

## «HAPPY HOME» AND «HAPPY LAND»: INFORMAL EMOTIONAL EDUCATION IN BRITISH BANDS OF HOPE, 1880-1914<sup>§</sup>

«Hogar feliz» y «Tierra feliz». *Educación informal en las Bandas de Esperanza británicas, 1880-1914*

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**Abstract.** The Band of Hope was an influential multi-denominational, mainly working-class national temperance movement in Britain, which at its peak, around 1914, attracted over three million boys and girls. This article examines the strategies of emotional conditioning that were a part of the Band of Hope's mode of informal education, through an analysis of its stories, songs and organized meetings. The specific focus targets the part played by education (outside of school) in the cultural formation of (manly) men from boys, and the extent to which there was a consensus on the meaning of being «manly», and on emotional appropriateness, both inwardly (inspiring action or abstinence) and outwardly (influencing conduct or demonstrating restraint). The Band of Hope's style of informal education instructed children in «proper» emotional responses and in appropriate behaviour at home, within their families, in school and at work. This instruction was essentially a lesson in citizenship, part of a broad program of political socialization. It emphasized male moral duties, in the home and in the wider world, over and above imperial adventure. Importantly, it also emphasised hope. This article therefore argues that moral education was viewed essentially as an emotional upbringing or maturation, through which children were encouraged to discover true fulfilment, happiness and pride in doing their duty toward their families, communities and the nation.

<sup>§</sup> This article is adapted from Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014) and is a revised version of «Informal Education: Emotional Conditioning and Enculturation in British Bands of Hope, 1880-1914», *Jahrbuch für Historische Bildungsforschung*, Band 12: Emotionen in der Bildungsgeschichte (2012): 110-125. Thanks to Verlag Julius Klinkhardt. It was funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Max Planck Society.

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**Resumen.** *Las Bandas de Esperanza fue un movimiento nacional británico de templanza, influyente y multi-confesional, fundamentalmente de la clase obrera. En su punto más alto, alrededor de 1914, llegó a atraer a más de tres millones de niños y niñas. Este artículo examina hasta qué punto las estrategias de condicionamiento emocional formaron parte de la modalidad de educación informal de las Bandas de Esperanza, a través del análisis de sus historias, canciones y reuniones organizadas. El punto de mira específico es el papel desempeñado por la educación (fuera del colegio) en la formación cultural de niños a hombres (varoniles), explorando si hubo consenso sobre el significado de «varonil», y sobre la apropiación emocional, hacia dentro (como acción inspiradora o abstinencia) y hacia fuera (como conducta influyente o contención demostrativa). El estilo de educación informal de las Bandas de Esperanza instruyó a los niños y las niñas en respuestas emocionales «correctas» y en un comportamiento apropiado en el hogar, con sus familias, en la escuela y en el trabajo. Esta instrucción era esencialmente una lección de ciudadanía, parte del amplio programa de socialización política. Enfatizaba los deberes morales masculinos, en el hogar y en el mundo, por encima de la aventura imperial. Naturalmente, también enfatizaba la esperanza. El artículo por tanto indaga sobre si la educación moral era percibida esencialmente como crianza y maduración emocional, a través de la cual la infancia fue animada a descubrir la verdadera satisfacción, la felicidad y el orgullo de cumplir con sus responsabilidades hacia sus familias, comunidades y nación.*

**Palabras clave:** *Inglaterra. Educación informal. Condicionamiento emocional. Bandas de Esperanza. Juventud.*

We'll ask our fathers, too, to come and join our happy band;  
True temperance makes a happy home, and makes a happy land.<sup>1</sup>

Happiness is perhaps not the first emotion readily associable with a Victorian juvenile total abstinence society, yet this is exactly what the widespread British Band of Hope movement wanted children and their parents to feel. Happiness and joy were stressed, both while participating in weekly meetings, and, more importantly, in their wider lives and their futures. The focus on the future, and especially on hope, was most important, since a temperate present was considered to be essential for happy future families. As this article will show «happy homes» were prescribed for a «happy land»: the British home was seen as the central unit in constructing

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<sup>1</sup> R. Tayler, *Hope of the Race* (London: Hope Press, 1946), 44.

a sound nation, with *good* citizens. These lessons of national importance were taught through a medium of education that was well organized and widespread, yet voluntary and informal. In a broad sense, this was an urgent task of political socialization, as it was believed that moral family men would be good citizens who could act as sound influences on public opinion and policy.

This article will examine the strategies of emotional conditioning that were a part of the Band of Hope's mode of informal education, through an analysis of its stories, songs and organized meetings. The specific focus targets the part played by education (outside of school) in the cultural formation of (manly) men from boys, and the extent to which there was a consensus on the meaning of being *manly*, and on emotional appropriateness, both inwardly (inspiring action or abstinence) and outwardly (influencing conduct or demonstrating restraint). It has been widely understood that manly ideals were generated from within the elite, but it is worth pursuing the question of whether manly ideals also flowed from the bottom up. The Band of Hope's style of informal education instructed children in *proper* emotional responses and in appropriate behaviour at home, within their families, in school and at work. It especially emphasized male moral duties, in the home and as future citizens of nation and empire. Thus, moral education was fundamentally tied to a cultivation and restraint of the emotions, teaching children how to *feel* what was *good* and *bad*, to judge false from real emotional fulfilment in thoughts and actions, and to link these emotions with adherence to Christian religiosity. The temporal focus of this education was two-pronged: immediate fears of vice and joy in restraint, and in delayed gratification for future *real* happiness. If it failed, the result was ostensibly immediate joy in vice and fears of a *degenerate* future. This article therefore probes how moral education was viewed essentially as an emotional education, through which children were encouraged to discover true fulfilment, happiness and pride in doing their duty toward their families, communities and the nation.

## INFORMAL EDUCATION

The history of education does not belong only to formal settings such as schools. There is, in addition, a history of children being taught informally, through the work of organizations and youth groups, through reading

material designed for the purpose, and through the everyday interactions of children with each other and with their parents and other authority figures. These informal influences are at least as important as formal channels of education for our understanding of the history of education, but have been significantly underdeveloped in the historiography. Many nineteenth-century educators and moralists believed that informal education had a far greater reach, and was far more efficient and effective, than formal education. In modern Europe, it at least served to fill important gaps where schooling was found to be lacking, particularly in emotional and moral education.<sup>2</sup>

Roland Barthes famously noted that educational practices can be classified and compartmentalized into three broad categories: *teaching*, *apprenticeship* and *mothering*. To Barthes, these were distinct forms of knowledge transmission. Informal education, however, encompasses all three of these practices: knowledge is transmitted «by oral and written discourse» (like *teaching*), it can be introduced through *praxis* (like the *apprenticeship*) and, equally, it can be taught through nurturing (like *mothering*, and I would also add *fathering*).<sup>3</sup> Informal education can in fact take many forms.<sup>4</sup> At its broadest, it could be defined as anything that serves to educate outside of a formal school setting. This could be through a vast and systematic network administered by large religious or social authorities, or it could be as minute as a gesture or a look to tell a child that his/her behaviour does not conform

<sup>2</sup> For innovative ways to link the history of childhood and youth, the history of education and the history of emotions, see Stephanie Olsen (ed.), *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1986), 336-337.

<sup>4</sup> The term *informal education* has as yet not been deployed to describe these varied forms. A rare counter example is Yuval Dror, «Zionist Cultural Transfer through Ties between Schools and Informal Education Frameworks in the British Mandate Period (1918-1948)», *History of Education Review*, 26 (1997): 56-71. Of course, there has been extensive work on voluntary education, which was gradually incorporated or excluded by the rise of State education in Britain. See the seminal work on the topic: Brian Simon, *The Two Nations & the Educational Structure, 1780-1870* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1960). Lawrence Stone (ed.), *Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); David Wardle, *The Rise of the Schooled Society: The History of Formal Schooling in England* (London: Routledge, 1974); Philip McCann (ed.), *Popular Education and Socialization in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1977); Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011); P. Gordon and R. Szreter (eds.), *History of Education: The Making of a Discipline* (London: Woburn, 1989); Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Laurence Brockliss and Nicola Sheldon (eds.), *Mass Education and the Limits of State Building, c. 1870-1930* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Susannah Wright, «Teachers, Family and Community in the Urban Elementary School: Evidence from English School Log Books c.1880-1918», *History of Education*, 41 (2), (2012): 155-73.

to the norm. Education in informal contexts lacks a framework of rigorous disciplinary codes and punitive consequences, unlike formal education. All educational systems are expressions of power, the most overt expression of which is the State's enforcement of mandatory schooling (compulsory education in England was introduced in 1880). Informal education also expressed power relations, but in more subtle forms. Children were ushered into youth groups by their parents and peers, but also often found informal educational avenues themselves. The power of informal education in this regard was to serve to fill the gaps left by the formal educational curriculum, providing the lessons (religious or alternative) that the formal system would not provide, while appealing to wholesome pleasures and *positive* emotions like joy. This article probes further in asking «what is informal education?», suggesting an holistic approach to childhood experience for historians of education. It does so by incorporating an analysis of children's literature (especially children's magazines and periodicals) and of extra-curricular institutions and practices established respectively to take care of children's welfare, political socialization, morality, religious adherence and spirituality, and bodily health and fitness. Specifically, the article connects informal education to enculturation and the acquisition of the *correct* emotional toolbox. It argues, through a case study of British Bands of Hope, that if historians of education wish to understand where values come from, how children were emotionally and morally educated, they need to shift their critical gaze to include informal channels of learning.

## THE FOUNDATION OF THE BAND OF HOPE AND ITS MISSION

The Band of Hope was an influential multi-denominational, mainly working-class national temperance movement in Britain, which at its peak, around 1914, attracted over three-million boys and girls.<sup>5</sup> Bands

<sup>5</sup> United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *Annual Reports*, 1914, West Yorkshire Archive Service (WYAS), Leeds, Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*, 31. There is still remarkably little scholarly work on the Band of Hope. Important exceptions are: Annemarie McAllister, «Picturing the Demon Drink: How Children were Shown Temperance Principles in the Band of Hope», *Visual Resources*, 28 (4), (2012): 309-323; Lilian Lewis Shiman, «The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working-class Children», *Victorian Studies*, 17 (1), (1973): 49-74; Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: the Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971), 192-194, and Virginia Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes to Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drugs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 42-43; Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade against Drink in Victorian England* (London: MacMillan, 1988), 134-155. Thanks go to G.W. Olsen who shared his unpublished manuscript on the Church of England Temperance Society and its juvenile branch.

organized regular meetings with music, slides, recitations, competitions and addresses on the importance of total abstinence. They were typically organized midweek in church or chapel halls so as not to conflict with the Sunday Schools held in the same venues, as children were often encouraged to attend both meetings. The first Band of Hope was founded in Leeds in 1847, with the goal of instructing children about alcohol, the consequences of its consumption, and the importance of teetotalism (though as we shall see, the moral and emotional goals of the bands were actually much broader). According to the Band of Hope's own creation story, the founders, Mrs. Ann Jane Carlile and Rev. Jabez Tunnicliff, each has a conversion experience after witnessing the devastating effects of alcohol on children and the negative example of drunken parents and educators. Tunnicliff, a young Baptist minister, visited a former Sunday School teacher who was on his death bed due to drunkenness. He asked the minister to «warn young people about the danger of the first glass».<sup>6</sup> Though there was widespread concern in the middle and upper classes of the period about working-class moral and physical degeneracy, it would be too simplistic to say that the Band of Hope was a reform movement of the working classes from above. Rather it was driven by working-class people who recognized that moral and physical reform needed to take place within their own communities and starting at a young age. There were also less successful attempts to enrol middle—and upper— class children.

By 1855, so many bands had been organized locally throughout the country that a London Union was formed and by 1864, this was expanded to become the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union. Important regional unions were also formed, such as the Lancashire and Cheshire and the Yorkshire Band of Hope Unions. The increased support for temperance (and sometimes teetotalism) by churches and chapels of all denominations, from evangelical to Anglo-Catholic from the Church of England (both low and high church), to various nonconformist denominations, to the Salvation Army (Bands of Love) and to the Juvenile Temperance Organisation of Roman Catholic groups, gave children's temperance organizations a great impetus to expand, particularly starting in the 1880s. The Band of Hope movement in particular expanded quickly, partly because many young members who had joined and had taken the pledge remained in the movement as senior

<sup>6</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 22-23.

members and later as leaders in local bands. It is important to stress that the impetus for the establishment and continuation of bands came from the grass-roots organizing committees in local communities, churches and chapels, and not from the imposition of a national administrative body.

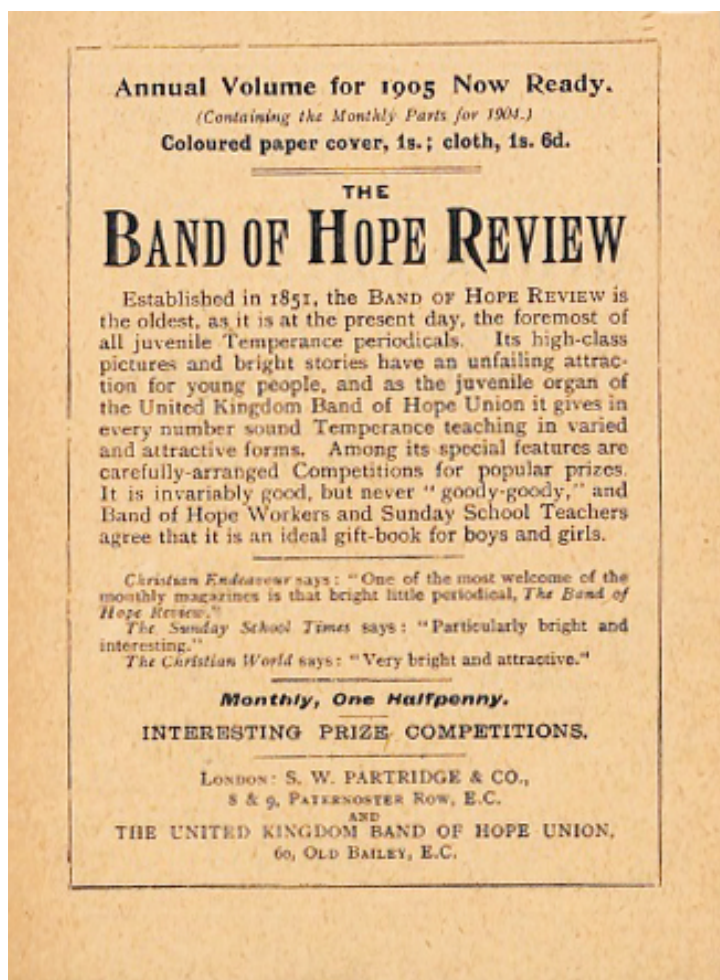


Figure 1. Advertisement for the *Band of Hope Review*, 1905.

Though bands were organized locally by individual churches and chapels, they were linked to various levels of city, county, regional and national Band of Hope unions, which assisted in providing organization and resources that

would have been impossible for local bands alone. Speakers and lecturers often covered great areas, addressing hundreds of children in Band of Hope meetings and in schools.<sup>7</sup> Even more importantly, regional and national unions provided educational material to local bands: magic lantern slides and equipment, numerous song and recitation books, manuals for Band of Hope conductors, and above all, regular issues of periodicals, which were the mainstay of the movement. The best in terms of quality and content and the most widely distributed were the *Band of Hope Review* (1851-c.1936), connected with the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, and *Onward* (1865-c.1964), published in Manchester by the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union. In addition to these sources, this article is also informed by various pedagogical pamphlets and guidebooks for Band of Hope teachers and other workers and focuses on Church of England and nonconformist efforts.

#### TEACHING THE CHILD TO SAY «NO»

Influenced at least partly by Rousseauian ideas, childhood in the nineteenth century was increasingly set aside as a special, sacred time: it was to be ostensibly free from adult responsibilities and temptations. The reality in the period 1880-1914 in Britain, however, was that many children of all classes faced adult pressures before their time. The dangers of alcohol, for example, were targeted by reformers and publishers in innovative ways. Gambling, questionable morality and lack of religiosity were often linked to drinking. These pressures were especially difficult for boys, many of whom believed it was manly to drink. Smoking (cigarettes became popular in Britain in the 1880s) was also widely believed to be unacceptable for boys and young men before the age of twenty-one. This new and growing concern for male adolescents, who were in a phase between boyhood and adulthood, was indicative of an increasing fear that many men were not fit for a modern Britain, with their manliness and their morality in question. *Perceptions* of declining rates of religious adherence and *fears* that many

<sup>7</sup> The United Kingdom Band of Hope Union School scheme was proud to report on the «unsectarian» nature of lectures in day schools of every sort, having visited 3,784 schools in one year, including in «every class, whether Council, Voluntary, Industrial, District or Workhouse Schools, Evening Continuation Schools, High Schools, together with Orphan Asylums, Deaf and Dumb, and Blind Schools», with even the «throwing open of doors of Roman Catholic and Jewish Schools to the lecturers». See United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *Report of School Scheme, 1907-1908*, 3-5, WYL1476 (WYAS).



men were shirking their familial responsibilities for the homosocial environments of the Empire and the club<sup>8</sup> drove organizations to promote the informal education of the next generation of young men through their own papers and youth groups, in the hopes that they would shape better husbands, fathers and citizens.<sup>9</sup> Of course, temperate and *good* wives and mothers were also required, based on a typically gendered understanding of women's roles in the home and their special vocation as moral guardians and teachers of children, through their superior emotional cultivation. Girls were certainly a focus of the Band of Hope and in some bands they formed the majority; it was also more shocking for females to be intemperate and to stray from the feminine ideal. As one Band of Hope worker put it, «a godless woman is a greater anomaly, a sadder failure even, than a godless man».<sup>10</sup> Yet, boys, as future men, citizens, and voters were the primary focus of the movement.<sup>11</sup> Boys were perceived as less sheltered than girls and thus more open to temptations. The Band of Hope had to combat the widespread idea that being rough and intemperate was manly. For example, one story declares that the boy «who wins» is not the one who is governed by his bad habits, but rather the one who is governed by God and whose «inclinations are in the direction of home».<sup>12</sup> The movement's image of masculinity contrasted to a far greater extent with popular, conventional ideas than did its understanding of femininity. For both sexes, however, this informal education was an appeal to the emotions—to be able to learn to feel what behaviours were moral, to be able to delay immediate happiness for greater future happiness. Bands of Hope also attempted to trigger negative emotions (like guilt and shame) in order to deter youth from making wrong decisions.

<sup>8</sup> John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 170-194, argues that there was a widespread «flight from domesticity» of men in this era, although he has since nuanced his argument.

<sup>9</sup> See John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family, and Empire* (Harlow and New York: Pearson Longman, 2005); Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

<sup>10</sup> Fannie Forsaith, *Women's Share in Juvenile Temperance Work* (London: United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 1894), 7.

<sup>11</sup> The male franchise was greatly expanding in this period; women would have to wait until 1918 and 1928 to vote in Parliamentary elections.

<sup>12</sup> United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, «Who Wins?», *Band of Hope Review*, (1881): 47.

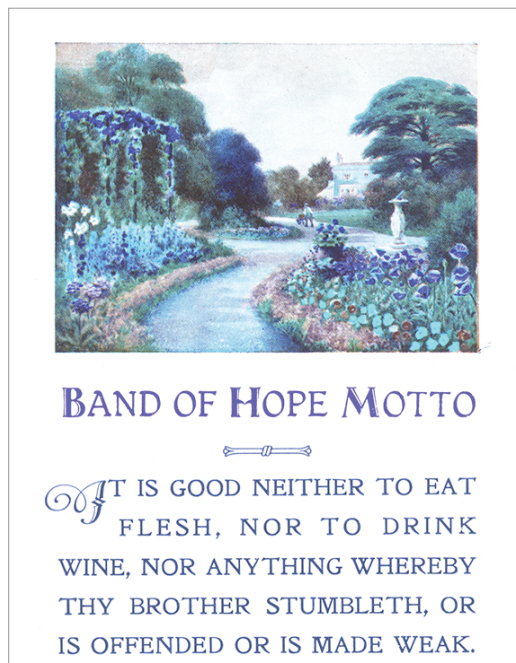


Figure 2. *Band of Hope Motto Card*. Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

Though the Band of Hope's main purpose was promoting abstinence from alcohol to children, it also had much broader moral and emotional aims. It discouraged smoking, gambling and other vices. The manual for Band of Hope workers instructed: «If you teach a child to say “No” when offered intoxicants, you are doing more than making him a total abstainer; you are teaching him to resist other evils; you are teaching a way of life».<sup>13</sup> This «way of life» was not just made up of negative exhortations; it promoted a positive moral and emotional model for youth, founded on «purity, honesty, uprightness, manliness, sincerity, conscience».<sup>14</sup> Every member had to sign a pledge promising to stay away from liquor (and often also from smoking and other «bad habits») and bands maintained a badge reward system.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, *The Band of Hope Blue Book: A Manual of Instruction and Training* (London: UK Band of Hope Union, 1942), 10.

<sup>14</sup> Speakers' Self-Help, *Outlines of Blackboard and Other Addresses for Band of Hope Meetings* (London: Church of England Temperance Society, n.d.), 21.

<sup>15</sup> This technique was later taken up by other youth groups, including the Boy Scouts.

The badges rewarded faithful members, and bars and long service medals marked a young member's years of commitment to the movement (Figure 3). The pledge cards were personalized and often beautifully decorated to adorn the wall of a child's house (Figure 4).



Figure 3. Advertisement for UK Band of Hope Union Medals and Badges, at the back of *The Band of Hope Manual* (London: UK Band of Hope Union, 1894).

Both boys and girls were encouraged to «not be quick in judging others; be unassuming and charitable in thought and in deed to all who differ from you, but nevertheless hold firmly to your own pledge».<sup>16</sup> Though there was a pervasive Christian tone to which many in the movement sincerely subscribed (see Figure 2), its weekly meetings were designed to be entertaining as well as morally and emotionally instructional. They featured recitations, songs and magic lantern shows which encouraged shared feelings among its young members. Songs were especially stressed, as they created a feeling of unity and emotional togetherness. As the Band of Hope's chronicler wrote, «When there is joy in the heart, it is usually expressed in a song».<sup>17</sup> Magic lantern shows were also valued as an exciting novelty for the young, and a good instructive tool for leaders. Pictorial teaching was a specialty of the Band of Hope.<sup>18</sup> In addition, «model making and exhibiting, physical training, Brains trusts and Spelling Bees are a few of the methods employed by enterprising teachers who realize the value of variety and plan their evenings accordingly».<sup>19</sup> The bands also offered children and young people summer trips to the seaside, teas with sweets and other incentives to be faithful to the movement. In its early days, the Band of Hope allowed young members to «express themselves audibly and often volubly», which seemed «scandalous to professional teachers of the day».<sup>20</sup> These educational innovations attracted children to the groups, and served as a model for new didactic methods, both for other youth groups and for the formal education system.

The Band of Hope movement had a far greater impact than even its membership numbers indicate. By 1946, over twenty million children had heard the scientific total abstinence lectures of Band of Hope representatives.<sup>21</sup> These were usually men (although many women worked in the movement, very few were lecturers) who were professionally trained in science or medicine. Their lectures were focused on the effects of alcohol from a scientific point of view, leaving aside the moral and spiritual components so often explored in the movement's periodicals. School

<sup>16</sup> James Edmunds, «A Talk to the Young», *Church of England Temperance Chronicle* (1882): 88.

<sup>17</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 45.

<sup>18</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 41.

<sup>19</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 42.

<sup>20</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 38.

<sup>21</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 50.

lectures were deemed less effective than Band of Hope attendance, as the latter focused on appealing to the heart as well as to the mind.

All are agreed that one cannot accomplish in one scientific lecture what can be achieved by systematic teaching in a Band of Hope, in which instruction is given by devoted Christian men and men who are able to deal with the moral and spiritual sides of the question and to direct their personality upon winning the friendship and confidence of their charges. A lasting loyalty is engendered in the heart of the child, and this is strengthened by the signing of the pledge.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 4.** Band of Hope Pledge Card, 1889. ‘Train up a child in the way he should go’. Courtesy of the Livesey Collection, University of Central Lancashire.

Temperance teaching for children throughout the nineteenth century became increasingly based on scientific, rather than on moral, precepts. But even the scientific teaching of temperance concerned a cultivation of the emotions, an appeal to the «heart of the child». «Love» for temperance in all things and the «dangers» and «evil» of intemperance were still stressed. To paraphrase William Axon in a paper he read at the Manchester Teachers’ Guild in 1891, learning was deemed empty if it did not guide the heart. Temperance education was introduced into the curriculum of day schools to help «the men and women of the future to brighter lives and happier homes than some of those in which they have been reared».<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 50.

<sup>23</sup> William E.A. Axon, *Temperance Teaching in Education* (Manchester, 1892), 8.

According to Charles Wakely, the General Secretary of the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, the age of membership differed in various societies, but in most Bands of Hope the members were received at seven years of age, and at fourteen were drafted into a senior society, where the proceedings were adapted to their «increased intelligence and altered habits of thought».<sup>24</sup> Membership was conditional upon giving a written promise of abstinence, and upon compliance with the rules that governed each society. The declaration in general use was the following: «I promise to abstain from the use of all intoxicating drinks as beverages». The pledge was central to the Band of Hope, since, according to Wakely, it made «the signatory feel that he is one of many who have banded together in a crusade. When later in life he tries to keep his promises and overcomes temptation, he is strengthened in his moral and spiritual character».<sup>25</sup> It was argued that children thus strengthened would be less likely to succumb to other vices like smoking or gambling, and more likely to become *manly* men. The emotional bonding with other children and with leaders, most of whom were pledge takers as children, was vital. United feeling and combined will encouraged pride and happiness when individuals adhered to the moral precepts of the movement and amplified negative feelings when a child strayed from the ideal. This was probably accomplished through personal interaction within the group and the community, but was certainly strengthened rhetorically in the movement's publications and recitations for its members. In addition to negative emotions linked to individual conscience, many stories, songs and recitations also attempted to trigger embarrassment, pity and fortitude in children whose parents (especially their fathers) strayed from the moral ideal.

## TEACHING MANLINESS AND CHRISTIAN DOMESTICITY

In addition to its weekly meetings and school lessons, the Band of Hope produced many regional and national publications for children and youth on a weekly and monthly basis. The Band of Hope's various publications contained emotionally evocative fictional and non-fictional stories and printed the recitations, songs and stories to be used in the weekly meetings, or to be read independently by young people who could not attend meetings. The major publications of the movement, the *Band of Hope Review* and

<sup>24</sup> Charles Wakely, *Bands of Hope and Sunday School* (London 1894), 4.

<sup>25</sup> Tayler, *Hope of the Race*, 40.

*Onward*, and many smaller papers, were directed mainly at the working classes, who were also most likely to attend Band of Hope meetings. Many stories showed boys that they had a choice: they could be real men, or they could let their poverty overwhelm them and lead them into lives of vice. Manliness could be manifested outwardly: «in an upright bearing in business engagements, in public duties»; and inwardly and emotionally: «in the private delights of friendship and love». For boys of all classes, manliness was seen as encouraging «growth of inner life, of intellect, of character».<sup>26</sup> This manliness, and its emotional expression, was fundamentally tied to Christian faith.

According to one leader, the Band of Hope provided

a semi-religious platform upon which our scholars may meet and mingle on week evenings without fear of contamination, and in large centres of industry, especially, this feature has been found of great value as a Sunday School auxiliary. It inculcates early habits of restraint, and supplements the lessons of true religion and holiness with those of *kindness* and *forbearance* to one another.<sup>27</sup>

«Kindness and forethought» were also the characteristics that described Band of Hope teachers.<sup>28</sup> Training the emotions, especially those associated with Christian faith, was part and parcel in this period with character building. Temperance applied to character as well as to teetotalism, however, and through its group meetings and its publications the organization encouraged children to adhere to strict moral precepts and Christian values and to cultivate good character, often encapsulated by the term *manliness*. Strategies of emotional conditioning were an important part of this informal education (through stories, songs and organized meetings) in a bid to persuade children to remain temperate and responsible, often in contrast to their drunken, dissolute parents. Fathers in particular were singled out as bad examples, both in their conduct and for their lack of emotional control.

Band of Hope journal readers were encouraged to think that fathers' influence on their sons was great. They could be a positive example that their progeny could imitate, both as children and later as men. This example

<sup>26</sup> J. Rogers Rees, «Men and Manliness», *Leisure Hour*, (1890): 111.

<sup>27</sup> William Doak, «The Band of Hope Movement in its Relation to Sunday School Work», *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, (1883): 618-619. Emphasis is mine.

<sup>28</sup> James Edmunds, «A Talk to the Young», *Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, (1882): 88.

extended into all facets of life, both in the home and in the wider world. It could also be very specific. To the question, «How long must I keep my [total abstinence] pledge», a little boy answers «I think I shall never break my pledge; I mean to keep it as long as my father, and he says he shall keep it as long as he lives». The little boy sensibly asks, «What's the use keeping it just while we are children, and then go and drink when we get to be men?».<sup>29</sup> *Good* emotions, the kind that the Band of Hope wanted to cultivate, were best found in the home. In fact, it was the home that was the real focus of much of this informal education, as it was seen as the locus of proper emotional training, within the family unit headed by the father. Yet the home was used as a positive and a negative example, with the *good* and *bad* emotions associated with virtue or vice starkly highlighted. These two stanzas, from a typical Band of Hope poem to be recited in meetings, make the connection between moral rectitude, good character and associated emotions in the home clear.

Our home is bright and happy now,  
Contended mother reigns;  
The frown, once seen on father's brow,  
No longer there remains;  
In peacefulness the days go by,  
No care nor want are known;  
Gone are the silent tear and sigh,  
The heart-pain and the groan.

How different are these happy days  
To those a year ago!  
Then father followed drunken ways,  
And we were filled with woe!  
The rooms were comfortless and bare,  
The things we had were mean;  
No carpets, pictures, books, or chair,  
As we have now, were seen.<sup>30</sup>

Not only does temperance determine physical comfort in the home, but it also brings emotional fulfilment. Here again, happiness and its lack are stressed as well as feelings from the heart. In an annual competition, older

<sup>29</sup> J. Tunnickliff, *The Band of Hope Annual* (London, 1865): 24.

<sup>30</sup> S. Knowles, *Every Band of Hope Boy's Reciter: Containing Original Recitations, Dialogues, & C.* (Manchester, c. 1901), 73.



children within the movement were examined on the consequences to the home and the family if the father or mother was intemperate. The model answers stated that it brings «unhappiness into the homes of England» and that it destroys «love in the home».<sup>31</sup> Thus, in a very direct way, *good* feelings were associated with restraint and bad feelings with succumbing to temptation. This was perhaps a difficult sell for children who might associate acting on passing urges with immediate *good* feelings, but within the religious idiom of the love of God and true emotional reward in Heaven, this schema becomes clear.

The earthly home, in fact, was seen as a proxy for the heavenly home. One Band of Hope outline address entreated children to «let our home be as sweet as it can and as much like heaven» and drew an analogy between building up the comforts of the home with the emotional construction required to keep the temperance pledge. In fact, the pledge «builds a character house», which prepares the child emotionally for his/her life and interactions with others. According to the address, in a «perfect home» consisting of «loving parents» and «obedient children», [...] «there should be love and joy and kindness and sympathy in the hearts of all».

The type of emotional and moral education promoted was probably best taught at home, yet a positive example, especially from fathers, was far from universal. In the *Band of Hope Chronicle*, the paper for its workers, the «The Influence of Example» was made clear.<sup>32</sup> «Dissipated» fathers would raise dissipated sons, even if the fathers thought that they were hiding their bad habits from their children. Profane language, drinking and spending too much time away from home, in homosocial environments, are the targets here. A certain Dr. Talmage described what he thought to be a typical scene across the country. The morally laudable image of family «seated at the tea-table» is shattered when «the father shoves back his chair, says he has an engagement, lights a cigar —goes out, comes back after midnight». The author then rhetorically questions whether any man would want «to stultify himself» by justifying this as right, or honourable. He then describes the son's role in this lethal chain, whereby the moral laxity of the father is passed on to the subsequent generation. «Time will pass on», he says,

<sup>31</sup> C.F. Tonks, «My Duty, to God, to my country, to my home, to myself», *Church of England Temperance Society Annual Examination and Inter-Diocesan Competition* (Westminster, 1914): 8.

<sup>32</sup> Dr. Talmage, «The Influence of Example», *Band of Hope Chronicle*, Dec. (1885): 194.

and the son will be sixteen or seventeen years of age, and you will be at the tea-table, and he will shove back his chair, and have an engagement, and he will light his cigar, and he will go out to the club-house, and you will hear nothing of him until you hear the night key in the door after midnight.

However, this is not merely a repetitive chain, but one of degeneration. The son's «physical constitution is not quite so strong» as the father's. The forecast is for the son to catch up with the father «on the road to death», despite the father's head start.<sup>33</sup> Physical degeneration was crucially linked to moral degeneration, the son imitating the father's bad habits, following his immediate bodily and emotional desires. This would lead to moral laxity which in turn was linked to physical danger. This sort of story was intended to stimulate fear and a sense of duty in both father and son.

## EMOTIONAL CONDITIONING AND EMOTIONAL CONTROL

It was important for the Band of Hope to reach boys while they were still emotionally malleable, so that they would not end up like the morally dissolute fathers in the stories. This teaching had personal import, but also social and political significance. Teaching emotional conditioning and control was achieved through frequent repetition in meetings and in Band of Hope publications of the core emotional and moral lessons. This section will discuss some of these ubiquitous examples of the language of emotion and control. In the words of one Band of Hope recitation, the «boys that are wanted» were the ones who placed the love of home and family above all else:

«Wanted – boys», this want I find  
As the city's wants I read of,  
And that is so – there's a certain kind  
Of boys that the world has need of.  
The boys that are wanted are sober boys,  
Unselfish, true and tender;  
Holding more dear the sweet home joys,  
Than the club or the ball-room's splendour.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Talmage, «The Influence of Example», 194.

<sup>34</sup> Church of England Temperance Society, «Boys that are Wanted», *Young Crusader*, June (1892): 63.

The message here is unambiguous: duty to home and family was to take priority over homosocial or individual pleasures. Not only the positive actions of sobriety and the negative action of staying away from bad influences were required, but also the *right* kinds of emotions, of being «Unselfish, true and tender» and of mustering up the *right* emotions at the *right* times, viz. appreciating the joys of home life. Joy was not brought about by indulging in vices or by obeying immediate impulses, but rather by being thoughtful and good toward others:

He reaps reward in doing good,  
Finds joy in giving joy,  
And earns the right to bear the name:  
«A gentlemanly boy».<sup>35</sup>

In linking positive emotions to good character and manliness or gentlemanliness, the Band of Hope clearly identified one means of shaping future citizens. While the direct impact on children of this strategy is difficult to measure directly, the continual repetition of similar messages, as well as the popularity of the movement among the young, certainly affected perceived standards of emotional and moral propriety. The message was driven home by stories, such as one entitled «As Boy and Man» from the 1884 *Band of Hope Review*, which compares ideals of *real* manliness to those of the *rough* masculinity that boys seemed to prize, no matter their social standing —posed as a question of physical *versus* emotional strength. As residents of a middle-class school, Jack was a little teetotaler and Philip was an older boy who drank. Philip said of Jack: «A teetotaler is a sneak; they are all mean, miserable people, without a spark of *manhood* in them. They have no pluck, and are nothing but a lot of mean beggars». He tried to force wine down Jack's throat, injured his face with the broken glass and was dismissed from school. Years later Jack saved Philip who was about to end his life, made miserable and impoverished by drink and gambling. And of course, in the end, the morally weak boy was also the physically weaker man. Philip ends the story by saying: «What would have been the consequences if Jack had yielded when a boy to either persuasion or oppression?». The narrator permits himself to answer the question didactically:

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<sup>35</sup> Apples of Gold, «A Manly Boy», *Band of Hope Review*, Oct. (1913): 78.

assuredly evil would have followed. It will be well for the young to think it over. Knowing yourself to be in the right, be strong in it. Resist temptation. Be neither persuaded nor bullied into doing wrong. Do not trust, however, in your own strength, which is perfect weakness. Remember that without God you can do nothing. Seek His help, then, by prayer, and in after life the fruits of your sturdiness will be gathered, not only by yourselves, but by others with whom you come into contact on the road of life.<sup>36</sup>

Jack is clearly shown as the real man, one who shuns vice in favour of the positive character traits of manliness. His status is not reflected in his social class—in this case both boys are middle-class—but rather from his own character. Character traits were firmly based on evangelical Christian ideals. More importantly, boys' religiosity would see them through the difficult years of their adolescence. A firm, personal relationship with God was seen as essential to manliness and to provide the emotional strength necessary to shun temptation.

Informal emotional and moral education was not just about correct emotional exploration, but also about teaching boys emotional control. «The Boy who Dared to Say No» (1897) is a poem about the correct choices a young boy makes and his emotional moderation. He refuses to smoke any form of tobacco, to drink wine, to tell lies and to seek amusements on the Sabbath. Though merely a boy, he also clearly knows what it truly means to be a man:

«Would you not strike an angry blow  
To show your pluck and manhood?» «No!»  
Our preacher says who dares do right  
Is the true hero of the fight».<sup>37</sup>

«Heroes» were boys who attempted to be manly by being kind and gentle. No matter his social class, a «noble boy», though perhaps «hidden amid hard conditions and under unattractive garbs, will work out and show his manhood. He may not always find friends to appreciate; but, determined, virtuous, and willing to endure, he will in due time conquer».<sup>38</sup> A real man was one who would not be led by peers, but would keep in mind his real

<sup>36</sup> United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, «As Boy and Man», *Band of Hope Review*, (1884): 182-183.

<sup>37</sup> George W. Bungay, «The Boy who Dared to Say No», *Young Crusader*, May (1897): 52.

<sup>38</sup> Manchester and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, «How to be a Man», *Onward*, 16 (1881): 46.

duties to God, his family and his country. He would also control his negative emotions and delay gratification of his positive emotions by abstaining from bad habits in order to promote future happiness. He was taught to develop his sympathetic qualities in order to consider the feelings of those around him —his family, his peers and his community— and those who might be important to him when he became a man —his future wife and children. This last lesson was particularly emphasized in warning against intemperance and sexual exploration. The advice was repeated in numerous contemporary advice manuals for boys and young men. The boys who were «wanted» were ones who had the right emotions at the right times:

Whose heart and brains will ever be true  
To work his hands shall find to do.  
Honest, faithful, earnest, kind,  
To good awake, to evil blind,  
Heart of gold, without alloy,  
Wanted – the world wants such a boy.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to laying out some of the emotions that were «wanted», there were often similar metaphors to the «heart of gold» which would lead the possessor to feel the right emotions at the right times, the heart being the location of *true* religious feelings and love for God, thus tying the emotions to expressions of morality and religiosity, and positive engagement as family and community members and as citizens.

## HOPE AND CITIZENSHIP

The most obvious emotion associated with the Band of Hope was hope. In fact the organization, which still exists in a much altered form, was rebranded as Hope UK. This hope was both personal, for the individual futures of the young members, and collective, for the hope of the nation. Children were often viewed as *beacons of hope*, and the source of a hopeful future for the nation and empire. In addition to hope, other positive emotions were promoted and cultivated in the young, always with reference to the Christian foundations of the movement. Love, joy, kindness and enthusiasm were all emotions that children should develop, both in reference to God and to their families. Many stories in Band of Hope publications were dramatically

<sup>39</sup> United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, «Boys Wanted», *Band of Hope Review*, August (1915): 64.

written accounts of lives lost to vice and the devastating impact on family and surroundings. These stories were meant to rouse the public's emotions: to feel disgusted by ruined lives; to feel love and hope for little children who were innocently involved; and to fear drink. The goal was that these emotions felt in reading would lead to action to promote total abstinence both in one's own home and in the wider world. Parents should «lead them straight», meaning that they should not have alcohol in the house if they did not want their children to associate drinking with positive emotions in the home. Band of Hope outline addresses, written for teachers to use in meetings, frequently discussed the difficulties of emotional education in, for example, promoting the *right* sort of joy within the home. In one, «Does Temperance interfere with Family and Social Joy?» teachers were instructed to focus on the difference between the real joy of feeling strong and responsible with an eye to the future, and the false joy of sociability with alcohol.<sup>40</sup>

Commentators believed that raising children correctly would mean nothing less than the advancement of the British race. According to one in 1893, «What the nation will be in thirty years hence depends chiefly on what the children of the present decade are. The world makes its progress on the little feet of childhood».<sup>41</sup> Raising boys properly had a significant impact on society. Raising them incorrectly, or in other words, not using all possible means to inculcate the right sort of emotions, behaviour and beliefs, would cost the family and the nation dearly when these boys became men. Through its periodicals and its meetings involving songs and recitations, the Band of Hope fostered feelings of a community of shared interests and goals among its young members. These shared goals were both private and personal, and public and political, often seamlessly melding together. The strategy of emotional conditioning was part of a broad program of informal education shared by many British groups interested in enculturating in youth an important moral sense of duty to family and to nation, feared to be lacking in the generations just before the First World War.

Crucially, the moral life of the child was not seen as an end in itself, even, perhaps surprisingly, for religious youth leaders in the Band of Hope. Rather,

<sup>40</sup> «Difficulties about Practising Temperance», *Band of Hope Outline Addresses. Fifty-two simple Addresses for one year* (Westminster: Church of England Temperance Society, c. 1900), 33-34.

<sup>41</sup> Hesba Stretton, «Women's Congress of the Chicago Exhibition, 1893», in *Our Future Citizens*, ed. Harriet M. Johnson (London: Church of England Temperance Society, 1899), n.p.

moral education was viewed as an emotional upbringing and maturation, in which boys would feel true happiness and pride in their future roles as fathers and citizens. *Manliness* was the umbrella concept that described this emotional maturation. Negative moral exhortation, shame, guilt and fear, so effectively deployed in earlier generations among British evangelicals (their cultural legacy extending far beyond those who shared their faith) had transformed into something radically different. Positive emotional appeals now predominated: future happiness and respect in manhood would be attained through sacrifice and abstinence in boyhood. The delivery of this message through informal means was far more subtle than that which could be attempted through formal channels. Nobody was under the illusion that the goal could be reached through the formal educational system alone, insofar as most children experienced it, triggering the enormous ground-swell of effort to realise the hope of the nation, encapsulated in the character, the moral sense, and the emotional maturity of the child. The wider implications of this informal education for political socialization were also clear. Good citizenship was defined broadly, not simply by the ability to vote, although the franchise was greatly enlarged in this period, or by participation in military action. In one series of conversations in the *Band of Hope Review*, a boy, eager to vote and to participate in the political life of his country, asks his father how he can be a good citizen while he is waiting to become a man and a voter:

First, good citizens ought to be people of good character, who obey the laws, and see that others do so; second, they ought to see that good laws are made; third, they ought to do their share towards supporting the government; fourth, they ought to respect the rights of others; fifth, they ought to do all they can for the good of their country.<sup>42</sup>

Children were taught through these informal means that they had a real stake in their nations, and that therefore each and every one of them had to be of «good character» and had a duty to their families, communities, and to promoting the standards of good government. This is another facet of an informal education in hope. Children were taught not only that their nation and empire were great, but that they had a real role to play in keeping it so and in making it better.

<sup>42</sup> «Good Citizenship», *Band of Hope Review* (February 1903), 15, in Annemarie McAllister, «Giant alcohol —A worthy opponent for the children of the band of hope», *Drugs Educ Prev Pol*, (2014): 6.

## CONCLUSION

The Band of Hope's pedagogical methods were clearly related to the rapid spread of the movement and to its success until the First World War. They also catered specifically to their mainly working-class audience, and to the age of members, with a clear understanding of the specific sort of education and cultivation of the emotions required to attain the movement's pedagogical aims. Springing up organically and locally, Bands of Hope nevertheless shared a pedagogical style and strategy, involving all sorts of lectures, group activities, magic lantern shows, with temperance as it related to alcohol and moral virtue as its goal. But while this common standard could be found in the literature produced by and for Band of Hope unions around the country, it principally depended on a common understanding of what was missing in formal education. Creating an attractive and fun educational environment for many children, its pedagogy encouraged positive emotions in itself. More importantly, however, the Band of Hope encouraged children to feel that their future joy as parents, members of communities, and citizens was to be built around their moral and abstemious conduct, and fulfilment of their duties to others and to God. In short, «happy homes» made a «happy land». The Band of Hope certainly produced some pedagogical innovations, but it was far more significant in providing a time and a place to inculcate preconceived moral standards for future citizens through informal emotional education. ■

### Note on the author

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