brooks and turns corners as if he belonged in the countryside, almost a part of it.[83]

Members of the Baden-Powell movements were thus encouraged to explore a variety of rural landscapes through rambling, hiking, camping and walking tours. This was not just limited to southern England, however, and throughout the period, there were increasing numbers of contributions to the organizational publications that focused on Scottish, Welsh and international 'adventures'. However, while in 1939 Rob Ribble, a contributor to *The Scout*, reported on his 'Anglesey Adventure' in a special series dedicated to documenting members' experiences entitled up 'Oop North', the image of England, and particularly southern England, remained significant in the imagery and information published in the magazines, particularly in the 1930s, with images of rolling fields and arable farmland dominating the publications.[84] 'Whoever wants to go out of England?' *The Guide* reported one girl saying in 1931.[85] This was partly a result of the historical associations of the southern counties, and partly a result of the understanding that there was something unique about the beauty of the English countryside. In 1936 an article in *The*

Guide suggested to readers that: 'Rambles into other counties, or even unfamiliar parts of your own shire, may be turned into real adventures in which the years may be rolled back to reveal the events, turmoil, life and romances, of a by-gone age.'[86] While five years earlier the same publication had reminded readers that: 'There is clearly no need to go abroad to obtain striking pictures, those who have an eye for the beautiful will find everything they require in the English countryside and especially in such favoured districts as the English Lakes and parts of Wales and Scotland.'[87] Thus, the Baden-Powell movements did not ignore British landscapes but the idea of the English countryside did dominate, particularly before the Second World War.

Simply taking young people into the countryside was, however, not enough to counteract the negative influences of an increasingly problematic urban world; organizations believed that they must also be trained to observe and appreciate the landscape and its inhabitants. The study of nature was endowed with an almost mystical quality in repairing the characters of youth damaged by the urban environment.[88] This mysticism can be pinpointed in a number youth movements, which all, in some way or another, placed the improvement and strengthening of the character of their members within the landscape of the countryside. As an article in *The Herald of the Folk* declared in 1930: 'Spring has sent her messenger—even to the depths of the city—to beckon us out, out into the open to start life anew.'[89] Such ideas almost certainly stemmed from the cultural tendency to identify with the rural life and landscape, discussed in the previous chapter, and from the prominent role of the countryside in conceptualizations of national identity in the mid-twentieth century.

Nature training was therefore an important aspect of youth training within many youth organizations. Members were regularly encouraged undertake 'beauty quests' to observe the splendour of the countryside in meticulous detail, from the types of tree, to the animals and birds, and flowers in the soil around them. Guides, for example, in working towards their 'Naturalist' badge were expected to memorize species of tree, animal, insect and plant that inhabited a certain area of countryside. The technique of nature observation was encouraged through activities such as stalking and tracking, but also by advising members to develop photography skills. Members of the Guides and the Scouts were urged to work towards achieving their 'Photographer' badge (or 'Cameraman' for those Scouts under the age of 15), which necessitated that members learn how to take high-standard photographs and develop them personally.[90]

Members were encouraged to take their cameras to camp with them and on hikes and rambles, so that they might fill their logbooks with images of their camp adventures and of plants and animals that they encountered.[91] To ensure good-quality photographs, organizational magazines published regular articles on photography skills, such as 'Understanding your Camera' and 'Amateur Photography', which would include information on how to photograph birds and animals and which filter was best for outdoor shots.[92] Scouts and Guides were also encouraged to share their images with the rest of the organization via participation in photographic competitions.[93] The popularity of photography is also evidenced by the advertisement of the 'Officially Authorized' Boy Scout and Girl Guide Kodak in 1932, a foldable camera sold at 27/6 and advertised as providing an 'introduction to real photography' for the member who was 'bent on winning her Photographer's Badge'.[94] Of course, photography was not always accessible to members of the organizations and the movements acknowledged that, particularly in the difficult economic circumstances of the 1930s and the immediate post-war period, buying a camera and equipment was simply not affordable for some.[95] In 1932, *The Guide* suggested that patrols in which members could not afford to undertake photography as a hobby might appoint an 'Official Photographer' who could document the group's findings and experiences.[96]

Evidence suggests that members took to nature study enthusiastically, as a story of one Guide reported in *The Guide* in 1952 suggests:

> A Guide once arrived to be tested for her Naturalist Badge carrying a tin which sounded like one of those home-made rattles filled with buttons. The contents were, in fact, the complete set of bones from a water vole. She had found the corpse on a river bank, carried it home and boiled it in a tin can because her mother would not lend her a saucepan. Now I am not suggesting that you all go round collecting dead animals and cooking them … but you must have a real interest in the subject with a genuine desire to learn more of it.[97]

The importance of nature study within youth organizations did not diminish when members were indoors.[98] The Scouting organizations provided a variety of activities, usually framed around nature or the countryside, for members to play when the winter months kept them inside or if patrols lacked the funds to venture out of town. Such activities included indoor tracking games in which members could 'practice all your stalking

movements—over a clubroom floor strewn with twigs and dead leaves' or observation tasks such as star gazing and cloud watching.[99] The organization also disseminated indoor games to aid learning, such as the 'Our Tree' game. Similar to the card game 'Happy Families', 'Our Tree' required players to match four elements of one type of tree and in doing so they would learn the leaf and buds of each tree, as well as their summer and winter appearances.[100] Other activities such as rural arts and crafts were also included to encourage members to embrace rural life and culture and offer an alternative to the growing Americanized mass culture of the mid-century. By championing typically English pastimes these organizations attempted to tackle the cultural 'levelling down' of Americanized youth.[101] The Guides, for example, were keen to encourage traditional country leisure activities, by offering tuition in old English quilting and the introduction of the Folk Dancer proficiency badge in the late 1920s (later renamed Country Dancer in 1940).[102] Such activities were considered valuable to a Guide and part of the English national heritage, which the Guide movement was helping keep alive. This was a popular trend in society at this time—the adoption of Folk Dance as a way of resisting mass modernity.[103] In 1939, *The Guider* stressed the importance of country dancing to members by declaring that:

> It is now becoming increasingly clear in our harassed and mechanised lives that the art of natural song and dance is essential to all who wish to live fully and expansively. A natural spontaneity is still there in all of us and our English dance-forms are *our* way of expressing ourselves. These forms have been tested and bequeathed to us by generations of English people until they are as much a part of us as our own language.[104]

Here then the attempt to 'reconnect' with a lost past and the importance of the countryside is clear, as too is the continued prominence of the rural idyll in mid-century youth training.

This did not, however, stop leaders in the Scouting movements from worrying about the lack of outdoor activities in their programmes, with organizational magazines repeatedly reminding readers that 'it's the *out* that makes the *Scout*'.[105] Of most concern were town patrols, which could find it difficult to venture into the countryside, particularly during the cold winter months and in wartime conditions. In February 1933 one Scout troop told of the troubles of Scouting in a 'crowded city': 'Our troop is situated in a rather poor and densely populated district, where a

good garden is something of a luxury.'[106] While in a 1947 article entitled 'Guiding Belongs Outdoors' *The Guider* declared 'I hear the city company cry, "But where can we do all this? We have a hall with no garden, and there are crowded streets all round us."'[107] The organization answered this question by including information on urban activities and games that could satisfy the demand for the outdoors.

It is clear, that despite the regularity of indoor and urban activities within these organizations, activities in the countryside continued to hold upmost importance. This was in the case of the Scouting organizations, in part due to the continued importance of Christianity within the movement's training, which highlighted the spiritual experience to be had from visiting the natural, 'God-made' landscape in comparison to man-made towns.[108] As *The Scout* noted in 1931, when cycling through the countryside:

> On all sides you see the beauty of God's Handiwork—you can see it in the trees, with their new buds just opening; in the early Spring flowers with their fragrant scents; and in the little birds that chirps so merrily from the tree-tops—in fact, in everything that is around you.[109]

Such religious rhetoric was present throughout the mid-twentieth century, as the Scouting movements regularly identified the ways in which a healthy relationship with nature meant a fulfilling relationship with a Christian god.

Nevertheless, the space of the countryside was understood as providing much more than just spiritual fitness—it also provided a space for physical renewal, with the activities organized by youth organizations being as much about improving the health and fitness of members, as they were about encouraging young people to embrace the countryside. In October 1930, *The Scouter* encouraged its readers to 'hit the open road' in search of physical and mental fitness: 'Hiking on the open road brings you the joy of health in mind and limb, and what a glorious feeling is that of absolute fitness!'[110] While a year later, *The Guide* magazine asked its readers: 'What hiker does not know the ecstasy of real physical tiredness after a long day's hiking through glorious country?'[111] Guiders, older leaders in the GSA, were encouraged to see themselves as the guardians of the health of their members and to monitor their progress. In 1947, *The Guider* informed them that they should: 'Notice the condition of their hair and skin; watch for signs of tiredness on a long tramp; [and] see what sort of sandwiches

they bring on an expedition.'[112] Thus, the organization took it upon them to monitor and help improve to health of their members. Such concern for the health of children and youth at this time was not isolated to youth organizations and health and fitness was at the forefront of public discourse on the citizenship of young people before the Second World War.[113]

Consequently, Scout and Guide training included significant emphasis on everyday fitness with a focus on teaching members the principle 'rules of health' that remained prominent throughout the mid-century. These rules included, but were not limited to, an emphasis on the importance of fresh air—Guides were informed of the importance of breathing through their nose and keeping their bedroom windows open; the necessity of cleanliness—members were told that a daily 'evacuation' of the bowel and regular bathing would remove impurities from the body; the significance of exercise which would 'prevent the muscles from becoming weak and flabby' and cultivate good posture; the importance of balanced nutrition 'to nourish the body and provide energy, but also keep your nerves in good order', and the value of good grooming.[114] Such information was often conveyed to members in complex medical detail and merit badges including the 'Health' badge and 'Keep Fit' badge required a comprehensive understanding of the human body. In 1933, *The Scouter* declared that a good citizen should know the interior mechanisms of the ear, lungs and liver, as well as the best vitamins to take to ensure good health.[115] Members were also given physical challenges, including skipping and climbing, as a method of testing their levels of fitness. As *The Guider* contributor Janet Cozens admitted in 1947 '"health" is not just a matter of eating cabbage and washing one's neck, but that it means agility and skill and a steady nerve as well.'[116]

Of particular concern for youth organizations in the 1930s were those living in urban conditions, which was believed to be restrictive, dirty and damaging. For example, in 1939, *The Guider* asked its readers 'ARE YOU MASTER OF YOURSELF OR SLAVE OF YOUR ENVIRONMENT?' and stressed the negative impact that day-to-day urban living could have on one's health and happiness.[117] Symbolic of this distinction between the urban sphere as unhealthy and the rural as wholesome was the importance given to having access to fresh, country air. The fresh air of the countryside, in comparison to that of the city, was considered to have medicinal properties an exposure to which could cure a number of ills symptomatic of urban society.[118] Companies of Scouts and Guides were therefore encouraged to get out into the countryside as much as possible

to maximize the invigorating effects of the country air. In 1954 *The Guide* informed its readers that 'you will find that that the sun's rays and the refreshing winds will bring a sparkle to your eyes and glow to your cheeks'[119] Such ideas were part of a wider understanding of the role of the countryside in maintaining health and fitness at this time with similar ideas present in the popular press across the mid-century. Advertisements for brands such as Ovaltine consistently used the notion of 'country health' to attract consumers. One of these adverts which appeared in *The Guider* in 1930 with the tag line 'Country Health for You!' depicted a country milkmaid with a basket of eggs and a tin of Ovaltine, suggesting that by drinking the product you would achieve the full health and vitality obtained through country work and living.[120] As a result, perfect health, and consequently personal happiness, was constructed as having its roots in the rural landscape. As the magazine of the YFC organization, *The Young Farmer*, reassured its readers in 1937 'Generally speaking, the life led by most Y.F. [Young Farmer] members leads them, happily, in the opposite direction from Harley Street.'[121]

Despite this stewardship, however, the Scouting organizations propagated a rhetoric of individual responsibility when it came to discussions of health and fitness. Members were taught that they were accountable for their own wellbeing and that it was their civic duty to maintain perfect health and ensure national fitness. In 1932, Sampson, a regular correspondent for *The Guide*, informed readers that 'it is the duty of every one of us to keep fit and well. What use in the world is a nation of unfit, miserable people, and unless we are fit we *are* miserable.'[122] Not even ten years later, the publication echoed this sentiment when it declared that 'A good citizen is a healthy citizen; one who is sensible enough to look after her own body and to keep it in good working order.'[123] Such discussions of individual responsibility were framed by a much broader societal concern, particularly in the 1930s, around the fitness of the nation and the symbolic position of youth within these discussions.

Calls for national fitness were prominent in the first half of the twentieth century when the mutilation and horror of the First World War, alongside the increasingly diminutive physique of the urban poor and the high occurrence of infant mortality, venereal disease and alcoholism in urban areas, led to a renewal in concern amongst contemporaries, regarding the health of the nation.[124] A focus on fitness renewed, however, in the late 1930s as the government faced an increasingly uncertain situation in Europe and the growing threat of the Nazi regime.[125] With this the government, once again, placed improving the health and fitness of the

nation high on its agenda, with campaigns for national health and fitness at this time encouraging healthy living and physical fitness through exhibitions, films, radio programmes and campaign posters with the declaration 'Fitness Wins!'[126] Young people were at the forefront of this agenda. In a speech given to the National Fitness Council on 17 February 1938, King George VI declared that it was the job of young people across the country to look after and improve their own fitness and health. He urged young people to remember that:

> in the end fitness depends on the efforts of each one of us … and to youth in particular I would say: The future will be in your keeping. The present is your opportunity to fit yourselves for a full; active, useful, and therefore happy, life.[127]

Just under a year before on 3 July 1937 King George, along with his wife and two children, had attended 'The Festival of Youth', a large rally of youth clubs, movements and sporting organizations, planned by the British Sports and Games Association, with the intention of exhibiting the vitality, prowess and commitment of youth. The spectacle involved 11,000 young people, both boys and girls, from 40 groups and reportedly attracted 50,000 spectators. The exhibition consisted of physical training exercises and gymnastic demonstrations, as well as a procession of youngsters which included 'the life-savers in their bathing-suits, amateur boxers wearing their gloves, campers with rucksacks on backs, hockey girls in red and white, girl fencers, with the points of their rapiers lowered, girls dressed as Greek dancers, and finally the cyclists', along with a demonstration of maypole dancing by a thousand Girl Guides. It was with this event that the adoration of physical culture, but particularly that of young people, was solidified, with participants demonstrating 'an inspiring impression of England's youth, its vitality and high spirits'.[128] It is clear that youth movements were at the forefront of the provision of physical training for the young. It was this intervention, along with state encouragement that, David Matless argues, saw the generation of an 'art of right living', with youth being enlisted into a new society of health.[129] As *The Guider* declared:

> A good Guide is a good hiker … in making good hikers, we hope to make good Guides, and in making good Guides we are making good citizens, for hiking to us is but a means to an end: *character, friendship, health and handicrafts* [130]

Such ideas remained following the Second World War, when even the introduction of the National Health Service and welfare reforms did not diminish the focus on individual responsibility when it came to health. In 1947 an article in *The Guider* questioned the necessity of health training within the organization, in a world of 'orange juice, school meals and medical inspections' but ultimately concluded that 'Good health is a personal matter, and one for which each individual must accept responsibility; it cannot be gained merely by accepting social services, however excellent.'[131] In 1954, *The Guide* reaffirmed the importance of individual responsibility when it came to health:

> Never has the Government been so concerned with the standard of public health as it is today. … Yet with all this care provided by the State, unless we ourselves are prepared to pay sufficient attention to our own bodies we shall still fail to enjoy perfect health.[132]

Similarly, Woodcraft Folk continued to impress on its dwindling membership the importance of maintaining good health and fitness. In 1953, *The Helper*, a publication written for Folk leaders, reminded its readers: 'Flabbiness and soft living are the signs of decay. To establish a new order of life you and your fellow workers must be as hard as nails.'[133] The role of the outdoor recreations within youth organizations was thus clearly much more than simply a nostalgic attempt to reclaim a lost national past. Indeed, it was through rural leisure that movements looked to create happy, healthy and useful future citizens. Hence, while activities such as rambling and hiking stood to counteract the negative influences of modern urban living, they were also an important part in fashioning a fresh, strong and vibrant future. In 1932, a member of the Scout organization went so far as to declare that they, as an organization, were at the forefront of a revolution in leisure that would postitively impact society. The rural landscape thus integral to the making Britain 'a better place to live'[134] and the countryside became the arena on which ideals of citizenship were formed and exhibited, as places where men and women could go to improve their physique and their citizenship in tandem.[135]

Across the period from 1930 to 1960, youth organizations celebrated the beneficial effects that outdoor recreations could have upon young people. Constructed as an escape from the urban environment, rural leisure became a tool through which movements hoped to counteract the negative impact of urban living, on both the mind and the spirit. As such,

the countryside was imbued with an almost transcendent quality, and was framed as being a space in which members could achieve personal happiness and good citizenship in tandem. In propagating such ideas, the organizations laid claim to being an authority on the land and its inhabitants, and argued for the authenticity of countryside leisure in comparison to that of the urban. In doing so, the organizations clearly constructed ideas around leisure on both moral and spatial lines—with urban leisure identified as a possible, and very real, source of moral corruption, and outdoor recreations being a mode through which members could achieve good citizenship.

Youth, Adventure and the Landscape

In 1933, *The Scout* magazine published fictional short story series entitled 'The Millionaire Scout'. The story centred on protagonist Tuggy Evans and his Scout troop 'the Lions', who acquire a new member whom is less acquainted with Scouting and is obviously from a well off background. He arrives in camp by Rolls Royce and brings a trailer of camping equipment, which includes a silk tent and a camp bed.[136] The new Scout, who is named Girlie, does not fit into camp well, complains and cannot take the 'roughness' of the Scouting experience. For example, on his first night he does not take well to sleeping on the floor, 'having been used to a featherbed all his life'[137] and often clashes with the rest of the patrol, who had been brought up in 'one of the toughest quarters of Merlin Coombe'.[138] However, Girlie soon becomes enamoured with the Scouting life and in simple things such as preparing breakfast through which, 'he got quite a thrill out of frying bacon over the wood fire.'[139] As a result, he quickly becomes part of the troop and is enthralled by the togetherness and brotherhood he encounters when the troop go out of their way a number of times to save his life and prevent his kidnapping. This story is revealing as it highlights a number of significant points with regards to the way that youthful adventure was conceptualized within the Boy Scouts in the 1930s. First, the centrality of the outdoors in ideas about adventure and excitement and the ways in which the organizations used this idea to sell Scouting to young people; and second, the ways in which ideas about adventure were framed by assumptions of both class and gender. The final section of this chapter will explore the tensions at play in the construction of adventure within the Baden-Powell organizations across the mid-century.

The landscape of the countryside had long been an important setting for adventure stories, with the countryside positioned as a blank canvas that young people could explore.[140] Such 'camping and tramping' literature often privileged images of the southern, tamed landscape of England, to the exclusion of wilder landscapes, although these were not uncontested spaces.[141] This connection between the 'green and pleasant' country landscape and adventure was a pronounced one across the thirty-year period from 1930 to 1960, with children's authors, most famously Enid Blyton, situating stories of mystery, danger and excitement within the countryside. Blyton's popular series *The Famous Five*, produced between the years of 1942 and 1962, and reprinted many times thereafter, utilized the rural landscape of the countryside as a space in which the main protagonists, siblings Julian, Dick and Anne, and cousin George (Georgina), got into all sorts of adventures, met strange characters, solved ghostly mysteries, apprehended criminals and, on more than one occasion, fell into danger.[142] A similar theme can be identified in both Guide and Scout fiction of the period, which regularly mirrored the storylines and focus of the adventure-driven narratives of the Blyton series. In the 1931 Guide short story 'Even to an Escaped Convict', protagonist Felicity (Felix) uses the tracking skills learnt in the Guides to follow and apprehend an escaped convict (who later turns out to be innocent) across the countryside.[143] The story, which stressed the importance of independence, bravery and tenacity, was one of many that highlighted the opportunities for adventure in the countryside. Importantly, however, Scout and Guide fiction also served to encourage members to see their organizational training as being a central element to this. For example, Felix's Guiding experience allowed her to track the criminal on her own merit. Through such stories the organization was encouraging the idea that membership of the GGA was a 'passport to adventure'.

Despite this, it is clear that ideas about adventure were formed along gendered and classed lines. For example, there are obviously gendered and class-based tensions at play in the story of the 'The Millionaire Scout'. Firstly, the connotations of the protagonist's name are obvious; by naming him 'Girlie' the author was suggesting that his behaviour and attitude to Scouting was somewhat feminine. With, as we have seen, understandings of boyhood in the movement being directly linked with a 'toughness' and yearning for adventure, the fact that Girlie dislikes 'roughing it', suggests that he is un-masculine. By extension, this suggests something about approaches to class as well. Girlie, being upper class, exhibits these

feminine traits, while the other members who are from 'one of the toughest quarters of Merlin Coombe'[144] take to Scouting naturally. The suggestion being that working-class boys fit into the Scout lifestyle and can benefit from it, as they can identify with the 'going without mantra' of the organization's philosophy. Importantly then, although the Scouts problematized working-class youth, it did not problematize working-class character, aiming not to change the nature of boys but to channel such qualities into constructive means. This is clear across the 1930s when the organization in numerous ways, valorized particular aspects of working-class culture and experience. This is evidenced most clearly in the growing concern in both the Scout and Guide organizations during the 1930s that camping was too reliant on expensive equipment and accessories and as a result to experience of 'going without', which was so important to developing the celebrated character traits of thrift and self-sacrifice, was being lost. *The Scouter* reported in 1933 that: 'The modern Boy Scout was becoming a 'gentleman camper',[145] relying too much upon camping equipment and on shops for food, with things such as 'A tin opener more essential to him than a knife'.[146] While only a few years previous *The Guider* warned of the 'problem' girl who refuses to 'rough it' and as a result spreads disaffection in camp. The writer declared:

> There are firstly, contagious ideas, which may poison the happiness of a camp. In an otherwise jolly crowd of Guides there may be some from a town company who are best described as, 'genteel little ladies'. They express their superiority by sniffing at the food, announcing that at home they have such and such; and pine loudly for fish paste, tinned peaches, and ice cornets. If a deaf ear is turned, they may infect children who were enjoying healthy plain food. I found it best to laugh at them, and let them starve for a day or so; very soon the worst offender volunteered that, after all, camp food was 'really quite decent, considering the difficulties'.[147]

The message of this warning is clear, that although anyone can be a Guide, it is the simple activities of Scouting which make the experience special and which are mitigated if one relies on modern equipment and labour-saving devices. Furthermore, it is the simple aspects of camp, the chores, the cooking and generally 'roughing it', which makes the camp much more enjoyable than, and superior to, town pursuits. To this end, worries that Scouting was becoming a 'preserve of the better-off'[148] continued in the 1950s when the cost of uniforms, equipment and trips, was

identified as a barrier to membership for those boys who most needed the influence of Scouting in their lives, but also who were most naturally inclined towards Scouting. Significantly, while Scouting philosophy contained distinctly middle-class ideals about behaviour and morals, the construction of adventure in the organization also extolled the virtues of working-class character.

Of course, if class framed ideas regarding adventure in this period, then they were equally shaped by gendered discourses. In a 1941 issue of *The Scouter*, the organization encouraged members to push the boundaries of training, exploration and fitness:

> Again, when you're at camp don't postpone a hike just because the weather is bad … Unless you or your Scouts have trampled miles and miles in stormy weather, you haven't lived together really fully … There is something in a man's make-up that urges him to see over the next ridge and to reach the highest view. This is a spiritual urge and satisfies the trinity in man.[149]

Being adventurous and daring was clearly a characteristic that the movement celebrated as an important masculine trait throughout the male lifecycle. On the other hand, Guiding, and by extension the idea of adventure, was considered a fleeting moment for girls, who would naturally settle down after marriage. In 1930, a story in *The Guide* confirmed the youthful nature of the Guiding experience. In 'Cherries in Search of a Captain', a story about a Guide troop whose previous Captain left them to get married, the 'Cherries' attempt to find a Captain in order to continue Guiding duties. Along the way they meet a Scout, Mr Sylvester, who, although quite old, continued his Scouting activities enthusiastically. Below is an extract of the Guide's first impression of him.

> Peter nodded. 'I think he's most awfully nice, don't you? He must be quite old, because his hair's nearly grey, but he doesn't seem a bit grown-up somehow.'
>
> 'That's because he's a Scout.' Cherry stated wisely. 'Why, the Chief himself is over seventy, but you couldn't possibly call him "grown up" in the bad sense could you? I suppose it's the same with Mr. Sylvester.'[150]

Here then, the mantra of once a Scout, always a Scout is clear. By contrast, a later meeting with an older lady by the name of Miss Harrison gauges a different response. When Lottie, a younger sickly girl, suggests

that Miss Harrison becomes the Cherries new leader, Petronella (nicknamed Peter) opposes the proposition because she was simply too old. Peter protests:

> 'Yes—that's all right—but, Lottie, she's too old, and utterly unpractical. She'll go and catch cold and die or something in camp.'
>
> 'Oh, no, she won't.' Lottie was quite determined. 'I'll take care of that. She'll be safer in camp with us than up at the cottage alone. As for age—I don't believe she's nearly as old as Mrs. Leicester, the new Ranger Captain.'
>
> 'But Mrs. Leicester is quite, quite different—she's got her hair bobbed and she's a Captain.' Peter grabbed wildly at the first reasons that she could find in the chaos of her thoughts.[151]

Here we see the representation of Guiding as a youthful activity. While Mrs. Harrison is too old for the position, Mrs. Leicester is suitable because she has bobbed hair. This suggestion that youth is the attribute best needed for Guiding supports the idea that for many women youthful adventure was attributed to the period before marriage.

The importance of 'adventure' as a distinct life-cycle stage was also evident in discussions in the Scouting movements throughout the 1930s on the continuation of organizational activities after marriage. The topic was a contentious one to say the least. One married Guider worried in 1935:

> What happens to a married Guider? … How is she to prevent it encroaching on the rights of her young husband? … Where are we to stop, how are we to stop, once our movement envelops us and absorbs our interest.[152]

Therefore, for many members the freedom and adventure provided by Guiding was short lived. Guides, once married, were often expected to give up their interest and spend the majority of their time at home. It was expected that Scouts on the other hand, continue their duties to the movement. One older leader in the Scout organization asked *The Scouter* in 1933 about how one might fit Scouting into married life. He asked: 'how is he to arrange his "spare time activities" to be fair to his wife and troop … Is it his duty to give his wife a holiday, or take the boys to camp?'[153] The majority of the responses to this letter encouraged Scouters to continue duties as normal, including camping. A number even suggested taking their wives to camp with them, for example, the following Scouter, who

suggested: 'I think the wife must be trained to have a certain amount of interest in Scouting, and also have sufficient friends and hobbies of her own to bridge the gaps caused by Scouting activities.'[154] Therefore, for men, Scouting could remain a dominant part of their leisure time; women on the other hand were less likely to remain part of the movement after marriage, when their leisure time would be defined by the needs of her family and thus Guiding activities were restricted. Going on an annual camp, for example, was usually out of the question.[155]

However, while marriage could mark the end of Guiding activities for young women, the movement provided positions within the organization for those who wanted to continue. Though difficult, married women could participate in Guiding activities as Captains, or through post-Guiding, which provided an acceptable environment where wives could spend their leisure time. As one post- 'Ranger' wrote in 1935:

> I have given up all my Guiding except post-Rangers who fit splendidly into married life. … After all, the object of Guide training is the making and, as I see it, the highest aim of good citizenship is happy family life in well-run homes; therefore that must come first for those of us who are lucky enough to have our own.[156]

The above quote exemplifies the difficult relationship between Guiding and the married woman, suggesting that although Guiding could be continued following marriage it lost its use and appeal. Therefore, while Claire Langhamer has, quite rightly, pinpointed the difficulty of continuing youthful leisure activities after marriage, Guiding provided for some an exception to this rule, by becoming leaders of the next generation of Guides.[157]

In the 1930s, experiences of outdoor activities were also shaped by gendered expectations with regards to feminine behaviour and physical ability. In a discussion on cycling in 1930, Guide official G.G Jackson recommended that, while mixed-sex cycling tours were fun, in the end the physicality of cycling meant mixed-sex groups would be unmatched in ability. The report went as follows:

> On the whole, girls will probably have to rely upon their own company for a tour. … Boys, unfortunately, are apt to be a little inconsiderate in this respect. To prove the superiority of their sex, they will actually do more mileage than they would ordinarily in an attempt to show that they can go great distances without being fatigued.[158]

This attitude towards the sexual division of physical activity was not limited to these movements at this time but part of a wider understanding of the female body. For example, physical education in schools was framed by the fact that girls were considered physically weaker, having little experience in physical exercise, low stamina and were easily fatigued. It was for these reasons that direct competition with boys was discouraged and girls were often found competing in feminized sports such as dancing.[159] Additionally, in the 1930s ideas about cleanliness could often dominate girls' experiences of camping. In 1935, Guides were reminded that 'We always appear tidily at meal-times—with sleeves rolled down and no pinafores … We never go out in the rain without coats or mackintoshes, and hats …'[160] To this end then, the spontaneity and adventure seeking nature of the Scouting philosophy could be hampered in the Guides by an emphasis on acceptable feminine behaviour.

Despite this however, in many ways Guiding alleviated some of these tensions by providing a space in which girls could stretch gender boundaries and actively seek adventure.[161] In 1930, for example, *The Guide* encouraged members to go hiking because 'it is one of the best forms of training in those qualities of initiative, quickness of perception and courage', attributes usually found in 'backwoodsmen, explorers and frontiersmen.'[162] Camp provided the opportunity for both girls to engage in activities previously considered too masculine for them, such as cooking on an open fire, climbing trees, playing games and sleeping outdoors. This is significant considering that even by 1951, in the world of Enid Blyton, characters Anne and George were considered too fragile to sleep in a barn with their male relatives. As Julian told George in one adventure: 'You may look like a boy and behave like a boy, but you're a girl all the same. And like it or not, girls have got to be taken care of.'[163] Additionally, the Guide movement provided a space, away from the confines of school and home, where girls could form meaningful friendships, discussed further in Chap. 6. Here we can identify the ways in which the movement attempted to straddle the clear line between traditional and modern, observed by historian Tammy Proctor. On the one hand, the organizations provided the adventure and excitement its members craved; on the other, activities were tempered by dominant societal notions of both femininity and masculinity, in an attempt to maintain parental support.[164]

This duality can be seen clearly in the 1931 Guide short story, 'She Didn't Like the Guides', in which protagonist Ruth Tucker has a struggle to convince her aunt to let her join the Guides, as she believed them to be

too masculine as they allowed girls 'To go trapsing [sic] about the countryside like a pack of boys!' In the extract below, the characters are discussing the Guides and the skills they teach.

Her aunt scolds:

> 'I know all about *them*! I have seen them gallivanting along the dusty roads dressed up like a lot of guys …'
>
> 'And I hear that they actually sleep out in the fields *all night*!'[165]

The argument continues:

> 'And I hope you won't start pestering me to let you join those silly guys,' went on her Aunt.
>
> '"Guides"! Auntie,' protested Ruth, still smiling.
>
> 'They are all the same,' declared the old lady. 'It's all a pack of nonsense. Girls never wanted to have such ridiculous goings-on in my young days. I don't know what the world is coming to, that I don't!'[166]

Shifting reflections on modernity are clear in this extract, with the Guides representing themselves a representative of 'modern' practices of youthful leisure in comparison to the aunt's 'young days'. Following this exchange, Ruth and her local Guide troop set out to prove to her aunt that Guides could be 'useful'. In doing so they perform a number of household chores, building a pig-sty and herding three pigs at the request of auntie, and it is the completion of these tasks which convinces her that Guides are worthwhile. Here then, the exploration of the countryside is characterized as a masculine trait, and it is through the more domesticated activities that girls prove their worth. The movement's attraction to girls on the one hand and its 'usefulness' towards preparation for traditional roles on the other, was thus a balance that the Guides needed to negotiate. The countryside was for many considered a masculine arena for adventurous activity, but the Guides appropriated this space for its members. This is clear in the plethora of Guide fiction across the period, which regularly included Guides who, often unknowingly, enter into an adventurous trek across the rural landscape.

Gender also impacted the kinds of landscapes that were idealized in both the Scout and Guide movements. Indeed, while the setting of many Guiding stories was often tamed landscapes and controlled spaces such as schools, Scouting fiction, in contrast, covered a wider variety of landscapes,

ranging from typical country scenes to wilder landscapes, which were often colonial. Thus if adventure fiction and the Baden-Powell movements were important in constructing the idea of what Matthew Thomson has termed, the 'child in the landscape', they did so on explicitly gendered terms.[167]

Following the Second World War, opportunities for adventure for girls within the organization expanded as members were increasingly encouraged to take advantage of the numerous spaces of leisure that were opening up for girls, including mountain walking.[168] In August 1951, *The Guider* reported the success of the first climbing camp organized for girls by the Land Rangers branch of the organization. The camp, the article asserted, was made up of:

> an ordinary collection of girls and women brought together by two things—their membership of the Guide movement … and their desire for adventurous activities in mountainous country, where they could try out their physical and mental endurance and courage. … The tradition of independence and self-reliance was in the camp.[169]

Therefore, in the post-war period, the organization continued to celebrate the adventurous, and independent nature of their members and importantly, provide a space for girls to engage in such activities. There were, however, limitations to this and one only has to look at the focus on domestic skills in the Guides, as will be done in Chap. 5, to pinpoint a clear agenda of 'feminine' training. Additionally, the activities encouraged by the organizations remained gendered, with more regular information on mountaineering, caving and rock-climbing in Scout publications. This had important implications of the landscape imagery that predominated in the organizational magazines, with the Scout magazines, encouraging the exploration of more of a variety of different landscapes than the Guides.[170]

Paradoxically, however, as the Guides increasingly celebrated the accessibility of physically adventurous activities for girls, the idea of adventure was becoming less attractive to many of the organization's older members. By the post-war period, notions of adventure had become outdated in the context of a growing mass media and as older members appropriated more autonomy in their leisure lives. As Bell noted in 1959:

> Why is it failing? There are a number of possible answers. One may well be that its myth is out-of-date—the story, the packaging if you like, that sold in 1910 may no longer be an asset but a liability. What once attracted may now

> repel. The ideology of Mafeking may have lost a little of its glamour in an atomic age … We need to bring the wrapping up to date while we keep the essence unaltered.[171]

Here, we can see an increasing juxtaposition between the 'modern' practices of the urban teen and the increasingly traditional image of the dutiful members of the Scouting regimes. As a result there was the belief that older members were put off by the childish connotations of the movements, as Hilda Birkett argued in 1955: 'Label our outdoor pursuits consistently with the tag "adventure" and by reason of the juvenile connotation of this word in their minds, you cut considerably the appeal of Rangering to the average city or suburban working girl.'[172] Ideas of adventure and nobility were no longer attractive to the 'teenager' who was seemingly living in a 'different age' to those before. Changes in health, youth service, family life and importantly the extension of education, meant that Scouting had to adapt to a fit in with modern society and attract modern youth.[173]

If the Scouting organizations packaged their training within discourses of citizenship, they do so equally within rhetoric of adventure. Meanings of adventure within the movements were framed by understandings of working-class character and gender. Across the 1930s, the Guide organisation increasingly sold itself as a modern space in which girls could challenge gender notions of behaviour. Despite this, there continued to be limitations on the Guiding experience, with ideas about 'adventure' being understood within a gendered life-cycle. Following the Second World War the organization celebrated the opportunities for girls to experience adventure within their training, despite the fact that increasingly girls were leaving the organization. A study of adventure within the Scouting organization, therefore, reveals the ways in which youth organizations consistently struggled to meet the expectations of their members, while celebrating gendered ideals of citizenship.[174] This gendered training not only shaped the activities that members were told to take part in but also the types of landscapes that members were encouraged to explore.

Conclusion

Across the mid-century, leisure was vital to the construction of good citizenship within youth movements. This chapter has shown how youth movements across the period from 1930 to 1960, concerned

with the leisure pursuits of urban youth, placed emphasis on the countryside as a nurturing alternative to the mass commercial leisure of the city. In doing so, they situated themselves and, more widely, the countryside as an antidote to the 'problem of youth' at this time. These movements identified these problems to be symptomatic of shifts in urban working-class life and particularly the increased affluence of many working-class people. Symbolic of this was the figure of the juvenile delinquent who exhibited deviant, and at times criminal, behaviour in his leisure time. For youth movements then, like numerous other contemporaries, leisure could be the path to good citizenship but also a distraction along the way.

Reminiscent of the enthusiasts of nineteenth-century rational recreation, youth organizations, thus, asserted themselves as an authority on the 'right' uses of leisure. Outdoor recreations were identified throughout the mid-century as being a route to instilling moral character and physical health which could negate the impact of modern urban living on young people. This is not to suggest that the organizations were nostalgic or 'anti-modern'. The importance of the landscape within youth movements certainly stemmed from a romantic conception of the countryside and its place within a shared national past, which in the Scouting organizations was bound up with religious belief. But alongside this, the movements employed the land as a space in which to carve their own version of modernity—one that privileged health, fitness, and contact with the land. To this end, rural leisure was a tool through which movements could inculcate a love and appreciation of the countryside, which was symbolic of a better and more prosperous future.

The 1950s proved challenging in this regard. While in the 1930s, the Scouting organizations had packaged themselves as being a modern space of leisure in which members could stretch gender boundaries, after the Second World War this rhetoric of adventure lost its appeal to the self-consciously modern 'teenager'. In the 1930s, the organizations saw themselves as providing an escape from 'drab' working-class conditions by providing access to real adventure, however, in the 1950s the increasing affluence of working-class youth meant that paradoxically, the organization was failing to attract the young people that they believed most in need of their service.

Notes

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3. *The Guider,* June 1934, p. 208.
4. *The Scouter*, September 1933, p. 333.
5. A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: working class culture in Salford and Manchester 1900–1939* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1992), p. 89; S. Todd (2006), 'Flappers and factory lads: youth and youth culture in interwar Britain', *History Compass*, 4, 715–730; D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers. The lifestyle of young wage-earners in interwar Britain* (London: The Woburn Press, 1995); B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).
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7. P. Bailey (1977), 'A mingled mass of perfectly legitimate pleasures: the Victorian middle class and the problem of leisure', *Victorian Studies*, 21, 7–28; C. Parratt, (1999), 'Making leisure work women's rational recreation in late Victorian and Edwardian England', *Journal of Sport History*, 26, 471–487.
8. R. Snape and H. Pussard (2011), 'Theorisations of leisure in inter-war Britain', *Leisure Studies*, 32, 1–18, at p. 2.
9. Snape and Pussard, 'Theorisations of Leisure', p. 2.
10. J. Richards, The *Age of the Dream Palace: cinema and society in Britain, 1930–1939* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), pp. 11–12; B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 187–188.
11. MOA: Directive Respondent (DR) 2006, reply to July 1939 Directive.
12. P. Tinkler (2003), 'Cause for Concern: young women and leisure, 1930–1950', *Women's History Review*, 12, 238; Beaven, *Leisure*, p. 215.
13. Tinkler, 'Cause for Concern', p. 240.
14. For a more detailed discussion of juvenile delinquency in this period see: A. Wills (2005), 'Delinquency, masculinity and citizenship in England 1950–70', *Past & Present*, 187, 157–185; K. Bradley (2008), 'Juvenile delinquency, the juvenile courts and the Settlement Movement 1908–1950: Basil Henriques and Toynbee Hall', *20th Century British History*, 19, 133–155; L. Jackson (2008), 'The Coffee Club menace: policing youth, leisure and sexuality in post-war Manchester', *Cultural and Social*

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15. H.D. Willcock, *Report on juvenile delinquency (Mass-Observation)* (London: The Falcon Press, 1949), p. 22.
16. Home Office, C*riminal Statistics England and Wales 1960. Statistics Relating to Crime and Criminal Proceedings for the Year 1960* (HMSO: London, 1961), Cmd 1437, p. xlvi.
17. Changes in definitions of delinquency, shifts in police practice, legislation and perception of crime means that criminal statistics are difficult to interpret. J. Springhall, *Coming of Age: adolescence in Britain, 1860–1960* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986), p. 189. For discussion of lived experience and challenge to this narrative of delinquency see: M. Tebbutt, *Being Boys: youth, leisure and identity in the inter-war years* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); S. Todd (2012), 'Baby-boomers to "beanstalkers": making the modern teenager in post-war Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 9, 451–467; G. Mitchell (2013), 'Reassessing the "Generation Gap': Bill Haley's 1957 tour of Britain, inter-generational relations and attitudes to Rock n' Roll in the late 1950s', *20th Century British History*, 24, 573–605.
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19. Richards, The *Age of the Dream Palace,* pp. 11–12.
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23. *The Guider*, December 1938, p. 466
24. *The Scouter*, December 1934, p. 403.
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29. *The Scouter*, January 1933, p. 2.
30. *The Scouter*, May 1958, p. 118.
31. B. Beaven and J. Griffiths (2008), 'Creating the exemplary citizen: the changing notion of citizenship in Britain 1870–1939', *Contemporary British History*, 22, 214.
32. *Woodcraft Folk Reports and Accounts 1937*, p. 2, FH_014_01. https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive/item/woodcraft-folk-reports-and-accounts/.

33. *The Pioneer of the Folk*, February 1935, p. 3, FH_009_02 https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive/item/the-pioneer-of-the-folk-vol-11-no-10-may/.
34. Davies, *Leisure*, p. 278.
35. *The Folk Year Book 1931–32*, p. 15, FH_013_03, https://heritage.woodcraft.org.uk/archive/item/the-folk-year-book-1/.
36. *The Guider*, November 1936, p. 355
37. For example, as Melanie Tebbutt has shown girls were observed 'lifting one leg' when they kissed a partner, as in the movies. Tebbutt, *Being Boys*, pp. 129–130.
38. *The Guider*, November 1936, p. 355
39. *The Scouter*, May 1958, p. 119.
40. J. Muncie, *Youth and Crime*, Third Edition (London: Sage, 2009), p. 196.
41. Such as 'Wreck n' Rollers at it Again'. *The Times*, 13 November 1956, p. 12.
42. *The Guider*, April 1959, p. 100.
43. *The Guider*, March 1955, p. 83.
44. David Muggleton has summarized the key shifts in discussions of class and youth in both sociological and ethnographic studies. D. Muggleton (2005), 'From classlessness to clubculture: a genealogy of post-war British youth cultural analysis', *Young*, 13, 205–212. Osgerby outlines the class tensions of post-war youth culture in his 1992 article on youth and consumption. B. Osgerby (1992) 'Well, it's Saturday night an' I just got paid': Youth, consumerism and hegemony in post-war Britain, *Contemporary Record*, 6, 287–305.
45. *The Scouter*, May 1958, p. 118.
46. *The Scouter*, July 1958, p. 185.
47. *The Scouter*, January 1951, p. 25.
48. *The Scouter*, January 1960, p. 5.
49. *The Guider*, July 1955, p. 213.
50. Girls 15–21 include both Cadets and Rangers, boys 15+ includes Rovers and Senior Scouts. Does not include those in leadership roles such as Guiders and Scouters. Guide figures taken from the Girl Guide Census made available by the GGA; Scout figures provided by the Boy Scout Association (hereafter BSA), Essex.
51. *The Scouter*, June 1956, p. 141; Guide Log Books, 7th Dunstable Company, 1955–1960, ST2/S4/BZ, GGA.
52. *The Scouter*, February 1956, p. 44.
53. *The Daily Mirror*, 29 September 1960, p. 12.
54. *The Scouter*, February 1951, p. 52.
55. *The Daily Mirror*, 29 September 1960, p. 12.

56. *Report of the Enquiry Committee into Lack of Progress Following the War*, August 1949, YMA/WF/216, LSE, p. 5.
57. This scrapbook was created in 1965 in response to a Women's Institute Golden Jubilee competition aiming to produce a 'picture of village life'. P. Jennings, *The Living Village: a report on rural life in England and Wales, Based on actual village scrapbooks,* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), p. 15.
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61. *The Young Farmer*, December 1932 p. 173.
62. *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 2 April 1957, p. 99.
63. *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 2 April 1957, p. 99.
64. *The Young Farmer*, January–February 1952, p. 37.
65. *The Young Farmer*, March-April 1950, p. 82
66. *The Guider*, April 1948 p. 70
67. *The Rucksack*, March 1935, p. 3.
68. *The Guider*, March 1947, p. 62.
69. *The Guider*, September 1947, p. 203.
70. *The Scout*, 9 May 1931, p. 815.
71. *The Guide*, 22 June 1935, p. 307; *The Guide, 1 June 1939, p. 239* & *The Guide*, 12 March 1948, p. 131.
72. *The Guider*, April 1933, p. 161.
73. *The Guide*, 2 April 1954, p. 172.
74. *The Rucksack*, March 1935, p. 3
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CHAPTER 4

The Good Citizen at Work

In a discussion of the history of the YFC movement in the 1953 yearbook of the Lancashire county YFCs, the author asserted that members were the 'future citizens of the land, and they would be better farmers and better citizens in the future for the work of the Y.F.C movement.'[1] This yearbook, like many other YFC materials from this period, identified the close relationship between meanings of good citizenship and work on the land. A similar relationship can be identified in both the Scout and Guide movements, which encouraged young urbanites to take up agricultural tasks as a form of service to the nation, particularly in wartime. We have seen in the previous chapters how youth movements focused on rural leisure as a means to improve citizenship. This chapter will identify another strand of thinking at this time, which located good citizenry within the sphere of work, particularly on the land. It will demonstrate how, across the mid-twentieth century, young people, both urban and rural, were encouraged to develop agricultural skills as a form of service, particularly in the context of the 'drift from the land' in peacetime and the drive for food production in the Second World War. Parallel to this, there was the belief that the physical experience and knowledge of farming could combat problems of urban youth, particularly, this chapter will argue, the problem of youth unemployment in the 1930s. Underpinning this discourse was an implicit concern over the impact of modernity upon agricultural life. The modernization of agriculture and the drift of young workers from the land across

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this period meant that a proficiency and interest in agricultural work remained central to understandings of good citizenship, particularly for rural boys.

The Problem of Unemployment

In 1933 an article in *The Scouter* declared, in reference to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) 'British Boys for British Farms' scheme, that 'farm work in this country may not appeal to all Scouts, yet there must be many who would gladly, if they knew of this opportunity, accept the chance of employment on the land, rather than hopeless idleness.'[2] Here the article refers to two strands of thought, firstly, the concern over juvenile unemployment, which emerged in the interwar period, and secondly, the utilization of farm work as a way to combat this trend. While in the previous chapter we saw how working-class conditions of poverty in the interwar period bred concern over the leisure time of young people, it is clear that another aspect of young people's lives that was under scrutiny was their working patterns. This was particularly the case in the 1930s, when shifting work opportunities for both young men and women emerged following the decline of the old staple industries after the First World War, particularly the production of coal, steel, engineering and textiles, and the rise of new industries in areas such as the electrical and consumer sectors. [3] These shifts saw an increase in job opportunities for semi-skilled workers amongst the mass production environment of 'new' factories, which meant that experiences of work became highly regionalized. For example, the growth of new industries, particularly in the south-east and midlands of England, offered well-paid jobs which did not require long and arduous training, and many young men took advantage of this opportunity to earn disposable income. This, as we know, led a number of contemporaries to ruminate and agonize over how young people would use this income and on what leisure pursuits they would spend it. The correlation between work and the growing existence of distinctly adolescent leisure and spending patterns is clear here, with increasing opportunities in the workplace providing the income and consumer power to engage in leisure pursuits.

On the other hand, however, experiences of work in the interwar period, particularly in the north of England, were often blighted by instances of unemployment.[4] As the 1938 Report of the Pilgrims Trust on unemployment, *Men without Work*, asserted, 'Unemployment has been

since the war one of the greatest social problems in this country.'[5] The experience of unemployment was not, however, the same for all; of course, issues of region, class, gender and age came into play. Unemployment was highest in the north of England, with unemployment rates for the north-east of England in 1932 being at 30.6 per cent in comparison to the south-east, where it was at 13.1 per cent.[6]

The position of young people in the history of unemployment at this time is widely contested. W. R. Garside confidently declared, in the often-repeated opening to his 1977 article on juvenile unemployment in the interwar period, that:

> One of the most pernicious and socially disturbing aspects of British unemployment between the wars was the enforced idleness suffered by thousands of youngsters under the age of 18. With ambitions quashed and its independence and morale noticeably weakened, the army of unemployed youth represented an economic and social problem of alarming proportions, not least because of its potentially disastrous effects on the future well-being of the nation.[7]

Daniel Benjamin and Levis Kochin disagreed, pointing to the relatively small number of juvenile unemployed in comparison to the wider figures of unemployment at the time; they argued that, apart from isolated times, notably the height of the Great Depression from 1930 to 1932, the proportion of unemployed young people actually hit an historical low in this period.[8] As Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell uncovered, young male workers under 21 generally had the lowest unemployment rates in the interwar period, with the rate for those aged 16–17 in 1932 at 4.1 per cent and for those between 18 and 20 at 16.3 per cent (a much lower rate than other age-groups in this period).[9] Recent years have seen further revision of Garside's interpretation from historians, who argue that there is little evidence to suggest that youth unemployment was 'socially disturbing' at this time.[10] Selina Todd has also critiqued Garside's analysis, by highlighting the relatively reliable employment of juveniles in comparison to their fathers. In actuality, she suggests, boys' employment became crucial to the working-class household and particularly to households in which the male breadwinner was unemployed.[11]

Nonetheless, while this is the case, a study of youth movements at this time reveals persistent concern over youth unemployment and its impact. Across the 1930s, the Scouts advertised, and indeed, in some cases boasted, of the success of schemes they ran for unemployed youths. Seeing

their actions as tantamount to the drive against the ill effects of modern living on young people, the Scouts aimed to tackle the problem of unemployment in two ways. Firstly, by training unemployed members, and second by 'adopting' the unemployed from poor, distressed areas and introducing unemployed boys to the healthy benefits of the countryside.

Training was provided for unemployed Rover Scouts at selected 'training centres', the location of which varied from the famous ship *Discovery*, gifted to the organization in 1936, to club houses and estates.[12] The best-known of these schemes was the Hedingham Training Camps and Unemployment Scheme, set up in 1929 by the Scouts, recognized and supported by the Ministry of Labour and situated at Hedingham Castle in Essex.[13] This scheme, vocally supported by the royal family, trained young men from 'distressed' areas aged 18–25 in skills necessary for private service, including cookery and gardening, and, importantly, guaranteed members the offer of a job on completion.[14] As *The Times* reported of the scheme in April 1934: 'CHEFS OF THE FUTURE. Unemployed Scouts [are] being trained as chefs, in the cookhouse at Hedingham Castle. Other men are being trained as chauffeurs, gardeners, handymen and parlourmen.'[15] It is thus clear that these were not apprenticeship schemes, in the traditional sense of the word, as they did not teach boys a necessary trade but trained working-class boys, in different forms of 'service'.

The Scouts paid particular attention to the problem of unemployment amongst the organization's members. However, the movement also turned its attention outwards to the numbers of unemployed who were not associated with it. While the Hedingham training scheme required some evidence of allegiance to the Scouts, involvement did not require Scout membership as such. As an article in *The Times* made clear in 1933, while the scheme was primarily for members of the Rover Scouts, other young men were accepted into the scheme, provided they were 'prepared to conform to Scout discipline'.[16] With this being the case, young men from areas hit hard by the economic slump would be invited to join the programme. This was reported in *The Manchester Guardian* in August 1934, when 100 youths from County Durham, aged 18–20, were invited to join a three-month training course at Hedingham.[17] These boys were selected primarily because they did not fall under schemes of training for the unemployed that were provided by the government at this time.

Action for the unemployed was therefore not just limited to those inside the movement but was a sign of the organization's desire to improve the condition and citizenship of those living across the country. As well as

offering training schemes, the movement also organized 'sponsorships' of 'depressed areas' and encouraged their members to do a 'good turn', by offering assistance to areas in need. The most publicized of these being the 'mothering' of the mining village of Tow Law in County Durham across the 1930s. As part of London Scouts' 'distressed areas scheme', Tow Law became the beneficiary of Scout fundraising, with London Scouts donating money towards their voluntary work scheme. This scheme saw the building of a number of community facilities, including a recreation ground, a gymnasium, a tennis court, a cricket ground and a kitchen, in which young married women could be given free cookery lessons.[18] The funding provided by the Scouts, was depicted as being vital to the survival of this scheme. As an article from *The Daily Mirror* in 1936 described, Scout funds were keeping the construction of such amenities going, by supplying each volunteer with lunch.

> **London Scouts As Mothers to Twelve Dozen Unemployed**.
>
> A GOOD mother always sees her family is well fed—and that is what London's Rover Scouts are doing in their 'mothering' of Tow Law, the mining village in County Durham, where 75 per cent of the population is unemployed.
>
> The Rovers' special 'children' are a gang of twelve dozen unemployed men working voluntarily, moving 50,000 tons of earth to level the ground for a recreation field.
>
> … Although the Rovers have never even seen the place they have adopted, they collect enough money among themselves each month to supply those hungry volunteers with a mid-day dinner.[19]

Therefore, the Scouts were represented as, quite literally, feeding the good work done by these schemes and in doing so helping to provide a purpose for those who were unemployed. Both the Scouts and the Guides were also reported to have lent equipment for the organization of camps for the wives of unemployed men.[20] It is clear, as we have seen in the previous chapter, that the Scouting way was considered particularly effective in helping wayward young men. Unemployment was, in most cases, considered by these movements to be a factor out of the control of those who were subjected to it. Nonetheless, unemployment could still prove to be troublesome for young men, who could fall into bad habits as a result. Hence, tackling unemployment was of key importance to these movements, and particularly the Scouts, as it could have an immediate impact on issues of citizenship.

Youth movements also attempted to help unemployed youths through trips into the countryside, which, as we have seen, was believed to offer a healthy alternative to the pleasures on offer to the urban working classes. Trips into the countryside were considered effective in tackling the impact of unemployment, as it was believed to encourage aspects of national character which were desirable for good citizenship. Such aspects included self-improvement, the learning of skills and the willingness to work hard, and these could all be achieved through embracing the countryside and accepting the Scouting way. This notion of the self-improvement to be found in the countryside can also be seen in the popularity of hiking amongst the working classes following the First World War, which Claire Griffiths argues is evidence of a wider search for self-improvement amongst the working classes at this time.[21]

The 'toughness' of outdoor recreations was also believed to prepare young men for the unreliability of the job market and give them a 'can-do' attitude. As *The Scouter* declared in 1930:

> A British boy who has had to rough it in camp finds that when he comes back to civilization he is more easily able to obtain employment because he is ready to turn his hand to whatever kind of work may turn up.'[22]

For many of these schemes, it was the outdoor and physical experiences of camp that could draw out the qualities of young men that had been ignored or forgotten by industry. In 1933, a YHA discussion of an unemployed walking group was printed in *The Rucksack* under the title: 'No Work but Good Walking' and declared, 'These young men are unwanted by our industrial civilization—it is a terrible condemnation of that civilization.'[23] Similarly, the YHA organized walking tours for unemployed men, who were 'guided' through the countryside by an experienced member of the association.[24] Constructive leisure, therefore, also had a role to play in this. It was clearly not just through the training for employment that the Hedingham scheme aimed to improve and help the unemployed, but also through the other Scout training provided in the evenings and at weekends, under the watchful eye of a residential Scoutmaster.[25] Furthermore, Rover crews specifically for unemployed youths were also created, to help unemployed boys make constructive use of their leisure time and counteract fears that unemployment and the resulting boredom of being unemployed, could lead to delinquent behaviour.[26]

Of course, these schemes did not stand alone. They need to be seen in conjunction with the efforts of a number of other organizations to 'save' the chronically unemployed, including the YMCA, The Society of Friends (Quakers) and the National Council of Social Service (NCSS).[27] Similarly, the embracement of the countryside as a site of improvement for the unemployed was not specific to these youth movements either. As we saw in the previous chapter, many held the belief that the countryside was a particularly healthy alternative to urban living. In the case of the unemployed, the 'back to the land' mentality was deployed as a way of counteracting the negative influence of industrial unemployment. Under the government's Land Settlement Scheme members of the urban unemployed were placed on agricultural settlements in an attempt to combat idleness resulting from lack of work, while English work camps organized by rural revivalist Rolf Gardiner, explicitly encouraged a critique of urban life and an embracement of rural traditions.[28] Such schemes highlight the growing link, between work, citizenship and the landscape in the 1930s. It is clear through these schemes that the Scout organization believed they were tackling the effect of unemployment on the citizenship of young boys and in the interwar period often placed the solution to these problems within the landscape of the countryside.

The Guides and Careers

In contrast to the Scouts, mention of work in the Guide organization was framed by a discourse of opportunity, with plentiful information on careers and employment. This is not to suggest that the Guide movement ignored the issue of unemployment in the interwar period. Indeed, Guiding publications did occasionally provide information and encouragement for those looking for work. In 1932, the movement provided its members with facts regarding employment exchanges and unemployment insurance,[29] while in February 1939 *The Guide* encouraged its members, in an article on 'Looking for a Job', by saying:

> Don't be disheartened by all the talk you hear of difficulty in getting work. You may meet some disappointments, but any girl who really means to get on can find a job, if she is prepared to begin small and take pains.[30]

Predominantly, however, before the Second World War pages of *The Guide* and *The Guider* were taken up with discussions of the plentiful job

opportunities available to girls. Indeed, the organization frequently suggested that girls growing up in the 1930s were living in an unprecedented age of opportunity for women. This idea of opportunity was reflected in the growing amount of career advice within the organization's magazines at this time, which began in the early 1930s and peaked in 1938 when *The Guide* magazine printed a regular column for its readers on paid work, simply entitled 'Careers'. In 1937 in an article on 'Choosing a Career', the organization sorted the range of jobs available to girls into three suggested varieties. The first was defined as 'paper work', which could include jobs along the lines of secretary, librarian, accountancy and solicitor's work. The second could be labelled 'practical occupations' such as cookery, handicrafts, photography, radiography, dressmaking, dentistry and hairdressing. Lastly, they identified the popularity of what they termed 'social occupations', including, hospital nursing, social welfare work, salesmanship, institutional management, teaching, nursery nursing, general medical practice and waitressing.[31] The third category, the author suggested, was the most popular for girls.

Articles on job opportunities for girls were plentiful within Guiding publications across the 1930s, with the magazines regularly including information on the training and necessary skills required for particular jobs. Girls were given advice on careers ranging from, but not limited to, fashion drawing, journalism, the police force, farming, veterinary practice, acting, pharmacy, bee-keeping and engineering. The types of jobs encouraged were varied and sometimes surprising. The organization often sought to provoke interest in such jobs by including articles in the magazines written by 'career women' talking about their experiences in their chosen occupation and explaining how one might go about acquiring such jobs.

Additionally, beyond simply providing advice on what job opportunities might be available to their members, the organization also regularly supplied detailed practical information. For example, in 1932, *The Guide* included in its pages facts regarding employment exchanges and unemployment insurance, and, throughout the period, the magazines printed advertisements for vocational courses and employment agencies.[32] Seemingly aware of the growing presence of young women in white-collar industries, the Guides also provided instruction on how to apply for a secretarial position and how to behave in a business environment. For example, the 'Clerks Badge', one of the GGA's many proficiency awards,

required girls to be able to understand business terms such as solvency, to learn how to deal with petty cash and how to write business letters,[33] skills that were invaluable in the clerical jobs that were fast becoming a popular form of employment for young women at this time.[34]

Importantly, such information was often couched within a discourse of ambition. Indeed, it is important to note that girls were not being trained for a job but for a career. In a discussion of the secretarial career in 1935, *The Guide* warned that:

> If financial reasons prevent a girl from taking such a [secretarial] training and she is consequently forced to take a position as a "general clerical worker," she should not rest content in that humble sphere or she will soon find herself displaced by the new young workers pouring out of schools. The solution is for her to attend evening classes and acquire good speeds in typing and shorthand, learn book-keeping and if possible have a good working knowledge of one or two foreign languages.[35]

Girls were encouraged then to be ambitious in their work life and to aim to develop their position within their chosen career. In doing so, the movement encouraged girls to consider their employment destiny and to see work as much more than a small part of their inevitable life-cycle, a trend that is notably seen in the post-war period in popular teenage magazines.[36]

This was supported by a growing rhetoric within the movement that placed paid work at the centre of understandings of self-fulfilment and happiness. Indeed, in 1931 *The Guide* declared:

> In this generation girls can enter almost any profession, and today most of them want a career of some sort, not only for financial reasons, but because the present day girl is active and vigorous and keen to live a full life and so must have some outlet for their energies when she leaves school.[37]

A similar discussion appeared eight years later, when in 1939, Theo Lynch, a regular contributor to *The Guide*, commented that:

> Hundreds of men and women today are square pegs in round holes, and there are few things more pathetic. In addition to the individual unhappiness, the loss to the nation is incalculable. NO ONE can give of their best if they are not absorbed in their work.[38]

Interestingly here we can see that, even before the Second World War, discussions of women's work was being expressed through a language of duty. However, more importantly, such information was constructed through a discourse of selfhood. In 1931 the magazine asserted that work was central to living a full life, while in 1939 being in the wrong job or in Lynch's terms 'a square peg in a round hole' could lead to unhappiness and unfulfilment. When, in 1932, *The Guide* questioned 'Have you the hands of a hairdresser?'[39] it was really asking its readers to consider what kind of person they were and how this would be reflected in the careers that they chose. Indeed, in March 1937 *The Guider* asked its readers to consider their own disposition when choosing a career, did they make friends easily or were they shy and retiring? Were they methodical or slap-dash? Were they calm or excitable?[40] Such characteristics could determine what career paths you were supposed to take and how far you would excel in them. The 'outdoor girl' for example, who was fond of animals, loved sport and liked country life could excel in farming.[41] The career, then, was encouraged as an opportunity for the developed self-identity.

Beyond this, a girl's career was painted as an outlet for self-expression, and girls were encouraged to follow the path which most interested them. The movement placed significant emphasis on the development of hobbies and skills, such as encouraging girls to enjoy and take utmost pride in art, photography and even ventriloquism, which helped shape an ethos of opportunity within the magazines and encouraged the idea that 'you can be anything you want to be'.[42] Indeed, in 1935 a member of the Guides writing in *The Guide* magazine on her career as a florist noted that, although the salary and the working hours were undesirable, it was the *variety* of the work that proved most rewarding.[43] While journalism, *The Guider* magazine reported in 1937, provided 'plenty of independence and opportunity for self-expression in writing articles on subjects that happen to interest one'.[44] This tendency to frame career decisions around interests and passions was not unproblematic for the movement. In the same 1937 article, 'Choosing a Career', *The Guider* warned that it was:

> very dangerous to stop at interests only and to assume, as do so many young people and their elders also, that interest in a type of work necessarily implied the ability to do it. To say, 'I know what work I want to do' is not the same as 'I know what work I am able to do.' There is a long step between being fond of acting and being capable of acting well enough to attract a public.[45]

Indeed readers were warned that a lack of 'braininess' or 'tendency to flatfootedness, may make it advisable to think twice before choosing certain occupations.'[46] Despite this caveat, however, we can see how the continued presence of work as a topic in the pages of the Girl Guide publications can be mapped onto two specific shifts in this period. First, the growing number of young women in work in the interwar period, and, second, the emerging rhetoric of careers, which placed work at the centre of understandings of self-identity and fulfilment for girls.

This was not without its limitations. As we shall see in Chap. 5, the career of the 'modern girl' often had a limited life-span and the importance of paid work would ultimately be supplanted by motherhood. Additionally, discussions of job opportunities were generally framed around ideas of suitable work for girls, with roles that highlighted the natural maternal instinct and domestic proficiency of women, such as childcare and nursing, being placed at the forefront of discussions on careers. In 1935, *The Guide* posed the question 'Why not be a cook?'

> I wonder why more don't go in for cookery? … I know it's the fashion nowadays to look down on any sort of domestic profession. I can't think why, because, after all that sort of work *is* the most natural for a woman, isn't it?[47]

Additionally, even where girls took on roles that were not necessarily gendered, their activities and position were often framed by ideas about femininity and the role of women. Indeed, in an article on women in journalism, it was suggested that women would thrive in the position, because they could offer coverage of feminine events not usually covered by their male co-workers, including society events and fashion.[48] In addition, while the movement encouraged girls to take up a career in pharmacy in 1932 it was as a 'chemist's assistant'.[49]

Beyond this, the idea of the 'modern' career-orientated girl was inherently a middle-class construct and it was assumed, for the most part, that she would have the time and finances to accommodate her ambitions. This was not surprising considering the highly middle-class nature of the GGA. The organization did acknowledge this problem, however, and noted that for some girls financing the necessary training would be difficult. These girls, it was suggested, might fare better in domestic service.[50]

Despite these limitations, it is clear that the inclusion of information on careers and paid work reflects a discursive shift within the organization in

this period in which notions of self-fulfilment for girls were increasingly built around discussions of paid work. With girls being actively encouraged to think beyond their domestic role and to consider the possibilities of a future in which work had a central role to play. This suggests that the movement had a more nuanced understanding of the ambitions of its members than has been previously understood.

Certainly, training for domesticity remained the most important aim of the Guiding movement at this time, as we shall see in Chap. 5. However, we can also note that understandings of modern 'girlhood' within the movement notions of self-fulfilment were increasingly built around participation in paid work. Within the historical context of the 1930s, this is understandable with the life-cycle of the 'modern girl' increasingly allowing the time and freedom for the development of careers and of the self as a result. Discussions of work, therefore, alongside information on hobbies such as photography, and community service, form part of a much wider 'ethos of opportunity' in this period in which girls were encouraged to seek fulfilment outside of the domestic sphere. This was tempered by an overarching conservatism within the movement that emphasized the significance of women's domestic role above all else.

Training the Future Farmer

While the Scout organization was paying significant attention to the issue of unemployment by in the 1930s, issues surrounding the work lives of young men also came to the fore in rural areas, with large numbers of boys from rural families seemingly neglecting their duties on the land for opportunities made available by prospects of urban employment. The 'drift from the land' of farm workers, or the 'farming problem' as it was also known, was for the most part a constant feature of agricultural life during the 1930s.[51] Faced with poor conditions, low pay and limited leisure opportunities, large numbers of young men deserted the usual calling of farm work for better pay and working conditions in the towns, sparking fears across the agricultural industry of the demise of farming and of the 'rural' way of life in general. Many saw the drift as an unstoppable force of destruction to the agricultural trade and another nail in the coffin of traditional rural life. The drift was a reality for many, as numbers of workers on the land, particularly young workers under 21, dramatically declined across this period. In 1929, the total number of workers in agriculture, both regular and casual, in England and Wales was 770,000, by 1936 this

had declined to 640,000.[52] Of course, some areas were hit harder by this migration than others. Typically, rural industries which had suffered badly from the misfortunes of agriculture in the 1920s, such as cereal production, were worse off than those which had relatively prospered and could, as a result, offer better pay and conditions to the young farm worker.[53] Nonetheless, despite regional fluctuations, there is no doubt that the 'farming problem' was considered a serious threat to the social, cultural and economic existence of 'traditional' rural life at this time.

The youth of rural England were of particular concern within this context, as young people made up a large proportion of the workers who were leaving the land in favour of jobs elsewhere. As an article from *The Times* made clear in 1939, the countryside could no longer retain the attention of its young people, as education, work and leisure drew rural youth away from their role on the farm.

> It is not merely a question of wage. Even if agriculture could afford to compete with industry in this respect, there remains that fact that the amenities of village life become less and less attractive to modern youth. Intensified education and the gradual raising of the school-leaving age are producing a 'younger generation' with a mentality less and less capable of adapting itself to the slow and unexciting conditions of farm life.[54]

Therefore, young people took on an important and paradoxical role in the future of rural society. On the one hand, they were seen as the cause of its decline, deserting their agricultural heritage for the benefits of urban living. On the other, they could (with the right training) be responsible for its survival.

It was the opinion of many at this time that rural youth needed to be trained in the virtues of rural, particularly agricultural, living and prepared for their role in the farming business. It was hoped that by doing so early on, the lure of the towns could be counteracted. As Mr W.E Brumfield of the East Riding of Yorkshire National Farmers Union (NFU) wrote in a July 1937 issue of *Farmer and Stockbreeder*; 'Men have been driven into the towns, and once they leave the land they very rarely come back. … There is only one remedy: catch 'em young and keep them.'[55] This was certainly the view of the YFC organization, which aimed to instil in the youth of the countryside an enthusiasm for and proficiency in the agricultural trade through a programme of lectures, debates and demonstrations, as well as socials and sports events, hoping that this would stop the progress

of the drift from the land. In doing so, the clubs were providing an education and preparation for expectations and duties of citizenship, which, for rural boys, was directly linked to their future role in agriculture and in rural community life. The activities provided by the clubs were dual in nature. They provided both an educational arena for future farmers and, as we have seen, a recreational aspect for socialization.

The educational strand of the movement was imperative in preparing boys for their future role in agriculture. Boys were given lectures and demonstrations in many things, including stock-rearing, including calf-, sheep- and pig-rearing, as well as lectures on crops, fertilizers and farm business management. Members were encouraged to take pride and care in these activities and were often given their own 'charges', for example, a calf, pig or plot of land, to rear or cultivate on their own.[56] They would then be encouraged to show their progress at local, and sometimes national, agricultural shows and enter their animals into competitions. The movement, therefore, was encouraging them to take pride in their work and in the agricultural industry by introducing them to others with the same interests.

As well as encouraging an interest in the agricultural trade, the movement also hoped to improve the standard and overall efficiency of farming, and framed this through a discourse of modernization.[57] As a delegate from America told the YFC conference in London in 1930, 'we do not need more farmers, but we want better farming, and the way to secure this is to catch the future farmers when they are young and teach them to be better farmers than their fathers.'[58] Activities such as livestock-rearing were hugely important to this, teaching boys how to rear good-quality animals. A 1930 report in *Farmer and Stockbreeder* on the Ellesmere (Salop) YFC in Shropshire reported that the club hoped that forming a 'Young Bull Society' would lead to 'the elimination of the 'scrub' [feral or undomesticated] bull'[59] and in doing so 'raise the standard of livestock across the countryside.'[60] By placing an emphasis on the standard of livestock and the quality of the farming product, the movement encouraged members to have enthusiasm and pride in their skills as farm workers and indeed in their vocation as a whole.

In doing so, the clubs provided a vocational and practical education in agriculture, which many social reformers in the 1930s were demanding. The rural education system at the time was, in many people's view, of poor quality.[61] It provided a weak standard of teaching, in comparison to towns, maintained the unfair divide between the classes (as poorer children could

not afford to the country-town schools which offered a better education), and focused too little on the agricultural trade and rural sciences.[62] Many contemporaries worried that the current education system was aiding the drift from the land by turning out boys who were unfit for country pursuits. Margaret Manor, in a letter to *Farmer and Stockbreeder* in 1930, wrote:

> The countryside is being depopulated and the towns are overcrowded, because elementary schools are turning out citizens unfitted for country pursuits. They are fitted only to become clerks, errand boys, packers, typists, etc.; whereas the country is in need of thatchers, ploughmen, hedge-layers, stack builders, gate makers, milkers, and men who can feed calves and shepherd ewes, prune, bud and graft fruit trees, make faggots and lay land drains. …. To fit a man to love the country and to make rural work remunerative, he must have been educated from his childhood for his country life. … To run out a boy who can write essays on Henry VIII may be an illustration of mental gymnastics, but turn out a boy who can produce food for a score of people out of an acre of waste land is an illustration of how intelligence can be trained to increase human wealth.[63]

Furthermore, some contemporaries believed that the current system of education focused too closely on academic subjects and was in turn educating boys 'out of their station', encouraging boys to expect more than agricultural labour and look for better opportunities elsewhere. Mr. A Bicknell aired this view, in front of a branch of the Farmers' Union in Devon in 1930, when he said: 'the country must have labourers, and if boys were kept at school till they were fifteen none of them would do the dirty work.'[64]

The YFC movement therefore filled an important gap in the education provision of the countryside, providing continuing learning in agricultural trades to those children who left school at 14 with little knowledge of the field. Of course, in the 1930s, there were other avenues for agricultural education. The Local Education Authorities, for example, provided evening classes, but these were of limited range.[65] Scholarships were also available, but there were relatively few and they were rarely awarded to poorer students.[66] There were also Farm Institutes, but small numbers meant that they made only a limited impact at this time.[67] Beyond this, one of the most important agents for providing education to rural people was the Women's Institute, which provided a number of instructive courses for rural women.[68] In comparison to these, it could be argued that

the YFCs offered a more easily accessible and inclusive route to vocational training. Education through organizations such as the YFC was therefore the key, in teaching young people their role on the land. The wartime Luxmoore Report, from the committee on post-war agricultural education, concluded this from their findings. They argued for a 'rural bias' in country schools and a stronger focus on subjects that would help children understand their role on the land. They wrote:

> wherever practicable, illustrations should be drawn from the life and work of the countryside and from its natural and physical phenomena: for example, in nature study and science, much of the work should be based on objects commonly to be found and observed in the countryside.[69]

This emphasis on rural jobs and skills was not confined to the YFCs, or to rural youth for that matter. Across the 1930s, youth movements encouraged young people to take up agricultural or horticultural tasks, as part of a 'call to the land' for young urbanites. This was certainly the case in groups such as the Scouts and Guides, who gave re-acquaintance with nature, the land and the soil priority in their programmes. The practice of 'adopting' gardens and allotments on which troops could practise land-cultivating skills, was a common one, particularly amongst school troops and those from poorer or more densely populated areas, where a good garden was seen as something of a 'luxury'.[70] Furthermore, a proficiency in growing fruit and vegetables, understanding the nature of soil and manure and knowledge of flowers were seen as important skills, acquired through attaining the Scouts' 'Gardener' badge. These activities were, to be sure, popular for many of the same reasons that pursuits such as rambling were also. Gardening, for example, provided the opportunity for town members to gain access to the open air and all the benefits that brought with it. However, the importance given to gardening was also about more than this. It was a way of connecting young people with their heritage and giving them an understanding of their shared mutual past. The opening of the 1939 edition of *The Scout's Book of Gardening* highlights this:

> The Englishman is noted for his gardening. Wherever he goes be it to the wilds of Africa or the uplands of India he makes a garden. Repeatedly when travelling in foreign countries one hears how Great Britain is looked to for its horticulture. It is indeed the poor man's hobby and the rich man's pastime.[71]

Clearly, again, the movement's emphasis on the land shows a desire to reinforce an understanding of a shared identity which is closely reliant on the land, be that for work or leisure, in this case the latter.

An understanding of heritage was also a key reasoning behind the training provided by many Scout troops in farming and husbandry. In 1938, Scouter Alec G. Dickson outlined this reasoning in an article on 'Scouts on the Land'. He wrote:

> Not only did it appear illogical that members of a movement which cultivates in boys a practical familiarity with nature should be entirely ignorant of farm life at home; it seemed part of a good citizen's training to know something of the country's staple industry.[72]

More than this, members were encouraged to attain agriculture-based badges including the Farmer badge and for girls, badges such as Poultry Keeper and Dairy Maid (sometimes Dairy Worker), in an effort to instil an enthusiasm for agricultural trades and provide basic training for those who might want to enter into a career in this area. The virtues of agricultural work were extolled by *The Guide* in a 1931 article on poultry farming, which declared:

> No, the pay isn't much for the plain assistants, but who wants money in the country? As long as we have enough money for an occasional dance, theatre or a trip to town, what do we care! Take your offices, factories and overcrowded places and leave us our health and happiness.[73]

While another article declared 'WHY NOT BE A DAIRYMAID? IT'S A DELIGHTFUL JOB'.[74] This encouragement served two purposes. Firstly, it served to fill the gap in the numbers of agricultural jobs being left unfilled, due to the 'drift' discussed earlier. Secondly, it served as an opportunity for young boys faced with long-term unemployment to find work, as we have already seen.

Work on the land, therefore, was considered a viable career opportunity for those seeking employment. Furthermore, such articles highlighted the healthier and more fulfilling lifestyles that land workers could enjoy, in comparison to those who found employment in towns. This trend was by no means limited to these movements but part of a wider tendency to encourage young people to take up work on the land and counteract the drift.[75] Youth movements in the 1930s increasingly urged members to

consider a career in agriculture and suggested that in doing so they would be fulfilling duties of citizenship. The Second World War would serve to reinforce such discourses.

Youth Movements, Gender and Wartime Citizenship

The onset of the Second World War marked a significant shift in notions of citizenship in the BSA and the GGA. Whereas notions of service and duty had previously been framed, for the most part, around future citizenship, the war saw demands for active citizenship in the present thrust upon members. Thus, increasingly, members were encouraged to take on social responsibility and participate in the war effort. [76]

As with other leisure pursuits, the onset of the Second World War put a number of obstacles in the way of organized youth movements, including loss of members because of national service and evacuation, camping restrictions and the blackout. The blackout was particularly difficult on the movements because it prohibited where, when and for how long groups could hold meetings and was an obstacle for girls and younger members, who often faced stricter supervision. Older members, on the other hand, were taken away from movements as a result of national service, which meant they often did not have the time to participate, or had been relocated to a different area. This saw membership figures drop dramatically in the first few years of war, with the Scouts' membership falling from 460,234 in 1938 to 305,760 in 1941 and the Guides from 553,130 to 400,236 in the same period.[77] The war also saw increased camping restrictions, which made activities in the Scouting, Guiding and Woodcraft movements even more difficult to arrange and carry out. Camping was restricted to small camps, away from places of military interest and away from the coast. It was a requirement that tents were camouflaged, and campers faced food shortages due to rationing.[78] Despite these restrictions, from 1941 onwards membership of youth organizations began to grow, partly a result of the fact that the organizations presented themselves as being legitimate form of national service. This rebound or 'soldiering on' in wartime was a theme that characterized many areas of leisure at this time. [79]

Indeed, the Scouts and Guides had a long history of service to the country, specifically in wartime, and after the outbreak of war, Baden-Powell wrote to the Home Secretary offering the service of Scouts as messengers.[80] War was indeed a time when the Scouting motto 'Be Prepared' never rang so true. All members were expected to prepare themselves for

the possibility of invasion, or the threat of bombing. *The Guide*, for example, encouraged its readers to have an emergency rucksack packed and ready filled with 'the sort of kit you would need if you had to cross the country on a hundred mile hike because of invasion.'[81] For Scouts, the idea of adventure and excitement they had been chasing in the interwar period was realized in wartime and *The Scouter* warned them that they must be prepared to take up duties of fire-watching.[82] Both movements adopted relevant wartime badges, including the National Service Badge for those over 14 years of age, and the Home Defence Badge. The latter required knowledge of how to protect oneself and one's home and general wartime knowledge such as how to gas-proof a room and how to behave in an air raid.[83] In training for this badge, *The Guide* gave regular instructions on how to care for your gas mask and even how to make a pochette to carry it.[84] Additionally, requirements for existing badges were developed to include knowledge and experience relevant to wartime. Rangers were also instructed to train for the Home Emergency Service (H.E.S.) and learn skills, including signalling and message work. Comically *The Guide* reported in 1942:

> Owing to printer's error Rangers were advised last month to practice *Massage* work instead of *Message* work. We all hope sincerely you guessed for yourselves there was a slip here—unqualified massage is *not* recommended as part of your H.E.S.![85]

These forms of service were sold to members as a form of duty but also packaged within a language of adventure, particularly within the short stories found on the pages of *The Guide* magazine; many of which focused on the heroic adventures of girls facing unusual wartime circumstances. In a short story from June 1941, entitled 'Evacuated Jan on Active Service', the protagonist Jan along with her three male cousins (who prove themselves somewhat useless), tackle an incendiary bomb which has fallen on their roof and apprehend a German parachutist, who is pretending to be a British soldier.[86] Importantly, this language of adventure did not stop with fiction; advice on signalling and message work took on a similar rhetoric. In the July of 1940, *The Guider* declared:

> Many companies are forgetting that efficient and reliable signalling may stand in very good stead in the immediate future. The parachute menace is upon us, out on the hills and moors of every county watch is being kept. Should they land, one of the first actions we may expect is the cutting of communications.[87]

While in 1942, the Guide organization encouraged its members to practice for a potential invasion in the countryside. Readers of *The Guide* were advised that all cows should be treated as paratroops, cars as heavy tanks, bicycles as dispatch riders, and horses as armoured cars.[88] It is therefore clear that, through this language of duty and adventure, members were encouraged to feel that their activities were a vital part of wartime defence. Never was this idea of service and duty to the nation clearer than in the story of Derrick Belfall, who was fatally injured carrying out his duties as messenger, his last words being 'Messenger Belfall reporting. I have delivered my message.'[89] In this case, Derrick fulfilled the true meaning of Scout citizenship in wartime, not only did he give his life in the aid of others but also risked it willingly and enthusiastically, in an effort to fulfil his duty as a Scout.

Older members who were available for National Service, on the other hand, were encouraged to sign up but to continue their involvement with the movement nonetheless. Articles in *The Scouter* were keen to suggest how Scouting could be continued in army garrisons and how, in fact, Scouting could be considered a vital part of this service and even come in useful.[90] One writer declared in April 1940, 'I find it necessary to reiterate the fact that the Scout training is a valuable form of national service.'[91] Similarly, it was suggested that Guiders who were of the age should join one of the women's auxiliary services, as their Guiding experience would be invaluable to the team. An article on 'Guiding and the ATS' asserted in 1939 that: 'The A.T.S., in many of its aspects, is almost grown-up Guiding.'[92] The emphasis on the importance of the training provided by these youth movements, particularly in wartime, was repeated.

Notions of service and active citizenry in wartime were directly gendered, with understandings of wartime service for girls drawn around their domestic role first and foremost. In October 1939, a month after war with Germany had been declared, Heather Kay, a writer for *The Guider*, painted a heart-warming picture of the stoic contribution of evacuated Girl Guides to the war effort. 'Nearly everywhere', she wrote, 'there were Guides about in uniform talking to the refugees, holding babies, comforting, carrying the proverbial parcels, and acting as cheerful and happy messengers wherever they were sent.'[93] In the Second World War, the organization made clear to its members that it was their duty to play an active part in the war effort, by taking up a variety of roles. However, as Heather Kay's description of evacuated Guides reveals, it was feminine or, what Penny Tinkler has termed, 'private' forms of service that were identified as being

particularly suited for girls.[94] For example, in early 1940 when the Guide magazine answered the popular question 'What can you do for National Service'?, they made clear that girls could best serve the nation by taking on further domestic responsibilities both in the home and in the wider community.[95] Girls were encouraged to undertake a range of domestic duties as a form of national service. Including, but not limited to, making children's clothing, caring for the elderly and assisting at childcare facilities. One Guide Captain even bragged in 1940 that her company would bathe 80 babies in one night as part of their contribution to the war effort.[96] While the Home Defence Badge, mentioned earlier, included a requirement that the holder would 'Know three occupations which would keep children interested and less frightened during an air-raid.'[97]

Girls, especially those living in reception areas, were also encouraged to help their mothers in the home. *The Guide*, for example, offered tips on how to strip and make a bed properly, and on how to lend a hand with childcare.[98] In 1940 *The Guide* wrote:

> Perhaps you are living in a reception area and your mother has evacuees. Or she may be doing war work of some sort that leaves her less time for home duties than formerly … If, however, you will be more useful in someone else's home, by all means offer your services there.[99]

Similarly, the GGA continued to put emphasis on the domestic ways in which girls could help the war effort, for example, in wartime the Cookery badge maintained its important status. Under the strict restrictions of rationing a cook had to learn to make do and be creative with her supplies. In May 1940, a regular contributor to *The Guide* encouraged the magazine's readers to do what they could to help with the war effort. 'You Can Help on the Kitchen Front', the article declared before asking its readers:

> Can you make half a pound of plain beef or mutton serve four or five people; serve a good, satisfying breakfast without exhausting anyone's butter or bacon ration too soon; make tea time 'sweet', yet sugar-sparing; fortify someone who has to work after 'blackout' time with a tempting, economical supper? If you can, like the lady in the nursery rhyme who has 'bells on her fingers and bells on her toes', you will have music wherever you go. In plain language, you will be a very popular person.[100]

In this way the GGA were remoulding everyday activities into a form of war service for girls, highlighting the important role girls could play in the

domestic activities of wartime. A similar technique was adopted by other publications which, as well as encouraging girls to enter the women's services, placed emphasis on mundane activities such as knitting as actions of national importance.[101] Indeed, even the Scout organization instructed members of the Cubs in 1941 that, despite their age, they could be of assistance to the war effort in numerous ways. These included, but were not limited to, the collection of waste paper, tinfoil for the Red Cross, eggs for hospitals, firewood, acorns for farmers to feed the pigs, scrap metal and wild fruit, as well as delivering letters, knitting blankets, being 'patients' for ambulance classes and the A.R.P. and, for country Scouts, assisting in caring for young evacuees.[102] Nonetheless, domestic forms of service were certainly more visible in the organization's sister movement. Even in wartime, therefore, the Guides celebrated the domestic nature of 'women's role' and private forms of 'service', were extolled, particularly for members who were not old enough to enter the national services. This was not a strategy taken on overtly by official youth policy in wartime. In fact the government consciously steered clear of placing too much emphasis on 'private' and domestic forms of service for young girls in favour of public ones to highlight the equal position of women in society in comparison to fascist Germany, which promoted the role of motherhood wholeheartedly.[103] Nonetheless, in the Guide movement, the home remained an arena through which young girls could serve the nation.

Not all youth movements developed such ideas of service in wartime however. In the December of 1939, two months after the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had declared a state of war with Germany, the *Helper*, a journal of the Woodcraft Folk, published a speech by Ronald Kidd, the secretary for the National Council for Civil Liberties, on the subject of duty, citizenship and conscientious objection. Reproduced by the organization under the title, 'Defend Your Liberty', Kidd's speech encouraged his listeners to lay claim to their rights of freedom of discussion, of association and most importantly of criticism. He declared:

> Victory of Germany would mean the end of all civil liberties.
>
> The strength and hope of success of Britain and France lies in their democratic traditions. In order to secure victory we must preserve all those qualities, which differentiate the political system of Britain from that of Germany to-day. Now that citizens of Britain and of the Empire are being called upon to fight, Britain must not deny to them those democratic rights for which they are asked to fight.[104]

On the face of it, it seems that during the Second World War pacifist thinkers and conscientious objectors received rather different treatment to that of their predecessors. As Sonya Rose and others have identified, the acceptance of pacifist views was essential in maintaining the ideological juxtaposition of the tolerance of Britain against the fascism of Germany.[105] Despite this, as Kidd identified in his speech, such freedoms were not always upheld and were in need of protection. He went on to assert that: it was the duty of all social and political organizations to ensure that the civil liberties of the British people were maintained, particularly for those for those people who felt 'that they could not take part in the war'.[106] In this speech, as the Editor of the *Helper* confirmed, Kidd encapsulated the Woodcraft's position when it came to war.[107] In short, the protection of democratic freedoms on the home front was of prime importance.

The immediate response of both the Scouts and Guides to the war was rather jubilant. They acknowledged that conflicts were always solemn affairs, nevertheless they celebrated the opportunity that the war provided to members in enabling them to take part in active national service and demonstrate their commitment to their country. The Woodcraft, in comparison, greeted the war with dismay. In December 1939, an organizational report reflected that: 'It is difficult to write enthusiastically of advances and of fine work done in preparing youngsters for a new world order, when the old order has once again exploded in war.'[108] Consequently, leaders of the Woodcraft openly criticized the Boy Scouts, who they believed were training young people 'to be used without question by the government for any purpose it wished, including, of course, the most obvious one of cannon fodder'[109] and capitalizing on war 'even to the extent of serving out steel helmets to their members.'[110] The Woodcraft Folk thus saw themselves apart from other youth movements at this time, actively encouraging members to voice disapproval of the war.[111] They actively opposed the war in two separate ways. The first was by continuing to supply a socialist education to older members who had been conscripted into the armed forces. The organization asserted that: 'The military machine may have their bodies. We will keep their minds.'[112] The second, was by providing support and advice for those members of the Woodcraft who were Conscientious Objectors, which was seen as tantamount to 'defending the liberty' of the masses, as Ronald Kidd had suggested. In 1940, members were reminded that the organization was prepared to help draft statements and advise on procedure for registering as a conscientious objector, and in a number of cases organizational leaders were prepared to

act as witnesses in tribunal meetings. The organization was also represented on the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors which undertook important work in securing better treatment for objectors in prison, by 'alleviating the distress' of dependents and training for tribunals etc.

The involvement of the movement in such activities was not unproblematic; it created fierce debate in the pages of Woodcraft magazines, as did discussion of support for the war more generally. Many members of the organization were wary of engaging in such political activity and warned that is was simply the role of the movement to educate children, not to get involved in adult political campaigns. They often argued that the proper place for political action was in a political organization.[113] This had been, until the war, the general rule of the Woodcraft: members were banned from wearing their costumes at political meetings and the organization regularly reiterated that they were an educational movement, rather than a political organization. Additionally, worries about the activities of the Woodcraft were often framed around a concern that by maintaining pacifist views during a period in which militaristic nationalism intensified, the organization was alienating a large proportion of its intended audience—the working classes.

Despite this, there was a growing voice in the movement that called for the organization to do more in defending the democratic rights of the people, in a period in which the government was accumulating an increasing amount of power over daily life, to the extent that in 1940 one member of the organization went so far as to declare that the government were fascists in democratic disguise.[114] This idea that there was an important ideological battle taking place at home was important in the way that the Woodcraft constructed their own position in wartime.

The emphasis on the education of working-class children thus remained, despite wartime conditions. Integral to this was the symbolic idea of a socialist future in which children were 'the future fighters of freedom'.[115] Indeed, while the organization often drew upon a language of combat, as this quote suggests, and of citizenship—with the use of words such as duty and service for example—these words had an altogether different meaning within the context of the Woodcraft Folk. In 1941, a Folk leader 'Brown Eagle' gave an uplifting May Day message. He declared: 'Wars do not last forever. There comes a time when peoples return to sanity and peace. Easily—or violently—they return. Then will our turn come … Pioneers will be the builders of to-morrow.'[116] Thus, conceptualizations of duty were tied not to a particular idea of the British nation as it currently stood

but to a notion of how it could be, and children played a very important role in this. Interestingly then, in contrast to dominant discussions of reconstruction at this time, which highlighted the role of the war in eventually improving the lives of the British people—through the construction of new homes and a new welfare system as rewards for the hard work of the people—many in the Woodcraft believed that a socialist 'new order' would begin in spite of the war. Narratives of reconstruction within the Woodcraft thus suggested that the continuation of socialist education in wartime was the principal method through which the path towards a new and better society could be achieved.

The 'Call to the Land': Good Citizenship, Agriculture and the Second World War

A study of the organizational periodicals of youth movements across the mid-century has so far revealed the continued encouragement for young people to embrace rural life. As this chapter has shown, agricultural work was seen as beneficial for urban youth, particularly those who were out of work. The 'call to the land' of urbanites, however, became more explicit in wartime. This chapter will now consider the development of good citizenship in relation to agricultural war work and argue that the Baden-Powell movements explicitly encouraged young people to work on the land as part of their national duty. It will argue that, as the emphasis on the importance of agriculture in winning the war and in 'feeding the nation' grew at this time, so too did the link between understandings of citizenship and landscape within the youth movements.

On 14 October 1940, Winston Churchill declared in a speech to the National Farmers' Union that 'We rely on farmers. We depend on the efforts they put forth in the fields of Britain … Today the farms of Britain are the front line of freedom'.[117] During the later years of the 1930s, with the realization that war was fast approaching, many officials exhibited concern about the state of British agriculture, which was, particularly in arable areas, in a state of disarray. With the severe loss of land following the First World War and the loss of farm workers, the agricultural sector was producing less than was required to the extent that, in 1938, 70 per cent of the cash value of British food was imported.[118] In wartime, the threat of U-boats and the unreliability of imports led to a national focus on food production. In response, the government, through a system of mechanization and subsidies and the conscription of a national agricultural labour

force through the Women's Land Army (WLA), aimed to increase output. In doing so, they created an arable-intensive 'national' farm, reliant on mechanization, science and the labour of large numbers of recruits.

Agricultural production was portrayed as being at the forefront of the war effort, and the citizens of Britain had an important role to play in this, particularly through the 'Dig for Victory' campaign, which encouraged urban men and women to get involved in helping the 'kitchen front'. The 1939 campaign was a key part in encouraging awareness and enthusiasm for food production. It led to a large expansion in domestic food production over the period, by encouraging the growing of vegetables in individual allotments, rearing poultry in backyards and forming 'pig clubs'.[119] The increase in the number of allotments, from 814,917 in 1939, to 1,399,935 in 1943, and in membership of the Domestic Poultry Keepers' Council, from 791,000 at its inception to 1,369,000 in 1945, are evidence of the success of this scheme.[120] In fact it has been estimated that around 2½ to 3 million tons of food were produced from allotments and gardens during the war in England and Wales.[121] The importance given to agriculture and to the rural sphere in the Second World War served to intensify the 'rural national identity'. As Rose argues, the war stood to reinforce the place of the rural within national belonging, to the extent that the rural became the 'authentic nation'.[122] Even today, as Ginn has shown, the Dig for Victory campaign remains predominant in our cultural memory of the Second World War, with images of members of the Land Army driving tractors and of schoolchildren digging up potatoes being symbolic of a time when the true spirit and strength of the nation prevailed.[123]

Young people were to play an important part in the 'battle' for production at this time, as many civilians became enlisted in agriculture as a way to help the war effort. Indeed, following the initial slump, numerous youth movements, but particularly the YFCs, grew in popularity. Membership of the NFYF gradually saw a steady flow of new arrivals, to the extent that from 1939 to 1945 membership increased from 15,000 to 64,000.[124] In large part, this was a result of the heightened importance of agricultural production and the need to produce home-grown foodstuffs. Membership of the YFC was approved by the Board of Education as a form of youth service and as a result, large numbers of young people, particularly from urban areas, joined to 'do their part'.[125] As a 1943 article from *Farmer and Stockbreeder* asserted, 'A fairly steady flow of boys from the town to the country exists, and although

the total numbers involved may not be great, the stream is one which should be kept flowing smoothly.'[126] The rural youth movement flourished in wartime, as a result of government endorsement, as a form of national service for young people.

Importantly, out of all the varied ways in which members were encouraged to take part in the war effort, it was clear that one of the best ways of doing so would be through work on the land. In a 1939 article on 'Guiding and the Land Army', *The Guider*, celebrated the contribution of women to the continuation of agriculture in wartime. The magazine declared:

> It is a form of service which embodies true patriotism—the love of, and devotion to, our native land. Not only to love the land, but to know it and understand and serve it, and in return it will give us life. And it embraces true patriotism, because of all the forms of National Service it is the least spectacular … only the satisfaction of serving the land by which we live, and doing something to tend the very fabric of the country that gave us birth. Let us, therefore, do our best to encourage our country Guides, Rangers and Guiders to enrol in the service of the earth.[127]

As such, both Guides and Scouts were encouraged to service the land and 'Dig for Victory'. *The* Guide demanded in January 1944:

> Has your patrol started digging yet? Digging an allotment, digging a garden patch. Digging up the ground where a bomb has conveniently cleared it for you. Digging so that you can grow good, green vegetables, and perhaps some fruit and flowers as well.[128]

Similarly, *The Scouter* enticed its readers into working on the land in 1941, by declaring, 'Help Beat the U-Boats … Cook Hitler's Goose with Home-Grown Vegetables!'[129] Both movements offered regular advice on how to do this, for example, articles on how to dig properly, how to sow seeds, what fruit and vegetables to grow and how to deal with pests were a few of many subjects addressed.[130] *The Guide* magazine had regular columns keeping its readers updated on what was happening on English farms. 'Down on the Farm' was written by a yeoman, while 'Getting on with the Job' was written by a member of the Land Army, who gave tips on growing your own vegetables and tending to an allotment patch.[131] This column ran for the majority of the war and in 1944 'Land Girl' began answering readers' questions such as 'Can you grow tomatoes from seed?' and 'Is it too late to start digging now?'[132] Those members, who had no

land to cultivate, were encouraged to join together and work on a piece of land collectively.[133] The magazines also included regular advice on how to do this, for example, articles on how to dig properly, how to sow seeds and what fruit and vegetables to grow, were a few of many subjects addressed. Indeed, many of these were an important aspect of the 'Farmworker' badge, which gained increased coverage in Guiding magazines during the war in response to the significant numbers of young people living in the countryside for the first time as evacuees.[134] Importantly, much of this information was framed in a wartime language of conflict. Girls were encouraged to see their active involvement on the land as fighting day-to-day battles on the home front. In one 1940 article members were taught 'how to deal with pests', which included information on Glow worms, the Devil's Coach-horse beetle, millipedes and wire-worms. It declared:

> There are no neutrals in the soil. The insects you find there are either enemies or friends. I want you to encourage and help the friends, and treat them with care, but I want you to destroy the enemies, for they will only harm the vegetables that you are going to grow.[135]

Through this rhetoric then, girls were encouraged to see their activities as a principal part of 'battles' on the home front.

Another useful service was the harvesting of wild fruit, which could be done in conjunction with leisurely rambles. *The Guide* advised in 1940, 'Every Company should organise blackberry-picking parties now … It may be good fun to do … but it is important as well.'[136] Summer camps were often organized in conjunction with the farming camps scheme, so that Scouts and Guides could help on farms. Scouts and Guides were also encouraged to participate in forestry camps, like the Shrewsbury school forestry camp of 1941 and the Norfolk forestry camp of 1941, which were believed to be a good fit for members, because they provided training in Scout craft, at the same time as being categorized as national service.[137] In 1944, *The Guide* advertised English land work camps, fruit-picking in Sussex and forestry in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Applicants had to be over 16 for forestry work, and over 15 for fruit-picking. They were expected to have camping experience and be prepared to do six hours strenuous work a day.[138] Another form of service was fundraising through gardening and farming. In the first year of war alone, the Eastbourne Guides raised £132 6s. 4d. by selling the fruit and vegetables they had grown in their garden.[139]

These efforts should be seen alongside the heightened urban involvement in agriculture at this time, particularly of young people. Indeed, a vital part of the agricultural war effort came from large numbers of children working on the land, in the form of children's 'harvest camps'.[140] These 'farm camps' were organized both for school children and urban workers, as a combination of holiday and useful farm work. By 1943, there were over 1,335 camps throughout Britain, with 63,000 boys and girls working on them.[141] In 1943, *Farmer and Stockbreeder* declared that such children were part of a 'youth army' at work on the land performing jobs such as pea-picking, potato-lifting, harvesting and other farm work.[142]

Alongside this, members of the Guides were encouraged to join the Land Army, as it was considered the most 'natural' vocation for female members, using the skills and qualities developed through the Guiding programme As one member who joined the Land Army told readers of *The Guide* in 1941, she loved the 'long active hours in the open air. There was something of the old thrilling attraction of camp about it … Guiding taught me to observe. The Land Army has taught me to go on observing.'[143] While one member declared of her experience of working as a Land Girl in 1941: 'Everything is grand. Being a 'farmer's boy' appeals directly to the Girl Guide in me!'[144] Despite this, a study of the farming press still reveals an ingrained prejudice against those who had not been brought up on the land; initially, farmers were reluctant to accept Land Girls, due to their urban background. As a letter to *Farmer and Stockbreeder* in 1941 suggested 'The Country-bred Land Girl is the Best. True, a lot of town bred girls do make good, but somehow they do not seem as strong as country girls.'[145]

The Guides nonetheless celebrated the opportunities that joining the Land Army or the Women's Timber Corps might offer their members. In a 1944 article on the Women's Timber Corps or 'Lumberjills' *The Guide* magazine painted an optimistic image of women's contribution.

> When you see smoke curling up from the woodlands these days you can be certain that some of Britain's Lumberjills are busy helping to produce one of the most vital of all war materials—timber.
>
> Thousands of girls who in peace time only thought of wood as something to keep the home fires burning and who swung nothing more formidable than a tennis racquet, are now expert as swinging axes and can handle a saw with the best of men. They trim off branches, operate circular saws at

> the mills, measure up trees, and do a score of other jobs—some of them by no means light ones—which used to be done by men now in the forces. … For the mechanically minded there are tractors to drive, used for hauling the heavy tree trunks, and cranes to operate when loading up. There is timber to be measured, brushwood to be cleared, bush piling to be done, and lorries to be driven. In a word, the girls are game for anything.[146]

Thus, there was the opinion that middle-class young women were being offered the chance to undertake physically demanding work previously considered the realm of men, and, importantly, were relishing this experience. Indeed, in an article entitled 'Let's Be Foresters' the movement identified the 'grand opportunity' that was being presented to girls as a result of the war.[147]

We might, however, contest this rhetoric of opportunity. A closer investigation reveals the ways in which, despite the suggestions that spheres had opened up for girls in the countryside, discussions of girls' agricultural work within the movement were framed primarily around their feminine role and attributes. For example, even articles that explicitly celebrated the contribution of girls to the war effort did so by admiring the particularly feminine skills that women could bring to the role. In a 1940 *Guide* article on food production for Guides, a regular contributor told readers that:

> I know what girls can do, for as a Country Inspector of School Gardens I have seen girls growing vegetables—yes, and beating the boys hollow! I can always say I can tell a girl's plot from a boy's, because it is much neater and the plants are properly thinned.[148]

He later commented that girls would find it 'very interesting, watching things grow, and seeing how a glorious well-hearted cabbage can be produced from a tiny baby seed.' [149]

Despite this, however, one can see a clear correlation between work on the land and ideals of citizenship. The 'call to the land' of young people is a vital in understanding the association of the English countryside with ideals of citizenship at this time. Being under the age of conscription, for many members, work on the land became the best way for them to help the war effort and prove their worth as citizens of the nation. The Guide and Scout movements, therefore, cultivated an understanding of good citizenry which was directly related to ideas of service on the land. This was part of the wider trend of encouraging urban involvement in food

production across the mid-twentieth century. It is clear that for the more popular youth organizations the war served only to reinforce dominant constructions of rural citizenship.

The Good Citizen in Post-War Employment

The landscape of work and employment that followed the Second World War was rather different to previous experience. In short, the commitment to full employment that came with the consensus politics that had emerged after the war meant that concerns about unemployment no longer preoccupied the concerns of youth organizations. Despite this, the BSA continued to conceptualize work as an important element of good citizenship for boys. This was principally done in two ways. The first was through the inclusion of information and guidance on careers in *The Scout* magazine. Indeed, the assumption was that boys were often too preoccupied with leisure and school to consider their future careers. The information provided by the publication under the series title 'What Shall I Be?' encouraged boys to think about their future position in society. For example, in 1959 *The Scout* contributor and police officer 'Benny' questioned readers:

> How many of you have thought out what trade or profession you will take up when you finally leave school? Not many I bet.
>
> Like all youngsters nowadays, immediately school is over and the homework has been done for 'Old Stinky' the class teacher, you are out kicking the football, collecting conkers or courting Mary Jane who lives next door. [150]

Before encouraging readers to consider a job in the Metropolitan police ('A fine career for young men'). He asserted that: 'Police work indeed carries on the best traditions of the Scout movement, "Be Prepared" could well be the motto of a police officer.'[151]

The second way that the organization explicitly tied work to good citizenship was through the annual 'Bob-a-Job' week in April, which began in 1949, and was essentially a week in which members were encouraged to raise funds for the organization by performing 'odd jobs' in the local community, including domestic tasks and street activities.[152] In the months before and after 'Bob-a-Job' week *The Scouter* magazine included numerous reports and discussions on the jobs undertaken by Scouts, which included dog walking and washing-up. Satirical cartoons in the magazine often mocked the attempts of Scouts to undertake such jobs. For example

one cartoon from 1959, with the tagline '"Take him for a walk," she said', depicts a Scout tied around a lamppost by the lead of the dog he was walking.[153] As well as being a point of comedy within the movement, such activities were also a point of contention. *The Scouter* regularly received letters to the editor with opinions on how the scheme should run,[154] and the organization's Administrative Secretary, Cyril Goodhind, reminded readers in 1955 that Scouters needed to teach their Scouts how to conduct themselves as to not to 'constitute a nuisance'.[155] Despite this, as Sarah Mills has identified, the scheme was an important way of teaching Scouts about paid work and responsibility, and in constructing positive 'counter narratives' to stories of juvenile delinquency.[156] These activities often took place in urban settings and thus were not tied explicitly to rural imagery as other Scouting activities were.[157] Principally, the organization encouraged members to participate in the scheme as a service to their local community, thus for a significant proportion of members who were urban, their 'jobs' involved the town or street in which they lived. Indeed, *The Scouter* informed readers in March 1955 of the 1st Lewes group, whose proximity to the countryside meant that they could carry out 'an unusual job for their bob'[158] by aiding the local farmer in feeding milk to the lambs on the farm. Thus, it is fair to suggest that rural imagery was not excluded from 'Bob-a-Job' week, but the urban example proliferated because of the predominantly urban membership of the organization. Importantly, as we shall see in Chap. 6, while 'Bob-a-Job' week was not framed around the rural sphere, increasingly in the 1950s, members were encouraged to see the acts of protecting the countryside, such as flower-guarding and litter-picking, as important 'good turns' to be undertaken all year round.

However, while unemployment was no longer a significant issue for the Scouts, the 'drift from the land' remained a pertinent concern for the YFCs. The loss of agricultural workers had, for a short time, been halted by the war, but the issue very quickly remerged. As *Farmer and Stockbreeder* reported in 1952, 'Thus urban England sucks the lifeblood from the countryside, thereby threatens to starve us all.'[159] Here the author is referring to the youth of England, who were being attracted away from agriculture by better prospects in towns. The place of young people within rural society therefore increased in significance, as did their decision to stay or to leave the countryside. Agricultural training continued to be of utmost importance, as can be seen in the growth of YFC membership following the war, and in the fact that the organization was recognized by the government in the 1950s as being an important rural youth service, receiving both funding and support at this time.

The education provided by the YFCs also addressed the growing need for a more focused agricultural education following the onset of the Second World War, with the growing specialization and increasing mechanization of farm work. Previously, farming practices had, in large part, been passed down through the family, with knowledge being transferred from father to son. However, as new production techniques and technical machinery slowly came into use following the introduction of wartime efficiency-enhancing techniques and machinery, more training was necessary to ensure high-quality farming and efficient production. Therefore, providing adequate training for future farmers became increasingly important. As Jeremy Burchardt argues, there was a direct correlation between the onset of mechanization and the development of avenues for agricultural education.[160] The growth of the YFC movement in this period can therefore be seen in the context of increasing modernization of agriculture. YFC training courses provided much-needed information on new forms of farming; training a more modernized, efficient and 'better' agricultural workforce. As *Farmer and Stockbreeder* wrote in 1943:

> The more we see of the Young Farmer movement the more we realise its immediate value… The right class of youth is being attracted to the farm and is being educated to recognise and to choose good stock, good methods, and good machinery.[161]

This focus on efficiency and improvement was the basis of the introduction of proficiency tests in the YFCs in 1951, through which boys were encouraged to achieve their certificates in farm crafts, eventually leading up to gaining 'master' badges in their chosen field. In doing this, the movement was aiming to build a new generation of experts who took pride in their profession. The increased mechanization of farm work would, however, have a significant impact on the role of women in agricultural families. The implications of this will be discussed further in Chap. 5.

Finally, while traditional narratives of the Second World War suggest that the war had a huge impact on gender relations and particularly the relationship between women and work, a study of discussions of work within the Guide movement after the war reflects important continuities with the 1930s, with regard to the gendered nature of work in meanings of citizenship. [162] Following the Second World War, discussions of work continued to be presented in Guide publications. There was however, a distinction between post-war topics and those that had preceded them.

The emphasis on jobs that were suitably feminized or 'good jobs for girls', as Sarah Aiston has termed them, such as teaching and childcare, was more evident.[163] This can be seen the focus on nursing in the Guiding publications of the post-war period. Articles such as 'Shall I Train as a Nurse?', 'Do You Want to be a Nurse?' And 'So You're Going to Be a Nurse' were commonplace.[164] Nursing was believed to be the idea vocation for a girl who had been in the Guides because it required the same moral attributes associated with Guiding, including patience, truthfulness and loyalty.[165] It was a profession which the organization presented as being exciting, professional and, most of all, worthwhile. In 1949, *The Guide* wrote:

> A new world will be opened to you from the first thrilling day. Gone forever are the old days of drudgery among nurses; now ward-maids scrub the floors instead. When your training is done, you are a member of a profession which is welcomed and respected the whole world over.[166]

Nursing in the post-war period was suggested as being more professional than it had been previously despite the fact that *The Guide* declared in 1953, 'Don't be misled into thinking that to be a nurse you must have to be a very brainy person. Some of the best nurses I have known have been far from that.'[167]

Moreover, the movement enticed girls to join the vocation, by describing the good conditions of nursing. In 1949 *The Guide* wrote:

> Conditions now are much better than they were a year ago. In one of our daily papers I read recently that many hospitals in South-East London are giving each nurse her own room, complete with bed-side lamp. Well-furnished sitting-rooms containing a television were fitted up, so that nurses could invite their friends to the hospital. Special rooms with electric irons and hair-driers were another attraction. The old uniforms were replaced by smart 'New Look' style frocks, and a certain amount of stockings were provided free. As hospitals usually supply very good food, these nurses must be living in luxury.[168]

Here, then, the magazine drew on the commodities and benefits of nursing to attract the teenage girl. This was highly gendered, with the implication that nursing was a profession in which you could 'look' good, with a focus on stockings, 'New Look' frocks and hair-driers. Discussions of nursing were framed around notions of femininity. To be sure, the enhanced focus on nursing as a job for Guides was a result of a growing

need for nurses at this time. As *The Guide* declared in 1950, 'At the present time there are many hospitals in this country where one or more wards are standing empty because there are no nurses to run them.'[169] Despite this, however, a focus on feminized jobs such as nursing also reveals conceptualization of the role of women in society. As the next chapter of this study will show, the post-war period saw an intensification of the importance of domesticity within the movement and the heightened importance of nursing in this period reflects this ideological trend. In the 1930s, domesticity was important to discussions of women's work, although the movement cultivated an ethos of varied opportunity within this. By the late 1940s this had shifted, with nurturing and womanly careers such as nursing becoming central to discussions of women's work. This supports arguments by those such as Summerfield who have highlighted the continuities in wartime of pre-war values and attitudes towards women's work.[170] The intensification of domesticity within the Guide movement in the mid-century will be discussed in Chap. 5.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how shifting employment patterns were addressed by youth movements in the 1930s, through a system of training. Discussions of work were highly gendered however. The concern over youth unemployment in the Scout movement was evident through the implementation of schemes to assist those out of work. The countryside was important here, with the Scouts utilizing the landscape to combat the negative effects of unemployment. Discussions of unemployment within the Scout movement subsided in the post-war period in the context of full employment, and reinforcing the mid-century shift in the movements' understanding of the experience of working-class youth.

Discussions of work within the Guide movement were, on the other hand, less 'problematic'. In the 1930s, Guide publications suggested a large range of occupations for their members, although they recognized the importance of class. Following the war, however, girls were invited to join a less varied and more domesticated workforce. The impact of the Second World War on working opportunities for girls was principally to reinforce pre-war attitudes and arguably strengthen them.

The chapter also argued that the mid-century saw continued emphasis on the importance of agricultural education in understandings of good citizenship, especially for rural youth. It asserted that in the 1930s, the

'drift from the land', alongside calls for increased efficiency and improved standards in farming, saw the growth of the YFC movement, upholding notions of citizenship which, for boys, were directly linked with agricultural efficiency. The chapter reinforces the notion that youth took on a 'dual' role in this period, with rural youth being represented as both the future of the countryside and agents of its demise. The choice faced by young people from farming backgrounds—whether to stay on the land or leave to pursue the opportunities of the urban—was therefore fundamental to understandings of good citizenship in the 1930s. Following the war, the continued loss of young agricultural workers and the growing mechanization of agriculture led to an increase in the importance of the work of the YFCs. Agriculture, for rural youth, therefore maintained its importance in understandings of good citizenship in the mid-century.

Agricultural good citizenship was not exclusively centred upon rural youth however, with the Scouts and Guides encouraging an active participation in activities such as poultry-rearing and land cultivation across the period. In the 1930s, such activities became especially important as it was believed that through instilling knowledge of rural life the movements could alleviate the tension between town and country. The movements also encouraged agricultural learning as a way of connecting to the past, rural England. Activities such as gardening were portrayed as being part of the national heritage as they involved contact with the land. Ideas of nation and the landscape, discussed in Chap. 2, were therefore important in shaping ideas of good citizenship in the Baden-Powell movements.

This chapter has argued that the Second World War was a time in which ideas of good citizenship within the Baden-Powell movements continued to hold sway. It has suggested that the movements called upon their members to give service to the nation and develop 'active' citizenship. This 'active' citizenship could be fulfilled through a number of activities, but the movements paid particular attention to the opportunities for both Scouts and Guides to work on the land. The involvement of members in 'digging for victory' was part of much wider nationalized understandings of service in wartime, but the importance of the land here reveals an interesting continuity in the centrality of the countryside in understandings of citizenship within these movements. Therefore, while many have seen the Second World War as a turning point in the mid-century, this chapter has suggested that understandings of the landscape and good citizenship within these movements were merely reinforced by the advent of war.

Notes

1. *Lancashire County Year Book 1953,* D71/51/13, MERL, p. 19.
2. *The Scouter*, December 1933, p. 408.
3. For a focused discussion of this shift see: I. Gazeley 'Manual work and pay, 1900–70', in N. Crafts, I. Gazeley and A. Newell (eds.), *Work and Pay in 20th-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); G. Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840* (London: Routledge, 2005).
4. K. Laybourn, *Britain on the Breadline: a social and political history of Britain between the wars* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990); J. Stevenson and C. Cook, *The Slump: Britain in the Great Depression*, Third Edition (Didcot: Routledge, 2013).
5. Pilgrim Trust. *Men without work: a report made to the Pilgrim Trust.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), p. 1.
6. Figures taken from a table of regional unemployment rates, 1912–95 from I. Gazeley and A. Newell, 'Unemployment', in Crafts et al. *Work and Pay*, p. 233.
7. W.R. Garside (1977), 'Juvenile unemployment and public policy between the wars', *The Economic History Review*, 30, p. 322
8. D. Benjamin, and L. Kochin (1979), 'What went right with juvenile unemployment policy between the wars: a comment', *The Economic History Review*, 32, p. 523.
9. Figures taken from a table of male unemployment rates by age 1927–1938 from Gazeley and Newell. 'Unemployment', p. 235.
10. D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers. The lifestyle of young wage-earners in inter-war Britain* (London: The Woburn Press, 1995), Chapter 3.
11. S. Todd (2007), 'Breadwinners and dependents: working class young people in England, 1918–1955', *International Review of Social History*, 52,
12. *The Manchester Guardian*, 19 December 1936, p. 4.
13. The scheme was funded by a grant from the Ministry of Labour, anonymous donors, proceeds from a BBC appeal and a donation from the Pilgrim Trust, as reported in *The Times*, 29 July 1933, p. 8. A government report on 'Special Areas' in 1936 detailed how the Ministry of Labour, as well as providing some financial assistance to this scheme would also offer a small grant to cover the cost of dental treatment for participants. Ministry of Labour. *Third Report of the Commissioner for the Special Areas (England and Wales)* (London: HMSO, 1936), Cmd. 5303. p. 156.
14. The Ministry of Labour reported on the Hedingham scheme, among only a few other voluntary bodies of training for the unemployed, in its reports in both 1934 and 1935. Figures from these reports suggest that

over the period of these two years, 842 boys completed the three-month training course and found suitable employment afterwards. *Ministry of Labour Report for the Year 1934.* (HMSO: London, 1935), 1935; Ministry of Labour Report. *Ministry of Labour Report for the Year 1935* (HMSO: London, 1936), p. 111.

15. *The Times*, 11 April 1934, p. 18.
16. *The Times,* 23 November 1933, p. 16.
17. *The Manchester Guardian,* 20 August 1934, p. 6.
18. *The Manchester Guardian*, 3 May 1938, p. 4.
19. *The Daily Mirror*, 5 May 1936, p. 25.
20. *The Manchester Guardian*, 20 May 1935, p. 11.
21. C. Griffiths, *Labour and the Countryside: the politics of rural Britain 1918–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 89.
22. *The Scouter*, February 1932, p. 51.
23. *The Rucksack*, Summer 1933, p. 43.
24. *The Rucksack*, Summer 1933, p. 43.
25. *The Times*, 16 January 1931, p. 8.
26. *The Scouter*, February 1932, p. 51.
27. For a discussion of voluntary bodies and unemployment in the interwar period see, B. Harris (1995), 'Responding to adversity: government–charity relations and the relief of unemployment in inter-war Britain', *Contemporary Record*, 9, 529–561.
28. J. Field (2012), 'An anti-urban education? Work camps and ideals of the land in interwar Britain', *Rural History* (2012) 23, 224.
29. *The Guide*, 27 February 1932, p. 1422
30. *The Guide*, 23 February 1939, p. 1460.
31. *The Guider*, March 1937, p. 97.
32. *The Guide*, 27 February 1932, p. 1422
33. *The Guide*, 19 March 1932, p. 1532.
34. S. Todd, *Young Women, Work and Family in England 1918–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 3.
35. *The Guide,* September 28 1935, p. 751.
36. P. Tinkler (2014), '"Are You Really Living?" if not, "Get With It": the teenage self and lifestyle in young women's magazines, Britain 1957–70', *Cultural and Social History*, 11, 610.
37. *The Guide*, 31 March 1931, p. 1581.
38. *The Guide*, 23 February 1939, p. 1460
39. *The Guide*, 27 February 1932, p. 1429.
40. *The Guider*, March 1937 p. 97
41. *The Guide*, 31 March 1934, p. 1581
42. See articles such as 'Amateur Ventriloquism for Guides'. *The Guide*, 27 September 1930, p. 721.

43. *The Guide*, 23 February 1939, p. 1460
44. *The Guider*, March 1937 p. 97
45. *The Guider*, March 1937 p. 97
46. *The Guider*, March 1937 p. 97
47. *The Guide*, 28 September 1935, p. 753
48. *The Guide*, 20 June 1931, p. 262.
49. *The Guide*, 30 April 1932, p. 48.
50. *The Guide*, 28 September 1935, p. 753.
51. Many historians have written about the effects of the 'drift from the land' including: R. J. Moore-Colyer (1999), 'From Great Wen to Toad Hall: aspects of the urban–rural divide in inter-war Britain', *Rural History* 10, p. 114; A. Howkins, 'Death and Rebirth? English Rural Society, 1920–1940', in P. Brassley, J. Burchardt and L. Thompson (eds), *The English Countryside between the Wars: Regeneration or Decline?* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006).
52. *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, July 20 1937, p. 1767.
53. For a detailed description of the disparity of agricultural fortune at this time see A. Howkins, *The Death of Rural England: a social history of the countryside since 1900* (London: Routledge, 2003), Chapter 3.
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CHAPTER 5

The Good Citizen at Home

In 1939 a Ranger of the 13th Stoke Newington Rangers, wrote an article for *The Guider*, which described the long-lasting benefits of Guiding. She penned:

> Now that Guides have been in existence for 28 years, there are many young wives and mothers who did not have to cook their first meal as newlyweds with such great trepidation, when they remembered cooking breakfasts in rainy weather on smoky camp fires, some years ago in happy Guiding days.[1]

Studies of the Girl Guides, and of girls' education more generally, have often noted the gendered nature of youth training, with a conservative view of gender roles at its heart. Thus, historians have identified youth organizations as playing an important role in reinforcing the dominant construction of femininity in the first half of the twentieth century. The quote from the member of the 13th Stoke Newington Rangers above supports this suggestion with her admission that the Guides were the perfect preparation for a girls' future role as wives and mothers.[2] As a result, understandings of good citizenship for girls were directly linked to their domestic role. This chapter explores the significance of domestic training within the GGA and the YFC organizations across the period from 1930 to 1960. It argues that throughout this period girls were encouraged to

S. Edwards, *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65157-6_5

see their role as wife and mother as being their primary aim. However, meanings of domesticity differed between the two organizations: the YFCs celebrated a distinct form of rural femininity. Additionally, this chapter argues for a reassessment of domestic training, suggesting that a study of youth movements reveals the ways in which members of the organizations shaped and contested the gendered education that they received.

Domesticity and the Good Citizen

From inception, the Guides drew upon the middle-class sentiment of separate spheres, to ensure that girls were fully prepared for their future role as carers of the nation.[3] Underpinning this was an imperial ideology. In the 1912 edition of *How Girls can Help Build the Empire*, the president of the Guides at the time, Agnes Baden-Powell wrote:

> As women have the bringing up and teaching of the little ones, they wield a great power. As citizens, you can help to make every child into a good citizen. You can also help to keep the moral standard of the nation.[4]

Early understandings of citizenship in the Guiding movement were therefore directly linked to motherhood and domesticity.

Moving into the mid-century, while the imperial ideology of the Baden-Powell movements weakened, the emphasis on the home remained prominent in the training of girls for good citizenship.[5] In January 1930, an article in *The Guide* declared that homemaking was 'The Big Career' and encouraged readers to consider marriage and family life to be the most important of their life's endeavours. Clearly then, while the movement encouraged girls to explore a varied landscape of career options, as discussed in Chap. 4, the underlying importance of their role as housewives remained; the article proclaimed 'There is a great variety of careers open to girls' to-day, but there is one bigger and grander than all the rest and that is Homemaking.'[6] Guiding activities reflected this emphasis, with the provision of training in homemaking skills. For example, the 'Homemaker' badge required girls to complete tasks such as learning how lay a table 'attractively'.[7] Through this emphasis, the movement developed an understanding of good citizenship for girls linked to a proficiency in domestic skills.

The Guide movement positioned itself as important preparation for the trials of motherhood, both practical and emotional. Training in the basics

of childcare, via the 'Child Nurse' badge and practical skills, such as first aid, stood to prepare girls to care for dependents. A proficiency in cookery was of utmost importance in this regard; as being a skilled cook and having a developed understanding of nutrition could mean the difference between raising a useful and well-developed family, or a troublesome and delinquent one. As E. Sullivan, a contributor to *The Guide*, warned in 1931:

> Two houses stand side by side. In the first live the victims of a mother who troubles not about her cooking, nor about the different values of various foodstuffs. Her husband is weedy and wretched looking, her baby is puny and wailing … Next door, the mother is a good cook. Her husband is cheerful and her children are plump, rosy and contented.[8]

This tale suggests that by ignoring valuable nutrition and cookery advice supplied by the GGA, the first mother has not only wilfully neglected her family, who have become 'victims' of her ineptitude, but that she has also failed to fulfil her role as a citizen of the nation, by providing it with weak and unhappy offspring. This was important in the context of the 1930s, which saw the growth of fitness culture and a scrutiny of people's diets, particularly on the growth and health of the 'slum child'.[9] The importance of the mother in guarding the health of the family was therefore central to the training provided by the Guide movement.

Alternatively, Guiding could also provide moral preparation for the difficulties of motherhood. By placing emphasis on stoicism, hard work and self-sacrifice, the GGA hoped to instil in its members the qualities needed to cope with their future role. Talking of housewives with Guide training, Rose Williamson wrote:

> And although she doesn't often have time to realise it, she is eternally thankful for the teaching of the Guide law … Then it isn't so hard to keep smiling when baby gives her a restless night.[10]

The space of the countryside was thus an important site of domestic training for the Guides, as they were expected to take on numerous responsibilities in camp, such as cooking and cleaning, in all manner of weather. Williamson continued: 'After all, things couldn't be worse on a gas stove. The routine of camp life, and the fun of making a home there out of bits and pieces prove a help to these young married folk'.[11] The

countryside thus allowed girls to practice and construct their own domestic spaces, while at the same time preparing them for difficulties and disruption. Such opportunities for domestic preparation only grew as members matured. Indeed, older members of the group were often given responsibility for minding younger members of their patrols and this duty was constructed as being motherly.

It is thus clear that the 1930s was a time in which these youth movements placed meanings of good citizenship for girls within discourses of domesticity. In part this can be understood, as others have done, as a response to the social upheavals caused by the First World War.[12] However, the increasing focus on domesticity in girls' education at this time must also be seen within the context of the increasing modernization of the home and the housewife in the 1930s. The growing 'professionalization' of middle class housewifery, with the, albeit patchy, introduction of labour-saving devices and the decline in domestic service, saw the figure of the housewife gain cultural significance.[13] This 'modern recasting' of the housewife, as Judy Giles terms it, was reflected in Guide training, which increasingly emphasized the skill and precision necessary in housework. As the article on the 'Big Career' of home-making declared in 1930:

> The world is fortunately awakening to the fact that Homemaking is an art which can only be achieved by education and practice, and a real love of the work. … Homemakers are a necessity, but the world wants homemakers with qualifications to show that they know the fundamental facts of Housekeeping and the hows and whys of cookery, needlework, laundry, housewifery, and at least, an elementary knowledge of physiology, hygiene, home nursing, first aid and the chemistry of food.[14]

The Guide movement therefore not only provided girls with instructions in everyday tasks but in the more technical aspects of housewifery. For example, in 1930 the 'Housekeeper' badge required a Guide to draw up a detailed expenditure plan for a family for one week, taking into account expenses such as taxes, rent, food, clothing and education.[15] Clearly, here, the movement was acknowledging the crucial role of the housewife in running the family income. Nowhere did the Guide motto of thrift come in as handy as to a housewife in charge of the family budget. Therefore, the growing acknowledgement of the housewife as a key figure in the running of the household meant that the training provided by the Guides was considered to come in particularly useful at this time.

Another shift, which was addressed by domestic training, was the concern surrounding the growing apathy of modern girls towards their future roles. Faced with growing employment opportunities and increasing leisure time, it was believed that some girls were not receiving the preparation they required from their home life. The GGA was concerned with this dilemma as opportunities for girls in 'white collar' jobs grew. This worry was recorded by a contributor to *The Guide* in 1931 who observed that:

> There seems to be an impression that the dull girls are good enough for cooking, and that the brainy ones should devote themselves to typing and copying. The modern girl makes a grievous mistake if she thinks this science is beneath her.[16]

It is important to note the use of the term 'science' to describe cookery here—yet another suggestion that the role of the housewife was one that required a level of training if it was to be undertaken correctly. Therefore, while the movement encouraged girls to consider their career choice, as the previous chapter demonstrated, it was in the knowledge that they would marry and start a family in due course. This evidence lends itself to a reconsideration of historical debates surrounding the prevalence of the 'back to the home' philosophy following the First World War. While the emphasis on domesticity at this time has often been understood to be a consequence of social changes brought about by the war, a focus on domesticity within the Guides reveals a competing narrative. The focus on 'modern' shifts; particularly changing female labour patterns for young women, and the growing authoritative and skilful identity of the 'professionalized' housewife within the training provided by the movement suggests that rather than reasserting 'traditional' pre-war modes of domesticity, the movement was reacting to emerging female identities. The Guides, were adjusting their training to modern forms of femininity.

Following the Second World War, the centrality of the home in understandings of good citizenship intensified as the post-war period witnessed a number of shifts which solidified the centrality of the family within English life. The rise in the sheer number of marriages following the Second World War, coupled with the declining age of marriage, particularly for the working classes, meant that for many young women the training provided had more immediate relevance than it had done previously. The post-war period also witnessed the growth of what Mark Abrams called, the 'home-centred society', in which home life centred on a

gendered model of consumption, the wage-earner husband and the 'chooser–spender' wife.[17] This, coupled with the rise of the 'companionate marriage' and the ideal of the domesticated husband, was symbolic of a decade which held marriage and motherhood as being the key aim of women's lives.[18]

Training for domesticity also took on particular resonance at this time due to other shifts. In particular, faced with the growing concern over juvenile delinquency, discussed in Chap. 3, and the strong presence of a distinctive 'modern' youth, it grew even more important to instil in girls the idea that their most important job was child-rearing, to prevent delinquency in children. A good mother would breed contented and happy children, who in turn would do the same, thereby breaking the cycle of delinquency, which some believed had been caused by bad mothering. Oswald Bell reported optimistically in *The Guider* in 1959: 'Fortunately, even Teddy Girls do not want Teddy Babies: however they behave today, they hope their homes and children will be good.'[19] The Guides, therefore, continued to propagate the message that motherhood and housewifery were the most important jobs for girls.

This came at a time when the media often condemned working women, and maternal deprivation theories, championed by the likes of John Bowlby, which demonized women who went out to work were growing in visibility if not influence. Bowlby's study, *Child Care and the Growth of Love*, published in 1953, highlighted the mental and physical effects that an 'unfulfilled' relationship with its mother might have on a child.[20] Donald Winnicott more directly linked such theories with delinquent behaviour: in an address to magistrates in 1946 he asserted that:

> I put it this way. When a child steals sugar he is looking for the good mother, his own, from whom he has a right to take what sweetness is there. … When a child steals outside his own home he is still looking for his mother.[21]

Clearly, this was a period in which the problem of delinquency was in part seen as a result of ineffective mothering. The Guiding organization was aware of this, and placed emphasis accordingly on girls' future role within the home.[22] In 1955, Sir Basil Henriques, Chairman of the East London Juvenile Court, argued that the Guide movement needed to 'make them [Guide members] realise that in doing this job as mothers they themselves must never go out to work at times when they are needed

by their school-age children.'[23] This was part of a broader ethos at this time, which presented domesticity and paid work as being separate and incompatible roles for women.[24] Actual experience often contradicted the ideal of course, with working-class women working in part-time jobs outside the home to earn so-called 'pin money'. Nonetheless, it is clear that this ideal of the role of the housewife was as strong as it ever had been and was central to understandings of good citizenship within the Guide organization. Henriques continued:

> we say we are trying to make our girls good citizens … the greatest act of citizenship is the creation of a good home … I cannot help feeling that almost your greatest job with these older girls, the girls who have reached puberty, is to get them to dream and to think and to have visions of this home that they want to build for themselves.[25]

Therefore, while early Guiding principle had foregrounded the role of motherhood, in imperial and almost eugenic tones, as being vital to the future of the British Empire, by the 1950s this concern had shifted to address modern concerns. The growing visibility of delinquent behaviour and of 'modern' youth meant that the instilling of the virtues of homemaking maintained its importance in the movement across the decades.

It is clear that, across the period, for a number of reasons, girls in the Guide movement were consistently taught that their most important role was in the home. This does not mean that there was an experiential continuity in girls' lives; without a doubt, there were significant changes in the lives of girls. As we have seen, shifts in employment, education and leisure opportunities greatly affected experiences of growing up in England. What is clear, however, is that despite changes in administration and approach, the movements continued to place emphasis on girls' domestic future, part of a much wider ideological emphasis on the home at this time.

This is not to suggest that domesticity did not play an important role in the Scouts also, particularly after the Second World War. As we saw in Chap. 4, the performance of domestic tasks during 'Bob-a-Job' week was celebrated and considered an important route to good citizenship. This, Sarah Mills has suggested, was an indication of the way in which the Scout organization redefined itself after the war.[26] Similarly, Eleanor Murray has noted the way in which post-war Scout

badges encouraged boys to reflect on their role within the home by including important training in domestic skills. For example, the 'Jobman' badge required members to learn how to repair garden fences and maintain lawnmowers, while the 'Handyman' badge required older Scouts to demonstrate an awareness of how to repair furniture.[27] Such emphasis on domestic manual labour, Murray concludes, was a reflection of much broader changes in conceptualizations of masculinity after the Second World War.[28] Indeed, numerous historians have highlighted the ways in which the relationship between masculinity and the domestic sphere was changing in this period, as were expectations of fatherhood.[29] In particular, the post-war period saw the rise of the 'domesticated husband' who was expected to assist his wife in the home and undertake a share of the domestic duties, including fatherly duties.[30] As a result, notions of masculinity became increasingly family-orientated at this time.[31] Although this ideal had varying levels of purchase in lived experience it was a prominent idea.[32] Such expectations were evident within the Boy Scouts, even beyond the domestically orientated badges and the encouragement to undertake household chores. In particular, the idea of family life was often the topic of features and cartoons in *The Scouter*, reflecting the idea that the home was an important sphere for older members of the organization. In 1955, a series of comedic cartoons entitled 'Why Scoutmasters' Wives Grow Weary', depicted the trials and tribulations of marrying a member of the organization. The images portray a number of domestic scenes, which support this notion of 'family-orientated' masculinity. One such image depicts a Scoutmaster's wife knitting in an armchair, which her husband plays with their child, sending him screaming by pulling strange faces. The caption reads: 'Yes dear it must have been excruciatingly funny at the Camp Fire, but ….'.[33] While another portrays a room that is half decorated: a child messily plays with a can of paint of the floor, as the husband is walking out the door. The tagline reads 'Don't worry dear: I'll finish it when I get back from camp.'[34] Such comedic examples reveal the way in which domesticity was constructed within the Scouts as being an inevitable part of members' futures and highlight a growing emphasis on men taking a more active role within the home. The presence of domesticity within both organizations, then, reveals the overarching presences of private, domestic life in constructions of post-war gender roles and citizenship.

Understanding Rural Domesticity

If the sphere of the home was significant in the education and training provided by the Guides, then it was equally so within the YFC organization, which arranged classes for girls in home-making and economic housekeeping in the hopes of inculcating an industrious and thrifty nature and making 'happy homes and contented husbands'.[35] In 1932, Miss Norah Raymont, from the Witleigh contingent of the organization, declared in an essay on the value of membership: 'Another way by which a club proves to be of value is through the making of better housekeepers'.[36] Despite the focus on co-educational agricultural education, discussed in Chap. 4, across the 1930s *The Young Farmer* magazine continually included information for female members on a variety of 'girls' activities', including jam-making, knitting and flower-arranging.

This emphasis on the provision of feminine topics within the organization intensified following the Second World War. In the spring of 1946, for example, *The Young Farmer* encouraged clubs to plan a distinctly separate agenda for girls; it declared 'Clubs! You are now planning summer activities. Have you a programme for your girl members?'[37] On a local level many clubs followed suit and provided its members with separate activities for girls and boys. For example, in the years of 1957–1958 the Shipston-on-Stour Young Farmers' Club in Warwickshire organized the following programme of lectures for its members:

October 30th –	Boys: Farm Accounts
	Girls: Butter making
November 6th –	Boys: Farm building
	Girls: Laundry
January 29th –	Boys: Care of livestock
	Girls: Colour scheme in the home
February 26th –	Boys: Care of machinery
	Girls: Lampshades
March 19th –	Boys: Rotation of crops
	Girls: Household bargains[38]

Such lectures make it clear that girls were being encouraged to focus their interests on the domestic sphere and, like the training of Guides, this was done in an almost technical manner. Choice of lampshades and awareness of household bargains being given the same time and presence as

lectures on care of machinery or rotation of crops. This emphasis on domesticity was also present in *The Young Farmer* magazine, which from 1946 onwards included articles on homemaking on a more regular basis. In the spring of that year, the magazine published the first edition of the 'Farm & Home Forum', which supplied readers with helpful tips on farming activities and domestic work. This information was given equal weight and importance; for example, farm information such as 'When Greasing a Cart' was given a similar amount of space as 'Removing Wine Stains'. This reflected the importance that the organization ascribed to domestic activities at this time, duties, it was suggested, that were vital to maintaining a healthy and happy family life. A prime example of this is the importance placed by the organization on cookery skills. This is clear in the one-off 'Tell it to Aunt Agnes' section of the *Hampshire Young Farmers' Yearbook* of 1958–1959, which, mimicking the popular format of the 'agony aunt' from women's magazines and playing on the comedic mishaps of married life, encouraged girls to attend domestic training. In this particular letter, a young wife told of her embarrassment that she could not yet cook a decent meal to satisfy her husband. She wrote:

> Dear Aunt Agnes, I am absolutely heartbroken—my brute of a husband ate the cat's food by mistake last night and says it is the best meal I have ever cooked; what should I do, I'm terribly worried? We have been married 10 days. (P.J.C. Winchester)

To which 'Aunt Agnes' replied:

> Dear P.J.C, You poor child, you have my absolute sympathy- you do not say if the food has had any adverse effects, for example has your husband expressed any inclination to spend a night on the tiles, or does he return in the early hours of morning or has he started to grow a tail? It really is most distressing I suggest that you take a Y.F.C. proficiency test in meal cookery and let him taste the difference.[39]

While the inauthenticity of this letter is clear, what the response does emphasize is the young farmers' estimation of the importance of such skills in marriage, and the role the YFCs wished to play in helping girls learn these skills.[40] Similarly, the YFCs provided girls with abundant beauty tips, in the belief that looking good was vital to attracting a suitor and maintaining a lasting marriage. As Mr Mullins, organizing secretary

of the North Riding YFC, asserted in 1955, there was something to be said 'for getting your man with face powder and keeping him with baking powder'.[41]

However, while the emphasis on domestic activities within the YFCs mirrored the training of the Guides, we must also understand the prominence given to the home within the organization as being as a result of the distinctive and prominent role of the figure of the farmer's wife in agricultural society across the mid-twentieth century. As scholars have recognized, in the face of perceived rural decline the traditional figure of the farmer's wife gained symbolism as the 'linchpin of rural society'.[42] This was the case across the mid-twentieth century with women's role as mothers becoming crucial to the revitalization of agricultural life, in the context of the 'drift from the land' discussed in Chap. 4, through the rearing and socializing of the next generation of farmers.

Alongside the growing importance of child-rearing in the rural community, the importance of domesticity must also be seen as a reaction to distinctly rural shifts, in particular, the technological, structural and cultural shifts in farming practices following the Second World War, which led to what Brandth has termed a 'discourse of masculinization' in farming.[43] Farming identities thus became shaped by a gendered discourse, which placed men as farmers and women in the subsidiary role as farmers' wives.[44] This view is supported by an article that appeared in *The Young Farmer* in the March/April issue of 1949, which argued that spheres had opened up for both boys and girls in the post-war countryside:

> What will I do? That was the question the country boy or girl used to find so difficult to answer when schooldays were nearly over. … Now that has changed for the boy, there are new opportunities in farming; modern machinery and a more specific approach to agriculture has seen that. For the girl, too, there is a new opportunity. If she likes all kinds of work connected with the home, she now has the chance to train as a skilled 'houseworker', and to win a diploma which entitles her to good pay, reasonable hours, and fair conditions.[45]

Therefore, as the process of farming became more masculine, the role of women in the domestic sphere gained importance. As J. Hunter Smith, Principal of the Hertfordshire Institute of Agriculture, suggested in a 1946 article discussing careers on the land: with limited roles available to them on the farm it was in the home where girls could provide assistance.

He wrote that: 'Girls, especially, should be informed that, apart from routine work, there are few opportunities for them in agriculture, except, of course, as the wives of farmers or rural workers.'[46] This did not mean that fewer women were present on the farm, but that work of the women on the farm became secondary to the importance of her work in the home. The YFC organization had anticipated this shift well before the Second World War. In September 1937, *The Young Farmer* ruminated the question 'Do Girls in the Country Work?' The answer, although not surprising, reveals the way in which the mechanization of farming was believed to dramatically change the relationship of women to the farm. The publication concluded that 'So what, we ask, is there left for country girls to do? It's no good asking, "Should country girls work?" A mechanical age has determined that they shall not.'[47]

This did not mean, however, that agricultural work was removed from constructions of good femininity within the YFCs. Quite the opposite in fact; while members of the Guides were taught that paid work and motherhood were mutually exclusive, by contrast female Young Farmers' were encouraged to develop their agricultural skills as an important preparation for future duties in the home. Across the 1930s, girls' were encouraged to excel in activities including, dairying, poultry-rearing and horticulture. These were chosen in particular due to the underlying maternal and domestic connotations that they held. As an article from *Farmer and Stockbreeder* declared in 1934:

> Poultry farming is a career where women excel … Provided you are well equipped, there is every prospect, even if you are a girl, that you will excel as a chick-rearer. The baby chick, helpless and dependent, appeals to girls, who are acknowledged to be ideal chick-rearers.[48]

Here *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, which was admittedly one of the more conservative farming publications when it came to gender, identified the natural feminine attributes which made poultry farming the perfect job for girls. This is a trend that Nicola Verdon has identified in farming periodicals of the interwar period, in which agricultural work remained divided, at least ideologically, along gendered lines.[49] For example, while the rearing of livestock and poultry was seem as being suitably feminine, the culling and slaughtering of cattle, was considered too dirty and contrary to the natural instincts of women. The received wisdom of this notion can be seen in a cease in 1931, in which Miss C. Payne, the only licensed cattle and horse slaughterer in England, received a letter from a woman which

declared 'I think you are the most repellent and revolting woman I have ever heard of.'[50] Despite the fact that then that she was said to be bringing 'gentle' methods of slaughtering to the profession, this was clearly not a suitable role for women in the industry.[51] The reaction of farmers to the girls and women of the Land Army, discussed in the previous chapter, can also be seen as indicative of this position, with farmers initially being reluctant to take members of the Women's Land Army on to their farms.[52]

Following the Second World War, the gendered separation of agricultural work within the YFC organization continued and strengthened. This is evidenced by the results of the 1950s YFC proficiency tests, showing girls more likely to earn certificates in 'feminine' agricultural tasks including hand milking and poultry trussing, whereas boys were more likely to receive them in activities such as dry stone walling and tractor ploughing.[53] Thus, the organization encouraged a distinctly rural ideal of femininity, which celebrated a dual proficiency in both feminine agricultural work and homemaking.

The construction of this distinctive ideal of femininity within the organization across the mid-century can be seen in the reporting of the 'Miss Young Farmer' and 'Dairy Queen' pageants throughout the period. In 1936, an article in *Farmer and Stockbreeder* reported on the First Dairy Queen contest. It declared that the judges were looking for 'the perfect country girl to represent "Milkmaid Charm"'[54] It is clear that what constituted 'milkmaid charm' in this regard was a number of rural attributes. Girls needed to be naturally beautiful, having that 'unspoiled' country look; they needed to be domesticated and demonstrate 'wifely' attributes; but, most importantly, they needed to show proficiency in farm crafts. The pageants therefore highlight the importance of the dual role expected of rural girls in the movement—they were the epitome of a specifically rural femininity. Writing of the 1959 Dairy Queen, Marjorie Watson, a reporter for the Warwickshire YFC magazine, wrote, 'The new Dairy Queen has a wide practical knowledge of farming … down on the family farm she gets up at seven most mornings and works a hard 12-hour day,'[55] whereas Miss Young Farmer 1957, who was an accomplished shepherdess and spent her spare time tractor-driving and helping with the dairy herd, still found 'plenty of time to help with the housework.'[56] *The Daily Mirror* reported of the 1952 Miss Young Farmer competition 'Bathing suits don't count in her beauty contest. Who looks best in working clothes?'[57] This dual image was one also one that was romanticized in twentieth century culture.[58] A typical representation of this romanticism can be seen in a Cadbury's Bournvita advert of 1952, showing a farmer's wife's day. After feeding her

dependents, cleaning the house, tending to the goats and hens on the farm and then to her garden, relaxes with a cup of Bournvita. The advert says:

> Nothing gets her goat! Busy but never bothered is Mrs Patricia Sawyer, of Sheppard's Farm, Crawley Down, Sussex Besides cooking, mending, scrubbing and gardening, this attractive mother of two sons (aged 10 and 6) runs a goat farm with her husband … but takes everything in her graceful stride.[59]

Interestingly, then, while the urban housewife of the 1950s was portrayed as enjoying the benefits and leisure time that the rise of 'time-saving' consumer durables had presented her, by contrast the rural housewife was being celebrated for her continued physical labour.

The celebration of the active nature of women's work on the family farm here, both in the beauty pageants and in popular advertisements, is important as it reflects the continued importance of women to farming practices throughout the mid-twentieth century, despite the masculinization discourse discussed earlier. In the 1930s, daughters and wives of farmers could provide vital income to the family farm by undertaking dairying and poultry farming. In 1930 *Farmer and Stockbreeder* declared:

> As a career for women, dairying offers a variety of work. It may be in the home, where the daughter of the house undertakes the responsibility of the dairy, which may well be one of the main sources of income.[60]

The extra income generated by wives from agricultural activities such as poultry-keeping, could thus play a vital role in the survival of the farming business, particularly in harsh economic times. In 1931 a wife who saved her husband from bankruptcy by keeping hens was hailed by a contributor to *Farmer and Stockbreeder* as 'A wife worth having.'[61] Therefore, skills learnt in the YFCs could prepare daughters for their role on the family farm. Emphasis on these skills also stood to prepare girls for their future role as farmer's wives, which would regularly include sharing the agricultural jobs on the farm. Hence, across this period, for those women married to farmers, an involvement and investment in the farming business was commonplace. So commonplace that the countrywoman was advised in a 1933 issue of *Farmer and Stockbreeder* that, 'It is well to bear in mind, when purchasing gloves for ordinary wear, that her ultimate use will probably be as protection for the hands when engaged in jobs on the farm.'[62] Therefore, while studies of the marriage and the home in the post-

war period have highlighted the rise of the companionate marriage, based on mutual cooperation and teamwork, as a distinctive feature of this period, a study of rural domesticity reveals that a form of cooperative relationship between husband and wife had been in existence long before its heyday in the 1950s.[63]

The Second World War only served to highlight the importance of women's role on the family farm. In 1945, Barbara Wilcox, a contributor to *Farmer and Stockbreeder,* shared this amusing tale:

> In no occupation is a man's wife more important than in farming. The wife can make or break the farm. I knew of a farmer who bought a good farm and married a nice wife and thought to live happily ever after. But the wife, a townswoman, didn't settle. She moped. In the end the farmer had to decide to part with one or the other—a very hard choice.[64]

She continued that: 'The war has shown that the farmer's wife to-day is quite as ready to work hard and help her man as her mother or her grandmother.'[65] It is clear that, despite their wartime efforts, farming women were still being constructed within the dominant masculine script as having a 'helpful' and subsidiary role. Even in 1952 when *Farmer and Stockbreeder* celebrated the equal responsibilities of the farmer and his wife they did so within this gendered discourse:

> If the woman on a family farm is properly trained to be in sole charge of those departments which constitute her rightful sphere, then she can take her place fairly … not just as a help to her husband but as an equal partner in the progressive business of farming.[66]

Therefore, despite the rhetoric of opportunity within which the role of the farmer's wife was framed in the post-war period, it was clear that the rightful sphere for women was considered the farmhouse; consequently, work on the farm garden was constructed as a helpful addition to this.

This was not to deny the importance of women's role in the farmhouse. In 1944 *The Young Farmer* asserted that the farmhouse was 'specially important to the farmer. The farmhouse is more than the farmer's home; it is the centre of farming operations. The running of the farmhouse is directly related to the running of the farm.'[67] The site of the kitchen, for example, for many a housewife was a site for food preparation but for the farmer's wife it was a workshop—a place where she would undertake canning, skinning, curing and bottling, alongside the production of essential

foodstuffs from farm produce, to be sold or consumed by the family. Domestic training provided and advertised by the YFCs, such as the 1955 North Riding domestic training course, catered for this and for the expectation that the farmer's wife, living sometimes in isolation and often without electricity (*The Young Farmer* declared in 1950 that 'housework with electricity is nice work—if you can get it'[68]) needed to be aware of the relationship between the farm and the kitchen.[69] When *The Young Farmer* asserted in 1954 that 'The girls must be given as full an opportunity as possible to express themselves naturally and proficiently in women's domestic arts—especially the country woman's'[70] they were emphasizing the distinctiveness of the ideal of rural femininity, which necessitated different skills and training to the urban.

The training provided by the YFCs must therefore be seen as reflective of the realities of agricultural life and the continued significance of women in the farming family across the mid-century. This role was, of course, shaped by class, with girls being prepared for their role as 'farm housewife' within the middle-class farming home.[71] In doing so, the organization made numerous assumptions about the available time and funds that girls would have in their role, in comparison to the 'working farmwife' whose loyalties, for financial reasons, would be more equally divided amongst the home and the farm.[72] As a result, female members were given lectures on home-furnishings, and offered residential courses such as 'How to be a good hostess' and 'interior decorating'. Their role on the farm, despite being important, was often understood as being a profitable way of spending leisure time, and their participation in agriculture did not diminish the amount of domestic work they had to complete.[73]

There was, of course, a regional element to this. Although the YFC organization was a national movement, the training of clubs, as Alice Kirke has shown, was dependent on a number of localized factors, including farming patterns, resources and individual personalities.[74] Despite this, it is clear from the evolution of YFC training policy for girls across this period that the organization emphasized the role of farmer's wife as being the highest priority for its female members. It was suggested that by excelling in farmhouse crafts, domestic chores and certain forms of acceptable agriculture, girls were learning to be good farmers' wives and therefore 'good citizens'. In doing so they were expected to negotiate a specifically rural femininity, with a presence both on the farm and in the home. A look at experiences of rural girls, therefore, calls into question our urban understanding of the concept of domesticity and the relationship between work and the home in women's lives in the mid-twentieth century. In historical

discussion of women's work in the post-war period there has been a tendency to conceptualize household labour as being that which is undertaken inside the home. The 'hidden' nature of women's work on the farm, being often placed within the sphere of the home or the garden, alongside the growing rhetoric of the supportive and somewhat subsidiary role of the farmer's wife, means that the complex relationship between work and domesticity gets ignored in our wider understanding of women's experiences of domesticity in the twentieth century. A study of understandings of good citizenship for girls within the YFC movement has thus shed light on the often complex nature of rural domesticity in the mid-century.

'Averting Misunderstandings': An Education for Courtship

In the August 1960 issue of *The Guider*, contributor Nancy Warner wrote of the importance of educating members in the practice and complexities of courtship. Instilling in girls a knowledge of how to conduct themselves in romantic relationships, particularly when it came to sex, would, in Warner's view, be essential in 'Averting Misunderstandings' that could often occur in mixed-sex 'friendships' when sexual feelings were aroused.[75] This article exemplifies an important shift that occurred following the Second World War in the training provided by the Guides, with an increasing number of contributors calling for the addition of training that would prepare girls for interpersonal relationships, romance and sex.

Emphasis on the significance of training for courtship and sex really became prominent in the GGA during and immediately after the Second World War, with increased discussion of sex education in *The Guider* magazine. Although it should be noted that such training did not always filter down into local Guiding troops, with activities being shaped by the whim and opinions of the individuals in charge, the presence of such material in magazines does reveal a broader shift in the organisation, which before the war had approached such topics rarely and in somewhat of a hidden fashion, choosing instead to focus on the more practical side of marriage. As F.W.T. Craske, Secretary of the Church of England Youth Council, declared in the magazine in May 1944:

> Every rising generation has a right to be introduced to every aspect of grown-up life and of the grown-up world, and to be helped to understand the most important facts about the relationships of grown-up people. … One of the most urgent and central features of this educational preparation

> for manhood and womanhood is the right guidance in the years of adolescence and youth in sex relationships and sex knowledge. Such guidance is essentials if boys and girls are to know where they are as they go through the exciting experiences of making friends, falling in love, getting engaged, and when the time comes getting married, becoming parents, running a home and bringing up a family.[76]

The article, which continued at some length detailing the exact form that such training should take, identified that one of the most significant aspects would be the running of a course on growing up, the physical facts of sex and getting married. Such training would start at the age of 11 and 12, with the youngest girls being given basic biological information about plant and animal life and with older girls receiving information on the physicality of sex and pregnancy.[77]

Even the simple suggestion of such training marked a specific shift in the Guide movement, which before the war had approached such topics rarely and in somewhat of a hidden fashion, choosing instead to focus on the more practical side of marriage. This shift can be understood as a result of the war and the increased sexual licence amongst young women that it was believed to have caused. In 1941, for example, *The Guide* magazine encouraged girls to maintain wholesome courtship practices when 'getting to know' foreign soldiers,[78] while in July 1944 an article in *The Guider* included a note that members should informed of the dangers of promiscuity, with particular focus on the issue of venereal disease.[79]

In the 1950s, continued anxiety around the courtship practices of the teenage girl further revealed itself in discussions of the problem of the 'oversexed girl', who was identified as one type of the 'maladjusted and retarded' youth that had emerged since the war.[80] This was, as Janet Fink and Penny Tinkler have argued, a very real concern in the 1950s, with all teenage girls, regardless of age or class, seen as being sexually 'at risk'.[81] In March 1955, *The Guider* printed an extract from a speech by Sir Basil Henriques at the English County Commissioners conference on the modern girl, in which he declared:

> we get an enormous number of girls of fourteen to seventeen who can only be described as young prostitutes, willing to have intercourse with anyone they can; not necessarily taking money for it, but terrifically over-sexed. … I believe these over-sexed girls can be spotted somewhere about the age of eleven. But then we are so stupid in the way that we deal with them. We shove them into drab play centres, often ugly, dowdy and unappetizing; or

> we stick them in the crypt of a church and say, 'Go and enjoy yourselves there'. But what they are longing for is noise and fun and laughter and beauty and happiness, and we put them into these drab places and then hold up our hands in horror because they become pregnant at a public dance hall at the age of fourteen.[82]

The Guide movement]s discussions of courtship, therefore, can be seen as part of a long-running gendered discussion of delinquency, identified by Anne Campbell, Simon Bradford and Penny Tinkler, which framed female deviancy around promiscuity.[83] In providing training in this area, then, the Guides were part of a much older tradition of the use of leisure to regulate female sexuality.[84] Indeed, as Jim Gledhill has argued: 'Discussion of sex became more open in the formal structures of Guiding, but regulated within a pattern of courting, engagement and marriage.'[85] The inclusion of information and training on courtship thus reflects the tendency of the organization at this time to modernize, while maintaining traditional gendered frameworks.

The Guiding programme, with its inclusion of education in courtship but also its ability to counteract the negative influence of urban leisure on girls through its focus on the countryside, was believed to be particularly effective in tackling this problem. It is clear that spaces of courtship were thus a significant issue for leaders within the Guide organization, framed around similar moral geographies discussed in Chap. 3. In the post-war period the movement attempted to shape these courtship practices via the introduction of mixed-sex activities, calls for which took off in the 1950s. At this point the movement increasingly began to acknowledge the importance of arranging opportunities for the older members of the movement to meet and socialize with those of a similar age from their brother movement, the Scouts. As a result, the organization spoke with increasing regularity of the importance of organizing mixed camping, dances, sports matches and talks with the hopes of encouraging 'sensible friendships' with like-minded boys who had been introduced to the same values and morals.

The prominence of the rural landscape in the facilitation of mixed-sex activities is important. While urban leisure pursuits such as dancing and cinema-going were identified as being problematic, the countryside was presented as being an arena of 'respectable' courtship. Advertisements in Guiding magazines reinforced this idea by regularly depicting happy couples taking pleasure in the open air. One example of such is a 1950 advert

for POM one-minute potato, which shows a smiling couple enjoying an open-air meal, their tent and bicycles visible in the background.[86] The countryside, then, despite the opportunities that the rural landscape provided for 'lying about in the ferns',[87] as one man described it to Mass-Observation, was represented as being the perfect arena for the development of 'sensible friendships'.

However, if spaces of courtship were problematic then the inability to attract the 'right' kind of boy was equally so. In 1960, *The Guider* voiced concerns that girls were failing to ask the right questions of their partners. The magazine declared that: 'The crucial test of such a friendship is "Would I be proud of him as my children's father?" and also "How far does he (or *can* he), not only "love" but respect me?"[88] The foregrounding of love and respect in this passage reveals the ways in which girls were encouraged to seek genuine and authentic emotional intimacy. This was not easy; as early as 1946 the organization had identified the difficulties of identifying authentic romance in a modern age in which the cinema celebrated false values and pretend love. In this article, which asked Rangers to consider the problematic nature of cinema-going, the author identified the American film *Those Endearing Young Charms*, in which female protagonist Helen falls for rogue American 'playboy' Hank Travers, played by Robert Young, as emblematic of this issue. Readers were informed that:

> Now merely because in the end he, too, falls in love with her and agrees to marry her, we are supposed to consider it a 'happy ending'. … I should have thought the ending far happier if the girl, once rid of that self-centred fellow, had learnt from that experience what a fool she had been to be taken in by charm, swagger and insolence. Then at least she might have become sensible and adult enough to make a good wife for the next boy who comes along. But this picture like so many films, tries, quite wrongly, to suggest that love wipes out all faults and difficulties, so that here again we are fobbed off with something that has no basis in life.[89]

The Guides thus positioned themselves as an important arena in which girls could learn about love and where they could meet suitable, 'like-minded' partners. Increasingly, the GGA suggested that their organization was a space in which older members could meet prospective husbands. This was predominantly done through the inclusion of romance in Guide fiction. One example of this is the 1954 serial story 'The Problem Patrol',

written by regular Guide author Anne Bradley.[90] The protagonist, Guide Jenny Harland, who is unconfident and indecisive, travels with her sister, Rhona, and a friend to a camping trip organized by a separate Guide patrol. Throughout the story she is portrayed as being unconfident and awkward around the opposite sex, as her encounter with a stranger on a busy bus travelling to the campsite highlights:

> 'Sit on my knee, lass', said a stout man in breeches and leggings.
>
> 'No, really…' I began in horror, but he gave a tug to my belt and I fell on to him and couldn't get up. There was no point in making a fuss as he only meant to be kind, so I stayed, uncomfortably trying to make myself weigh less. We jolted on and the atmosphere grew hotter and steamier. My benefactor must have spent a long time in the stable or the pig-sty in that suit and I was just about desperate when the bus stopped.
>
> 'Come on, you lasses', cried the conductor. 'It's Shanks's pony for you now!'
>
> I levered myself from my perch.
>
> 'Thank you very much,' I said rather lamely.
>
> 'Think nowt of it lass', said my acquaintance cordially. 'I'll do it again any time!'
>
> There was a general guffaw and between heat and embarrassment I must have looked like a boiled lobster by the time I reached the ground.
>
> 'Really, Jenny', exclaimed my sister, 'it's time you grew up a bit! Nobody would dream you were sixteen! You looked as if you thought the poor man was going to haul you off to his cave by your back hair!'[91]

Here, then, we can see that Jenny's lack of confidence and apprehension towards the opposite sex are a point of teasing and ridicule from her friends. Later in the story, Jenny encounters Rover Scout Colin Davison, the local Vicar's son, with whom many of the Guides are enamoured. When they meet, he teases her in a friendly manner about the inadequacies of her Patrol's Scouting abilities but despite this, she frequently comments on the 'twinkle in his eye'. 'I wondered if he really had winked at me!'[92] She notes on one occasion. Colin and Jenny then experience a number of adventures, including one involving a missing child and a possible gypsy kidnap plot, which draw them together and he eventually asks her to a Scouting dance. Jenny now full of confidence following her camping experiences agrees to go along, beating out even her pretty sister for the attentions of the Rover—her fortnight at a Guide camp had given her the confidence necessary to

begin the process of courtship. This story then, is one of a number that identifies Guiding activities as providing the opportunity to meet and socialize with the opposite sex. Of course, the existence of stories such as this doesn't suggest that this happened in reality with any regularity but it does suggest that the publishers of the Guiding magazine were, firstly, aware that this is what girls wanted to read, but, secondly, they were suggesting that Guiding activities could act as a facilitator of courtship.

The YFC movement served a similar purpose through the organization of social engagements, such as dances and sports matches. Through such activities, the movement encouraged the mixing of the 'right' kinds of young people (young farmers). This is demonstrated in the previously mentioned YFC agony aunt column in which one girl wrote to Aunt Agnes, upset because her mother would not allow her to date boys. Aunt Agnes replied:

> The reason your mother is so strict is that she knows how wild boys can be. Attend your Y.F.C. regularly & you will meet plenty of eligible, respectable boys there, boys that even your mother can have no objection to.[93]

The movement therefore played an important part in building up future farming families and providing acceptable means of courtship. The 'gossip' sections of local YFC publications often had engagement and wedding announcements, and it was regularly the case that members of the same YFC would be engaged or married. This had long been so, even before the Second World War. In 1935, for example, a member of the organization noted the significant numbers of members who had got married and declared that membership of the movement was useful 'If only for that reason—getting a husband or wife as the case might be—it was surely worthwhile.'[94] Unlike the Guide organization, for which the focus on courtship became common only after the Second World War, for the YFCs the promise of courtship had long been a prominent aspect of its activities. This was partly a result of the lack of socially acceptable opportunities for socializing in some rural areas, which meant that the YFCs became an important place to meet members of the opposite sex. This was documented by a reporter, who in 1960 visited an East Sussex YFC lecture on 'Farming in Timbuctoo' and noted the boredom of the attendees. The writer states 'We soon

disillusioned him. Quite naturally we want to get to the dance as soon as possible.' The reporter observed the members as they listened: 'There they sit, row upon row of them, all ages, sizes, colours, sexes and shapes. Some of them are smoking, others are looking for a partner for to-nights festivities. Some are gossiping, others trying to look awake'.[95] He concluded by writing:

> As 8.30 approaches the lecturer begins to dry up, and comes to an end. 'Now, I've been talking long, enough, are there any questions?' But upon seeing the blank looks on our faces, baulks 'Well, thank you for listening so attentively and I won't waste any more of your time as I'm sure you all want to be off to the dance.' (Great man—he learns quickly!)[96]

The provision of social activities and the opportunities that they provided to meet the opposite sex was thus an important element of the YFC experience. Indeed, while the increasing emphasis on education for courtship does reveal an attempt by youth organizations to control female sexuality within youth movements, on the other hand the growth of discussions around courtship was reflective of the growing importance of marriage and domesticity in the lives of girls living in post-war England. For example, while the 'oversexed' girl was certainly a concern for the Guides, just as worrying for them was the girl who was ignorant of the complexities of personal relationships. It was believed that such ignorance could lead to misunderstandings and confusion and as a result across the immediate post-war period, but with increased prominence in the 1950s, the organization offered its members information on mixed-sex friendships and sexual intimacy; for example, information on making male friends and how friendship is distinct and different from flirting.[97] For example, the aforementioned 1960 article, entitled 'On Becoming a Person', discussed at length the importance of teaching girls about sexual relationships and how to conduct themselves within them. It asserted that girls needed to be aware of their behaviour in mixed-sex friendships:

> In boy and girl friendships, again, many misunderstandings could be averted if the young knew how differently men and women react. A girl has often no idea how provocative is her behaviour, her dress, or her make-up, because she does not realize how quickly a boy's sexual feelings are aroused. Nor, when she allows petting and fondling does she realize how cruelly difficult control

> can be for him, nor yet what far- reaching desires she is unwittingly setting in train in herself; for her desire, slower to arouse but less easily satisfied, is not just for flirtation, but fundamentally for home and family. Whatever a romantic girl may think, her nature, once stirred, will not be *really* satisfied until she has a baby; and that—the creating of a new person—is not a matter for irresponsible play. It is not enough, therefore, to feel thrilled or 'sent', or to know that the boy feels it so; it is certainly not enough to just seek the prestige of having a 'steady'.[98]

This is significant: the writer is clearly placing the onus on the sexual desires of girls themselves; desires that could only be satisfied with the creation of home and family. Interestingly, they were placing the responsibility of sexual regulation on their members by suggesting that girls had the ultimate control over sexual activity, through their manner, dress and behaviour. It is hard to ignore the implicit suggestion here that unwanted sexual relations from a 'friend' were the result of a mismanagement of the situation by girls. After all, they need to be aware that boys' sexual feelings are aroused quickly and these can be 'cruelly difficult' to control. The idea that girls had a lack of understanding about how to manage these relationships then was met with concern from those involved in the Guide movement.

Ignorance was also a concern for the movement as a lack of knowledge in such areas could hinder a girl's ability to achieve their ultimate goal of maintaining a happy relationship. In the same May 1944 article discussed earlier in this chapter, Craske (Secretary of the Church of England Youth Council) noted that 'If the Guider is to be of any use in this essential part of her responsibilities she must have an adequate and comfortable grasp of the essentials of sex knowledge herself, and be happily adjusted in her own relationships with men and boys.'[99] This is significant, as within the post-war context of the rise of the companionate marriage and the existence of a mutually pleasurable sex life with this, the movement increasingly placed emphasis on sexual knowledge as being an important part of preparation for girls' future roles. In 1944 readers of *The Guider* were informed that the principal qualities that went into making a happy marriage were: 'tolerance, love and self-sacrifice, faith and loyalty, good companionship, [and significantly] knowledge of sex'.[100] Guide movement fears over the 'ignorant' girl in the post-war period therefore reveal the acknowledgement of shifting marital expectations at this time and the role of the Guide movement in preparing girls for them.

'Doubly a Misnomer': Girls, Agency and the Home

The increasing centrality of the home within training provided by both the YFCs and the Guides has been evidenced in this chapter. Consideration however should be made in terms of agency. While post-second wave, feminist historiography has tended to see housewifery and more broadly, the ideology of domesticity, as oppressive, the final section of this chapter argues that a study of youth movements can reveal subtle nuances in the relationship between girls and the gendered education that they received. In recent years, the dominant narrative of 'social control' which has governed studies of Scouting has been challenged. In a discussion of Guiding, Tammy Proctor has highlighted the important role of the movement in allowing girls to carve out a space for themselves, assert their identity and interact with others of the same sex.[101] Similarly, this chapter suggests that a study of youth movements reveals a more complex attitude to gender roles than first assumed. While the movements obviously had ideological reasons behind the elevation of the role of the housewife, it is clear that this was not one-sided and that girls exerted a certain amount of agency, when it came to their own leisure time. The 1950s were a key turning point in this regard. With the teenage girl being allowed an increasing authority over her leisure time, movements were forced to consider the needs and wants of their female members and respond according. Fundamentally, then, the strengthening of an ethos of domesticity within both the YFC and the Guide movements is as much a reflection on the significant position of marriage in young women's lives in post-war England, as it is a reflection on the conservative nature of girls' education at this time.

The increasing significance of courtship and marriage in young people's lives was often identified by youth organizations, and by social commentators more generally, as one of the defining characteristics of the post-war period. As a regular contributor to *The Guider*, Hilda Birkett, noted in July 1955:

> The one activity towards which these boys and girls were not apathetic was courting … But this youthful courting, we were reminded, was not to be deprecated or discouraged—but rather to be accepted as a normal and even a good thing in a community where the tendency to early marriage was increasing and marriage at as low an age as eighteen was not at all unusual.[102]

In response, youth organizations increasingly emphasized and acknowledged the usefulness of domestic activities for girls. As member Elsie Traynor wrote of girls' activities in the YFC organization in 1953:

> of course, we know that there are girls who prefer the plough to the needle and the cowshed to the kitchen, but there are also many who feel that a programme devoted almost entirely to the needs of the male members of the club leaves a gap that could well be filled by some activities that would help them to deal with the many tasks in life that usually fall to women of the household.[103]

The importance of preparing girls for homemaking was particularly strong in the YFC movement at this time as it was believed that the role and duties of the farming wife was somewhat more demanding than her urban counterpart. For example, when a female YFC member wrote to the Hampshire advice columnist Aunt Agnes for guidance on which of her two boyfriends she should marry—the Young Farmer who she was 'madly' in love with or the milkman who she was 'crazily' in love with—Aunt Agnes jokingly replied: 'Set your cap on the bank clerk instead and then you will not have to get up so early in the morning.'[104] The importance of 'hard' work and physical labour in the conceptualization of rural domesticity in post-war England, and in the realities of farm life, were therefore acknowledged by the Young Farmers' organization, which sought to prepare rural girls for 'the complicated, full-time job which is country housekeeping.'[105] Consequently, the growing demand for 'girls' activities' during the post-war period can be seen as a reflection of the belief in the inevitability of this role for girls.

In the Guides, the focus on the courtship also reflected the importance of matrimony for girls in the 'Golden Age' of marriage, which saw women marrying at increasingly younger ages. In 1948 social researcher Pearl Jephcott labelled courtship and boys as being the 'dominant interest' of the girls she interviewed. She wrote:

> There was no false shame about all this interest, and the girls are perfectly open, not merely ingenuous, about the ways in which they try a meet a prospective husband. 'Take a ball with you (when you go to the coast) and you get plenty of boys' advises one, as old as 18.[106]

As Birkett asserted years later: 'To be a Mum' was the confessed aim of many of these girls and so quite properly 'courting' was their ruling

preoccupation.'[107] Consequently, the introduction of information on 'mature relationships' within the organization reflected the belief that girls were enthusiastic about marriage and family life and were increasingly utilizing their leisure time to pursue courtship.

This enthusiasm was problematic for the Guides who feared that girls were deserting their commitment to the organization in favour of courtship. Birkett outlined this situation in 1955: 'for the girls "going steady" seemed to exclude all else, and particularly anything restrictive of their availability should the boyfriend beckon (as, for instance, regular weekly meeting commitments.)'[108] Such fears were compounded by the decline of the popularity of the Guides in the 1950s, particularly amongst older members, with membership of those aged between 15 and 21 falling from 15,863 in 1950 to 10,726 in 1958. This drop in support has been identified by Marcus Collins, who notes the rise in the popularity of youth clubs, which provided a less structured and more informal way to meet boys.[109]

The decline of older girls within the organization at this time can also be understood as a result of the increasing authority that teenage girls could hold over their leisure time. An examination of Guiding logbooks reveals the ways in which girls were not just enticed away from the organization by boys, but by the ability to spend their leisure time unscheduled and unsupervised with friends. The 7th Dunstable Company, for example, recorded many instances of girls leaving due to the influence of their friends. One example is Penelope Loners who in 1958 left her Guiding patrol, the Bluetits, after being influence by friend:

> Penny has formed the opinion that the friend offers stronger attractions than Guiding. Her parents have been approached, but they are indifferent on the subject.[110]

The lack of parental intervention here is very common in examples of Guides who had decided to leave. It is a regular feature in these particular logbooks, that when a member takes the decision to leave, the parents were approached and regularly they were indifferent or unable to sway their daughter's decision. This suggests that teenage girls were gaining marginal autonomy in their leisure decisions. Thus, we should interpret the introduction of more frequent mixed-sex activities in the post-war period as being an attempt by the movement to dissuade potential leavers and keep the attention of its older members. As Oswald Bell pleaded in 1959, the GGA needed to confront the sub-

ject of sex unless it wished to become irrelevant to the modern adolescent, to which sex was 'all-important'.[111] A study of issues of courtship and girls' activities within these movements therefore reveals an underlying agency. It is clear that the inclusion of domestic training reflected changing landscape of girlhood and in many ways was an attempt to attract members and counter the declining popularity of youth organizations at this time.

Indeed, it is important that we acknowledge the meanings that girls themselves placed on domesticity in this period. As Judy Giles has shown, the mid-twentieth century was a time in which housewives were constantly redefining, making sense and making meanings of their role in the home.[112] To be sure, while some members may have found domestic training limiting limitations, others were enthused by the prospect of motherhood and domesticity. For example, at one week-long residential course in 1955 in the North Riding on 'The countrywoman's kitchen', the *Farmer and Stockbreeder* reported that 'There the girls were "let loose" among the kitchen equipment and obviously enjoyed every minute.'[113] Lessons in housewifery were therefore not just considered important but also very enjoyable for girls.

Similarly, it is also important to consider the ways in which members of youth organizations contested and challenged the training they received. For example, while domesticity was the principal focus of YFC training for girls in the post-war period, many female members remained prominent in the agricultural activities of the organization. In 1955, for instance, female member Joan Worthington gained her gold proficiency badge in, among other things, root-hoeing, machine milking, rick-thatching, hedge-laying and tractor-ploughing.[114] Therefore, not all girls abandoned the farm in name of the home, and many chose to do both. The Editor of *The Young Farmer* supported this conclusion in 1954:

> It isn't at all that the girls have tired of the boys' games. Nor are girl members throwing down the pruning hooks and stock-judging cards and hopping off their tractors, entirely preferring all the things that constitute women's work.[115]

The example of YFC member Joan Worthington was not an isolated one. It is clear that girls were partaking in activities that interested them and received no objection from the movement. At the same time 'girls'

activities', such as baking, were not exclusively limited to girls. An article in the Nottinghamshire Federation yearbook for 1956 declared:

> We all know that many of our girls have passed proficiency tests in ploughing, thatching, etc., but is not so well-known that we already have one boy who has gained his proficiency certificate for Baking, with five more ready to take the test! Girls' Activities is therefore doubly a misnomer and cue hope to change the title to farmhouse activities.[116]

We see that *The Young Farmer* reveals the nuances in experiences within the movement and the ways in which though some girls were actively demanding domestic training, others were actively contesting it.

A reassessment of the gendered training provided by these organizations can thus reveal important nuances about the relationship between members and the training that they received. The emphasis on domesticity and courtship can be seen as a reaction to the heightened emphasis on marriage and family in the lives of teenage girls in 1950s England. The belief that girls desired opportunities to meet the opposite sex led to an increased focus within the movement on the provision of acceptable spaces of courtship and a growing amount of advice on how to conduct romantic relationships. Fundamentally, this chapter has suggested that we should question the narrative of social control that dominates discussions on gendered education and re-evaluate the extent to which the gendered training of youth organizations can be seen as a reaction to levels of agency being exerted by members themselves. Thus, an examination of the training of the Guides and the YFCs reveals an interesting story about the way that members engaged with and challenged organizational agendas.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that across the mid-twentieth century the sphere of the home remained central to understandings of good citizenship for girls within youth movements. It suggested that while historians have located the 'back to home and duty' discourse of the interwar period as a response to the First World War, a study of these movements reveals that, the emphasis placed on domesticity in the 1930s was predominantly a result of 'modern' shifts in young women's working patterns and the growing professionalization of housewifery. In the period after the Second

World War the importance of domesticity was heightened as growing levels of delinquency brought to the fore concerns over motherhood and maternal deprivation. Within the predominantly rural context of the YFCs, the continued importance of the home in categorizations of good citizenry revealed concerns over changes in rural life in this period. The persistence of the 'drift from the land' of agricultural workers and the mechanization of agriculture, saw the figure of the farmer's wife' lifted to almost symbolic importance.

Moreover, the focus on the YFC movement also revealed a distinctly rural understanding of domesticity in this period. Arguing that historical conceptions of home are largely urban, this chapter has explored the complex nature of the training provided to girls, for the role of farmer's wife. In doing so, it has shown that meanings of citizenship for girls in the YFC movement were heavily linked with a proficiency in activities relating both to the home and the farm. The movement was therefore aware of the dual nature of the female role within rural society and within the home, whereby ideas of femininity and of wifely duties were linked with ideas of a distinct rural femininity. Discourses of citizenship were therefore, greatly linked with gendered understandings of agriculture and of rural society.

This chapter also explored the role of youth movements in facilitating courtship for girls and the impact of marriage upon experiences of leisure. It asserted that youth movements considered the countryside to be a desirable setting through which to encourage acceptable forms of courtship, to counteract those of the town and city. Here, the chapter identified gendered discourses of delinquency in the Guide movement, which placed discussions of female deviance around promiscuous activity.

Finally, this chapter has called for a reassessment of the relationship between girls and domesticity, suggesting, through a study of the training provided by youth movements at this time, that there are important factors of agency at play. The importance of domesticity in understandings of good femininity was clearly propagated by the movements themselves but it is also important to consider how girls themselves constructed their roles within the home. Fundamentally, this chapter has argued that the importance of the home was a significant continuity in understandings of good citizenship in youth movements across the mid-century, suggesting that, despite different conceptions of the role, all girls, no matter to what class or in what society they belonged, were told they should aspire to build their own home and family.

Notes

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2. E. Latham (2000), 'The Liverpool Boys' Association and the Liverpool Union of Youth Clubs: youth organisations and gender, 1940–70', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35, 423–437, at p. 436; C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981),p. 1.
3. M. Smith (2006), 'Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, colonial life, and national strength', *Limina*, 12, 52–6, at p. 53.
4. A. Baden-Powell and R. Baden-Powell, *The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls can Help Build the Empire* (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1993. Original Work Published 1912), p. 413.
5. Smith suggests that the decline of the importance of Empire can be seen in the rewriting of the Guide handbook to omit many references to the British Empire following the First World War. Smith, 'Be(ing) Prepared', p. 52.
6. *The Guide*, 25 January 1930, p. 1256.
7. *The Guide*, 9 December 1933, p. 107.
8. *The Guide*, 20 June 1931, p, 265.
9. For a useful overview on the interwar scrutiny of people's diets see Ian Gazeley, *Poverty in Britain, 1900–1965* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 72–76. There was also considerable discussion on obesity at this time, see: I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2005), 'The culture of the abdomen: obesity and reducing in Britain, circa 1930–1939', *Journal of British Studies*, 44, 239–273.
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11. *The Guider*, May 1939, p. 165.
12. Tammy Proctor, 'Gender, generation, and the politics of Guiding and Scouting in interwar Britain' (PhD Diss., Rutgers University, 1995), p. 2; Adrian Bingham (2004), 'An Era of Domesticity? Histories of women and gender in interwar Britain', *Cultural and Social History*, 1, 225–233; A. Light, *Forever England: femininity, literature, and conservatism between the wars* (London: Routledge, 1991); S. Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: the reconstruction of gender in interwar Britain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: women between the wars, 1918–1939* (London: Pandora, 1989).
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14. *The Guide*, 25 January 1930, pp. 1256–1257.
15. *The Guide*, 19 April 1930, p. 1629.
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23. *The Guider*, March 1955, p. 83
24. S. Spencer, *Gender, Work and Education in the 1950s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 1.
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30. Claire Langhamer discusses this domestic image, whereas Laura King focuses specifically on fatherhood. C. Langhamer (2005), 'The meanings of home in postwar Britain', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 40, 341; L. King, 'Hidden Fathers?', p. 29.
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32. For a consideration of lived experience see: L. King (2013), 'Now you see a great many men pushing their pram proudly', *Cultural and Social History*, 10, 599–617.
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34. *The Scouter*, April 1955, p. 90.
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36. *The Young Farmer*, December 1932, p. 173.

37. *The Young Farmer*, March–April 1946, p. 31.
38. *Warwickshire County Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs Members Handbook 1957–1958,* D71/51/37, Museum of English Rural Life (MERL), Reading, p. 49.
39. *Hampshire Young Farmers' Yearbook 1958–59*, D71/51/16, MERL, p. 54.
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66. *Farmer and Stockbreeder*, 11–12 March 1952, p. 58.
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CHAPTER 6

The Good Citizen in the Community

In 1930, the annual report of the GGA described the popularity of the Ranger faction of the movement, concluding that the most important aim of Rangering was to teach girls their duty to the national community. The report asserted that:

> The success of Rangering can be judged neither by numbers nor by tests, but only by the extent to which it is helping the adolescent girl to recognize the part she has to play in the life of the world around her.[1]

Throughout the mid-twentieth century, members of youth organizations were consistently encouraged to think about their obligation to, and role in, 'the world around them'. Indeed, ideas about national duty, in particular, underpinned conceptualizations of good citizenship across the period. As we have seen, members were encouraged to develop good citizenship in numerous spheres and this was largely portrayed as being a benefit to the life of the national community. In both the Scouts and the Guides, in the early twentieth century, this idea was explicitly based on the preservation of the British Empire. As a Ranger from the 1st Maida Vale company of the Girl Guides wrote with regards to citizenship in April 1930:

> Such an organisation we have in the Scout and Guide Movement whose underlying principle is the fostering of the virtues of citizenship among the future men and women of the race. Love of country without insularity,

S. Edwards, *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65157-6_6

> mutual help and yet independence, the ability to act quickly in cases of emergency are principles which the movement seeks to instil. They are concepts on which the Empire was founded and upon which it will be maintained.[2]

The imperial agenda of the Baden-Powell organization is clear here, with notions of civic responsibility and national duty tied to the Empire. As the mid-century saw the decline of the size and power of the British Empire, however, increasingly the imperial framework through which historians have understood both the Scouts and the Guides became less prominent.[3] Indeed, by the 1950s discussions of national duty within the movements had been reframed, in many ways a response to a number of organizational changes across the period, and as a result the imperial emphasis had almost vanished; replaced by a new emphasis on citizenship which, continued to embrace notions of service to the national community but did so alongside a growing rhetoric of rights and internationalism.

Other youth organizations also experienced similarly significant shifts at this time. For the YFC organization, as we have seen, the period after the Second World War saw a continued emphasis on rural decline and attempts to revitalize agricultural (and rural) communities, while for Woodcraft Folk, the Second World War presented an ideological challenge to the anti-imperialist and pacifist movement, as they found themselves needing to defend their training within an increasingly patriotic wartime community.

This chapter will explore the training and education given to members of youth organizations for their role within 'the community'. Interpretations of the concept of community are vast and varied, and historians of twentieth-century Britain have fiercely debated the nature of working-class communities at this time, in particular.[4] But as Benedict Anderson has suggested, communities do not have to have grounding in shared experience, instead they can be 'imagined' communities—constructed entities, in which members are understood as having shared values or a shared past.[5] In many ways, youth organizations are themselves 'imagined communities' in which members are joined together under a shared set of moral codes, beliefs and responsibilities, despite the fact that many members will never interact with each other face to face. Beyond this, across the mid-twentieth century many youth organizations encouraged their members to see themselves as an important force for good in wider local, national and interna-

tional communities. This chapter will not be concerned with thinking about how members of youth organizations experienced and understood belonging to these communities but the way in which movements constructed the idea of community and understood the position of young people within them. Discursive constructions of belonging and citizenship will be explored on three levels: the camp community, the national community and the world community.

This chapter will argue that while the idea of community remained a strong one throughout the thirty years from 1930 to 1960, youth movements increasingly conveyed a number of varying narratives of community to their members. This was particularly true for the Scouts and the Guides, who repositioned themselves after the war in response to decolonization. Indeed, while ideas about duty and service persisted within the organizations, they became transposed onto the rural sphere as notions of citizenship were increasingly linked to the protection and defence of the countryside. Simultaneously, conceptualizations of citizenship were beginning to change, as the introduction of the welfare state led to a fundamental change in the relationship between citizens and the state, and a growing rhetoric of rights within youth organizations. This shift can be identified in the in the ever-present discussions of the protection of, and access to, the land, which once again highlight the importance of the rural in conceptualizations of citizenship in the mid-century. The rural was also significant in the ways in which youth organizations endeavoured to cultivate communities in this period and teach members their role within them.

The Camp and the Community

In previous chapters we have seen how camping and outdoor recreations were understood as having a positive spiritual and physical impact on young people, particularly those from urban areas. Being out-of-doors was considered the 'natural' state of many youth movements in the mid-twentieth century, as it was where boys and girls could grow and develop into the good citizens of the future. As an article on Scouting and Education summarized in 1958:

> B.P's [Baden Powell's] call was to a training for youngsters which would supplement their hide-bound, desk-bound 'schooling' get them out into the open air; give them responsibility; stimulate their curiosity; inculcate a respect for truth and loyalty—in fact make good citizens of them.[6]

The camp was a particularly important part of this development as it provided healthy and active instruction in demonstrating the individual's role within the community. As *The Guider* noted in 1935:

> Camp is perhaps one of the greatest opportunities to train our Guides to be good citizens, both now and later when they are grown up. If we look on a camp as a town or village, we shall find in it all the essential things that go to make a healthy happy community.[7]

In declaring the importance of camping both before and after the Second World War *The Scouter* and *The Guider* were echoing the opinions of numerous other youth organizations at this time, which identified the importance of the camp as a method through which to teach children and adolescents social skills and their role in society.

Historians and geographers have identified the significance of the camp in popular youth organizations of the twentieth century, both in terms of experience and youth training. As Springhall writes: 'To attempt a history of British youth movements without mentioning the subject of camping would be rather like writing a history of nineteenth century China without mentioning opium.'[8] This is, in many ways, true. The camping season was idealized within the publications of youth movements across the mid-twentieth century. In July 1955 for example, *The Scouter* printed a series of images from Boy Scout camps with the title 'Days of Enchantment', while a similar series in 1959, entitled 'Camping Days' depicted the 'The Spirit of the Camp'.[9] However, camping, as numerous scholars have recognized, was also an important space for youth training for these movements. Indeed, Kenny Cuppers has argued that youth camps functioned as both a space of freedom for youth, but also as a space of discipline and restraint, in which movements employed the natural environment to train and educate youth into 'governable subjects'.[10] This, Catherine Bannister has argued, caused significant tension within youth movements (and particularly the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides), as experiences of camp did not always match idealized expectations.[11] As Springhall concludes: 'Ultimately, camping provided a pastoral frame of moral reference for British youth movements'.[12]

Camping often involved a mixture of camp-craft, such as putting up tents, collecting firewood, starting a fire and cooking over a campfire, and scout-craft, such as stalking and tracking; but also entailed playing camp games, singing campfire songs, swimming and nature study. Thus, the

nature of camping worked on a process of service and reward.[13] Campers were expected to perform daily duties such as mending and cleaning, and such responsibilities were believed to be just as fun and important, if not more so, than the typical camping leisure activities. As *The Guide* contributor H. D. Forman wrote in 1938:

> Camp chores should not just be a routine to be got through, like the morning housework, in order to get to the real fun. They should be part of that, and not the least important part. There should be an atmosphere of privilege in being asked to help when extra work is needed.[14]

The acceptance of hard work in camp was thus an important way that young people were taught responsibility and duty. Through these activities, the route to good citizenship in relation to the community was threefold: good citizenship through self-development, good citizenship through teamwork and good citizenship through friendship with, and acceptance of, others.

Camping was often considered beneficial as it taught members numerous personal attributes. One of the most important of these was self-sufficiency; indeed numerous movements emphasized the fact that unless a person could look after himself or herself, they would be useless to the wider community. As one reader of *The Guider* wrote to the publication in 1930: 'I understand that the object of the Guide movement is to develop the child's character along mental and physical lines, so that through its self-development it can serve others'.[15] Such self-development was often categorized in two ways; the first was emotional and moral strength—qualities such as perseverance and positivity—and the second was the development of skills that would allow them to be independent and resourceful. Such qualities remained important in the Guide movement throughout the period, and the camp remained an important space to develop them. In a 1938 article, 'The Guide, Camp and the Citizen', *The Guide* celebrated the importance of independent thinking in developing good citizenship declaring that: 'The last—and first—quality of the good citizen is the quality in which every other must have its roots—the power to think for oneself',[16] while the ability to 'stand on your own feet' was also hailed as an important aspect of good citizenship.

The nature of camping, being unpredictable and sometimes isolated, meant that these qualities were seemingly easily developed in the camp setting. Opportunities for self-development thus presented themselves in

camp in numerous guises. One of these was camp cookery, which, even for the most proficient of chefs, could prove challenging. In the same 1938 article *The Guide* celebrated the role that the camp could play in teaching girls skills about adaptability and resourcefulness:

> She and her companions arrive in a bare grass field, and before she has food to eat she must help to build the fireplace and find the fuel; before she has a place to sleep she has to pitch a tent and fetch and make up her bedding; she does her own tidying; she remembers to brush her own teeth; she changes her own clothes when the rain has come through her mackintosh. Moreover, she tackles her own emergencies. When the potatoes disappear into a watery mash ten minutes before dinner, she does not fold her hands in despair. She pours in all the milk she can find available, fills up with gravy from the stew, and presents … a first course of "soup a la surprise"![17]

Similar examples of the trials of cookery can be found in the Scouts. In 1959, for example, contributor to *The Scout*, Jack Blunt, wrote of the fulfilling nature of campfire cookery—particularly when it went wrong. He wrote:

> Silence, then, whilst I shed a tear for these poor misguided creatures who have never tasted the delectable joys of porridge burned by their own fair hands, or custard done to a turn and set to one side to scorch to a cinder whilst they ate their bangers and beans.[18]

The opportunity to cook for oneself then, even if it resulted in inedible food, was presented as an opportunity for self-development. Similarly, unpredictable weather was often presented as an opportunity for personal growth, and the ability to remain cheerful in the wind and rain was represented in both the Scouts and Guides as significant evidence of moral and spiritual 'fitness'.[19] Similarly, in 1932 Woodcraft Folk declared in reference to the camping season: 'May even wind and rain give benediction as they are met buoyantly and with good humour'.[20]

Camping was thus understood as playing an important role in the development of the self. In 1932, Woodcraft Folk declared that: 'Regular camping makes people fit, self-reliant and balanced.'[21] While a year later, the organization described the 'tonic effect' that the camp could have on the young.[22] Similarly, the personal benefits of camp were summarized by *The Guider* in 1947: 'Those things which we try to instil indirectly—adaptability, resourcefulness, courage and many other qualities—are called for every day in camp.'[23]

Beyond self-development, camping was also considered particularly effective in preparing members for their participation in adult society, by instilling in them an ethos of hard work and responsibility through a combination of chores and teamwork. Members were encouraged to divide the day-to-day activities of camp life, which included cleaning latrines, collecting firewood and preparing campfire meals, equally amongst their co-campers and to take on their fair share of the work. In this way, as a 1938 issue of *The Guide* asserted, the movement was encouraging its members to consider their 'duties as good neighbours'.[24] In particular, the movement encouraged members to see the importance of undertaking the more boring or laborious duties in service to their fellow campers. In 1938, the author of 'The Guide, Camp and the Citizen' described the importance of unselfishness when in camp:

> In camp, our interdependence one on the other is brought home to us in the plainest of ways. All the work in camp is necessary, some obviously so, such as washing-up; some, such as scrubbing, not so obviously, although in point of fact the dangers of bad sanitation are far worse than those of a touch of onion flavouring in the cocoa. And since Patrol work is necessary, a Guide shirking her share is doing so either at the expense of her companions, who will have to do it for her; or, if it is left undone, at a risk to the whole camp. … To take trouble over a tent for the sake of Guides whom we may never know requires both unselfishness and imagination. But the Guide who takes that trouble has taken also a very long step on the road to citizenship.[25]

Thus, the sharing of the day-to-day camp duties was considered important in teaching members about community life as 'In camp every Guide is living in a community for whose welfare she is responsible.'[26]

The Woodcraft similarly placed emphasis on the division of chores in camp, but in a more politicized manner, as it was seen as a successful way of teaching members the principles of the socialist community and make them 'useful and intelligent citizens of the world'.[27] In 1933, Basil Rawson (aka. 'Brown Eagle') wrote: 'in training pioneers we must urge them along lines, not only of communal living but of communal responsibilities, and that this could be best achieved by a complete sharing of necessary camp duties.'[28] Thus, chore rotas were implemented in camp and were designed to ensure the sharing of camp duties. Some did question these tactics however, suggesting that the rota system could be manipulated to avoid the 'difficult' or 'unpleasant' jobs.[29] Such ideas were also encouraged through participation in team games and teamwork exercises, as well as group discussion, with camp discussions (or 'Pow Wows') 'designed to show the

paradoxes and tragedies of capitalist society and generate critical thinking towards capitalist organization.'[30] Thus, as with the Baden-Powell movements, camp served to teach members about responsibilities and duties, although within the context of Woodcraft Folk, this had an explicitly socialist agenda.

Such emphasis on preparation for future roles in the community within youth movements only grew more significant during the Second World War when the notion of a 'people's war' saw an emphasis on the contribution of individuals to society.[31] In July 1941 a contributor to *The Guide* magazine warned in its Ranger Supplement that 'there really *are* hard times coming' and suggested that it was going to be essential to live in a self-sustaining community in which everyone played their individual part in contributing to the whole.[32] It was within this context that members were encouraged to think about their own personal qualities and the contribution that they could make to camp and to the wider community. In the same way that members were encouraged to think about the choice of career as being a reflection on their own person, *The Guide* encouraged members to think about what specific contribution they could make to the community. Naturally, the example used was rural in nature.

> you'll find that some people enjoy grubbing in the soil and making things grow, and others are naturally good at looking after animals … If you have found your right place in a community and are doing that part of the work that you yourself are really good at, you are sure to find life wonderfully interesting and worthwhile. There are few things so satisfying as doing something well that you like doing, and that you know is vitally important to everyone else.[33]

Thus while girls were encouraged to consider their choice of career as a route to self-fulfilment, it is also clear that Guides were encouraged to think about the way in which they could make a distinct contribution to the community. Such emphasis on communality continued in the Baden-Powell movements after the war. In 1949, *The Scouter* described the mental, physical and spiritual attributes of a Scout, which included acceptance of responsibility, co-operation and teamwork.[34]

Camping also remained an important activity in the Woodcraft Folk during wartime. Members of the Woodcraft were regularly informed that the best contribution they could make in wartime was to continue their socialist education. In 1939 Woodcraft Folk pitched the idea that

continued activities could indeed be the perfect antidote to war. The Editor asked Woodcraft leaders to consider the following:

> While the child's attention is focused on international matters seize the opportunity of developing social history talks so that the youngster may know something of the root causes of war. At the same time, we must not make the war an obsession to our youngsters. Our moats, hikes, camps, must also serve as an antidote to the war atmosphere of the cities.[35]

It is important to note that by suggesting here that the countryside was a remedy to the negative impact of war, the organization was reinforcing the idea that war was a sickness of industrial, capitalist nations.

Such calls for the continued participation in the movement were somewhat successful. It is clear that despite the dip in membership at this time, many local branches of the organization continued activities (although this was on a small scale, as figures suggest). In October 1939, the South-East of the Thames London Kin held a hike with over 80 attendees; while in November the North of the Thames Kin held another, which was attended by over 40 members—this was in spite of bad weather.[36] In 1940, the organization commented on this success positively stating that: '1940 may yet see the Woodcraft emerge stronger and more effective—like a blade tempered by fire.'[37]

As well as teaching adolescents about teamwork and cooperation, camps were also considered an effective means of instilling social attributes such as manners, social mores and courtesy. As a speaker at the Guide County Commissioners' conference in 1934 suggested:

> It is a superficial form of courtesy for the Guide to stand back to let others pass out of the clubroom first. But it is *real* courtesy which makes her stand back to let others climb over the stile out of the field first, when she isn't sure that the cows in the field aren't bulls. It is a genuine test of character for several hungry children to cook their meal over the same hike fire. … Directly you are out of doors things are *real*.[38]

Again, the idea that the conditions of camp were particularly effective in developing good social behaviour is clear. With the speaker directly identifying behaviour in the countryside as being more authentic in comparison to that in towns, highlighting the way in which the rural landscape was central to Guides' quest towards the development of good citizenship.

Such sentiments were echoed nineteen years later when Mary Underwood, a contributor to *The Guide*, reflected on the enjoyment of camp:

> Waiting for your turn in the wash tent; putting up with the untidy member of your Patrol whose belongings seem to scatter themselves all over the tent; doing things at a certain time; to all these things we have to learn to adjust ourselves as part of living in a larger community.[39]

It is, thus, important to note that the idea of citizenship within the community, be that the camp or the national community, remained prominent in discussions of good citizenship throughout the period.

Of course, the importance of members' role as future citizens of the community was also stressed by youth organizations in more explicit terms. This, as we have seen, played out in the advice given to members about both the home and the workplace, but consideration was also given to roles outside of these frameworks, particularly on local committees and organizations. The Scout and Guide 'Courts of Honour', in which members monitored the behaviour of their peers, were thus believed to give members important experience in being 'business-like', just in case they were to take on public responsibility later in life. As *The Guider* warned its older readers in 1931, 'Be business-like; remember that you are training future women citizens who may have to sit on important public committees later on.'[40] In the YFCs, on the other hand, members were trained to have an active and important role in the rural community, through activities such as planning members' meetings, attending talks by members of local government and national officials, attending meetings of the parish, taking part in local festivals and organizing community activities such as ploughing matches and produce shows.[41] Clear emphasis was also placed on the importance of public speaking, and members were encouraged to enter public speaking contests, in which they would have a small amount of time to speak on a subject of agricultural nature and then would have to defend their views, while being cross examined by a judge.[42] Such activities, it was hoped, would lead to a 'Development of a sense of responsibility, and participation in community life'[43] and thus good citizenship. This was an important skill, as it was assumed the majority of members would, at the age of 21, move on to being members of the NFU and would need to be able to express views in front of large numbers of people and in hostile situations. Hence, through a programme of both educative and recreational activities, the clubs aimed to train the future farmers for their wider role in the agricultural community.

Beyond this, however, youth organizations were as preoccupied with building communities as with preparing members for their role within them. Central to this was the idea of developing friendships amongst other members, which was seen as vital in ensuring that young people maintained healthy relationships with others of the same 'world view'. The idea of a 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood' was thus enshrined in Scouting and Guiding philosophy throughout the mid-century as the organizations espoused the importance of friendship. Meanings of 'friendship' were often fluid within the movements' magazines with, as we shall see, the term being use to define a variety of relationships, but was particularly encouraged between those of different classes, physical capabilities and regional location. In 1931, for example, the Guides ran a scheme encouraging members to befriend less fortunate children and bring them along to meetings and camps in an effort to improve their quality of life. In a letter to *The Guider* in 1931, a member suggested that befriending 'a poor little one from the slums'[44] or in other words, 'Letting the Guide sunshine through into dark places'[45] should be considered a 'good turn'.

Such ideas were enshrined in Scout and Guide law, as *The Guider* reminded readers in 1941:

> You struggle on to a crowded Edinburgh tram-car. Almost lost in the crush is a small Guide. She is undersized, underfed, overtired. Her uniform is bedraggled, her hair is unacquainted with a hairbrush. A glance at her patrol emblem tells you she's in the Nightingales. Also in the crush is an older girl in school uniform; well-groomed, well-cared for, obviously belonging to a very different world. She's interested in the Guide; she's saying something to her. By good luck you catch a scrap of the conversation. As the wan little face flushes with pleasure, you hear, 'I'm in the Nightingales too!' To the outside world, a meaningless scrap of children's chatter. To the two girls, it's nothing less than an ideal realised, a dream come true, 'A Guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide'. Strangers to each other, moving in two different worlds, but because Guides, then sisters.[46]

The idea of cross-class friendships was also a significant component of Scout and Guide fiction throughout the period. The 1933 Scout serial, 'The Millionaire Scout' (discussed in Chap. 3) for example, told the story of a working-class Scout troop who eventually befriend an affluent new member and accept him as part of their group. While in 'Cherrie's in Search of a Captain' (also discussed in Chap. 3), Cherrie is a friend to Lottie a working-class girl who works as a maid to help provide for her

family. Despite such differences, the levelling force of the countryside brings these characters together, as members of the organizations are brought together by a shared love and appreciation of the land. Camping was thus believed to be a levelling activity.[47] Proctor has noted how the organizations also encouraged cross-class friendships through mixed companies, large gatherings and common uniforms.[48]

The facilitation of friendships also occurred outside the camp and meetings. In particular, faced with difficulties during war, *The Guide* included a 'Pen Friends' section, in which members wrote in asking for 'Pen Letters' from like-minded girls. The requests reveal the way in which girls conceptualized friendships around the sharing of experiences and interests. For example, in 1941 A. Hellawell from Huddersfield, was looking for a friend who was 'fond of dogs and sports',[49] while farm-dweller Margery Gould wanted to correspond with a Guide 'who lives on a farm'.[50] Unsurprisingly, camping, animals and sports were often high on this list. Similarly, *The Scouts* had long encouraged 'pen friends' with others in the movement. The importance of friendship to the Baden-Powell organizations was later celebrated by *The Scout* contributor Jack Blunt in 1957 when he asserted that 'That's the marvellous thing about scouting. It doesn't matter where you are, you've got heaps of friends'.[51]

An emphasis on the development of friendships within the landscape of the countryside was also included in both Woodcraft Folk and YFCs. In 1932, *Woodcraft Folk Yearbook* excitedly declared: 'May the months ahead be rich with discovery, the days of camping begin and the nights full of peace. May the camp fires leap with comradeship and fields and woodlands give birth to blessed memories.'[52] As we shall see later in this chapter, an emphasis on comradeship became an important element of Woodcraft Folk, during and following the Second World War, while in 1955, *The Young Farmer* magazine asserted that developing friendships between town and country people was central to developing good citizens.[53] Friendships between town and country were also encouraged by the Baden-Powell organizations throughout this period, as part of their increasing focus on protecting the landscape, as we shall see later in the chapter. Friendships thus became an important tool for the development of citizenship within youth organizations throughout the mid-century, and these were often based in the rural landscape. In training members for good citizenship in the future, these youth movements were thus also encouraging members to construct their own communities in the present, predicated on shared values and responsibilities, along with a shared

appreciation of the countryside. The importance of the countryside in joining together members of the organization was clear throughout the period, but increasingly became central to conceptualizations of duty and service to the national community. It is to the construction of the national community and the countryside that this chapter now turns.

Stewards of the Land

In 1956 *The Guider* magazine reported on a speech given by Queen Elizabeth II on the topic of litter and preservation, in which she declared that:

> I am sure that much of it [the disfigurement of the countryside] is due to thoughtlessness and we need to awaken a feeling of personal responsibility … I sometimes wonder if more young people could be urged to play their part in this important national question.[54]

With this statement, the Queen spoke to the long-standing heart of Scouting and Guiding philosophy: civic responsibility and national duty. Present since the formation of the organization in the early twentieth century, as many scholars have acknowledged, members were consistently encouraged to think about their role within the nation and actively contribute to their local community. Before the mid-century, this rhetoric was often linked directly to the imperial agenda. By the end of the Second World War, however, this imperial rhetoric had almost vanished. As rapid decolonization followed the war—between 1945 and 1965 the number of people under British rule outside the United Kingdom fell from 700 million to 5 million— organizational changes, including the death of Baden-Powell, changes to uniform, the handbook and a number of new tests and certificates, saw the reconstruction of meanings of citizenship within the organizations.[55] In particular, the post-war period saw a new emphasis on citizenship, which continued to embrace notions of service to the country but did so alongside a growing rhetoric of rights. This began in the early 1930s in the Guide movement with training for the 'Citizenship' badge, which provided information to its members on the state and the provision of education, including information on scholarships and evening classes, along with information on unemployment exchanges.[56] This attitude was solidified in the post-war period, with the introduction of the welfare state and an understanding of the universality of its reach, and was part of a

wider social trend at this time of the liberalization of citizenship and shifting understandings of the relationship between citizen and state.[57] The movements understood that there was a negotiation between the citizen and the state, which required a knowledge and understanding of both rights and duties.

In recent years, there have been a number of important interventions in the study of the social and cultural impact of the decline of Empire in Britain. John Mackenzie has argued that, rather than a dramatic shift in public feeling after the war, imperial sentiments remained a significant aspect of cultural life into the 1950s,[58] while Linda Colley has suggested that the loss of imperial power saw the emergence of inward-looking nationalism of individual countries in Britain.[59] More recent studies have struck a balance somewhere in between these two interpretations, with historians including Wendy Webster and Bill Schwarz arguing that imperial sentiments were projected in numerous 'registers', suggesting that imperialism continued to permeate 'other narratives of nation'[60] at this time.[61]

Within the Baden-Powell youth organizations it is certainly true that there remained significant ideological continuities with early imperial Scouting philosophy. Discourses of duty and national service, which underpinned the imperialistic training provided by the early Scouting organizations, are evident in the post-war period. For example, the late 1930s emphasis, in both the Guide and the Scout movement, on health and fitness was often centred on young people's duty of fitness, echoing earlier imperial concerns over the effect of the diminutive male physique on the British Empire. However, this chapter will now explore the ways in which ideas about the national community in relation to notions of duty and service were reframed or 're-registered' in the period from 1930 to 1960 around the defence of the rural landscape. As the British Empire was in decline, the countryside came to the fore as a key symbol of the national community within youth organizations. This is not to suggest that rural imagery did not play a part in imperialist discourse, but that increasingly, as the Empire came to represent the past, the countryside was framed as a symbol of the future.[62]

Indeed, while past chapters have shown how youth movements developed understandings of good citizenship and proposed a solution to the urban problem of the juvenile delinquent, *through* the English countryside—by encouraging young people to enjoy outdoor recreations or take up an interest in agricultural work—as citizens of a 'landscaped' society,

good citizenship within centred on a stewardship of the countryside. One of the key ways in which these movements aimed to improve citizenship was through education in the rightful uses of the countryside, and by inculcating a love and appreciation of the rural sphere. Proper and responsible countryside conduct therefore became an important indicator of good citizenship.[63]

The importance of stewardship must be seen in the context of the growing number of debates over the preservation and protection of the countryside discussed in Chap. 2. Within these contemporary discussions of preservation, youth held something of a contentious and contradictory role. Young people were considered by many to be the harbingers of destruction—careless, uneducated and unconcerned with the environment that surrounded them.[64] Radio personality and philosopher C.E.M Joad wrote in 1937:

> And then there are the hordes of hikers cackling insanely in the woods, or singing raucous songs as they walk arm in arm at midnight down the quiet village street … There are tents in meadows and girls in pyjamas dancing beside them to the strains of the gramophone, while stinking disorderly dumps of tins, bags, and cartons bear witness to the tide of invasion for weeks after it has ebbed; there are fat girls in shorts, youths in gaudy ties and plus-fours, and a roadhouse round every corner and a café on top of every hill for their accommodation.[65]

This view was confirmed by news reports, particularly in the post-war period, when 'hooligans' were reported to be running rampage over the Peak District. *The Times* described such an incident in 1957:

> Life in the rocky little village of Castleton in the Peak District this summer has not been all the 'rural simplicity' and 'delightful customs' extolled in its guide book. Two manifestations, usually metropolitan, have cast shadows around the local caves and climbs … At weekends the villagers are accustomed to seeing gangs of youths and Teddy Boys, with their girls, arriving from such towns as Sheffield, Leeds and Manchester to have a 'good time'.
>
> For many of these visitors a good time would seem to consist in beating the daylight out of the local property if not the population. They arrive in Teddy Boy dress or hikers' kit, bearing enormous packs – 'Lord knows what they carry in them,' one villager remarked, 'because their hiking is all done on trains' … Much of the local rowdyism occurred earlier in the summer; the usual uprooting of hedgeposts, damage to crops, rock throwing and so

> on occurred … Armed though the roughs often are with knives (which were used instead of darts in one pub), knuckledusters and rings, the village police sergeant has proved more than equal to a score of them, so that trouble is mostly prevented. Wardens have been suggested as an additional curb.[66]

In this report we see a clear definition of understandings of the good citizen. The urban depiction of the juvenile delinquent here, is exhibiting 'bad' citizenship through 'rowdyism' and damage to the land. Young people thus posed a particularly interesting problem for preservationists, as on the one hand it was the actions of urban, working-class, young people that were blamed for the ruination of the country, while on the other hand, the countryside, being the heritage of all, needed to be preserved for future generations. Young people were therefore heralded as both the destructors and the saviours of the English countryside.[67] The 1957 *Times* report encapsulates this characterization nicely, with the behaviour of the Teddy Boys being contrasted with that of the 'landscaped' citizen. The comment of one villager that 'their hiking is all done on trains' suggests that the Teddy Boys' exploration of the countryside was not 'true' adventurous exploration as was undertaken by those who explored the countryside on foot.

Education was believed to be the key factor here. Young people needed to be educated in the right use of the countryside, to prevent destructive behaviour. As Howard Marshall warned in 1937, 'No doubt a lack of wise education is largely to blame. Unless there is a deliberate education to counteract this blindness, we can look for no help from the younger generation.'[68] They were to be educated not just in proper conduct in the countryside, but in country manners, lore and in the appreciation of 'beauty', which had too often been ignored by groups of urbanites visiting the countryside. In 1937, Joad detailed how the urban youth should be educated in country ways. He wrote:

> Lessons in country lore should be given at every school and country manners taught as carefully as social. Not to eat peas with a knife, drink out of the soup tureen, spit, or pick the nose in public—these things, it is agreed, form a necessary part of a liberal education. Not to drive cars on to the downs, not to tear up wild flowers by the roots, not to leave newspapers and bottles lying on the grass – these, in my view are a part no less necessary. … I would have every child required to pass an examination in country lore and country manners before he left school, and would awards

> prizes and scholarships in the subject. There is something to be said for requiring every townsman who had not succeeded in passing this examination to wear an 'L' upon his back when he walked abroad in the country, for, until he has learnt the elementary manners of the countryside, he is no better qualified to be at large in a wood than a learning motorist is to be at large on the road.[69]

Contemporaries such as Joad called for more extensive schooling in nature study, countryside conduct and the appreciation of beauty. However, while the existing school curriculum did include nature study, as William Marsden has shown, youth movements were central to the development of young people into environmentally conscious citizens.[70] The Baden-Powell movements were at the forefront of this. In October 1930, a letter to the editor in *The Scouter* concerning wildflower-picking excursions declared:

> What is wanted is the dissemination of right ideas, and that can only come by education. And the educators, as we see them, should be the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides of to-day. They are the men and women of tomorrow.[71]

A fundamental part of good citizenry within these movements was therefore centred upon learning countryside manners and exhibiting them. An article in *The Scouter* reported in 1931 that:

> Scouts and Guides can do a lot by helping in litter campaigning, and by setting the example of preserving the natural beauty of the countryside for the benefit of everyone. It is hard to believe – though, alas, it is very true – that there are people who besmirch and rob the countryside, and leave it in an unclean state, but if we can induce our fellow citizens to show consideration to the beauty around them. Citizenship in all aspects will be elevated and refined.[72]

Here, then, the Scout movement was drawing upon a growing discourse of citizenship, which linked countryside behaviour with good citizenry.

The dissemination of 'right' ideas through 'conservation education' for members was vital in tackling the perceived ignorance and stupidity of the urban, working-class young people towards countryside issues. In so doing, the movements set out a distinct code of behaviour that members

should follow. Members were instructed in the dos and don'ts of countryside behaviour, including discussions about litter, poaching, flower picking and fire safety, to the extent that carelessness, such as leaving gates open, was considered 'un-Scoutlike action'.[73] Such notions were disseminated through instructional articles, activities, games, fiction and poems. For example, the following poem from a 1930 issue of *The Scouter*:

> The fellow who loves to leave litter about,
> whenever to camp or hike he goes out.
> Has never been trained to clean like a Scout,
> but is known to the world as a town 'litter lout'.[74]

This poem reinforced the importance of not littering but also highlighted the tension between the trained Scout and the urban 'litter lout'. The magazine acknowledges, then, the socio-geographic distinctions at play, within understandings of good citizenship.

Codes of countryside conduct remained central to Scouting behaviour across the mid-century. In 1955, after the production of the Countryside Code and in the context of growing nationalized discourses of preservation and duty, *The Guider* reminded its readers that:

> Every Guider has a duty to back up the 'simple rules of conduct' outlined in this booklet [the Country Code] – shutting gates, protecting the crops by walking in single file on field paths, avoiding damaging fences, hedges and walls, guarding against risk of fire, safeguarding water supplies, protecting plants, trees and flowers and *leaving no litter*.[75]

While a campfire song from 1956 reinforced this codified behaviour. The song entitled 'Don't Leave Your Rubbish behind you' included the following verse and chorus:

> There are lots of people everywhere,
> When they take their meals in the open air,
> Who either don't think or else don't care,
> And leave all their rubbish behind them.
> Whenever you find a lovely view,
> Be tidy and clean & remember too,
> That others enjoy it as well as you,
> So don't leave your rubbish behind you.[76]

Similarly, Woodcraft Folk attempted to instil in its members thoughtfulness surrounding countryside behaviour. In 1954, the South London Wayfarers' Elfin Group presented the play 'The Litter Mouse', which included a hiker, a farmer, children, a talking banana and pirates. It told of a careless hiker who, after he has spent the day spoiling the countryside, is visited by a talking Scarecrow which teaches him the error of his ways.[77] While the editor of the *Helper* declared in 1953 'Do not forget your countryside code!'[78]

At the same time, the rise of the *Keep Britain Tidy* campaign cemented the idea that litter was a national problem and that it was the duty of the citizen to keep the country safe and free of litter. The campaign itself was followed closely by the Guide association, who in 1960 published a regular segment in *The Guide* magazine entitled 'Pick Up All That Litter',[79] which followed the Guides' efforts to keep the countryside free of litter. We have seen so far how these movements highlighted the important role their members would play in the community, by changing their damaging behaviour towards the countryside. Ideas of national duty and service, therefore, became increasingly linked to country-conscious behaviour in the post-war period and should be seen in the context of increased government involvement in issues of preservation. The Baden-Powell movements developed a 'landscaped' citizenry through instruction. The Scouts and Guides were not the only youth movements to do this. The YHA created clear codes of conduct for their members to follow in an attempt to influence the behaviour of their members, and they were reminded of these regularly in the organization's publication, *The Rucksack*.[80]

The conflict between town and country also saw continued discussion of the issue of trespass, which had been a contentious issue across this period, particularly in the 1930s, when the action itself became highly politicized. To be sure, many instances of trespass by Boy Scouts occurred unintentionally. As such, the movement often discussed the topic of ownership, in hopes of schooling its members in the importance of respecting landowners' property. In 1935, *The Scouter* reported that:

> There seems to be a curious belief in the urban mind that the whole country is 'free' and can be roamed over and robbed of the wood entirely of will. This is not so. Every field, fence and coppice belongs to someone and his purpose, and the town Scout who tramples young hay or destroys the hedge is doing exactly the same sort of damage and the country boy would in town if he threw stones through every window in a street—except that … windows could be repaired very much more quickly and easily.[81]

Interestingly here, *The Scouter* draws upon another urban/rural comparison and suggests that destroying a hedge is a similar form of delinquent behaviour for the 'town Scout' to window-breaking. Interestingly then, similar to the reports of hooliganism in the Peak District referenced earlier, it is the 'town scout' who is the concern for the movement and who exhibits delinquent behaviour. This reinforces the earlier suggestion that delinquency was believed to stem from urban backgrounds.

Conversely, however, the Baden-Powell movements also developed an understanding of the universal nature of ownership of land, reflecting emerging liberalized discourses of citizenship at this time. In 1931 *The Guider* reported that; 'None of us want to see *our* countryside damaged and hurt, and *our* trees and bushes and grass destroyed. They are ours, but only when we care for them and do what we can to help them.'[82] Here, considerations of ownership come in to play. The use of 'our' reflects the growing acknowledgement that the countryside was the heritage of all. The movements fundamentally represent the growing struggle in this period in defining land ownership and use. On the one hand, the countryside was the heritage of all and 'ours' to protect; on the other, it was under the ownership of the landowning agricultural community and needed to be protected from urban ramblers.

It is clear, then, that each of these movements maintained 'country conscious' behaviour, as being a fundamental aspect of good citizenship. Indeed the Baden-Powell movements believed themselves to have gained a reputation for this conduct. In 1936, regular contributor to *The Guider*, Rowlande Chubb commented that:

> In all my experience of rambling and camping I have never encountered a single landowner who has refused access to a Guide or Scout. They know, instinctively, or from actual experience that they may be trusted implicitly, and they invariably throw open for exploration almost every corner of their estates. … There is hardly a corner of Britain which may not be explored by a Guide who first seeks permission and this privilege is a wonderful tribute to the high esteem and regard in which the movement as a whole is held.[83]

There was, however, growing concern about the impact of Scouting education on its members, with reports of misbehaviour reaching the magazines. There are numerous reports across the period of 'bad' Scouts and Guides who wilfully committed acts of vandalism or destruction in the

countryside. In a letter to the editor of *The Scouter* in 1935, a farmer who had also been a Scouter recalled a time when:

> On my own farm I have seen a Scout—who had never asked my leave to be there at all, he was camping on someone else's land—wretch a locked gate off its hinges, and leave it lying on the ground so that valuable horses might have strayed on to the road had I not passed at that moment. … On another occasion I found two very jolly Scouts gaily chopping firewood out of one of my hedges. When I went along to their camp I found a delightful Scouter—an educated man who with no apology or sense of sin, explained that he had sent the boys out to get wood, with no indication of where they were to get it. It is difficult for us sometimes to believe that townsfolk can be quite so ignorant and lacking in common sense and that damage is not being done wilfully.[84]

A letter to *The Guider* of 1933 reported the same carelessness:

> Dear Editor, –After all the appeals which have been made to the public in the papers and by the B.B.C to preserve the beauty of the countryside and of England's historic buildings, I feel that Guides should be among the first to respond, yet on the afternoon of Tuesday August 8th, while at Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, I was horrified to see a Guide belonging to a London company … carve her initials on the wall. Apart from the fact that this gives the movement a bad name, it was an act of vandalism.[85]

This problem did not go unnoticed as the movement moved into the post-war period. Guiders became more worried about the influence of general carelessness upon their Guides. A letter to *The Guider* in 1958 declared:

> As it is, although the public still believe that 'Guides don't drop litter,' we, who are in a position to see what really happens, know that the rising generation within our ranks is becoming more and more infected by the general thoughtlessness around them, while many of the older ones are beginning to feel the situation is hopeless.[86]

The idea of an 'infection' of bad behaviour here is interesting and reflects the overarching concern in this period regarding the impact of 'modern' trends on Guide behaviour.

Members of the Scouting movements were therefore, encouraged to exhibit good behaviour in the land. Another aspect of good citizenry was,

however, the expectation that they would provide a stewardship of the land against others. It was through this action that young people could 'actively' protect the land. This stewardship was encouraged through becoming 'Wardens' for the CPRE as part of a scheme set up by the organization in 1931, originally in the north of England. The description of a Warden's duty as advertised in *The Scouter* was as follows: 'The job of a warden is to help in fostering a thoughtful appreciation of the countryside in people who visit beauty spots in the country.'[87] Wardens had no powers and were not expected to accost anyone, they were simply there to instruct and point out the reasons why the protection of the countryside was important. An article on the subject in *The Guider* reported that:

> The best functions for wardens drawn from our movement will probably be trying to show children how to preserve the wild flowers by not picking them up by their roots. Also emphasising what others are telling children, namely that by throwing litter about they are spoiling the country for other living beings. We want to become conscious of the beauty of the English countryside and to guard it for the future.[88]

Guides were encouraged to be tactful and polite when approaching 'litter louts'. An article on the subject in *The Guide* suggested that: 'We need not sound superior if we ask people if we could help them pick up their litter … let us try and tackle it in a spirit of tactfulness'[89]

Active citizenship could also be upheld by taking part and organizing litter patrols, or by lending a hand with repairing the damage done by urban visitors.[90] In 1958, Guide leader Maureen Nisbet escorted five Guides and her Scout son to Ferndale where:

> They patrolled a distance of 1½ to 2 miles of beautiful countryside, moving up and down in pairs, and preventing people from picking the daffodils by asking them (*very politely*) not to gather flowers. The very fact that they were there as 'wardens' did not stop people from picking the flowers.[91]

While in 1960, the Whitby, York Division of the Scouts and Guides, with the aid of the Keep Britain Tidy campaign, spent two weeks picking up litter on a ten-mile stretch of moorland, as a 'good turn' for the community.[92]

Constructions of good citizenry within these youth movements thus reveal a carefully negotiated 'country conscious' citizen, who prioritized the stewardship of the countryside. Citizenship could be enhanced by

adjusting countryside behaviour, or actively by attempting to change other people's destructive behaviour. A study of conservation within youth movements highlights the growing discourse of countryside in understandings of citizenship for urban people across the mid-century. As such, the countryside became symbolic in the rhetoric of duty in the Scouting movements. Whereas Empire remained central in the early stages, by the 1930s the growing identification with the rural and unease with imperial notions meant that the countryside became symbolic. By the 1960s, this had been clearly cemented in discourse surrounding national duty. In May 1960, Olave Baden Powell declared that:

> Those of us who live in England are lucky to have a country that is so beautiful, with its hills and dales, its rivers and forests, its parks and meadows, all fairly easy to reach even from the less beautiful manufacturing towns and cities.
>
> But there is one thing that spoils our countryside, and strikes the eye of anyone coming here from another country—and that is due to the fact that we are such a dirty, untidy nation of people.
>
> Almost wherever you go in Britain you find horrid trails of litter which people have carelessly thrown on the ground instead of putting tidily away: you know what I mean—cardboard cigarette cartons, paper bags, old tins, empty milk bottles, sweet wrappings, newspapers, and the rest.
>
> (Sweden doesn't have litter outs.) … Why do people do it? Is it that they don't realize that our country is worth keeping clean, if only for visitors from other countries to appreciate? Don't they think at all of our reputation as a nation?'[93]

Olave Baden-Powell quite explicitly here links the protection of the landscape with the reputation of the nation. It is thus clear that the Second World War intensified public identification with and had an enormous impact on the urban public's relationship with the countryside. Indeed, the focus of both the Scouts and Guides on responsible conduct in the countryside and the emphasis on an active stewardship of the land reflected the growing prominence of the landscape in conceptualizations of citizenship. However, while on the face of it the movements followed the idea that the countryside was the 'heritage of all', in reality the organizations continued to lay claim to having a level of cultural authority over the landscape, holding their use of the countryside to be more authentic than the unsupervised picnickers and day-trippers of the post-war period. This suggests that, despite a shift towards a national discourse of preservation and protection,

the conflicts between middle-class conservationists and urban trippers over who and what the countryside was for, continued to be shaped around cultural assumptions regarding class. Indeed, like many of the interwar conservationists, the Scouting movements were principally concerned with protecting a specific version of the countryside and particular version of rural tradition. The construction of the national community in relation to the countryside was thus an exclusive one, being focused principally on the England and with members needing to exhibit certain country-conscious behaviour. The movements were thus exhibiting 'cultural authority'[94] over the landscape and thus we might challenge the extent to which conservation education really did reflect shifting discourses of citizenship at this time.

The International Community

In 1931, the founder of the Voluntary Aid Detachment, Dame Katherine Furse, wrote in *The Guide* explaining to readers the steps they should take to achieve their 'International Knowledge Badge', which included: learning another language, knowing the different international flags and corresponding with a Guide or Girl Scout from another country.[95] While five years later in 1936, Hubert S. Martin, International Commissioner for the Boy Scouts, wrote an update on Scouting's international activities in which he declared the organization a 'World-wide Brotherhood'.[96] Such examples reveal the way that, as numerous scholars have acknowledged, youth movements in this period were never solely inward-looking. Indeed, while the importance of national duty remained at the forefront of the citizenship training found in the Baden-Powell organizations, ideas of continued international cooperation were built into this across the mid-twentieth century.

Throughout the 1930s, as numerous historians have recognized, both the Scouts and the Guides saw a rapid growth in membership across the globe, both in the colonies and in other countries. This burgeoning internationalism saw the gradual move away from traditional military leanings in the Scout movement and from overt discussions of the British Empire in a jingoistic tone.[97] As Simon Johnston has argued, the period after the First World War saw the Scout movement move towards 'liberal internationalism', which saw the organization embrace an international agenda, while maintaining emphasis on the value of Empire.[98] While, the continued emphasis on building the Empire saw the BSA encourage the migration of members to the colonies to undertake farm work.[99] The Girl

Guides too, expanded in such a manner. In 1928 the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts was established, joining together individual national Girl Guides' associations under the umbrella of one organization. At this time Kristine Alexander argues, the movement attempted to foster an 'interwar imperial internationalism' which encouraged cooperation and sisterly goodwill amongst girls on an international setting.[100] In so doing, she argues, the movement attempted to encourage a 'new imperial vision' in which the Empire was re-imagined as being a peaceful and equal union.[101] This international community was fostered in numerous ways.

At the beginning of the period, discussions of internationalism were very much grounded in imperial sentiments. For example, in 1930 members of the Guides were encouraged to do their duty for the nation by pursuing a career in the British dominions, as nurses, welfare workers, and teachers. This was constructed as being an opportunity for girls not only to have a career but also to find a husband. As welfare worker Dame Meriel Talbot informed readers of *The Guider* in January 1930: 'So it comes to be that in each of the Dominions work is waiting to be done by women, while many homes are only half-homes because men are living there alone.'[102] Similarly, *The Scout* encouraged readers in 1938 to consider emigration to Australia. The magazine declared: 'Scouts who wish to take up work on the land may now emigrate to Australia under the two schemes explained below. Australia Calling! What about it, Scouts!'[103] The advertising of such opportunities must be seen in the context of government support for emigration to the colonies at this time, with the aim of repopulating the British Empire.

Internationalism was also increasingly encouraged in this period by the inclusion of numerous articles and stories on youth movements, outdoor recreations and the countryside across the globe, although this was, again, often focused quite heavily on the British colonies. In one single issue of *The Scouter* from 1936, for example, there were articles on 'Scouting in Trinidad' and the Boy Scouts of the Punjab.[104] In publishing such articles the Scouts were constructing the idea of an international community of Scouting in which members were joined together by a shared love of the outdoors. They emphasized the similarities between Scouts from across the globe and their readers—an enthusiasm for camping, uniforms, Scouting philosophy—but also identified the unfamiliar aspects of Scouting in these areas. For Trinidad for example, the author, a British West Indian, wrote of the differences in weather: 'We have one continual summer all year round but camping is only recommended during the dry season as it

is not very comfortable living under canvas during a real tropical downpour.'[105] While, *The Scouter* described the way in which Punjabi Scouts, as a 'good turn', served as a 'cholera patrol' or 'sanitation brigade' for those on Hindu pilgrimage to Kurukshetra.[106] Despite the identification of differences however, in encouraging members to learn about other cultures and countries, the movements were constructing the idea that as members of the Baden-Powell organizations you were part of a much broader international community of youth. Indeed, the 'World Citizen' badge, creating in 1929, explicitly asked members to conceptualize themselves as global citizens. When describing the badge in 1931 *The Guide* declared:

> There is something extraordinarily thrilling about the title of this badge. In olden days one might be simply a citizen of Athens or Rome, later on a citizen of a small state or of one nation; to-day barriers have so broken down, all countries have been brought so much nearer, that nothing less than world citizenship is required of us.[107]

The badge, which *The Guide* labelled 'A Badge Worth Winning', required members to understand the purpose and origins of the League of Nations, as well as demonstrating knowledge of what were the key issues that the League dealt with.[108]

Of course, the other way that the organizations encouraged international cooperation and exploration was through international camps and befriending international members. Indeed, a love and appreciation of the countryside and nature was something that, it was suggested, joined young people together across the world. The Baden-Powell movements encouraged members to write to pen pals around the globe and visit foreign countries if possible. For example, in 1935, *The Guide* published the story of a group of Rangers from Kent who went on a camping trip to Switzerland and made friends with two Swiss girls who were guiding them on their climbing expedition.[109] Such international cooperation was possible at this time due to the increasing availability of technologies such as the radio, which allowed Guides to communicate with one another, and was part of the increasing emphasis on international friendship.[110]

The Woodcraft Folk were even more explicitly grounded in ideas of an international community than their more popular counterparts. Indeed, this was part of the movement's ideological stance, which saw a rejection of imperialism and of the nation state and an embracement of working-class communities across the globe. Thus, while international citizenship formed

part of ideals of British citizenship in the Scout and Guide movements, internationalism in the Woodcraft Folk was a separate ideal. In 1937, the organization hosted its First international camp of the 'International Children's Republic', in Brighton, East Sussex.[111] The Newspaper of the International Camp declared (in three languages) that:

> WORKERS CHILDREN of eight countries have pitched their tents for an international Children's Camp in Friendship and Solidarity on the beautiful white cliffs of England near Brighton. They are 2,000 and speak ten different languages, but they understand each other nevertheless, because all stand for the same order, to organise themselves their merry life, and because they have all the same hope and the same desire to build up a world where there is no more misery, oppression, exploitation of man by man, but where is only Peace, Freedom and Cooperation of all for the Welfare of all … our International Camp should give us keenness, good will and energy for the construction of a better socialist world.[112]

Thus in a world of mounting political tensions, which would eventually lead to war, the Woodcraft Folk organization highlighted the importance of international working-class cooperation. As the camp song 'Children of Workers' highlighted:

> On the hills and in the meadows,
> See our tents white in the sun
> Down the lanes and through the highways
> Our young comrades march as one.[113]

Throughout the interwar period, Woodcraft Folk had consistently emphasized the importance of maintaining an international, outward-looking, pacifist ethos. In doing so, they actively constructed themselves against, what they saw as, the highly militaristic training of mainstream youth organizations, which were 'simply bulwarks of the old order of things.'[114] Such tensions were long-standing; in the 1920s, Woodcraft Folk had emerged as a reaction to the imperialism of the Boy Scouts aiming to provide a pacifist alternative for working-class children. In 1936, the Handbook of Folk Law and Constitution outlined the movement's key aims:

> It [Woodcraft Folk] seeks to enlist the enthusiasm and energy of youth for the great task of our generation—the building out of our unequal and disorderly age a civilization worthy of mankind. … To achieve this end the Folk

> seek to forge a powerful educational instrument which shall inculcate those habits of mind and habits of body necessary to bring man to devotion to word peace and a new world order.[115]

This rejection of the nation state and embracement of international community continued in wartime. Like many other youth organizations of the time, the onset of the Second World War posed numerous challenges to Woodcraft Folk as war conditions brought numerous logistical difficulties, including the loss of members due to national service and evacuation, and the implementation of camping restrictions. However, Woodcraft Folk also faced its own distinct problems, principally stemming from the movement's ideological grounding as a pacifist organization. As a socialist organization, Woodcraft Folk were explicitly anti-fascist, but they were also staunchly anti-war and members were pledged 'not to fight for King and Country.'[116] This position led to significant tensions within the organization during wartime as a surge of patriotism swept through Britain and members were increasingly asked to legitimize their pacifist objections to what was considered by many to be a 'just' war. Richard Overy has suggested that the home front, with opportunities for civil defence and other non-violent contributions, allowed pacifists to reconcile their beliefs with the war effort.[117] In response to war, however, the movement relied upon a number of key interlinking narratives, which encouraged members to see their objections not as a betrayal of their national duty, but as a central part of their obligation as part of an international comradeship. In doing so, the movement was negotiating an alternative understanding of citizenship to that of mainstream, nationalistic youth organizations of this time.

In the September of 1939, the Editor of the *Helper* magazine lamented the beginning of war. He wrote that:

> Whilst I am writing these notes, workmen are busy blacking out the traffic lights, replacing ordinary lamps by blue tinted globes … What the immediate future, the next few hours, holds for us, we cannot tell. One thing that we can be sure of is that any way will be a disaster of the first magnitude, with the workers as the chief sufferers.

Thus, Woodcraft Folk understood the war has having an ideological purpose—to reinforce the dominant social order and maintain the capitalist system. Indeed, in a later publication a member of Woodcraft Folk

predicted that the war would greatly enhance the suffering of the working people, as it would lead to a growth in working hours, a rise in the cost of living and of course the slaughter of innocent workers across the world.[118] Consequently, the impact of the war on the working classes was of primary concern and the anti-war rhetoric disseminated by the movement was framed by the understanding that war served to reinforce class structures at the expense of the working people. This is interesting when we consider the dominance of romanticized narratives of the 'people's war', in which the British people were supposedly brought together under a common goal. The Woodcraft actively rejected this claim and understood war as an abuse of power by the rich and as a tool that reinforced existing class structures.

This had a significant impact for the way in which the war was conceptualized and understood within the organization. Indeed, while dominant narratives of the war often represented the conflict as being that of a fascist state verses democratic, Woodcraft Folk understood the war on different terms—as one of imperialist nations struggling to maintain power, not a fight for democracy and freedom. As a result, during the war, instead of encouraging members to work in the defence of the nation state, ideas of duty and service within the organization were continually played out in relation to members' responsibility to the international working-class community. In 1939, a Woodcraft member explained his reasoning for his decision to refuse military service on the grounds of conscientious objection. He wrote 'I wish to explain that I regard it as morally wrong to kill workers of another country in what I regard as an Imperialist war.'[119] His statement clearly demonstrates the ways in which some members understood the conflict—as one of rival imperialisms, in which the working masses of all nationalities were the true victims. For Woodcraft Folk, it is clear that a discourse of comradeship replaced the rhetoric of citizenship that was so prominent in many other mainstream youth organizations at this time.

This idea of comradeship was best exemplified by the efforts of the organization to ensure the welfare of war refugees in Britain, particularly those from Czechoslovakia. In the July of 1939, *Helper* magazine informed readers that it was in such activities that 'we show our solidarity with our comrades abroad. With the capitalist class doing their best to set the workers slaughtering each other, we must keep on with our work.'[120] This was a stark contrast to many of the mainstream youth organizations of this time, particularly the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, who actively

encouraged members to take part in the war effort by undertaking activities ranging from land cultivation to military service as part of their duty as citizens of the British nation. Instead, Woodcraft Folk placed themselves at the heart of an imagined international working-class community, joined in their rejection of the industrial capitalist world.

Consequently, the organization repositioned itself in opposition to the nation state. This had significant implications for the movement's understanding of its role in wartime, as the defence of workers' rights and freedoms, threatened by a powerful British government, assumed paramount importance. To be sure, the organization found itself waging a war, but it was an internal battle, in defence of the freedom of speech and basic civil liberties of the people. As Ronald Kidd, the secretary for the National Council for Civil Liberties, identified in 1939, the defence of free speech and of political opinion, which were to be the fundamental building blocks of the 'new order', became of prime importance to leaders of the organization.[121] This ideological battle was fought on numerous fronts during the war but the principal issue was that of conscription and conscientious objectors, as we saw in Chap. 3.

Revealingly, conscientious objectors also used membership of the Woodcraft as evidence of their commitment to pacifism. In 1941, when questioned during a tribunal, one Conscientious Objector was asked whether Woodcraft was his trade, to which he replied that it was not. He was an electrician. 'What is the Woodcraft then?' the Chair questioned back. The member replied that it was not an occupation but 'a movement to which I belong.'[122] The idea of belonging here is important; while narratives of war often highlight a common sense of national belonging, for many Woodcraft members, their understanding of community and belonging could be traced back to the organization. Principal to this was the importance placed on the idea of shared values and beliefs—pacifism being at the forefront.

Thus, considering the variety of ways that the pacifist Woodcraft Folk negotiated alternative ideals of citizenship during the Second World War, this chapter has identified the means by which the organization constructed a number of narratives with regards to the war effort and its place within it. Principally, while other youth organizations celebrated Britain's intervention in Europe as a symbol of democratic freedom, by contrast many in the Woodcraft saw the war simply as one of two rival imperial powers. As a result, within the organization, class identity replaced the national, and members were encouraged to see themselves as part of a broader international working-class collective. Indeed, it is clear that,

although the organization utilized a similar language of duty to that of the Boy Scouts, the organizations clearly diverged in terms of their understanding of whom their duty was to. Whereas many mainstream youth organizations worked on idea of national citizenship, the Woodcraft Folk worked on a premise of international comradeship—cemented on a set of shared beliefs, values and goals, that needed to be defended from threats emanating, not only from fascist Germany, but from the British government as well. Symbolically, children were the vanguard of the defence against this threat, and the education of members was the organization's principal weapon.

Internationalism also remained prominent in the Baden-Powell movements throughout the war, which, despite the nationalistic tone within which they framed their activities, increasingly kept members informed as to the experiences of Scouts and Guides in war-torn areas, or, as *The Guide* termed it in 1942, 'News of Our Scattered Family'.[123] Penny Tinkler argues that wartime citizenship in Guides 'embodied international elements', suggesting that the nature of community was expanding in the middle of the 21st century.[124] In September 1939 *The Guide* reminded its readers that: 'During these weeks since the declaration of war, all of you must have thought daily of those sister Guides of ours in Poland, who are facing the full furnace-blast of war.'[125] While *The Scouter* reported in April 1944, that in Poland 'we know too of cases where boys have been shot for wearing a Scout uniform.'[126] The plight of international members was not ignored and the Girl Guide movement responded with the formation of the Guide International Service. Originally entitled the 'Army of Goodwill' but changed because it was considered that the title was open to misinterpretation in other languages, the service saw older members being trained, equipped and sent to help war-distressed countries. GIS members needed to be mentally and physically fit and over the age of 21. In June 1940 a Guiding publication declared:

> There will be a stiff test of fitness, efficiency, and general reliability, for those volunteering for service in Europe, as the conditions they will have to face will be of quite unusual hardship.[127]

Formed during the war, this was a scheme developed to help war-distressed countries after the war was over. Guides who volunteered would be sent abroad to do relief work and help improve conditions. *The Guider* reported on the scheme in June 1940: 'The scheme is to be known as the G.I.S. Its aim will be to send out parties of trained and equipped Guiders

and Rangers to the distressed countries, as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities, to help with urgent relief work.'[128] The requirement for those that volunteered was that they needed to be over 21 and physically and mentally fit, while members were provided with vocabulary lists to aid them in learning necessary languages.[129] Here the movement maintained the international standing which had developed in the interwar period.

After the Second World War, an emphasis on developing international friendships continued and even intensified in many youth organizations. In the Woodcraft Folk, the idea of international comradeship remained, as international camps with other pacifist youth organizations in Europe were organized and attended. In 1947, the organization reminded readers of the *Helper* that 'More than ever there is a great want for International Friendship. This, our aim, is also expressed in our law: we want to span the world with friendship'.[130] The YFCs, as a result of growing membership and support, increasingly placed internationalism at the forefront of their agenda. In 1955, *The Young Farmer* informed readers that 'Developing a national and international outlook' was a fundamentally element of developing good citizenship amongst members. As such, the organization encouraged young farmers to correspond with young farmers from other countries and organized talks on farming and life overseas. For example, the Hampshire Young Farmers' Yearbook of 1952–53 celebrated the international contacts that had been made, with members visiting Canada as of the future farmers of Ontario, and other members studying in New Zealand. It also reported that members of the Basingstoke District YFC had held a 'most successful Square Dance' for members of the American 4H clubs (farm youth group). The yearbook declared: 'We have established friendly relationships in many parts of the globe, and we have appreciated and enjoyed the chances of widening our horizons.'[131] The notion of 'widening horizons' was thus an important route to good citizenship for members of the organization.

Internationalism was equally important in the Baden-Powell movements after the war. In 1947, for example, 'The International Scout and Guide Folk Dance Festival saw invitations to members from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Holland, Norway, Switzerland and the United States, to take part.[132] While across the 1950s, readers of *The Scouter* were informed of Scouting trips that had taken place to New Zealand, Switzerland, France and Spain, as part of the organization's mission to 'Look Wide',[133] while *The Scouter* declared 1954 'The International Year'.[134] International landscapes were also celebrated through Scouting fiction at this time, with international camps becoming a regular setting for Scouting stories. In 1959, for example, the Scouting serial 'The Tiger

Patrol Wins Through', saw members of the Tiger Patrol visit a Jamboree in Austria, where they are caught up in a revolutionary plot planning to overthrow the post-war government.[135] Increasingly, stories of adventure within the Scout movement were placed in an international landscape. A similar celebration of internationalism existed in Guiding publications at the end of the period. In 1960, *The Guide* printed a suggestion from the Patrol Leader of Chaffinch Patrol, 9th Blackpool Company, that members hold 'international evenings' in which to raise money for world refugees: 'Guides must come in uniform and national costume of a chosen country.'[136]

Throughout the mid-century, then, youth movements constructed the idea that members were part of an international community. This was not without its issues however, particularly in the Baden-Powell movements. In 1931, Marjorie Taylor, a contributor to *The Guide*, wrote of her concerns that people were forgetting their duty to the nation, as a result of their tendency to think internationally. Her contribution reveals a exclusive understanding of organisational membership and the ways in which an emphasis on internationalism could mask continued colonial attitudes at the beginning of the period. She wrote that:

> there is no good in helping savages in Africa if there is a fellow being next door who is pining for a word of sympathy and friendship we could so easily give. By all means let us 'Look Wide, but in doing so do not let us forget that there is need to 'Look Close' as well.[137]

While similar concerns were expressed by the Kent County Commissioner of the Scouts in 1954, who wrote in his annual report: 'I sometimes feel that our keenness to be a brother to every other Scout, regardless of country, we may run the risk of giving precedence to the fourth Scout Law over the second, which imposes loyalty to our own.'[138] Thus, while the movements placed an increasing emphasis on internationalism throughout the period this was a supplement to, rather than a replacement of, the importance of the national community, this was in direct contrast to the Woodcraft Folk, which continually stressed the importance of the international working-class community.[139]

Conclusion

Across the period from 1930 to 1960, the idea of community remained important in the training provided by youth organizations, as notions of duty and service to the 'wider world' remained at the centre of the movements' agendas. Ideas about the community were constructed through a

number of frameworks, the most prominent of these being the increasing emphasis on the countryside as a symbol of nation and the growing internationalism of youth movements. The rural landscape was central to these frameworks as the countryside was increasingly constructed as a place where communities and friendships could be developed and where differences of social class and nationality could be levelled. However, while young people could enhance their citizenship *through* the countryside, at the same time they were also expected to develop good citizenship *in* the countryside, by exhibiting careful behaviour and teaching others to do so. Here, then, the movements worked within the mid-twentieth-century understandings of citizenship surrounding the countryside, outlined in Chap. 2. Importantly, however, in encouraging members to steward the land, youth movements were also reflecting a growing discourse, which acknowledged the right of access to the land. Thus while the centrality of community to notions of good citizenship remained throughout the period, meanings of community were not unchanging and were impacted by numerous shifts, including the demise of empire, the growth of the welfare state (and the discourse of rights that came with it), along with increasing concern over the rural landscape. Despite the political differences amongst the organizations, it is clear that 'friendship' in all its forms was continuously suggested as a route to good citizenship for young people in the mid-twentieth century.

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CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

There is no doubt that, despite the varying guises that it took, the principle purpose of the activities provided by youth movements in the mid-twentieth century was citizen training. Indeed, in 1932 a contributor to *The Guider* declared: 'We in Great Britain may some of us be doctors, some of us Editors and some of us coal heavers, but we must all alike be Citizens, we have no choice.'[1] The role of the citizen was, however, an elusive concept and was directly linked to a vast array of spheres, in work, leisure, the home and the community. Understandings of the role of the citizen within these spheres were not homogenous and were shaped by a number of factors, in particular political ideology and values. Despite this, there was an accepted understanding across youth organizations that one could excel at citizenship, reaching the elusive and exalted stage of becoming a good citizen. Importantly, however, the idea of the good citizen, which was ever present in the rhetoric of youth movements across the mid-century, was a construction. Created and disseminated through various means, from official publications, reports and speeches to activities and tests, it was a notion that was shaped by contemporary understandings of class, gender and, significantly, socio-geographical understandings of nation.

This study has demonstrated, through an interrogation of organizational magazines, that inherent in established discourse surrounding good citizenry was the centrality of the countryside. The rural landscape was

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envisioned as the space in which the battle for the citizenship of young people could be fought and ultimately won. Be it field or farmland, the rural sphere was a space in which youth movements projected gendered and class-based understandings of good citizenry. Subsequently, the good citizen was constructed against the urban 'other', a conflict evident in the story of the 7th Dunstable Girl Guide Company, with which this book began. To conclude then, this study will make some final suggestions about the impact of this research on current understandings of youth, class, gender and the English countryside in the mid twentieth-century and will illuminate the way for future research in this area.

The 'Rural Idyll': A New Generation

It has been established by a number of historians and geographers that, across the twentieth century, the English landscape, and particularly the image of the English countryside, became increasingly central to meanings of Englishness and understandings of both national identity and citizenship.[2] The period from 1930 to 1960 was arguably when this identification reached its zenith. As a consequence of the interwar outdoor recreation movement, the recognition of the importance of agricultural production in the Second World War and the significance of the countryside in post-war reconstruction, the English countryside became deeply entrenched in the hearts and minds of the nation. An examination of a range of sources, including Mass Observation, popular newspapers and contemporary literature, has supported this claim. Indeed, when in the early 1950s Players cigarettes introduced a series of advertisements idealizing rural scenes, they were drawing upon widespread public identification with the countryside and its landscape.

The training provided by youth movements undoubtedly formed part of, and worked within, this rhetoric. The English countryside remained a prominent and unchanging feature of organizational discourse surrounding good citizenship across the mid-century. For these organizations, the countryside served as a canvas on which young people could develop into the good citizens of the future. Avenues to good citizenship via the landscape were twofold and reflected the tensions created by the on-going changing relationship between the urban and rural spheres. Firstly, notions of good citizenry required members to embrace the countryside as a site of leisure. This reflected continued concern over urban life.

Additionally, emphasis on the landscape resulted from a growing concern over the protection of the countryside from urban influences. The increased accessibility of the countryside, the emergence of the outdoor leisure industry and the suburbanization of rural areas, led to concern surrounding the impact of urbanites on the land. Within youth movements, the responsibility of protecting the land was explicitly placed on members who were urged to become 'country-conscious' citizens. As such, good citizenship within them became defined around actions including the practice of land cultivation and activities such as litter picking. As the Girl Guide representative on the 'Keep Britain Tidy' Group told the readers of *The Guider* in 1960, 'It all depends on you!'[3] This reflected the growing prominence of rural protectionism within public discourses of citizenship, particularly in the post-war period. This study, therefore, speaks to the work of David Matless who asserts that the twentieth century saw the development of the idea of the 'landscaped citizen'.[4]

It is clear, then, that youth organizations were working within a wider public discourse concerning the countryside. For the Scouting movements, however, the growing emphasis on the countryside in the mid-century also formed part of a distinct shift in the organization's ideology. With the exception of a select few, historians working on the Baden-Powell organizations have often sidestepped the centrality of the countryside, focusing predominantly on the imperial overtones of the training provided.[5] For many, the landscape was seen as the site on which training was organized but not through which it was ideologically shaped.[6] Indeed, Dawson, in his exploration of the powerful image of the 'soldier hero', went so far as to claim that the countryside, for the Scouts, was simply the canvas on which Baden-Powell could reconfigure imperial ideology for the younger generation. He writes that within the Scouts 'we see the transference of masculine skills and virtues identified with the imperial frontier to the English Countryside (itself transfigured into adventure terrain in the process) and their enlistment in national defence that is both imaginative and literal.'[7]

Fundamentally, however, this book has demonstrated that, against the backdrop of the decline of the British Empire in the mid-century, the Scouting movements developed an understanding of, and training programme for, citizenship which ultimately placed the English countryside at its centre. Indeed, members were enlisted in national defence but as campaigners in the organizations' crusade against the impact of urban modernity on the land. This is not to suggest that discussions of landscape

were completely separate from imperial notions but simply that the gradual decline of imperialism within the movement saw the landscape come to the fore of discussion and concern.

This shift can be attributed to the 'decline' of the British Empire during this period. But alongside this, the shift away from the imperial sentiments of the initial Baden-Powell movements reflects more focused organizational shifts—specifically, the growing international membership of the organizations in the interwar period and the death of Baden-Powell in 1941; shifts which, in some ways, pre-empted the post-imperial climate of the post-war period. Nonetheless, it is clear that the idea of the English countryside is one that can provide a legitimate framework for historians looking to explore youth movements in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Organizational agendas, that were explicitly shaped and tempered by political ideas, also permeated the training provided by other youth movements at this time. The emphasis on the land within the Woodcraft Folk signified their left-wing position and their belief that industrial life was the oppressor of the working masses. By contrast the training and motto of the YFC organization, 'Good Farmers, Good Countrymen, Good Citizens' focused on the virtues of agriculture, which reflected the movement's political interest in the future of farming. It is possible to say, then, that these movements indicate a general tendency within society at this time to identify with the rural sphere, but they also reflect the complexity of the identification with this tendency. As Griffiths has demonstrated in her discussion of the Labour Party, the countryside could take on highly politicized meanings at this time.[8] This study has highlighted the complexity of the national identification with the countryside, but significantly has outlined the overarching similarity within the landscaped ideologies of youth movements in this period.

Alongside this, it has also unveiled the intricacy of the role of the countryside in understanding modernity in the mid-century. In the past, historians have understood the popular focus on the countryside as being part of the romanticism of the 'rural idyll' and symptomatic of a backlash against modernity.[9] There is certainly an element of truth to this, as time and time again the countryside was utilized by youth movements as a symbol of a shared national past, which was undeniably represented as being superior to the present. However, this study has revealed a more complex understanding of the role of the countryside within debates surrounding modernity. Discussions of the landscape in youth organizations were

undoubtedly shrouded in understandings of a shared national past, one that needed to be protected from onslaughts of a predominantly urban modernity. However, more than this they were also based on an understanding of the English countryside as a symbol of the future with the moral, limber, hardworking and self-sacrificing members of youth movements being celebrated as such. To summarize; the landscape was presented as an antidote to the modern but it was not explicitly anti-modern. Instead, for these movements, the landscape was a sphere in which future good citizens could be moulded and, as such, the idea of the 'country-conscious citizen' was in many ways not a nostalgic one but a futuristic one. This was a rural idyll for a new generation; one in which modern ideas of fitness and leisure were transferred onto the rural landscape and presented as a path to modern citizenship, an ideal which included traditional notions of service with a growing liberal agenda, with members being increasingly encouraged to understand their role within society not simply through rhetoric of duty and service, but through a discourse of rights. This study has therefore supported research by those, including David Matless and Alex Potts, who have identified the complexity of notions of rurality and modernity with the popularization of the rural idyll at this time.[10] This complexity can most clearly be seen in the representation of young people within the movement: on the one hand, feared as the products of an increasingly detrimental modern state of living, and on the other, celebrated as being future 'landscaped' good citizens.

Approaches to Youth in the Mid-Century

In 1960, *The Scouter* devoted significant attention the figure of the teenager in a series of articles including 'Home and the Teenager', 'The Teenager and the World Around Him', 'Teenage Troubles' and 'The Teenager and the Scouter'.[11] It was a series that aimed to get at the heart of the conflict between the movement and its older members and was kick-started in the January by Oswald Bell who pondered the question 'Teenagers – What Makes Them Tick?' He wrote; 'Who are teenagers, anyway – or to give them a more solemn name – the adolescents? … Sometimes we wonder rather dismally whether they really want us or need us.'[12] It is fair to say that by 1960 the Scouts, and indeed youth movements more generally, were in the midst of a severe crisis of confidence when it came to their older members. Dramatic shifts in the leisure, work and home lives of young people, including the growth of mass consumption

and leisure pursuits and the extension of education, meant that the popularity of youth organizations such as the Scouts was being challenged.[13]

Paradoxically, however, at a time when 'teenage' membership of organized youth movements was declining, such organizations felt they were needed more than ever before, perceiving themselves to be the most effective method against the problems of modern youth. This belief was not limited to organizations but was part of a wider consideration and concern towards the behaviour of young people at the beginning of the 1960s. The Albemarle Committee, which met following its appointment in November 1958 to discuss the future of the Youth Service in England and Wales, reported that adolescents were responding to 'complex and continuous elements of social change … often in ways which adults find puzzling or shocking.'[14]

This anxiety was, by no means, new; rather it can be seen as a culmination of growing tensions surrounding the behaviour of young people in the mid-century, the genesis of which can be dated to the interwar period, and even before then.[15] To be sure, the initial popularity of youth organizations in the 1930s reflects the acknowledgement that young people, benefitting from increased affluence and growing authority in their home and leisure lives, needed to be given close attention. For youth organizations, young people, even before the emergence of the distinctive breed of teenager following the Second World War, presented an immediate and pressing problem. This anxiety only intensified as the mid-century progressed.

In 1958, *The Scouter* lamented the leisure practices of the young, who, according to the writer, were spending excessive amounts of money on 'pop discs' and using them 'in a way that reminds one more of voodoo ceremony in a tropical Africa than anything akin to civilization'.[16] Indeed, it was in teenagers' use of their leisure time that movements identified increasingly deviant and dangerous behaviour. Behaviour that, in the postwar period, became synonymous with the panic-inspiring juvenile delinquent and the figure of the hedonistic Teddy Boy. In this context, the leisure choices of adolescents came to hold symbolic importance, representing the road to both good and bad citizenry. Youth movements believed themselves to be a principal force in combating the problem of leisure by providing opportunities for constructive leisure and education in the right uses of leisure time. Within this a proficiency in outdoor recreations including hiking, cycling and, of course, organizational activities could develop citizenship.

The idea of the good citizen was, therefore, often categorized against the urban 'other'; young people who were preoccupied with spending their time in cinemas, dancehalls, gambling halls and, worst of all, on the streets. Fears surrounding unconstructive leisure were predominantly focused on the impact of such pursuits on urban working-class young people. This tendency is explicable and reflects a continued concern over working-class living in the mid-century. In the 1930s it was working-class youth who were believed to suffer in cramped, poverty-stricken, urban tenements and slums, while fears grew over working-class boys who were believed to be susceptible to long periods of unemployment and therefore vulnerable to the temptations of destructive leisure pursuits. Following the war, the impact of the welfare state saw a shift in these concerns but, nonetheless, the growing affluence of working-class youth and the, supposedly new, propensity for working-class mothers' to engage in paid employment outside the home, saw a continued focus on the innate corruptibility of the working classes. The dichotomy of youth, of the good citizen verses the 'problem' juvenile delinquent, constructed by youth movements in the mid-century, therefore, reveals significant continuity in class-based approaches to youth at this time, with delinquent behaviour being almost explicitly treated as a by-product of working-class urban living.

This should not be taken to imply that experiences of working-class living remained the same across the period. In fact, the shift in organizational concern from the impact of poverty to the influence of affluence supports the accepted historical narrative of class change in the mid-century.[17] In terms of approaches to youth, however, it is clear that the Second World War, often seen as a force for social levelling, had little impact on how these movements characterized their members in terms of class, with working-class youth remaining the key concern for youth organizations at this time. This supports Joanna Bourke's assertion that throughout the twentieth century class remained essential to understandings of identity.[18]

This tendency can be seen as a form of exerting what some historians have identified as 'social control'. That is, the predominantly middle-class Scouting organizations and YFCs were attempting to indoctrinate working-class members into middle-class behaviour and values. Organizational publications have, however, revealed the complexity of this process. Certainly, middle-class values were central to the ideology of the Scouting movements, with an understanding of chivalry and duty, directly reflecting the public school ethos in which many of the movements'

leaders had been educated. As John Gillis argues 'The movement proceeded under the banner of classlessness, but it was stamped indelibly with the lifestyle and ideology of those higher on the social ladder.'[19] At the same time, however, the movement continuously questioned the enthusiasm and dedication of middle-class Scouters to the Scouting principle of thrift and tenacity. In 1933 *The Scouter* declared:

> a large number of Scouters, especially university and public school men, seem to think that it is impossible to conduct a troop efficiently without expensive equipment and other accessories … we hold that a troop could not only do without these additions, but will probably produce better Scouts without them.[20]

Within this context, the movement extolled certain attributes of working-class living. For example, the ability to make do and to 'rough it' in many ways made working-class boys particularly suited to the Scout regime. Importantly, then, the values extolled by the movement were not wholly middle class but a distinct amalgamation of middle-class morals and working-class character, resulting in a complex relationship between the organization and its working-class members. Of course, there is an inherent contradiction here: while the Scouting organizations focused much of their time and attention on the problem of working-class youth and celebrated the working-class character, significantly, most members were from middle-class backgrounds.[21] In 1958 Oswald Bell confirmed this tension: 'In my experience, too, the adolescents whom we keep are mostly grammar and public school boys who are in a sense, those who need us least. Those who need us most are surely the failures, the naughty, the hooligans and the Teddy Boys.'[22] This is significant. The Scouting movement, in particular, focused a large amount of consideration towards those young people seen as being problematic, despite the fact that large proportions of their membership did not fit into this category. As even the Albemarle Committee concluded at the end of the period, the idea that post-war Britain was being terrorized by 'a generation of teenage delinquents', [23] materialistic and morally deficient, was not only 'untrue and distorting' [24] but was one of the 'most striking clichés of the last decade'[25].

Despite this, however, the centrality of class in concerns over young people in youth organizations is understandable, the mid-century being the period in which working-class youth, at the forefront of societal shifts, 'came of age'. This study, choosing to end at the dawn of the 1960s, does not explore the significant impact of the growth in prominence and politi-

cization of middle class youth in the 'sixties'. Widening the historical focus on youth movements to cover the latter half of the twentieth century would enable historians to further illuminate class-based understandings of citizenship for young people in the twentieth century.

If approaches to youth training in the mid-century were shaped by assumptions regarding class then they were also shaped just as significantly by gender, with highly gendered ideologies permeating three of the four movements. It has been established by a number of historians that education and training for young people in the early and mid-twentieth century was shaped by a gendered discourse.[26] This study supports such research, having identified a fundamental continuity in the gendered training provided by youth movements across the period. The idea of the home and domesticity remaining central to the training provided by both the YFCs and Girl Guides. This gendered ideal of good citizenry went beyond divides of class: it was seen as necessary for all girls, regardless of their socio-economic background, to prepare for their role within the home. Therefore, while class had an overarching importance in the *experience* of girls in the mid-twentieth century, in terms of construction of roles, for young girls the role of housewife was as universal as the role of citizen. The findings of this book have therefore supported the arguments of those such as Penny Tinkler, who have identified continuity in constructions of girlhood across the first half of the twentieth century and Stephanie Spencer who, through a study of formal education, has highlighted the way domesticity remained central to the education of girls' from all classes in society.[27]

However, it is clear that we can in some ways challenge the idea that the domestic training of the Guides was all-encompassing. Indeed, a study of the 'adventurous' leisure activities provided by the movement, and the advice on careers, particularly in the 1930s, reveals that the movement had a more nuanced understanding of the ambitions of its members than we might have previously understood. Indeed, we can note that in understandings of modern 'girlhood' within the movement notions of self-fulfilment were increasingly built around participation in paid work. Within the historical context of the mid-century this is understandable as the life-cycle of the 'modern girl' increasingly allowed the time and freedom for the development of careers and of the self as a result. Discussions of work, therefore, alongside information on hobbies such as photography, and community service, form part of a much wider 'ethos of opportunity' in this period in which girls were encouraged to seek fulfilment outside the domestic sphere. This was however tempered by an overarching conservatism within the movement that emphasized the significance of

women's domestic role above all else. This was particularly true in the 1950s, when growing social conservatism, in response to fears over mothering and juvenile delinquency, saw a heightened emphasis on the role of housewife and mother. This shift is important and should lead us to further question the extent to which the Second World War dramatically altered gender norms.[28] In fact, in many ways, the shifts brought about by the Second World War only reinforced the importance of domesticity. Hence, this study supports the studies of Tammy Proctor, Kristine Alexander and Jim Gledhill, who have placed the training offered by the organization in a growing 'modern' agenda—one that emphasized 'opportunity' within the confines of dominant understandings of femininity in this period. [29]

Youth movements, as we have seen, focused on the countryside as a site in which they could mould young people into good citizens. This idea was shaped by gendered notions and by received understandings of the nature of urban working-class youth. We have seen how the countryside became central in combating the problems of urban youth, but what of those young people living in rural England?

Movements on the Margins: The Inclusion of Rural Youth

The inclusion of the YFC movement in this study has had significant and far-reaching implications for its conclusion. Until recently, the urban experience has dominated the cultural memory and historiographical study of young peoples' lives in the mid-century. It goes without saying that experiences of being young, of leisure and of work, were significantly different for those living in the country. In the face of restricted availability of both work and leisure opportunities, experiences of growing up in rural England were in many ways markedly different to the urban counterpart. This was acknowledged by predominantly urban youth movements, such as the Scouts, who recognized the difficulties faced by their rural members but at the same time would often lament over how 'lucky' they were. Indeed, despite differences, the YFC movement and the Scouting organizations maintained one striking similarity across the period—an overt concern about the impact of urban modernity on the land and on the behaviour of young people.

For the, predominantly rural, YFCs the ever-looming attraction of urban living needed to be counteracted if the future of agriculture was to

be secured. Indeed, the relative popularity of the organization in this period reflects its important role in providing leisure and agricultural education for young villagers. For the YFCs, the main problem was not the behaviour of urban working-class youth but the increasing number of young farmworkers who were seeking employment in towns. Here, then, the urban presented the main problem to the movement, by enticing the rural working classes away from the land with increasingly attractive work and leisure opportunities. Therefore, while good citizenry could be formed through influencing the leisure choices of urban youth, by contrast the YFCs placed a more significant emphasis on the work lives of their rural members. It was on the land where rural boys could dig, plough and sow their way to good citizenship. Expectations of members of this organization were therefore different than those placed on Scouting members but, nevertheless, reflect the significance of increasing tensions between the urban space and the rural landscape within understandings and approaches to youth during the mid-twentieth century.

A study of the rural youth movements has also revealed the complexity of gendered discourse in the mid-century. This book has revealed how preparation for domesticity remained central to the activities provided for female members of youth movements. Nonetheless, it has also identified the distinctive rural domesticity extolled by the YFC movement, in which girls were required to demonstrate a proficiency in both the farm and the home. Here, this book challenges notions of a homogenous idea of femininity and the way in which, in the past, historians have defined it, by suggesting that while both movements extolled the virtues of domesticity, conceptions of the 'home' and understandings of women's role within it differed according to space. Certainly, the rural context did not impact the importance of domesticity in this period. In fact, within the rural context, gendered roles saw increasing significance against the backdrop of rural migration but gendered discourse was, nonetheless, explicitly shaped by an understanding of specifically rural (and in many cases agricultural) roles. This book therefore places itself within a new school of historiography which explores the impact of factors such as region on women's lives and on constructions of domesticity.[30]

The inclusion of the YFCs in this book has also led to a questioning of the, at times simplistic, distinction between town and country in existing historiography. Indeed the prominence of the countryside in organizational discussions of citizenship in both urban and rural youth movements has revealed the complexity of the relationship between town and country in

this period. The tendency for youth movements to situate their activities and learning in the countryside and to positively promote the countryside as a space for youth suggests that we need to rethink our predominantly urban understanding of experiences of youth at this time. Suggesting that the urban and rural experiences are removed from each other, particularly when it comes to leisure, ignores a range of interconnecting experiences which occurred between the two spheres in this period. Ignoring the rural does not just limit our understanding of youth and leisure to the urban context; it ignores the large numbers of young people, both urban and rural, who were enjoying, exploring, making and indeed managing their identities within the English countryside at this time.

Studying Twentieth-Century Youth Movements: A Methodological Consideration

Youth movements are undoubtedly a twentieth-century phenomenon. Born out of early-century developments in the recognition of youth as distinct psychological and physiological lifecycle stage, youth organizations grew, both in scope and numbers, during the interwar period. Their popularity stemmed from a belief that there was a pressing need to provide constructive leisure and creative learning for young people who were being increasingly exposed to socialization outside of the legitimate frameworks of the school and the *family* home. The historical study of youth movements, however, only emerged in the 1960s when, as Springhall notes, the increasing presence and politicization of young people at this time led scholars to question how youth had been mobilized in the past.[31] Since the publication of Wilkinson's detailed study of English youth movements in 1969, there have been a number of approaches and debates in the historiography of youth movements, most of which have been particularly focused on Scouting.[32]

As we have seen, in the 1980s a passionate and heated debate ensued in the pages of *The English Historical Review* in which prominent Scouting historians engaged in dialogue surrounding the militaristic training of the movement and their focus on citizen training.[33] By the early 1990s, historians of the Scouting movements turned their focus to the gendered nature of training provided by the Girl Guides and the role that the movement played in reinforcing hegemonic ideas of femininity.[34] In these debates, historians of the organizations concentrated on how the training provided reflected the attempts of the middle-class organizations

to control and ideologically shape their members. This 'top-down' approach derived from the tendency for historians to focus predominantly on official sources such as the handbooks, annual reports and minutes of organizational meetings, sources that, without a doubt, exclude the 'voices' of those who experienced the training first-hand. This reflects a general tendency in the historiography of youth and childhood to ignore the voices and experiences of children.

In recent years, there have been attempts by historians to rectify this situation. Notably, Stephen Humphries addresses the lack of writing on the resistance of children to the adult world. Utilizing oral histories he explores the ways in which the behaviour of children, often ascribed as delinquent, can instead be read as a significant form of class resistance.[35] Indeed, within Scouting studies histories from below are rare, although growing in number. Proctor, has, perhaps paved the most significant way in this area by highlighting the opportunities provided by the Scouting organizations for self-expression within the strict gendered roles adhered to in the movements. Boys could learn skills considered, in many other areas of life, to be feminine, such as baking and singing; while girls were given the opportunity to participate in activities usually considered out of their physical capabilities, such as climbing trees.[36] Proctor has also pinpointed the significance of uniform in allowing members to develop individual identities. The ability to customize the Guiding uniform she notes, at least for middle-class members, provided the ability to assert agency and held complex personal meanings.[37] Historians have, then, to varying degrees, identified the presence of the 'voices' of the members themselves and varying amounts of agency along with this.

This study did not intentionally set out to find the 'voices' of the young people who were part of these movements. Using a close analysis of organizational magazines it aimed to establish how the countryside featured in the citizen training of youth organizations and what this reflected about the role of the countryside in the mid-century. Somewhat surprisingly, however, this approach has revealed an important aspect of these organizations; that is that the 'voices' of the members themselves were not silenced by the organizations but encouraged to flourish in a number of ways. The magazines, initially considered to be a source of instruction and the transmission of knowledge, in many ways turned out to be a source that allowed, encouraged and provided substantial spaces for members of these movements to contribute their opinions and ideas on a range of topics. Opportunities for artistic expression came in the form of drawing,

painting, writing and poem competitions; the transmission of experience and knowledge was encouraged through pages dedicated to the problems and perks of different aspects of the organizations; and opinions on topics ranging from politics, to the environment to leisure, were not just given a platform but actively encouraged. We can see here how attitudes and ideologies filtered down to the members of the movements themselves and how members influenced the training they received. For the historian of youth organizations institutional magazines can, therefore, provide a route to the 'public' voices of young people, which are often hidden or forgotten. They are a space in which the debates so often regurgitated by historians on youth movements—the militarism of the boy scouts, the domestic-centred nature of Guide training and the role of the working class within them—are regularly approached, discussed and argued by members of the organizations themselves; a study of which provides fresh and new perspectives on traditional and ongoing debates in the field.

The impact of the 'voices' of members and the exertion of individual agency over their leisure time can be seen most clearly in the case of the gendered training provided by both the Girl Guides and the YFCs. Study and reflection shows that, significantly, the focus on domesticity in the Girl Guides and the YFC movement was in many ways a pragmatic response to the decline in popularity of the movements amongst older members and a response to the call for 'useful' activities from members themselves. As such, this project is part of a revisionist history of domesticity, seeking to unpick the complexities behind the domestic training provided by these organizations and identify the degree of agency exerted by girls within this structure.

This study has explored the way in which the organizational magazines published by youth movements, in particular, constructed the idea of the good citizen' and did so with an explicitly gendered agenda. However, it has also revealed the complex tensions at play between construction and individual agency in these organizations' instructional magazines. Historians often regard magazines as being a source for the study of instruction, but it is clear that the organizational magazines of youth movements transcended this tendency and provided a space for all members to assert themselves in a manner of ways. For historians, then, a close reading of such publications can reveal a myriad of complex relationships between youth movements and their members in the mid-twentieth century.

The 'Good' Citizen and the English Countryside

It is clear that the construction of the landscaped good citizen of the mid-century in and by youth movements was principally predicated on a number of constructed socio-economic, gendered and geographical dichotomies. Mid-century youth movements identified the 'problem' of modern youth as a predominantly urban and working-class issue and, as such, they held that the countryside offered an effective antidote to these problems. Being a 'good citizen' within this context necessitated a respectful and mutually beneficial relationship with the rural sphere. This tendency was explicit across the period and fundamentally this book has argued that the mid-century should be seen as one of continuity in the training of youth movements, with very little change to be found between 1930 and 1960. Although administrative shifts, changes in approach and, of course, changes in membership did exist, underlying this was an overarching ideological stasis in the understanding of the future roles of both boys and girls in society. These continuities reflect a wider and more general ideological stasis in approaches to youth in England during this period.

There are many avenues through which future research can be undertaken in the study of the relationship between the rural sphere and youth across this period. Indeed the scope and time-frame of this project has not allowed for a discussion of key areas of importance. In the future one may consider focusing on religion as a factor in the training of youth, or looking closely at the political affiliations of these movements and the effect this has on our understanding of the role of the countryside within them. One may also wish to include a study of far-right youth movements. Another avenue of study could be looking at the inclusion of experiences of youth within these movements, little addressed in the current historiography. For example, the experience of 'Extension' Guides, who were disabled, particularly in the context of the 1930s fitness craze, could enhance our understanding of the role of the movements within discourses of fitness and the countryside. Further to this one may want to take a closer examination of the experiences of rural youth, possibly through a more focused, regionalized study. While this book has looked at the Young Farmers' Clubs, it has centred much of its analysis on the predominantly urban Scouting movements. A closer look at experience within the rural sphere of those living and working in the countryside could further elucidate our urban conception of youth at this time and unpick our understanding of both representation and experience of the English countryside in the mid-twentieth century.

Importantly, however, this study has provided a number of frameworks through which this future research can be undertaken. It has argued that the countryside can be used as a tool to understand youth training in the mid-century; suggested that organizational magazines provide a rich source for understanding both approaches and experiences to youth in this period and, most importantly, has revealed that by looking at both the urban and rural spheres the historian can gain a deeper understanding of youth and youth training mid-twentieth century England.

Notes

1. *The Guider*, 30 January 1932, p. 1292.
2. Lowenthal explores the complexity of this tendency. D. Lowenthal (1991), 'British National Identity and the English Landscape', *Rural History*, 2, 205–230, at pp. 213–214.
3. *The Guider*. May 1958, p. 155.
4. D. Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998), p. 62.
5. See J. Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British youth movements, 1883–1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); A. Davin (1978), 'Imperialism and motherhood', *History Workshop*, 5, 9–65.
6. Warren briefly argued for the importance of the landscape within the movement. A. Warren, 'Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an imperial ideal, 1900–40', in John M. Mackenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986). p. 252.
7. G. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British adventure, Empire, and the imagining of masculinities* (London: Routledge 1994), p. 151.
8. C. Griffiths, *Labour and the Countryside: the politics of rural Britain 1918–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Griffiths also discusses the 'rural hegemony' of the Conservative Party. See: C. Griffiths, 'Farming in the public interest: constructing and reconstructing agriculture on the political left', in in P. Brassley, J. Burchardt, and L. Thompson (eds.), *The English Countryside between the Wars: regeneration or decline?* (Boydell Press: Suffolk, 2006), p. 184.
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11. 'Home and the teenager', *The Scouter*, February 1960, p. 34; 'The teenager and the world around him', *The Scouter*, March 1960, p. 74; 'Teenage troubles', *The Scouter*, April 1960, p. 108; 'The teenager and the Scouter', *The Scouter*, May 1960, p. 138.
12. *The Scouter*, January 1960, p. 5.
13. It should be noted that the decline of members within the Scout organisation was particularly amongst older members of the movement. Membership of the Scouts hit an all-time high in 1960.
14. Ministry of Education. *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (London: HMSO, 1960), Cmd. 929, p. 1.
15. For a discussion of youth before World War Two see: D. Fowler, *The First Teenagers. The lifestyle of young wage-earners in interwar Britain* (London: The Woburn Press, 1995); B. Osgerby, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), chapter 2; J. Springhall, *Coming of Age: adolescence in Britain, 1860–1960* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986); S. Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Todd, S (2006), 'Flappers and factory lads: youth and youth culture in interwar Britain', *History Compass*, 4, 715–730.
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19. J. Gillis, *Youth and History: tradition and change in European age relations, 1770–present*. Expanded Student Edition (New York: New York Academic Press, 1981), p. 147.
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21. A poll in 1966 revealed that 45 per cent of middle-class Englishmen had been Scouts, compared to 25% of working-class Englishmen. Gillis, *Youth and History*, p. 147.
22. *The Scouter*, October 1958, p. 266.
23. Ministry of Education, *Youth Service*, p. 31.
24. Ministry of Education, *Youth Service*, p. 31.
25. Ministry of Education, *Youth Service*, p. 31.
26. Carol Dyhouse has written a plethora of work in this area. See: C. Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); C. Dyhouse (1978), 'Towards a "feminine" curriculum for English Schoolgirls: the demands of ideology 1870–1963', *Women's Studies International Quarterly*, 1, 297-311. For more on the gendered nature of formal schooling in the 1950s, see: S. Spencer, *Gender, Work and Education in the 1950s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan,

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28. A. Marwick, *War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1974).
29. T. Proctor, 'Gender, generation, and the politics of Guiding and Scouting in interwar Britain' (PhD Diss., Rutgers University, 1995); K. Alexander (2009), 'The Girl Guide movement and imperial internationalism during the 1920s and 1930s', *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 2, 37–63; J. Gledhill (2013), 'White Heat, Guide Blue: the Girl Guide movement in the 1960s', *Contemporary History*, 27, pp. 65–84.
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33. The primary debate being between Springhall and Warren. See: A. Warren (1986), 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900–1920', *The English Historical Review*, 101, 376–398. and J. Springhall (1987), 'Debate: Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the future?', *English Historical Review*, 102, 934–942.
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36. Proctor, 'Gender, Generation', p. 159.
37. T. Proctor (1998), '(Uni)Forming youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908–39', *History Workshop Journal*, 45, 103–134, at p. 129.

Appendix

Membership figures for the UK Boy Scouts Association (BSA), UK Girl Guides Association (GGA), Woodcraft Folk and Young Farmers' Club movement (YFC) from 1930 to 1960. Figures for the YFCs include membership of clubs, the membership of the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs (NFYFC) in England and Wales and the numbers of clubs in existence. Membership numbers for Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and YFC, complied by the movements themselves, numbers for the Woodcraft taken from contemporary sources.

Year	*BSA*	*GGA*	*Woodcraft Folk*	*YFC*	*NFYFC*	
				Club	*Membership*	*No. of clubs*
1930	438,098	560,654	721	–		–
1931	457,477	589,505	780	–		–
1932	477,423	617,681	1014	–	1500	100
1933	480,379	626,028	1076	–		–
1934	459,980	605,577	1432	–		–
1935	448,396	584,360	1745	–		–
1936	445,411	547,116	3490	–		–
1937	443,455	527,585	3792	–		–
1938	460,234	533,130	4321	–		–
1939	–	–	5134	–		412

(*continued*)

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(continued)

Year	*BSA*	*GGA*	*Woodcraft Folk*	*YFC*	*NFYFC*	
				Club	*Membership*	*No. of clubs*
1940	–	–	2558	–		–
1941	305,760	400,236	–	–		–
1942	–	–	–	–	21,000	490
1943	424,082	503,421	–	–	37,000	792
1944	452,764	485,063	–	–	56,000	1068
1945	471,040	465,379	2892	–	64,000	1234
1946	466,986	454,703	3089	–	65,500	1282
1947	415,142	442,732	3486	–	60,000	1240
1948	446,202	445,183	–	–	65,500	1315
1949	473,216	420,825	–	–	66,400	1350
1950	471,364	434,459	–	47,100	61,600	1303
1951	477,940	448,251	–	48,400	62,900	1383
1952	490,786	464,318	2873	46,600	60,000	1402
1953	491,935	469,124	3126	49,000	63,400	1462
1954	502,724	481,526	–	52,500	67,200	1532
1955	511,010	496,138	–	55,100	70,100	1584
1956	532,388	514,264	2815	53,961	68,441	1580
1957	561,359	534,616	–	53,030	67,458	1573
1958	572,349	545,998	2509	51,849	65,702	1517
1959	571,402	566,694	2494	48,936	61,742	1467
1960	588,396	594,491	–	49,317	62,086	1456

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