

“You can’t be an atheist here”: Christianity and Outward Bound in Britain, c.1941-1965

Purpose. To explore the role of formal religion in the early years of Outward Bound, a significant outdoor education organisation in Britain, from the 1940s to the 1960s.

Design. This article is based on archival and other documentary research in various archives and libraries, mostly in the UK.

Findings. The article shows that religious ‘instruction’ was a central feature of the outdoor education that Outward Bound provided. The nature and extent of this aspect of the training was a matter of considerable debate within the Outward Bound Trust, and was influenced by older traditions of muscular Christianity as well as the specific context of the early post-Second World War period. However, the religious influences at the schools were marginalised by the 1960s: although formal Christian observances did not disappear, the emphasis shifted to the promotion of a vaguer spirituality associated with the idea that ‘the mountains speak for themselves’.

Originality/value. The article establishes the importance of organised Christianity and formal religious observances in the early years of Outward Bound, a feature which has generally been overlooked in the historical literature. It contributes to wider analyses of outdoor education, religious education and secularisation in the mid-twentieth century.

Keywords: Outward Bound; Kurt Hahn; Christianity; outdoor education; character

No organisation is more synonymous with outdoor education than Outward Bound. The scheme founded in 1941, originally to train merchant navy cadets at a sea school at Aberdovey in mid-Wales, is now a global network of outdoor schools in more than 30 countries attended by more than 150,000 participants every year (Outward Bound International, 2019). Outward Bound International and the UK Outward Bound Trust both have a strong sense of their own history and traditions. The 75th anniversary of the Trust in 2016 was marked by a new historical section of its website, a promotional video featuring photographs and film footage from across the period, and a special issue of the *Outward Bound International Journal*; and an “Outward Bound Generations” project (now the “Alumni Community Hub”), which invited former participants and staff to send in their own memories and material, was established in 2009. However, despite its prominence in the story of outdoor education in the second half of the twentieth century, Outward Bound has attracted relatively little attention from historians in Britain, certainly compared with youth movements such as the Scouts, Guides and Boys’ Brigade, and even relatively small organisations such as the Woodcraft Folk (for just one recent example, see Edwards, 2018, and for an exception Ogilvie, 2013, pp. 257-9, 289-92). Yet Outward Bound was significant, and influential, during the first fifty years of its life, as recognised by a series of sociological studies that concentrated on it from the 1970s to the 1990s (Fletcher, 1971; Roberts et al., 1974; Hopkins and Putnam, 1993). It was known as a pioneering organisation, which attracted many key figures in the educational establishment to its

meetings and conferences; and through this influence it helped to shape the wider landscape of British and international outdoor education as it expanded in the second half of the twentieth century.

In almost all historical accounts of Outward Bound, one aspect is repeatedly downplayed: the importance of religious education and formal Christian observances in the day-to-day work and in the pedagogical discussions of the Outward Bound Trust and its schools (see for example Veevers and Allison, 2011). This is also largely absent from other historical work on outdoor education, and from Outward Bound's own websites and other publicity. Yet for most of the early leaders of the Trust, "religious instruction" was integral to the training that Outward Bound provided. This article restores religion to the Outward Bound story, showing how formal Christianity was a significant element of the early work of the organisation in Britain, and how its importance declined during the first quarter-century of its existence. It argues that these significant changes over time ran alongside, and were closely related to, the developments that I have explored in an earlier article (Freeman, 2011). There I showed how, between 1941 and 1965, the emphasis of the Outward Bound Trust and its schools on "character-training" gave way to a more values-based agenda of "personal growth", which emphasised the benefits of adventure education to trainees' self-understanding. Key elements of this shift were reflected in the curriculum, organisation and promotional material of the Outward Bound schools, and echoed wider social changes. By the mid-1960s, the idea of "character-training" was widely derided, along with the "cold showers and severe physical toughness" that were associated in the popular mind with Outward Bound training, and most of the younger leaders of the schools rejected much of the vocabulary and content of the original programme. The changing attitudes within Outward Bound to religion and spirituality can be understood in the same context of the shift that I identified in 2011 – within the organisation, albeit not necessarily understood from outside – "from 'character-training' to 'personal growth'".

This story is one of change in outdoor education, but it also reflects wider changes in religious education and the history of religious belief. There is a longstanding debate on the timing and extent of "secularisation" in modern Britain, with much current work engaging with Callum Brown's *Death of Christian Britain* (2001). Brown established the importance of the 1960s in this process, contradicting other accounts which saw that decade as a culmination of a longer process of Christian decline. He and other historians have emphasised the significance of what Hugh McLeod (2007, p. 8) calls a "religious upturn" in the 1940s and 1950s, with a modest increase in popular religious observance and, more importantly for Brown, a persistence of "discursive Christianity" throughout the 1950s. In religious education, too, the 1960s have been identified as a key period, in which a shift took place from one kind of "religious instruction" – with a confessional Christian basis and a reliance on scriptural authority – to a more pluralistic "religious education", focusing on the study of world religions (Barnes, 2002; but cf. Doney, 2015). The late 1960s, in particular, saw a plethora of reports and publications that acknowledged the growing unsuitability of a confessional curriculum in the face of the more religiously diverse society that was emerging at the time (Parker and Freathy, 2012). This article shows how some of these changes were reflected in outdoor education: whereas religious "instruction" was of central importance to the first two decades of Outward Bound, it was gradually – though never completely – effaced as a new generation of leaders and outdoor instructors gained influence and power within the organisation.

The story of the marginalisation of Christian influence in post-war Outward Bound is, in a sense, an epilogue to the longer history of “muscular Christianity” in outdoor education, which has been an important theme of the history of education in earlier periods and in many contexts. The relationship between Christianity and “character” was most evident in the nineteenth-century English “public” schools, but also featured in the elementary schools (Roberts, 2004, 192-5) and, later, in the evolution of youth movements in the early twentieth century (Springhall, 1987; Putney, 2001). Many churches themselves, and their members, were involved with youth organisations and participated, sometimes uneasily, in their activities (Freeman, 2010). It has been argued that the relationship between Christianity and “character” was weakened during the mid-twentieth century: in America, for example, Heather A. Warren (1998, pp. 538-9) argues that, in the “mainline” Protestant churches, the idea of character, which was “understood to be the stable arrangement of moral qualities accompanied by the determination to put such qualities into action – a combination of values and will”, persisted into the 1930s before giving way to the more private, inward idea of “personality”. That this development – which was similar to the later shift that I have identified in Outward Bound (Freeman, 2011) – took place in a formal Christian context emphasises the lingering presence of religion in “character education” well into the twentieth century. Indeed, “muscular Christianity” has never quite gone away, arguably re-emerging in current attempts to restore “character” to education – alongside “virtues” – in early twenty-first-century Britain and elsewhere (Arthur et al., 2019). An examination of religion and “character” in mid-twentieth-century outdoor education, then, is resonant in the context of a contemporary revival of “character education” (see Curren, 2017).

Outward Bound in Britain: from the 1940s to the 1960s

The moving spirit of Outward Bound was the German-born educator Kurt Hahn, on whom there is a significant biographical literature (Arnold-Brown, 1962, chs. 1-2; Röhrs and Tunstall-Behrens, 1970; Flavin, 1996). He is perhaps best known for his work at Salem school in Germany and Gordonstoun in Scotland, as well as the Atlantic Colleges; and his legacy is important to the UK Outward Bound Trust and to the international organisation, both of which feature him prominently in the “history” sections of their respective websites. Together with Lawrence Holt, a partner in Alfred Holt and Company shipowners, Hahn established the first Outward Bound school at Aberdovey in mid-Wales in 1941. The Aberdovey school took trainees for a four-week period, teaching them seamanship and land-based expedition skills, as well as exposing them to a rigorous programme of athletics training (see Hogan, 1968). In 1946 the Outward Bound Trust was established to manage Aberdovey and to establish new sea and mountain schools: its members included the Chief Scout Lord Rowallan, the social investigator Seebohm Rowntree (the Trust’s president) and the mountaineer Geoffrey Winthrop Young, as well as representatives of all three main political parties (Freeman, 2011, p. 25). The first mountain school, at Eskdale in the Lake District, was opened in 1950; the warden was Adam Arnold-Brown, who had been one of Hahn’s first pupils at Gordonstoun in the 1930s. As at Aberdovey, there were four-week courses at Eskdale, with the explicit aim of “character-training”, culminating in a group expedition, and also involving athletics training – the latter focused on field events, and was replaced by circuit training in the mid-1950s (Freeman, 2011, p. 37). The Moray sea school at Burghead, another Hahn foundation, was taken over by the Outward Bound Trust in 1952; a third mountain school was established at Ullswater

in the Lake District in 1954; a fifth Outward Bound school opened in Devon in 1959. By 1964, more than 55,000 trainees had passed through the schools. The trainees were mostly industrial apprentices sent by their companies, who paid the heavy fees that were charged (Freeman, 2011, p. 26; Summers, 1957, pp. 31-2). Almost all, in this period, were boys aged between 15 and 19, and although some courses were run specifically for girls, less than 10% of the total number of trainees were female by 1964. From the mid-1950s, there was a concerted move to establish Outward Bound centres overseas, beginning in Malaya in 1955, with Kenya and Germany following shortly afterwards. The first Outward Bound school in America was started in 1962, led by Joshua Miner, who had taught briefly at Gordonstoun in 1951 (Flavin, 1996, pp. 28-9).

My 2011 article dissects the ethos and language of Outward Bound in the 1940s and 1950s, showing how the movement was explicitly committed to “character training through adventure”, whether this adventure was provided at sea or in the mountains. The principle was that exposure to challenging situations would strengthen the character of the young people who attended, and would develop their powers of leadership, which could then be exercised in their workplaces and communities. For Hahn and others, exposure to danger was a key element of the training: he placed great emphasis on the “martial virtues”, which had been identified in 1906 by the American pacifist philosopher William James (1971), who argued that war, despite its obvious demerits, offered scope for young men to display certain virtuous qualities, and that similar opportunities could and should be re-created in peacetime by means of a more peaceful “moral equivalent” (van Oord, 2010).¹ Similar ideas were propounded in Britain by John Hargrave, whose book *The Great War Brings It Home* (1919) led to the formation of the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift, and they influenced other youth movements too (Cheng, 2016; Qugana, 2017). Although some historians have suggested that the rhetoric of “character-training” had declined in Britain by the mid-twentieth century, it was alive and well in Outward Bound during the 1950s, despite some criticisms both inside and outside the organisation. These criticisms took many forms, but one was a concern that the schools were fostering militarism, not only through the emphasis on physical development and leadership but also through the direct use of military terminology: for example, groups of trainees were known as “watches” at Aberdovey and “patrols” at Eskdale. At the end of the decade, even Arnold-Brown himself admitted that the phrase “‘Character Training’ has a distasteful connotation – it smacks of Pavlov, of the Hitler Youth, of Brave New World and authoritarianism” (quoted in Freeman, 2011, p. 33).

Such comparisons were rather hyperbolic, but they did help to bring about a shift away from the vocabulary of “character-training” and “leadership” at Outward Bound, and – to an extent at least – in the content of the courses that were offered. By the 1960s the influence of wider educational thought had made itself felt at Outward Bound, and elements of the progressive tradition could be discerned, particularly in the use of terms such as “self-discovery”, “citizenship” and “individual development” in outdoor education. Alec Clegg, chief education officer for the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1945 to 1974, was an important influence, addressing Outward Bound conferences and taking a leading role in the development of local authority outdoor centres, which significantly broadened the exposure of the younger generation to outdoor education. Specifically, training for “leadership” – a particular bugbear of Clegg’s – made little sense when a quarter of all young people were taking part. These changes reflected evolving practice elsewhere, notably, as Abigail Wills (2005) has shown, in attitudes to the treatment of young offenders, which in the 1950s centred on

the reform of character through physical training and military-style discipline, but which by the 1960s saw a stronger emphasis on a more “therapeutic method” of reformatory justice. Thus Outward Bound participated in a wider set of educational, judicial and political developments that are embodied in popular conceptions of the differences between the 1950s and 1960s in Britain and elsewhere, although changes over time – as and Wills (2005) emphasises – were contested, complex and certainly incomplete. At Outward Bound, a closely related development was the changing role of organised religion, as the next two sections will show.

Christianity and the early history of Outward Bound

From the start, Christianity was an important aspect of the British Outward Bound schools. In this respect the original schools differed somewhat from the American version, established by Joshua Miner in 1962. Matthew Millikan (2006, pp. 848-52) has argued that Outward Bound in America was mostly liberal and secular in its outlook, reflecting the period during which it was established. The development of humanistic psychology influenced Outward Bound’s concentration on “self-concept” and “self-reflection”, which resonated with post-war liberal universalism and allowed less scope for formal Christian observances – or for the adoption of organised religious structures – within the movement. According to Millikan (2006, p. 840), the educational philosophy of Outward Bound was “conceptualized without reference to religion”, although there were some representatives of organised Christianity on the board of the Atlantic Foundation for the Education of the Free, which supported Outward Bound in the early years of the American movement² – and indeed, Millikan (2006, p. 840) does discern the influence of a much older tradition of muscular Christianity. Jayson Seaman, in this issue, emphasises the rhetorical influence of Christianity on the early development of the American Outward Bound schools, where it was – as in Britain – yoked to an ideal of “service” that drew heavily on the work of Kurt Hahn himself. This was vitally important in the Cold War context, where “spiritual struggle” was set against godless Communism (Seaman, 2020). In Britain at least, there was also a widely shared concern – articulated by some members of the Outward Bound Trust itself – that secularisation was undermining the “spiritual life of the nation” (Freeman, 2005).

One of the most influential ideas in this context was Hahn’s identification of the “six declines” that beset post-war society, and especially young people: the decline of physical fitness, of craftsmanship, of initiative, of self-discipline, of memory, and, most important, of compassion (see Hahn, 1957).³ Against this he pitted “a spiritual revolt against this very formidable dual alliance of inertia and callousness”, placing Outward Bound and his other educational initiatives very much on the side of this “revolt”.⁴ Although his own background was Jewish, Hahn was clearly influenced by the rhetoric, and much of the practice, of the muscular Christian tradition, and throughout his life he emphasised the importance of a Christian perspective on outdoor education. He converted to the Church of England in 1945, and by 1948 was calling for a “Christian Resistance Movement” that he thought was necessary for the rebuilding of the post-war world (Flavin, 1996, p. 26).⁵ He saw the first Outward Bound school at Aberdovey as one of four “islands of healing” that he had created, each of which had the “Christian faith” at its core; and he was given to the use of religiously inspired language, notably in his repeated promotion of “Samaritan service”.⁶ Thus in the Britain of the 1940s and 1950s, under Hahn’s direct influence, Outward Bound shared the later American vocabulary of “religion” and

“spirituality” (Seaman, 2020), but had more formal Christian elements in its training. It was thus more Christian, at least equally “spiritual”, and certainly no less muscular, than its American counterpart; and religious “instruction” was a central, though by no means uncontested, feature of the “character-training” that the schools provided.

This was emphasised by the membership and high-level associations of the Outward Bound Trust. Unlike the Atlantic Foundation, the Trust lacked any clerical representatives, but its executive director was John Gwynne, the retired British head of religious affairs in occupied Germany (Summers, 1957, pp. 21-2). Moreover, several prominent churchmen supported Outward Bound. An appeal letter in 1951 was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher,⁷ and religious leaders regularly made appearances at official events: for example, the chapel of St Nicholas, at the Aberdovey sea school, was dedicated by the Bishop of Bangor in 1952, on the petition of the school’s chaplain.⁸ Similarly, the Bishop of Carlisle led a service of dedication at the opening of the Ullswater mountain school in 1955.⁹ During the fifth course at Eskdale, which ran in August and September 1950, the bishop of Portsmouth, Launcelot Fleming, visited the school;¹⁰ and subsequently he took a close interest in Outward Bound. Fleming contributed to an edited book about the movement in 1957, emphasising many of the same themes as Hahn himself, and asserting that the challenges of Outward Bound courses helped trainees to develop a deeper religious understanding (Fleming 1957). By 1960 Fleming, now bishop of Norwich, was releasing curates to work for short periods at the Outward Bound schools, and encouraging other bishops to do the same.¹¹ It is unlikely that such support would be forthcoming without the inclusion of some formal Christian element in the programme at the schools.

This element was clearly in evidence in the sea school at Aberdovey, where trainees in the early years encountered the “outstanding influence” of the chaplain,¹² Rev. A. G. Fraser, who had been recruited from Gordonstoun. Religion permeated the sea school, at which Fraser gave memorable daily addresses to the boys, as well as leading morning prayers and Bible readings (Hahn, 1957, pp. 12, 14-15). His successor, Rev. J. A. P. Kent, continued in the same vein, insisting that there must be “room in the syllabus for religion” and that worship should be compulsory.¹³ For Hahn, writing in 1948, the “moral equivalent” of war that trainees encountered at Aberdovey not only provided evidence of the military virtues, but also demonstrated the susceptibility of young people to religion:

To me the most remarkable experience ... has been this: [i]n four weeks, you can make a real beginning with the restoration of spiritual health. So many boys come there with their souls dispersed through the “discontinuity of modern life”. Their souls are *reassembled* through the shock and danger and are in readiness to receive the inspiration. We need Christian Activists to transmit it. We need them in every short term school which the Outward Bound Trust hopes to call into being.¹⁴

Thus at Aberdovey, the spiritual elements of the course were integral to the overall aim of Outward Bound training. For Hahn, the Outward Bound schools took young men and fulfilled the educator’s duty to “impel them into experiences”, and this became a maxim of the movement (Hogan, 1968). At Aberdovey, Rev. Kent argued that “[t]he whole method of the school is soaked in this principle, and it must be applied to the chaplain’s work” as well.¹⁵ As a result, Kent was a strong supporter of a compulsory religious element to the training.

Kent's thoughts were circulated at a conference held at Eastbourne in 1949.¹⁶ This was convened, in the run-up to the establishment of the first mountain school at Eskdale, to discuss the direction and future policy of Outward Bound. It involved around 40 delegates, most of whom had a direct connection to the Trust, but some of whom represented other organisations (including the Central Council of Physical Recreation and the British Charities Association). Here the delegates had plenty to say about the nature and extent of religious education at Aberdovey and at the planned new mountain school. According to the religious sceptic Adam Arnold-Brown (1962, p. 138), this was the “most thought-provoking discussion” at the conference. Importantly, although participants in this discussion had very different views on how Christianity should be presented on Outward Bound courses, none – at least publicly – dissented from the view that religion should play *some* role in the training. The discussion of “religious instruction” at Eastbourne was led by the Quaker Peter Rowntree and Anglican Fitzherbert Wright, and chaired by Russell Lavers, a high-church Anglican who worked closely with Peter's father Seebohm Rowntree. Both Wright and Peter Rowntree argued that there should be a “padre” at each school, though Wright felt that a younger person such as a youth leader should fill the role while Rowntree preferred an older, more experienced individual; and both felt that the Student Christian Movement (see Brewis, 2014, *passim*) set a good example in respect of religious training. Both also recognised that the adoption of a programme of formal religious instruction would cause “difficulties” with the local education authorities who sent some boys on Outward Bound courses, and hence both rejected the idea of a compulsory “padre's hour” during which religious topics would be addressed. There should, however, be – as Rowntree put it – “definite periods of discussion” of such topics as “Man's place in the Universe” and “What we owe to Christianity”. According to Lavers, summarising from the chair, the conference agreed, among other things, that “religious instruction on a Christian basis was essential” in the schools; that other religions need *not* play a role; and that religious instruction should be strongly encouraged though not a formal requirement. Non-denominational daily Christian prayers, however, should be “compulsory for staff and boys”.

The result of the Eastbourne conference was a memorandum, eventually approved by the Trust council in June 1952, which emphasised the need for “balance” between the physical and spiritual side of the training, and the importance of providing religious leadership in the schools.¹⁷ It was decided that a trained “padre” should be available wherever possible, although in practice this was not always the case, even in the early years of the mountain school at Eskdale (Arnold-Brown, 1962, pp. 146, 234). It is clear that, in the 1940s and early 1950s, the Trust – and many others working in education and social service – believed that there was an intimate relationship between religious inspiration and character-training. As the Trust told its prospective trainees and sponsors, probably in 1949, the first object of the training was “[t]o strengthen moral fibre and Christian ideals”.¹⁸ This needs to be seen in the context of contemporaneous efforts among the churches and educationalists to promote Christian understanding and belief as part of post-war reconstruction, often with anti-Communist underpinnings. These developments were international – Moral Re-Armament (founded in 1938) was the best-known organisation dedicated to these objectives, and had support from some in Outward Bound (such as Lavers and Seebohm Rowntree: see Freeman, 2005, pp. 31-2) – but links were also specifically drawn between religious identity and Britishness or Englishness. As I have shown elsewhere (2005, pp. 26, 33, 42), some writers in the early post-war years used the

terms “national character” and “spiritual life of the nation” synonymously, along with “moral fibre”. This was just one aspect of a wider emphasis, in the 1930s and 1940s, on what Freathy (2008, p. 304) has called “Christianity as the bulwark of English national identity and political traditions”, and was reflected in *Outward Bound*’s explicit aim of preventing “damage to the national character” (Freeman, 2011, p. 29) – hence there was a thorough programme of religious instruction during its four-week course at Aberdovey.

Religion and spirituality at Eskdale

The early years of the Eskdale mountain school also saw formal religion being given an important role, partly due to the outcome of the Eastbourne conference (Arnold-Brown, 1962, pp. 138-46).¹⁹ A lot of the early correspondence between Arnold-Brown and John Gwynne concerned the nature and extent of religious worship and instruction at the school, and various attempts were made to strengthen this component of the training. For example, in 1950 and 1951, the local vicar took part in some activities at Eskdale, but was – according to Arnold-Brown – unwilling to embrace the non-denominational character of the school.²⁰ In the absence of regular formal input from this quarter, the instructors themselves took the lead in the religious observations and discussions. Many of the activities came at the suggestion of the instructors themselves, notably the Himalayan mountaineer Dick Marsh, who was seen as a particularly strong influence by Arnold-Brown, and who later became an ordained clergyman. Marsh echoed Kent at Aberdovey in his comments on the importance of religious experiences at *Outward Bound*: “[b]oys are impelled into a physical experience whether they like it or not and the same should be done in the spiritual sphere.”²¹ Marsh’s reforms included a short reading, often from the New Testament, to precede the daily morning prayer, as well as a stronger emphasis on religion in the warden’s start-of-course address, and a single compulsory session of religious discussion near the beginning of each course.²² In July 1951, for example, Arnold-Brown asked the boys on the fifteenth four-week course at Eskdale to “please join with me now and each morning in simple prayers, testifying that we believe in something that is more than the material, something spiritual that is part of our Christian heritage”.²³ Arnold-Brown’s leadership of the boys in prayer was, apparently, none the worse for his lack of personal religious conviction:²⁴ he was seen by one trainee as “seemingly a very religious man”.²⁵

The religious dimension of *Outward Bound* partly reflected a longstanding emphasis within British and American youth movements on Christian manliness and the power of personal example. Like other aspects of the concept of character that was embodied in *Outward Bound*, the post-war movement retained some features of this older muscular Christian tradition. The importance of Christianity was also in evidence in the Scout movement: for example, the Chief Scout, Lord Rowallan, asserted that “no Scoutmaster can hold a warrant until he has found himself in a religious sense”, and Scoutmasters should encourage their charges to attend church regularly.²⁶ Another member of the Trust, the Tory industrialist Spencer Summers (1970, p. 70), remarked: “[i]t is of interest to note how the ‘things of the spirit’ are frequently, and for the first time, acceptable when presented to the boys by men of action whom they respect.” Such a view was endorsed by the Trust itself, both in its public pronouncements – “*Outward Bound* seeks to place the Christian virtues in the framework of manly endeavour” – and in documents produced for internal consumption.²⁷ This Hahnian view of Christian manliness was a resilient aspect of the

wider conception of character that permeated the British movement in the 1940s and 1950s. Somewhat ironically, Arnold-Brown himself endorsed the application of the declared agnostic Eric Shipton to succeed him as warden of the mountain school, because of Shipton's "personal integrity and such vast Mountaineering experience as would inspire his staff *and* the boys", and added: "[h]e may not claim to be a Christian but he is a Christian."²⁸

A second strand of religious thought within Outward Bound also reflected a longer tradition associated with the outdoors movement in Britain and elsewhere. This was the idea that the nature of the Outward Bound experience itself, in the form of the physical environment and the sharing of experiences, induced greater spiritual receptiveness among the trainees. This theme can be traced back a long way, and was an important element of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century forms of nature-spiritualism, as well as the political and religious "tramping" groups that emerged in the same period (Taylor, 1997, ch. 2; Freeman, 2009). Hahn's comments in 1948 about the "restoration of spiritual health", quoted above, are a good example of this conception of the potential influence of Outward Bound. The Trust felt that boys were "more spiritually susceptible" while on its courses, and in 1953 Russell Lavers claimed that "the great forces that act silently in the solitude of the sea and the mountains, bring to many youths from the clamorous cities their first realisation of God".²⁹ Similarly, a publicity leaflet issued in the late 1950s, headed "The Outward Bound schools: character training through adventure", claimed that "the training makes boys sensitive to the things of the spirit through the contacts which they have with nature – often for the first time", and that a "spiritual release" often resulted.³⁰

There is evidence that the trainees themselves – or some of them, at least – appreciated these opportunities for spiritual development. According to the warden's summary of boys' reports on one course at Eskdale in April 1953, around a quarter mentioned the "spiritual aspect".³¹ Although this was unusually high,³² and although it is possible that the boys were writing what they thought the instructors wanted to read, some of the comments seem to reflect deep thought about the spiritual side of the course. One simply noted that "[t]he talks on Christianity and the readings in the mornings are extremely helpful in sorting out one's religion", while another related the prayers to the wider character-training aims of the course:

One very good thing about the course is the spiritual side; by this I mean the morning prayers I admit that the lead we are given by the Instructors, to think of and to pray to the Lord even in the hardest of times is very moving to me. On the expeditions we are all given an insight into our own characters which I would before have never thought possible.³³

There are many examples in the trainees' comments on the particular opportunities afforded by the mountain environment for spiritual development. One boy remarked that he had experienced "a mysterious and wonderful spiritual elation" in the mountains,³⁴ while another – according to Arnold-Brown – stood on top of Dow Crag and commented: "I am sure, sincerely, you can't be an atheist here".³⁵

The spiritual dimension of Outward Bound training, on both land and sea, was important in the context of widespread concerns about the association between Outward Bound and militarism. According to the rather extreme view of the Catholic convert David James, in a memorandum prepared for the Eastbourne conference, only a formal religious dimension to Outward Bound training would "distinguish us from Hitler's 'Strength through Joy'".³⁶ Yet the forcefulness of James's, and others',

commitment to religious instruction could itself be off-putting, and so the official Trust memorandum on religious instruction warned against this conception of the Outward Bound schools as “forcing houses for young Christians”, preferring the softer language of “spiritual values” and more modest religious interventions such as a “two-minute silence for prayer at lights out”.³⁷ Nevertheless, others within the organisation were still concerned that marginalising the Christian influence could undermine the non-militaristic ethos of the school. Dick Marsh, in 1951, told Arnold-Brown that

[t]here seems to be a possibility that the School may develop into a Battle Camp. The fundamental differences should be, firstly – that the school is based on Christian principles and, secondly, it is run for the benefit of each individual boy. The School may well go adrift if more emphasis is not laid on the first point.³⁸

The Trust itself was aware of possible accusations, and deflected them, as Robert Baden-Powell (1920, p. 303) had done in regard to Scouting,³⁹ by highlighting the Christian dimension of the movement. Outward Bound leaders were quick to cite the involvement of Quakers in response to accusations of militarism. Hahn (1957, p. 6), for example, claimed the support of the Quaker pacifist Philip Noel-Baker for his County Badge scheme, which emerged in the 1940s alongside Outward Bound. Meanwhile, the choice of the Quaker social investigator Seeborn Rowntree as the first president of the Trust reflected a feeling among the trustees that “it is important to avoid giving cause for anyone to think that the Trust was interested in mobilising the youth of the country in any form of youth movement”: for this reason Lord Rowallan, the Chief Scout, was not offered any post other than the vice-presidency.⁴⁰

The mountain school at Eskdale was established by an organisation highly committed to the formal religious dimension of outdoor education, and some of the instructors who worked there embraced fully this aspect of the training. Indeed, appointees to the staff in the early years were offered their posts on the condition that they were “prepared to support the Christian, but undenominational basis of our movement”.⁴¹ Some of the instructors – and even the warden, during the short term of office of Eric Shipton – were quite open about their lack of religious belief, and this was sometimes apparent to outsiders, too: one journalist, visiting Eskdale in 1950, noted that “[t]here is no pretence to religiosity among the staff”.⁴² However, the Christian elements of the training were heavily emphasised by Arnold-Brown and the Outward Bound Trust itself. Under the wardenship of John Lagoe, Shipton’s successor, from 1954, there was something of a religious revival at Eskdale. Although Lagoe jettisoned many of the original Hahnian elements of the training, most notably the organised athletics that had formerly been pursued alongside the mountain expeditions, his religious vision for the school was close to the ideals of Hahn, and he tried for some years and with considerable difficulty to appoint an ordained instructor.⁴³ According to Arnold-Brown (1962, p. 147), Lagoe, along with Dick Marsh, exercised a “strong, yet balanced” Christian influence at Eskdale, for the remainder of the 1950s.

The marginalisation of Christian influence

This influence did not persist: by the mid-1960s the formal Christian dimension of Outward Bound had been marginalised. Religious instruction – to use the term

preferred at Eastbourne in 1949 – had never been universally embraced within the organisation, but it had, as shown above, been an integral component of the early conception of Outward Bound training, and remained so for most of the 1950s. Morning prayers remained a feature of most courses, including those at the new centre in Devon, which opened in 1959; there, trainees were expected to attend for prayers unless they had a very good reason for not doing so.⁴⁴ It was not easy, however, for this Christian influence to be maintained through the “religious crisis” of the 1960s (McLeod, 2007), the effects of which were felt across the educational world. James Arthur (2012, p. 356), for example, has shown how, in educational research, the Christian tradition was effaced in the 1960s, contrary to its secure place in the academic inquiry of the preceding decades, and the high hopes that some had for it. Put simply, during this period, “[t]he idea that education should incorporate a religious understanding of human values was diminished.” Moreover, Christianity was becoming less dominant both in the wider society and in the school religious education curriculum. As Parker and Freathy (2012), among others, have explained, Commonwealth immigration promoted a more pluralist approach to religious education in England, although this did not completely undermine the primacy of Christianity. Within Outward Bound, the increasing global reach of the organisation made the focus on a single religious tradition seem inappropriate. In 1962 (pp. 148-9), having been away from Outward Bound for some time, Arnold-Brown put the case for a more inclusive approach to religious diversity at home, influenced by developments abroad:

Here Outward Bound shares with many organizations a problem of this age, an age of struggle to retain or adapt national or regional characteristics in a rapidly contracting world. ... It is clear that we desire to retain our language, our culture and our Faith but at the same time we are compelled to look outwards at the world. ... The little world of Outward Bound here typifies the age we live in and the need to adapt to world conditions. Outward Bound has spread to Germany, Nigeria, Kenya, Malaya, Australia and New Zealand. ... Boys of many races and creeds attend these courses. Is “Christian bias” sufficient for what is fast becoming a world movement? ... Insistence upon the proofs of Christian dogma rather than a search for common ideals can only set back the exciting drawing together of sects and faiths which lies upon the horizon. ... We must nurture the best in our ethic, whilst recognizing similar ideas and ideals elsewhere; for men everywhere are good, bad and indifferent, in East and West, at home and abroad, within and without the Christian Church. There must be freedom to believe, to doubt, to disbelieve; freedom to discuss, to question and to criticize; freedom to enjoy the privacy of one’s own soul.

This was a long way from the insistence of David James at Eastbourne that Outward Bound should promote Christian dogma as “*fact* susceptible of proof”, or Rev. Kent’s assertion at the same conference that denominational religious instruction under the auspices of the Church of England was the only method appropriate for the schools.⁴⁵ Outward Bound, by the early 1960s, was moving in new directions.

In terms of personnel, this change of direction was signalled by the appointment of Lagoe’s replacement as warden at Eskdale following his departure in 1960. This was Tom Price, a middle-aged schoolteacher – he had been teaching English at nearby Workington Grammar School since 1948⁴⁶ – who was both a seaman and a mountaineer, but whose idea of outdoor education was very different

from that of both the younger Lagoe and the older Hahn. The very fact of his appointment reflected a downgrading of the importance of Christianity in the life of the Trust: Arnold-Brown's had been given the job a decade earlier despite serious concerns about his commitment to organised religion, and in 1949 even the bursar at Eskdale was required to state his "whole-hearted support" for the centrality of Christianity to the work of Outward Bound before being given a trial six-month appointment.⁴⁷ No such difficulties appear to have attended Price's accession to the wardenship, for which he had, apparently, "none of the necessary qualifications".⁴⁸ Indeed, Price (2000, pp. 178, 181) was sceptical of the whole idea of "character-training", and later remembered that "Hahn's views were tested in the field and hotly debated ... and our enthusiasm for the work was tempered by a healthy scepticism". This scepticism was particularly robust when it came to the formal religious aims of the movement, which were increasingly overlooked and even challenged. In 1965, when sent the proofs of an Outward Bound brochure which highlighted the "Christian ideal" of the movement, Price complained: "[t]he plain fact is that the vast majority of all staffs [*sic*] are not practicing [*sic*] Christians and I do not think that the brochure should pretend that they are."⁴⁹ By contrast, when some members of the Eskdale staff had publicly proclaimed their lack of belief in the early 1950s, there had been complaints from the head office of the Trust.⁵⁰ Thus not only did Price lead a reaction against the prominence and rhetoric of "character-training" at Eskdale (Freeman, 2011, *passim*), but he also ensured that formal Christianity was given a more subordinate place than it had held during the 1940s and 1950s.

Under Price's leadership, "intelligent discussion and ... an awareness of the civilised and cultivated life" replaced the earlier concentration on Christianity.⁵¹ A thoughtful and, perhaps, spiritual engagement with the elements and the environment was important to him, but he viewed this differently from men like Arnold-Brown and Lagoe. Price led a younger generation of instructors: aged 42 when he assumed the wardenship at Eskdale, he was the "sage old man of the establishment" (Price, 2000, p. 179), with most of his colleagues under 30, too young to have served in the Second World War, and imbued with very different ideas about education and, often, religion from those of an older generation. Price (2000, p. 184) later recalled that his key contributions at Eskdale were to "encourage a more tentative and self-critical approach to the movement's aims, and to include a contemplative element among the benefits of outdoor life and adventurous pursuits". For him, the experience was about "partaking of life itself, being part of the natural world", and having time to "absorb" what one found. This emphasis on natural beauty and thoughtful reflection was an integral aspect of the shift from "character" to "personal growth" that Price oversaw during his wardenship (Freeman, 2011). This signalled a clear move away from Christian religious instruction and towards a more informal spirituality, which was not seen to require direct interpretation by a "padre", or indeed by anyone else. This conception of outdoor education was summed up in the idea that "the mountains speak for themselves", a term coined by the American outdoor educator Rusty Baillie, who held that the "inherent grandeur" of the scenery itself was enough to promote the kind of self-reflection that was increasingly prioritised by outdoor educators in both Britain and America (Dent, 2006; Outward Bound USA, 2007, pp. 185-6). Although this model itself, which Millikan (2006, pp. 850-1) suggests was "dominant" in the USA in the 1960s, later gave way to a more psychotherapeutic approach that involved more intervention on the part of the instructors (Bacon 1987), on both sides of the Atlantic it confirmed the growing emphasis on "personal growth" and self-reflection. In Britain by the late twentieth century, outdoor education focused strongly on "self-

discovery”, and a vaguer kind of spirituality was often invoked, in the form of describing a relationship with the “natural world” (Hopkins and Putnam, 1993; Nichols, 1994). In some respects, the rhetoric echoed that of Hahn and other contemporaries who emphasised the spiritual receptivity of young people exposed to mountain grandeur, but it was shorn of the denominational religious instruction that was prioritised by many in Outward Bound in the 1940s and 1950s. Whereas David James insisted at Eastbourne in 1949 that Christian truth was “*not* the feeling you get at the top of a mountain”,⁵² by the mid-1960s this feeling was exactly what Outward Bound was trying to enlist in the cause of self-development and “personal growth”.

Sixteen years after Eastbourne, in 1965, another conference of Outward Bound leaders was held, this time at Harrogate in Yorkshire. The proceedings at this conference demonstrate the extent of the changes that had taken place within the movement. The delegates included Hahn, as well as newer employees such as Price, and they were joined by a number of influential figures from local government, such as Alec Clegg and Jack Longland: the latter was director of education for Derbyshire, a member of the Outward Bound Trust, and himself a noted mountaineer and former instructor at Eskdale. There were also representatives of higher and further education. As discussed elsewhere (Freeman, 2011, pp. 38-9), this conference signalled a change of direction for Outward Bound, as faultlines within the movement were clearly exposed. A mostly older generation, including in particular those representing industry and men with ranks in the armed services, defended the Hahnian conception of “character-training” (Outward Bound, 1965, p. 9), while others directly challenged its vocabulary and assumptions. Another striking aspect of the printed reports from Harrogate is how infrequently religion appears at all. Whereas the 1949 Eastbourne conference had prioritised the discussion of the religious dimension of Outward Bound, in 1965 the delegates were much more concerned with the place of “culture”, which was intensively debated. The whole “idea of manliness”, championed by Hahn in a Christian context, was called into question, and most of those present seemed to prefer the softer, though still very gendered, focus on “the ‘whole man’”, for which one influential speaker called (Outward Bound, 1965, pp. 5, 7). A large majority of delegates neither argued for Christian service nor even used religious terminology.

At Harrogate only Hahn himself emphasised the Christian dimension of Outward Bound training: “[i]f the robbers among whom the man fell, to whose rescue the good Samaritan came, had been trained in resource, initiative [and] endurance, they would have been all the more efficient robbers: but if the priest had been thus trained he would not have passed by on the other side.”⁵³ Although the vocabulary differed, this was essentially the same point that Hahn had made as long ago as 1947: “if the priest who passed by had done the Aberdovey Course, then he would not have been able to pass by, for his priestly office would have supplied the compassion and the Course the manhood”.⁵⁴ For Hahn, the gendered attractions of muscular Christianity remained important well into the 1960s, and in his long speech at Harrogate he repeated – among other things – the importance of physical training and the relationship between bodily, mental and spiritual health. Although he did not address directly the issue of “religious instruction”, Hahn’s speech deployed a range of religious vocabulary and references: he quoted William Temple, for example, and spoke of “healing forces”, “saintliness” and the “missionary assignment” of Outward Bound. For Hahn, Outward Bound’s mission was to help to create “spiritually healthy” young people, and to address the “decline of compassion” that he had repeatedly emphasised during the past two decades.⁵⁵ Hahn still insisted on the value of “Samaritan service”, and argued strongly that Outward Bound training promoted

the involvement of young people in rescue and relief work. This need not, of course, have a Christian motivation, but Hahn's repeated emphasis on the Samaritan parable placed Christianity at the centre of his vision of "service".

Hahn did not exercise a strong personal influence over Outward Bound by the 1960s: he was spending much less time in Britain at this stage, although he continued to participate in various educational initiatives. It should be emphasised that Hahn never exercised complete authority over the schools or the Trust: even during the 1950s, especially at Eskdale, some younger instructors expressed unease about many aspects of his prescribed training regime. One, Jack Longland, derided "the Tables and the Law handed down by Kurt Hahn" as early as 1953, although only in private correspondence.⁵⁶ Even members of the Trust itself voiced doubts about some of the rather exaggerated claims that were made about the potentially lifelong impact of a four-week course on the character of the young people who attended (Freeman, 2011, p. 34). By the 1960s, such doubts were out in the open, and Longland himself clashed with Hahn at the Harrogate conference. While Hahn was still, in the mid-1960s, reiterating his longstanding diagnosis of the "six declines" and hoping for the emergence of an "Aristocracy of Service" armed with physical health and a good dose of "compassion" (Hahn, 1965), others were moving in new directions. Hahn's vision of the possibilities of outdoor education was more muscular, and more Christian, than that of most of those who worked in it.

Some lip-service was still paid to formal religion within Outward Bound in the late 1960s – in an important study of the movement, published in 1971 (pp. 125-6), the educational researcher Basil Fletcher acknowledged the "underlying assumption" that "the basis of moral education must be found in the ethos of Christianity" – but by this time any such assumption was so vague as to have little impact on the content of courses. Fletcher (1971, pp. 46-7) noted that the "family prayers" at Outward Bound schools comprised readings which were "not of an obviously religious nature", and that the word "religion" was kept out of the discussion periods, although these sometimes dealt indirectly with religion and involved Christian ministers. By this time, two of the schools had chapels, but in all cases attendance at services was voluntary. What persisted through the 1960s and 1970s was the vaguer spirituality of the "mountains-speak-for-themselves" strand in Outward Bound thinking, but even this came under some attack. As early as 1963, the historian of education John Roach (1963, p. 206) noted critically that "[t]he idea of 'character-training' as Mr Arnold-Brown expounds it contains a thread of romantic withdrawal from the twentieth century into another world of arcaidian innocence". This romantic spirituality retained an influence over the "personal growth" agenda, which has since become the dominant strand in the theory and practice of outdoor education. By the 1960s it was certainly possible – even perhaps easy – to be an atheist on an Outward Bound course, and this reflected a profound and rapid cultural shift both within and beyond the organisation, reflecting some of the wider patterns of secularisation and social change in early post-war Britain. Yet the supposed spiritual benefits of the outdoor education experience, especially perhaps in the mountains, were never completely overlooked. As one observer concluded in 1981, in a book on the organisation and its schools that barely mentioned religion anywhere, Outward Bound "gives us the opportunity to explore the uncharted regions of our body and our spirit" (Wilson 1981, p. 169).

Conclusion

This article has shown that one of the most striking features of the early history of Outward Bound was the rapid change in the attitude to religious education among those who shaped the policy of the schools. At Eastbourne in 1949 the longest and most controversial discussion of the conference related to how religious instruction should be incorporated into the courses, and none of the participants seriously suggested that it should not feature at all. Yet at the Harrogate conference in 1965 religious education did not even appear on the agenda, and there was virtually no recorded discussion of it. By the mid-1960s, Outward Bound had changed significantly in a number of respects, as the “character-training” agenda gave way to a focus on “personal growth”, and as some of the early influences were – gradually or suddenly – jettisoned (Freeman, 2011). Yet the downgrading of the Christian content of the Outward Bound curriculum was the most striking change of all, and perhaps the most complete. Although there was a continuing interest in the potential spiritual benefits of spending time at sea or in the mountains, this was no longer framed in Christian terms; and although prayers continued to feature on many courses, there was no “padre” as in the earlier years. It is true that, even in the early 1950s, not all instructors embraced the religious instruction that was envisaged as an integral element of the training: word reached the Trust in July 1951 that one instructor had told the boys at Eskdale that “[t]here will be Church this evening at 6, but you needn’t expect to see me there!”⁵⁷ However, there was an undeniably religious atmosphere, to which, as shown above, at least some of the trainees were receptive. By the mid-1960s, this had either vanished completely, or been replaced by a more eclectic spirituality that resonated more easily with the “personal growth” agenda.

This change can be seen as an outcome of the “religious crisis” of the 1960s, although, as with other changes of this period, it is possible to discern its roots in the previous decade, especially at the Eskdale Mountain School. Arnold-Brown (1962, p. 146) could still confidently assert in the 1960s that “beauty is a potent aid to spiritual awareness”, but this spiritual awareness need not be wholly or even mainly Christian. Compared with the vigorous debates around the type of religious instruction at the schools during the early years of Outward Bound, this change was not accompanied with great fuss or concern. Brown (2006, p. 238) describes what happened in British society during the 1960s as “more a silent walking away from religion, rather than a revolt or breakdown in social behaviour”, and this is a useful characterisation of what happened in Outward Bound in the same period. This, along with the wider pattern of secularisation, did not necessarily entail a rejection of spirituality: as McLeod (2007, p. 2) has emphasised, there were “alternative spiritualities” on offer in the 1960s. In Outward Bound, on the matter of formal religious education at least, there was no explicit rejection of Hahn’s legacy; rather, Christian education gradually seemed less relevant to the training offered by the schools, and became an increasingly unimportant feature of their programme. The lack of an obvious “revolt” meant that some of the outward Christian observances could be maintained at the schools, though with some changes, and meanwhile other spiritual influences were making themselves felt. The marginalisation of the Christian dimension of Outward Bound happened alongside the sidelining of the Hahnian language and practices of “character-training”, and formed part of a wider reshaping of the nature and purpose of outdoor education in the 1960s.

¹ “A Memorandum by Kurt Hahn, New York, May 1948”, British Library, Wq5/3551 DSC.

² These included Henry P. van Dusen, head of the Union Theological Seminary, and the civil rights activist Rev. William Sloane Coffin. Atlantic Foundation for the Education of the Free, board of trustees minutes, 2 December 1963: Tucker Foundation Archives, box 3768, Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. I am grateful to Jayson Seaman for drawing my attention to this.

³ There were either five or six declines, depending on how Hahn categorised them.

⁴ “Memorandum by Kurt Hahn”, p. 28.

⁵ “Memorandum by Kurt Hahn”, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.* The other three “islands of healing” were Salem School, Gordonstoun and Luisenlund, a new boarding school for the children of British personnel in Germany.

⁷ Appeal letter, November 1951: Cambridge University Library (CUL), Adam Arnold-Brown papers, MS Add. 8270/26/22. I am grateful to the Syndics of Cambridge University Library for permission to quote from the Arnold-Brown papers.

⁸ Outward Bound Trust, *Bulletin*, November 1952, p. 1. The copies of the *Bulletin* cited in this article are in CUL, MS Add. 8270/23.

⁹ Outward Bound Trust, annual report, 1955. The annual reports are in CUL, MS Add. 8270/22. They do not have page numbers.

¹⁰ Report on course no. 5 [August-September 1950]: CUL, MS Add. 8270/17/4.

¹¹ Lagoë to Arnold-Brown, 20 October 1960: CUL, MS Add. 8270/21/32(i).

¹² Eastbourne conference, summaries, p. 22: CUL, MS Add. 8270/24/19.

¹³ Rev. J. A. P. Kent, “Views on religious instruction at the Outward Bound sea school”, paper for Eastbourne conference, pp. 3, 6: CUL, MS Add. 8270/24/16.

¹⁴ “Memorandum by Kurt Hahn”, p. 24 (original emphasis).

¹⁵ Kent, “Views on religious instruction”, p. 4.

¹⁶ This paragraph on the Eastbourne conference below is based on the summary, pp. 21-3, in CUL, MS Add. 8270/24/19, and the papers by Wright and Rowntree in CUL, MS Add. 8270/24/12 and 8270/24/13.

¹⁷ “Religion at Outward Bound: memorandum on religious instruction in Outward Bound schools”, 19 June 1952: CUL, MS Add. 8270/18/16 (i-ii).

¹⁸ Outward Bound Trust prospectus, [1949?]: CUL, MS Add. 8270/26/4.

¹⁹ Arnold-Brown to Gwynne, 11 February 1950: CUL, MS Add. 8270/4/25; Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 14 February 1950: CUL, MS Add. 8270/4/27; Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 25 July 1951: CUL, MS Add. 8270/9/1(i).

²⁰ See for example Arnold-Brown to Gwynne, 11 Feb. 1950, CUL, MS Add. 8270/4/25; Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 25 July 1951, CUL, MS Add. 8270/9/1(i).

²¹ Marsh to Arnold-Brown, 15 June 1951: CUL, MS Add. 8270/12/43(i).

²² Marsh to Arnold-Brown, 15 June 1951, CUL, MS Add. 8270/12/48(i); report on course 31, [April 1953], CUL, MS Add. 8270/17/31.

²³ Warden’s talk at start of course no. 15 [July 1951]: CUL, MS Add. 8270/11/15.

²⁴ Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 25 July 1951: CUL, MS Add. 8270/9/1(i).

²⁵ Notes from boys’ letters on course nos. 8 to 12: CUL, MS Add. 8270/15/12.

²⁶ Notes of a meeting between B. S. Rowntree, G. R. Lavers and Lord Rowallan, 21 April 1947: Borthwick Institute for Archives (BIA), B. S. Rowntree papers, LTE/63.

²⁷ Appeal leaflet, [1949?], headline: CUL, MS Add. 8270/26/9; “Religion at Outward Bound”.

²⁸ Arnold-Brown to Maud, 19 November 1952: CUL, MS Add 8270/9/37 (original emphasis). On Shipton’s religious views, see Shipton, 1969, p. 273.

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- ²⁹ “Religion at Outward Bound”; G. R. Lavers, “Outward Bound”, in *British Weekly*, 1 January 1953: CUL, MS Add. 8270/25/20.
- ³⁰ “The Outward Bound schools: character training through adventure”, [1959?]: CUL, MS Add. 8270/26/45.
- ³¹ Notes from boys’ reports at end of course no. 31 [April 1953], CUL, MS Add. 8270/15/16.
- ³² Warden’s report on course no. 31 [April 1953]: CUL, MS Add. 8270/17/31: “I have never seen so many comments by boys on the spiritual impact of the course”.
- ³³ Notes from boys’ reports at end of course no. 31.
- ³⁴ Notes from boys’ letters on course nos. 8 to 12.
- ³⁵ Arnold-Brown, in *Hampshire Review*, 1953: CUL, MS Add. 8270/26/34; see also Arnold-Brown, 1962, p. 144.
- ³⁶ David James, “Religious instruction at the Outward Bound Trust schools”: CUL, MS Add. 8270/24/15(i).
- ³⁷ “Religion at Outward Bound”.
- ³⁸ Marsh to Arnold-Brown, 15 June 1951: CUL, MS Add. 8270/12/43(i); see also Arnold-Brown, 1962, p. 143.
- ³⁹ *The Times*, 25 September 1909, p. 3.
- ⁴⁰ Peter Rowntree to Seebohm Rowntree, 16 March 1946: BIA, Joseph Rowntree Foundation Historical Archive, BSR1980/BSR AND PETER ROWNTREE(1942-54)/5(a).
- ⁴¹ See for example Arnold-Brown to Vincent Veevers, 6 December 1949: CUL, MS Add. 8270/10/9.
- ⁴² Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 25 July 1951: CUL, MS Add. 8270/9/1(i); “‘Character and Friendship through Hardship’: A new Outward Bound mountain school”, *Times Educational Supplement*, 16 June 1950, p. 474.
- ⁴³ Eskdale governors’ minutes, 5 April 1959: Cumbria Record Office, Whitehaven (CROW), YDSO 41/1/1; see also Freeman, 2011, p. 37.
- ⁴⁴ Leaflet advertising Devon Outward Bound School, 1960: CUL, MS Add. 8270/26/29.
- ⁴⁵ James, “Religious instruction” (original emphasis); Kent, “Views on religious instruction”.
- ⁴⁶ “From D-Day Landing to to Antarctic Mapping” *Times & Star* [Cumbria], 20 May 2005.
- ⁴⁷ Arnold-Brown to Summers, 17 June 1952: CUL, MS Add. 8270/4/27; Gwynne to Watson, 11 November 1949: CUL, MS Add. 8270/7/2.
- ⁴⁸ “From D-Day Landing to Antarctic Mapping”.
- ⁴⁹ Tom Price, “General points”, n.d. but enclosed with Price to Stanbury, 29 November 1965: CROW, YDSO 41/8/16.
- ⁵⁰ Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 25 July 1951: CUL, MS Add. 8270/9/1(i).
- ⁵¹ Tom Price, “Points to cover”, n.d. but enclosed with Price to Williamson, 31 May 1963: CROW, YDSO 41/8/11.
- ⁵² James, “Religious instruction” (original emphasis).
- ⁵³ Hahn, address to Harrogate conference, shelved with Outward Bound, 1965.
- ⁵⁴ G. R. Lavers, aide-memoire of meeting with Kurt Hahn, 27 December 1947: BIA, B. S. Rowntree papers, LTE/63.
- ⁵⁵ Hahn, address to Harrogate conference.
- ⁵⁶ Longland to Arnold-Brown, 13 June 1953: CUL, MS Add. 8270/21/2.

⁵⁷ Gwynne to Arnold-Brown, 25 July 1951, CUL, MS Add. 8270/9/1(i) (original emphasis).

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