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Chums (1892-1932): Heroes and Things in a British Boys' Periodical

What a Difference a Thing Makes

This article investigates the connection between heroics and things in *Chums*, a popular boys' periodical that appeared in Great Britain as a weekly publication from 1892 to 1932.[1] In addition, it was available in monthly and bound annual editions that collected the weekly numbers. That the hero-thing relationship is especially pertinent to this kind of periodical has several reasons, all of which date back to the Victorian period. First, periodicals as a defining medium of Victorian culture were a space where contemporary ideas about the heroic were circulated and continually scrutinised for their moral and social usefulness.[2] Second, in a society obsessed with things, also in the context of a new consumer culture, periodicals were a space where old and new material objects were regularly described and advertised.[3] And last but not least, this culture of particularly "object-oriented humans" (Latour 74) ascribed to things a special significance in childhood. As views of childhood changed,[4] the Victorians not only developed a new attitude towards children's play, but they also began to mass-produce the things with which their children played:

> A certain idea of childhood is invented in the Victorian period: children were no longer simply short adults who worked alongside their elders on the farm or in the forge; they became creatures who needed to develop through play. […] Rocking horses and doll houses – formerly available only to the very affluent – became partly or fully mass-produced; after 1846 the process for producing marbles was partly automated and they in turn also became far less expensive; toy soldiers were made in hollow rather than solid molds, making them cheaper to produce and ship. (Freedgood 235)[5]

Toy soldiers and weapons were things that acquainted Victorian boys playfully with the world of the military and associated ideals of heroic masculinity. This function was also performed by the periodicals which a steadily growing print market produced for boys. While they certainly provided entertainment (fun and thrill) for their young readers, these periodicals were at the same time an instrument for their education and initiation into in the values of their society, including hegemonic ideals of masculinity. Since heroes could provide both thrill *and* models of behaviour, boys' periodicals in the decades around 1900 abounded in fiction and journalism with a heroic theme. And because the heroics in these pieces often involved things, boys' periodicals helped to anchor things in the heroic imaginary which they created for their young readers. Boys were shown how to 'play' the hero, and with what things they could do it.

Chums not only included boys' playthings in its early mastheads (the head title on an issue's front page), but it also had regular advertisement pages where toy guns and air rifles stood next to other playthings like model steam engines and objects for sports such as cricket bats and football boots. This object-mindedness was echoed in *Chums*'s representations of heroic action, which also entailed considerable attention to the equipment with which – or against which – such action could be performed (**fig. 1**). The way in which *Chums* transported ideas about the heroic thus invites discussion within the framework of actor-network theory (ANT).[6] In this framework, as Bruno Latour writes in *Reassembling the Social*, 'social' is understood as "the name of a type of momentary association which is characterized by the way it gathers together into new shapes" (Latour 65), and in such gathering together, "*any thing* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor – or, if it has no figuration yet, an actant" (ibid. 71, italics original). Therefore, things not only serve as a "'backdrop for human action,'" but can "authorize, allow, afford, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid, and so on" (ibid. 72).

Fig. 1: *Chums*, vol. 8, no. 372 (25 October 1899): cover.

When *Chums* entered the late-Victorian print market, the question whether things could enable or restrict human action was particularly acute, for this was a time when new things of all kinds, and especially machines, appeared to modify the state of affairs in unprecedented measure. As Asa Briggs notes for the Victorian period in general, such modifications could be troubling, at least temporarily:

> There is a wealth of evidence […] to suggest that, whatever the reason, invention was seldom universally acclaimed in Victorian Britain. For some people the invasion of new things carried with it an element of threat. For more people there was a sense that new things upset old ways. (Briggs 372)

Among the old ways in danger of being upset were traditional constellations – or in ANT terms, assemblages – of the heroic. For instance, when a new type of iron-clad and steam-driven warship began to replace the sailing ships that had proved their mettle in the Napoleonic Wars (and that were therefore heroised alongside the human heroes of these wars), a debate arose as to whether human actors would still be able to act heroically on the new vessels. An article published in an 1861 issue of Charles Dickens's popular family magazine *All the Year Round* stated explicitly that the new mechanised ships required brains rather than courage:

> Our ships are changed things; they are now great machines – no longer the slow things of Nelson's time. They require new fittings, new manoeuvres, new handling. Admirals and captains will no longer be the men they once were. Mere dogged bravery and reckless bull-dog courage will not do now; we shall want science, and more comprehensive schemes of combination. ("The Iron War-Ship". *All the Year Round* (26 October 1861): 106-107)

When *Chums* appeared three decades later, iron-clads and other things new in the mid-Victorian years had ceased to carry with them an element of threat. On the contrary, issues of *Chums* included colour plates of modern war ships as a special treat for their boy readers. However, since the years around 1900 were a time of rapid innovation and new technological inventions proliferated, people had to get used to other things – like submarines and flying machines – that interfered in established conceptions of the heroic. The subsequent pages will argue that *Chums* followed a strategy that enabled its young readers to incorporate modern high-tech things into traditional templates of heroic (manly) behaviour – a behaviour which the periodical actively promoted. If one of Latour's central questions in ANT is whether an agent "make[s] a *difference* in the course of some other agent's action or not" (Latour 71), then *Chums* showed its young readers that new machines did make a certain difference for definitions of the hero and heroic action, but that this difference was not radical and could be accommodated within existing frames of understanding the heroic. It is first necessary, however, to achieve a better understanding of *Chums* itself.

Chums and the Heroic

Chums was an "*Illustrated Paper for Boys*," as its subtitle announced. Its publisher until 1932 was Cassell, who had a long list of children's literature, including many books specifically published for the boy reader. *Chums* targeted boys from the middle classes and reached into the working classes, for whom it was affordable at the modest price of one penny per weekly issue.[7] 'Chums' is a term for close friends, and *Chums*'s first editor's address in 1892 announced that the paper would not only promote chumminess amongst its readers, but also be a good comrade and friend itself:

> May this seed of introduction grow into the tree of ripe comradeship, and may this new paper, whose first number is given to-day, be the bond which shall bind us together in spirit for many years. […] There is no reading public so little catered for as the boy. I don't mean the schoolboy only, but the young man who is just passing from boyhood to manhood. Such a boy, with his younger brother, I intend to write for, and shall ask the able colleagues who will assist me with this paper to write for him also. ("The Editor to His Friends." *Chums* 1.1 (14 September 1892): 15)

Chums fits Kelly Boyd's characterisation of the boys' story paper as "dominated by fiction" that "offered rousing plots and plenty of action", but that was also concerned with "character-building" (Boyd 49). However, especially during its early decades, *Chums* was not restricted to fiction. There were also humorous cartoons, prize competitions and factual journalism on many topics as well as portraits of and interviews with famous men: military leaders and war correspondents (especially during the Second Boer War),[8] sportsmen and entertainers, but also the writers and artists popular with the periodical's readers. An advertisement for the second volume of *Chums* (printed at the end of the last issue of the first volume) even announced "Chats with Heroes" as a special attraction.

All these heroes were male, and it can be claimed generally that *Chums* was somewhat behind the times as far as its gender politics were concerned.[9] 'Boys' were the readership to which *Chums* was exclusively addressed. Depictions of women in word or image are rare, and women who challenged Victorian gender boundaries were sometimes explicitly ridiculed.[10] As a secular publication – in contrast to its main competitor, the *Boy's Own Paper*, which was published by the Religious Tract Society – *Chums* was unrestrained in its heroisation of the military and its involvement in the imperial project.[11] *Chums*'s ideological outlook was undisguisedly patriotic and imperialist, racist and pro-war. As Robert H. MacDonald points out, between 1893 and 1908 the spines of its annual volumes showed

> an illustration of two soldiers, one standing firing a revolver, the other kneeling. The soldiers were holding hands. A source and explanation for this image can be found in *Chums* itself, where in volume 2 (1893-1894), the frontispiece is a more explicit version of the same scene […]. Here the two soldiers, clearly officers, are defending themselves in a fight to the death. The erect figure, his foot braced against a rock, fires at a horde of natives, dimly seen waving spears in the background. His sword is in his right hand. His companion has collapsed, stricken, and leans his head on the other's thigh. The caption of this picture is 'Chums'. (MacDonald 31)

Pictures like the one described here project an ideal of what the Victorians described as 'pluck' – courage and spirit in dangerous situations and even in fights to the death. Apart from soldiers and sailors, whose pluck was regularly depicted in fictional as well as factual pieces,[12] *Chums* promoted heroic deeds in daily life, particularly the bravery of firemen, lifeboat men, and other life-saving actors.[13] *Chums* featured a real-adventure section ("Our Adventure Page"), and it had a special correspondent who explored and reported opportunities for adventure in a boy's daily life. With an eye to its working-class readers, *Chums* also frequently pointed to the heroic disposition required in dangerous workplaces such as foundries and coal mines that were of great importance to a leading industrial and imperial nation. A series of articles about "Heroes of the Coal Mine" claims in its last article that "British pluck as displayed underground to-day is not one whit inferior to the British pluck of the past – the pluck that has shone on land and sea and has made our country both great and glorious." ("Heroes of the Coal Mine." *Chums* 5.203 (29 July 1896): 775)

The fiction in *Chums* let British pluck shine even more brightly than its reports about heroism in real life. This fiction, serialised novels as well as tales completed in a single issue, was often written by the most popular boy's authors of the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods, like G. A. Henty, Percy F. Westerman and Captain Frank Shaw. Most of this was adventure fiction, set in historical times or the present, where boys and men demonstrated their courage and inventiveness at sea and on land, in war and in peace, at home and abroad. *Chums* also printed detective and espionage stories, and another contingent of its fiction consisted in public school stories, indicating how strongly *Chums* identified with the ethos of "muscular Christianity" that had been fostered in such schools since the mid-Victorian years, not least through sports and games.[14] It was expected that *Chums*'s young readers would absorb this ethos with its twinned attention to morals and muscles and reproduce it in adult life – even those boys whose social background would never have enabled them to attend a public school. The first instalment of a series about "heroes from public schools" makes it clear that graduates of public schools could be role models to boys of all classes:

> Without being unduly egotistical we can claim for our soldiers that they begin to fight their battles when they are twelve years old; for, after all, what are games but miniature battles?
> The object of this short series of chats is to put on record the doings of some of the bravest living men which public schools have produced. The annals of our leading educational establishments contain the names of more genuine heroes than are to be found in the school lists of any country in the world, and we do not doubt that those who are now struggling with the irregular verbs and the difficulties of negotiating a supply of bath buns from the 'tuck' shop on a cash basis will appreciate a little information about some of the 'old boys' who preceded them. ("Heroes from Public Schools: And What They Have Achieved." *Chums* 7.311 (24 August 1898): 6)[15]

Many of *Chums*'s factual articles were dedicated to military subjects,[16] sports,[17] outdoor life and physical fitness, in counter-reaction to the dandyism and decadence of the 1890s, and especially in reaction to the Boer War's revelation that not all British men were really fit for service in the imperial army.[18] Athletics were announced as a special interest of *Chums* in the editor's first address to his readers: "[W]e shall make a great feature of athletics in this paper. I don't think there is anyone in life for whom I have so great a regard as the manly athlete schoolboy, the type of muscular uprightness and manliness […]. All forms of sports are encouraged here." ("The Editor to His Friends." *Chums* 1.1 (14 September 1892): 15) In this spirit, *Chums* not only portrayed famous sportsmen as models, but also promoted Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts movement and the British Boys' Naval Brigade. *Chums* was thus fully impregnated with a spirit of healthy, masculine activity, and this is also reflected in its many illustrations, which transported the periodical's ideology as much as its texts.[19] These pictures usually show boys and men in action – in fights, rescue operations, sports and games, and it is a conspicuous visual trope that they show not only the human actors in motion, but also often the things with which they (inter-)act (**fig. 2**).

The producers of *Chums* (like those of other periodicals for children) were aware that their readers would be attracted and fascinated by pictures, perhaps even more than by the content of the letterpress. *Chums* was therefore richly and strikingly illustrated even though it was sold at a very affordable price. The pictures were often large-scale and always well-printed. Many illustrators engaged by the periodical were renowned and signed their work, which was also a mark of quality. Overall, *Chums*'s pictorial content consisted of cartoons, portraits of famous people, and illustrations in the narrow sense that explain or interpret fact and fiction. The semantic relationship between such illustrations and the letterpress is always straightforward.[20] Where pictures accompany adventure narratives, they usually show a decisive moment in the action, whose thrill is additionally verbalised in a short caption. The pictures in *Chums* were meant to give visual pleasure, but, as MacDonald's description of the soldier chums has already shown, they were also central for transporting the periodical's ideological outlook, and namely in a manner that resisted reflection. As MacDonald notes: "Seeing comes before words. The illustrations carried their own rhetoric: fighting was reduced to a code in which reflection was absent, bravery instinctive, suffering rendered as endurance, and death presented only as dignified sacrifice" (MacDonald 43). In *Chums*'s engagements with the heroic, pictures are also always more than illustrations of text passages. They add the affective quality, presence and immediate evidence that marks visual against verbal representation – and which also makes pictures a more congenial medium for capturing the thing-ness of things: their visual and sensual embodiment and their evidential rather than hermeneutic meaning, also in connection with the heroic.

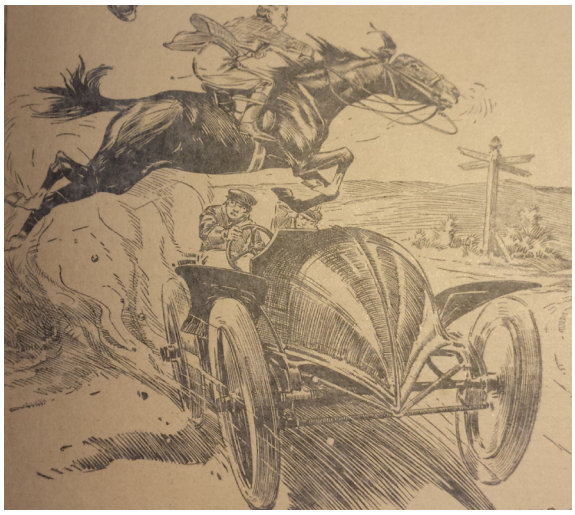

Fig. 2: *Chums*, vol. 16, no. 832 (19 August 1908): cover.

Heroes and Things in *Chums*'s Pictorial Rhetoric

Given that *Chums* was so obviously impregnated with a spirit of healthy masculinity, one might think that the heroics it depicted were understood primarily in terms of the human actor and specifically action of the human body. Such an impression is indeed confirmed by many illustrations, especially in early volumes of *Chums*, which typically show boys and men in dangerous situations where they act primarily with no or only low-tech equipment that is carried on the body. The very first number of *Chums* (14 September 1892) had a front page whose eye-catching picture illustrated a scene from a serialised novel set in the eighteenth century, *For Glory and Renown* by D[avid] H[arry] Parry.[21] The young hero of the novel sits on his horse and has only a dagger to defend himself against a wolf. In historical settings, firearms and guns are usually the most technologically advanced things in the heroic assemblage, and it is significant that this is also still the case in many of *Chums*'s present-day scenarios, where heroics are still performed without or with only a minimum of thing participation. Typically, the adversaries of heroes in such instances are either 'natives' and/or dangerous animals[22] (**fig. 3**). Such continuities between past and present, regarding both the hero's challenge and his equipment, formed a tangible bridge between a traditional heroic imaginary and the readers' contemporary world.

Like other boys' periodicals, *Chums* mixed historical periods in all its issues, and front pages switched easily from nineteenth-century boy heroes to medieval knights (**fig. 4**). Historical and modern scenarios were depicted side by side even in the literal sense: In the bound version of vol. 8 (1899/1900), an illustration on the front page of no. 389 (21 February 1900) for a story from the contemporary war in South Africa faced a colour plate with a war scene from the eighteenth century. Similarly, in the bound version of vol. 9 (1900/1901), the front-page illustration of no. 458 (19 June 1901) with another scene from the South African War stood opposite a colour plate depicting a medieval knight.[23] Such co-presences of old and new heroisms, as well as depictions of present-day situations in which the heroic equipment remained low- or no-tech, kept traditional, 'muscular' templates of the heroic alive – at precisely the time when new machines were invading the late-Victorian and Edwardian world, including its concepts of heroes and the heroic.[24] **Figure 5** is instructive in this respect: the front-page illustration of vol. 9, no. 472 (25 September 1901), shows a contemporary schoolboy caught between a dangerous lion (that had escaped from a circus) and an approaching express train – an old challenge and a new.[25]

Fig. 4: *Chums*, vol. 10, no. 515 (23 July 1902): cover.

Fig. 3: *Chums*, vol. 19, no. 990 (30 August 1911): cover.

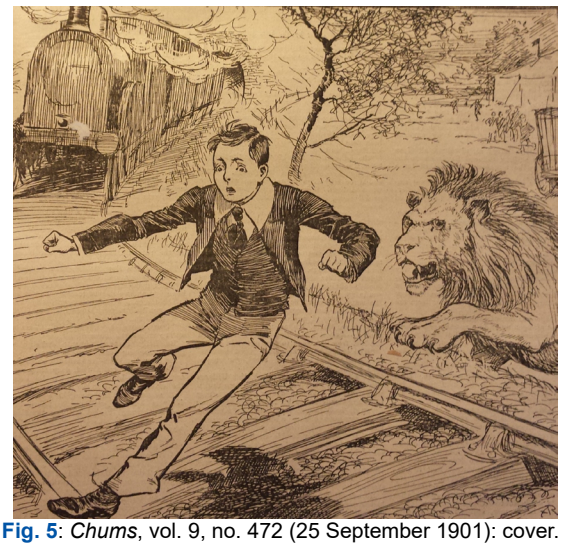

Fig. 5: *Chums*, vol. 9, no. 472 (25 September 1901): cover.

However, while they aimed to keep traditional heroisms alive, the makers of *Chums* also knew well that their boy readers were fascinated with technological invention and especially new mechanical things – as toys and in the reality of the adult world. *Chums*'s first ever front page showed an eighteenth-century horseman, but inside the issue, readers were introduced to 'Ulysses', a young special correspondent who accompanied people in dangerous professions of the industrialised world. In the first issue, Ulysses accompanies a steeple-jack, in a later one the crew of a torpedo boat. The third issue of the first volume presents "A Ride on the Fire-Engine", the sixth reports on "A Ride on a Locomotive", and the ninth a "Descent as a Diver". *Chums*'s readers were thus familiarised with high-technological environments, and they were given heroes who could act in these environments because they were able to master ('play with') the new technologies.[26] As a result, *Chums*'s heroic assemblages were updated, while their underlying patterns were maintained. The heroes were re-equipped, so to speak, but without any *fundamental* change to their values and attitudes, or the structures of the situations in which they had to prove their heroic disposition. The horse, for instance, gave way to more modern and mechanical means of transport – bikes (**fig. 6**),[27] motorbikes and even planes – but the new was grafted upon the older templates. Machines now often (though not always) occupied the role of low-tech equipment in the familiar heroic constellations.

Fig. 6: *Chums*, vol. 8, no. 393 (21 March 1900): cover.

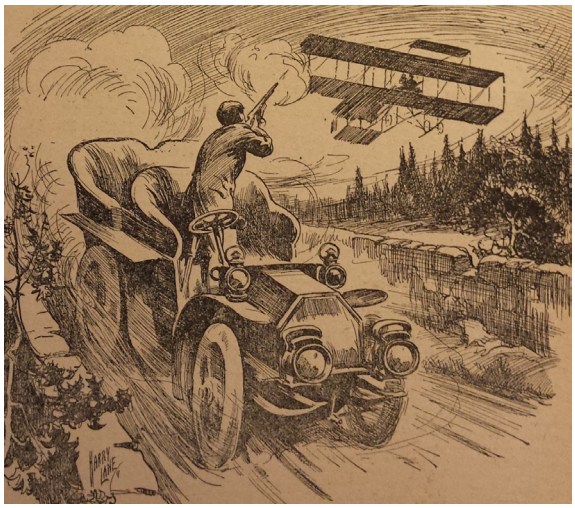

Fig. 7: *Chums*, vol. 19, no. 980 (21 June 1911): 747.

Figure 7 depicts an extreme of this development. It is an illustration from the first part of a detective series, *A Perilous Quest* by Maxwell Scott, and both the hero and the villain use modern technology. The aeroplane used by the hero's opponent even seems to be a non-human villain itself because its pilot is hardly visible. The hero shoots at it from a (moving!) motorcar ("A Perilous Quest" 747). The modern machine-things increase the risk for the hero but also enhance his agency and scope of action. However, this is only a change in degree from the low-tech environments in which the *Chums* heroes fight hippopotamuses from a boat.

Chums created a space where old and the new templates of heroic action could intersect, and where new non-human agents could be accommodated into older frames. In this light, *Chums* never suggested that technology might cause anxiety simply because it was unfamiliar. Technological things in *Chums* are troubling only when they are in the hands of the wrong people. As a publication of the late-Victorian years, and one for boys, *Chums* embraced technological advance and the things in which it manifested itself. This welcoming attitude of *Chums* towards technological innovation raises the final question of how this boys' paper addressed the mechanisation of warfare in the context of the First World War and the way it seemed to make traditional war heroism impossible. After all, many young British volunteers enlisted during the first months of the war because they wanted to be with their chums – the friends with whom they had grown up, played games on the sport grounds, and

Fig. 8: *Chums*, vol. 23, no. 1162 (19 December 1914): cover.

spent the day at the workplace. Kitchener's army of volunteers had entire pals battalions, as they were called, like the 'The Grimsby Chums' from the 10th Battalion Lincolnshire Regiment, most of whom did not return from the war (cf. Winter 31-32).

As a publication steeped in patriotism and in favour of the military, and one that subscribed to a contemporary rhetoric that couched war as an exciting game, *Chums* may have predisposed its readers to war. It certainly accompanied them through the war with a narrative that perpetuated familiar templates of belligerent heroism despite the terrible new things with which this war was fought. *Chums* did not disguise the destructive power of these things, but never did the paper suggest that the degree of mechanisation of the war would erode the traditional ethos of war heroism. On the contrary, *Chums* showed how monstrous machines of the enemy could be defeated, and how machines could *make* heroes, notably in the 'chivalrous' war in the air (**fig. 8**). In this light, it is particularly interesting to see how *Chums* dealt with the new tanks, which were widely perceived as uncanny when they appeared on the battlefields, also because one could not see the human actors who steered them. This uncanniness comes across in a piece of reportage by the famous British correspondent at the Western Front, Philip Gibbs, who described the tanks as prehistoric monsters when he first saw them in September 1916. That he animates them in his description emphasises the unnatural agency which the tanks seemed to possess:

> For they are real and I have seen them, walked around them, got inside their bodies, looked at their mysterious organs and watched their monstrous movements. […] [T]hey are monstrously comical, like toads of vast size emerging from the primeval slime in the twilight of the world's dawn. (Gibbs 1)

It takes Gibbs's report a while to acknowledge that the tanks could be a "comrade" to the soldiers and do "very good work" (ibid. 2). Adult men like Gibbs had to undergo a process of habituation to tanks on the battlefield. The boy readers of *Chums* were habituated to them by their paper's stories and pictures. Here, tanks were treated like other modern things and slipped into the traditional heroic constellations of adventure fiction and even public school novels.[28]

To return to the initial question of whether new things make a difference in the heroic constellation, and whether human agency is reconfigured when a hero (inter-)acts with machines, as a boys' periodical with a conservative ideology, *Chums* suggests a basically negative answer. Its stories and pictures show, above all, that new machines *can* be accommodated within traditional understandings of heroes and heroisms. They may intensify the danger for the hero, and the scope of his heroics, but in *Chums*'s rhetoric, they do not essentially reconfigure the heroic as such. On the pages of this boys' paper, traditional low-tech, or no-tech, and modern high-tech heroics could appear in conjunction, and its readers were gently habituated to the technological shifts that challenged the heroic during the decades leading up to the First World War. Never did *Chums* suggest that new things might restrict heroic agency, appropriate the agency of a human hero, or interfere negatively with the hero's body. *Chums* documents an intensified engagement of the heroic with technological invention, but one that was balanced with tradition and faced with a relaxed and positive attitude. Even after 1914, its young readers were thus told how to play the hero, and how to do so with things old *and* new.

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1 After 1932, *Chums* survived only in monthly issues and eventually yearly volumes. Its life ended in 1941, due to paper shortages during the Second World War. Pieces from *Chums* are cited with volume and issue numbers, date and page references. When reference is made to a *bound* edition of an annual volume, which may have included additional colour plates, this is specially noted.

2 See the project conducted by Barbara Korte and Christiane Hadamitzky on Victorian periodicals in the context of SFB 948 Helden – Heroisierungen – Heroismen, www.sfb948.uni-freiburg.de.

3 Asa Briggs mentions Charles Dickens's family magazines *Household Words* and *All the Year Round* as "laced with illuminating articles on specific things from needles to wine bottles" (Briggs 19), and this can be shown for many other periodicals as well.

4 As Claudia Nelson notes, "even while we concede that the Victorians inherited from older generations their interest in childhood, and some of their ideas about it, we may legitimately contend that Victorian conceptions of childrearing, of the state of being a child, and of the emotional importance of children to a society dominated by adults took on such weight as to represent something new in Western society. Never before had childhood become an obsession within the culture at large – yet in this case 'obsession' is not too strong a word. Sociologist Charles Booth concluded from census data in 1886 that in every decade from 1851 to 1881 children under 15 made up slightly over 25 percent of the population of England and Wales, outnumbering both adult males and adult females […]." (Nelson 69)

5 For an elaboration of Freedgood's approach to things in Victorian culture, see her 2006 study *The Ideas in Things*.

6 See also Tobias Schlechtriemen's contribution to this issue.

7 The price of 1d per weekly issue was kept until the final years of the First World War, when it had to be raised by a halfpenny.

8 See, for example, the portrait entitled "'B.P.' – Hero of Mafeking: Col. Baden-Powell's Wonderful Life Story." *Chums* 8.402 (23 May 1900): 631. It was illustrated with a photograph of the famous man.

9 Contemporary periodicals for girls already projected a more active womanhood in which even physical activity had a place. *Chums* carried advertisements for such magazines, like *The Girl's Realm* (see vol. 16, no. 807 (26 February 1908): 581). And even *Chums* occasionally granted that girls could be brave. Vol. 14 (June 1906) introduced a new "'Chums' Roll of Heroes" for which brave young people could be nominated and, if they won the competition, be awarded with a watch. No. 704 (7 March 1906): 587 reports that a girl was one of two winners. She saved a boy from drowning, and it is specially noted that "The fact that the rescuer was fully dressed at the time and went to the assistance of the unfortunate lad without the slightest hesitation, makes the act all the more noteworthy […]." The other winner was a boy who also saved a boy from drowning, without his dress being mentioned.

10 See the malevolent caricature that accompanies the article "Women Sailors: Some Who Fought in Many Battles." *Chums* 1.33 (26 April 1893): 515.

11 For a discussion of the promotion of imperialism in juvenile literature, see also Richards.

12 See, for example, the series about "Stories Told by Heroes' Statues: Sailors and Soldiers Whom the Empire Has Honoured." *Chums* 9.415 (22 August 1900): 12.

13 See, for example, the 14-part series "True Fire Brigade Yarns: Thrilling Stories of Heroism and Daring", which began in vol. 5, no. 207 (26 August 1896), or the article "True Yarns of Britain's Coast". *Chums* 9.444 (13 March 1901). For a discussion of the Victorian appreciation for everyday heroes, see also Price.

14 On the connection between "muscular Christianity" and militarism see Mangan.

15 See also the article on "Heroes' Memorials at Public Schools: Worthy Records of Gallant Deeds." *Chums* 10.512 (2 July 1902): 780-781.

16 For example the series "Our Famous Regiments", begun in vol. 1, no. 16 (28 December 1892).

17 An "Athletic Page" in the early years of *Chums* introduced different kinds of sports and games such as cricket and rugby. The article "Muscle-Making without Apparatus: A Few Hints for Physical Development." *Chums* 7.355 (28 June 1899): 711, gave instructions for exercises.

18 How the performance of British soldiers in the Second Boer War (1899-1902) created anxieties about physical fitness and led to a promotion of sport in *Strand* magazine is discussed by Cranfield. According to Cranfield, the emphasis on sporting in *Strand* negotiated an emerging tension between chivalric and mechanistic conceptions of warfare.

19 It is unsurprising, therefore, that in his discussion of *Chums*'s imperialism, Robert Macdonald focuses on the periodical's pictures. MacDonald shows how the pictures, and the continual repetition of their content, were used to support militarism, imperialism and imperial manhood. "Each hero stood by metonymy for the manhood of the nation; each young reader was asked to thrill to the heroic action." (MacDonald 40)

20 In periodicals for adults, the semantic relations between words and pictures were often more complex and varied, as Leighton and Surridge have demonstrated. For more information on the styles and functions of illustration in Victorian and Edwardian books and periodicals, see also Sillars, Thomas, Brake and Demoor, and Goldman and Cooke, as well as the short survey by Maidment and Jones.

21 That the novel was very popular with its readers can be inferred from the fact that it was republished as a book by Cassell in 1895. The reviewer of the book version in *The Spectator* (7 December 1895: 13) was full of praise: "There is plenty of action and vigour in Mr. Parry's tale of the adventures of Harry Paget in the wars of the last century. [...] A lively story this, told with spirit, and with some good, healthy characters in it, and enough history to make it instructive as well as interesting to boys." Quoted from the Spectator Archive. http://archive.spectator.co.uk.

22 As MacDonald points out, the fight with a wild beast was a typical element of the adventure story and hence a "frequent subject of illustrations in all the boys' magazines" (MacDonald 49).

23 In humorous form, the blending of old and new things was taken up in a cartoon that showed a medieval knight before and after his armour was improved with a modern heating system (vol. 7, no. 333, 25 January 1899: 367). As the caption pointed out, "Sir Brian Beave used to feel the cold very much when he went to the tournament on a winter morning – Until he had a hot-water pipe arrangement fitted on."

24 One may speculate that the frequency with which *Chums* continued to publish fiction and pictures referring to the past (the Middle Ages, the Elizabethan period as the age of great discoveries, and the long eighteenth century) was a programmatic reaction to this invasion of new things.

25 In the bound edition of vol. 9, this picture faces the colour plate with a depiction of "Where Nelson Died".

26 That such mastery was not necessarily the rule in real life was suggested in some of *Chums*'s comic cartoons that showed how new things and inventions might also resist the human actors. The title illustration for vol. 8, no. 374 (8 November 1899), for instance, which belongs to a school story, shows comically how a careless boy receives an electric shock during an experiment.

27 It is not surprising for a boys' paper that the "machine" which seems to dominate the illustrations in *Chums* during its first years was the bicycle, which was often referred to as a "machine" in everyday speech. Bikes were also a thing frequently given as first prize in *Chums*'s competitions.

28 Vol. 25 of *Chums* (for 1916-17) printed several tank narratives, including the series "Ted of the Tanks." A school story about a tank, "A Morning Spin." *Chums* 27.1 (28 September 1918): 359, was published in 1918.

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