Children, Charity, and Civic Responsibility: Thomas Anstey Guthrie and Late-Victorian Child Welfare

by Hayley Smith

Few images captured the Victorian imagination more powerfully than that of the suffering child.[1] In fact, during the nineteenth century, the public was inundated with both fictional and factual representations of child suffering, poverty, and neglect, from Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1837) and Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *The Cry of the Children* (1843) to W. T. Stead's 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' (1885), Andrew Mearns's *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (1883), and George Sims's *How the Poor Live* (1883). Representations like these reflected a growing public concern about the consequences of industrialisation and urban growth. Not only did such expansion intensify contemporary forms of poverty, but it also created new socio-economic challenges that placed further pressure on existing systems of welfare and relief, many of which remained fragmented and reliant upon religious organisations, local poor relief, and charitable institutions. Such hardships were frequently felt by working-class children, many of whom increasingly experienced dangerous working conditions and exploitation, overcrowding, environmental pollution, poor sanitation, and disease. These conditions had profound consequences on the health and wellbeing of contemporary children, prompting concern from child advocates, medical experts, and philanthropists about their physical and emotional welfare. By the final decades of the nineteenth century, such anxieties informed wider campaigns for reform. It was within this landscape of growing social concern that Victorian policymakers and activists introduced new legislation and established organisations aimed at alleviating some of the suffering. These interventions included the inauguration of the Education Act in 1870, as well as the introduction of compulsory education for elementary school children in 1880. Welfare groups including the NSPCC were also founded in the last decades of the century, with laws surrounding child cruelty introduced in 1889.

Late-Victorian philanthropists similarly contributed to the contemporary campaign for child welfare. In an article published in *The Woman's World* in 1888, Mary Jeune – also known as Lady St. Helier, a London County Council alderman and passionate activist – reflects upon several contemporary initiatives and children's charities dedicated to remedying the plights faced by disadvantaged Victorian children. Among these, Jeune describes Penny Dinners for School Children, a scheme which offered impoverished children a 'dinner of good soup and a large piece of bread in the interval between schools'; the Children's Country Holidays Fund (CCHF), a charitable organisation designed to send working-class children away for a holiday in the fresh air and country surroundings; and an initiative situated in Islington, where working-class children were provided with an indoor playroom space to enjoy educational and recreational activities.[2] Appeals on behalf of these organisations and similar charitable groups aimed at improving child health and welfare soon began to emerge in contemporary newspapers, magazines, and periodicals.

One late-Victorian author engaging with the ever-expanding discourse on child welfare was Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1934), a much-neglected writer somewhat better known by his pseudonym "F. Anstey". This was the name with which Guthrie

Journal of Children in Popular Culture, Volume 15, Issue 1, Fall 2026
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Standard Periodical Directory Publisher ID# 480178658
ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
OCLC Number: 1286882178

quickly rose to fame following the publication of his first (and most famous) novel, *Vice Versâ; or, a Lesson to Fathers* (1882), a comic fantasy in which a father and son swap bodies. In the wake of *Vice Versâ*, Guthrie's career spanned approximately fifty years, during which time he published a range of novels traversing multiple genres, contributed regularly to *Punch*, wrote children's fiction, short stories, poetry, and interlinguistic adaptations, and turned his hand to play and screenwriting. Despite his prolific and extensive literary career, Guthrie remains a greatly understudied figure in literary scholarship, with his writing on, about, and for children receiving even less critical attention.[3]

This article begins to fill this research gap by considering Guthrie's literary engagement with the expanding network of charitable institutions that looked to improve child health, welfare, and wellbeing. It argues that his representations of these interventions deploy and further reinforce evolving Victorian conceptions of childhood, class, and social responsibility by imagining children's welfare as a public concern capable of transcending socio-economic divisions. Indeed Guthrie's philanthropic writing repeatedly imagines organisations in which conventional class boundaries are suspended or reconfigured for the benefit of the child. As a result, the texts I consider each contribute to the growing contemporary belief that child health and welfare was a collective civic responsibility. These include 'The Country of Cockaigne', a short sketch published in *Punch* in 1895 campaigning on behalf of the above-mentioned CCHF, 'Two Visits', published in *Punch* in 1900, and 'Winnie', published in *In a Good Cause* in 1909, both of which detail and promote the work of Great Ormond Street Hospital. By representing the child as a figure capable of eliciting sympathy and cooperation across all levels of society, Guthrie participates within a broader Victorian narrative in which charitable activity is understood as a means of bridging social boundaries and promoting individual and communal wellbeing.

Escape to the Country: Dreaming of Cockaigne

In her above-mentioned contribution to *The Woman's World*, Lady Jeune dedicates a large part of her article to describing the work of the CCHF, an organisation established in 1884 by Reverend Samuel Barnett and his wife Henrietta. Originally founded as "The Children's Fresh Air Mission (Off to the Country)" and renamed in 1886 as the Children's Country Holidays Fund, the charity aimed to send children from the slums of London to the seaside or countryside for a holiday in the fresh air and natural surroundings. While the CCHF was ostensibly a holiday charity, its work was closely aligned with a contemporary understanding of children's physical and mental health. Indeed removing children from polluted and overcrowded cities, providing fresh air and physical activity, and improving children's diets were all understood as potentially restorative interventions. Full of praise for such an enterprise, Jeune notes,

> [t]here is nothing that gives such unalloyed enjoyment to children as these visits to the country. […] the novelty is wonderful, and the sense of space so extraordinary, and cramped as they are at home in small rooms, and hot, noisy streets, the vastness of the world when they first see the country is perfectly incomprehensible. The world has grown larger and more beautiful, and the fairy tales they have read and been told […] are a reality, a glorious, perfect reality.[4]

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ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
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Jeune's admiration for the CCHF was echoed by many others, including contemporary medical authorities. Physicians in the *British Medical Journal*, for example, wrote of the 'inestimable benefits' of the scheme, with another author adding '[w]e have nothing but praise for such good work'.[5] As Janet Oppenheim notes, medical practitioners were convinced that 'fresh air and physical exercise' were effective in treating and preventing physical and mental health disorders.[6] 'Medical theory considered these even more essential for children', Oppenheim continues, 'because outdoor sports not only provided a necessary change from school work, but also gave the body's nerve centres the activity necessary for vigorous health and growth'.[7]

Amongst other paediatricians, Leonard G. Guthrie – Thomas's brother – concluded that mentally and physically overstrained children required 'complete mental rest and vegetation in open country air for at least six months'.[8] He also suggested that school lessons should last no longer than 'forty-five minutes', with 'an interval of ten minutes to be spent in fresh air and exercise […] between each lesson'.[9] Of course, fresh air therapy was not a new intervention; it had been proposed decades earlier in James Johnson's *Change of Air* (1831), a text encouraging foreign travel as a treatment for certain physical and mental health conditions. By the late-nineteenth century, these well-established beliefs in the restorative and powerful effects of nature and fresh air were so deeply engrained in the Victorian mind that the work of the CCHF was readily championed by medical and social authorities. In turn, groups including the CCHF fostered significant public sympathy and approval.

Nothing better demonstrates the charity's success than the enormous expansion of their organisation. For a scheme which 'originally started as an experiment in Whitechapel, where nine children were sent away', the charity grew remarkably over the next quarter of a century.[10] By 1907, the CCHF had 'grown into an organisation dealing with over 40,000 children in a year', clearly demonstrating both the continual demand for their assistance as well as the ongoing support for this scheme.[11] The organisation's expansion was necessarily accompanied by the need for additional funding, and as the charity primarily depended upon the public for donations, appeals on behalf of the CCHF soon began to appear in several contemporary periodicals. One of these appeals, 'The Country of Cockaigne', offers readers a monologue from eight-year-old Jimmy as he speaks to his friend, Florrie, in an impoverished street in London. Jimmy first describes his joy at the possibility of returning to the blissful countryside for a holiday with his warm and hospitable previous hosts. However, after a member of the CCHF meets with Jimmy's mother, he returns to Florrie the following day to relay the bad news: his application has been rejected on account of the charity's limited funds. In a poignant plea to the readers of *Punch*, Jimmy then requests that donations be made to the charity so that the CCHF can provide children like himself and Florrie with an opportunity to temporarily escape the unhealthy, dangerous, and destitute streets of London.

As the story opens, readers meet Jimmy and Florrie in an 'airless Court' of 'a London back street', immediately invoking contemporary concerns surrounding the health and welfare of children living in overcrowded and polluted urban conditions while also reminding readers that this environment existed throughout multiple districts of London.[12]With the scene set in August, the same month in which Guthrie's article is published in *Punch*, 'The Country of Cockaigne' directly addresses those readers sat comfortably with their periodical while children like Jimmy and Florrie

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simultaneously exist in such difficult conditions. The narrative then turns to Jimmy, who opens his monologue by telling Florrie that he cannot join her at the '"Reckereation Ground"' because he wants to wait until a member of the CCHF has visited his mother. Through Jimmy's regional dialect, Guthrie brings the voice of the child into sharp focus: '"[w]hy, 'er as is comin' to see my Muvver 'bout sendin' me fur a fortnight in the kerntry"'. The use of direct speech and the rendering of Jimmy's dialect create an impression of immediacy and authenticity, as though the middle-class readers are similarly in the 'airless court' and overhearing Jimmy themselves. By positioning *Punch*'s audience as witnesses to this lived account of child poverty, Guthrie collapses the (literal and figurative) distance between working-class children and the periodical's wealthier readership, thereby encouraging sympathy for those whom the CCHF serves to support. In doing so, Guthrie does not just reflect contemporary philanthropic ideals but actively participates in shaping them, reinforcing the belief that child health and welfare was a collective social responsibility that transcended class boundaries.

As he goes on to describe his previous holiday in the countryside, Jimmy says '"[t]here's grorss there, an' trees an' that… Na-ow, a *lot* better 'n the Reckereation Groun' […] There's 'ills an' bushes 'an 'edges where yer can pick flowers. […] An' eveyfink smells so lovelly, kinder 'elthy like"'. Emphasising the vastness of the countryside, the natural plants and vegetation, and the unlimited supply of fresh air, Guthrie recalls contemporary beliefs surrounding the therapeutic benefits of spending time away from the city. Around the same time that 'The Country of Cockaigne' was published, Guthrie spent many summers away from London, residing in 'some country farm-house or town' and exploring 'a radius of twenty miles or so' on his bicycle.[13] An account of one of these trips can be found in a letter written by Guthrie in June 1899 as he was residing at 'Green Hill Farm' near Bletchley. Guthrie says

> [y]ou will see from the address that I am out of Humanity's reach […] I came down to this little place at the beginning of the month to finish a story I am writing & I do not expect to return to town again until the end of July. It is very quiet here – indeed a lodge in a garden of cucumbers would be quite [rackety] in comparison – but I have comfortable quarters in a small farmhouse & the country is lovely & I can work well here, so I do not regret having banished myself.[14] This personal anecdote suggests that Guthrie's confidence in the motivations underpinning the work of the CCHF and his representation of the charity's offer in 'The Country of Cockaigne' were – in part, at least – fuelled by his own understanding and experience of the positive and restorative effects of spending time in the countryside.

Jimmy also reflects on his happy memories of the food that he ate while on holiday. '"They 'ad a garding beyind"', he says nostalgically, '"an' there was rasberries an' gooseberries a growin on bushes"'. For dinner, he adds, '"we 'ad beefstike puddin' o' Sundays, an' as much bread an' treacle every day as I could ev'r eat"'. Reminiscent of the famously starving Oliver Twist, these somewhat Dickensian recollections implicitly underscore Jimmy's deprivation and hunger in London, while suggesting that, when in the countryside, he was freed from the struggle and uncertainty of securing enough food to eat. Just like Jimmy, Florrie is also portrayed as a desperate and hungry child. While little attention is given to her throughout the sketch, she is depicted as smaller than Lily Delves, the daughter of the host family with whom Jimmy stayed the previous summer.

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ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
OCLC Number: 1286882178

Describing Lily as '"lots redder 'bout the cheeks"', Florrie is imagined, by comparison, as pale (presumably anaemic) and underweight; both physical consequences of her poor diet. As Jimmy and Florrie's present hunger stands starkly in contrast with his previous satisfaction, the bountiful countryside is subsequently envisaged as a utopia, just like the mythological Land of Cockaigne from which Guthrie's sketch takes its title, a fictional paradise in medieval folklore in which its inhabitants were provided with an unlimited supply of food and drink.[15]

A holiday with the CCHF becomes additionally inaccessible to the children when Jimmy returns the following day with news of his application. He tells Florrie that the charity '"ain't got the fun's fur to send more 'n a few, 'cos the Public don' subscribe ser much as they might"', making clear to the reader that such relief is dependent on public donations. The countryside is consequently reframed as an aspirational ideal only accessible through Jimmy's storytelling, echoing the oral tradition surrounding the mythical Land of Cockaigne. Shortly afterwards, Guthrie underscores the '[m]oral' of the piece by providing the address of the CCHF to directly solicit public contributions. As 'The Country of Cockaigne' illustrates, access to charitable support is not guaranteed but contingent upon collective civic participation; indeed, without public funding, children like Jimmy and Florrie are excluded from relief, and the promised holiday in the countryside becomes as imaginative and distant as Cockaigne itself. Consequently, the text both participates in and reinforces the contemporary philanthropic belief that child health and welfare was a shared social responsibility, one dependent upon the wealthier members of society supporting the most disadvantaged.

Remedying Sickness and Sorrow: Great Ormond Street Hospital

It was not only the CCHF which Guthrie sought to advocate for in his contributions to *Punch* magazine; indeed, another charitable organisation with which he concerned himself was Great Ormond Street Hospital. Guthrie first describes his interest in the Hospital in a diary entry on 7 January 1900, in which he notes that '[t]he Children's Hospital in Gr. Ormond St [is] in a bad way, in danger of being closed altogether'.[16] Three days later, and at a meeting with the staff at *Punch*, he writes that the editorial team approved his proposal for an appeal on behalf of the Hospital.[17] The fact that he took to his diary to record the difficulties that the organisation was facing and, within days, began planning his article, speaks to a sense of responsibility that extends beyond private concern. Guthrie's response also suggests that he recognised that his position as a popular writer was a way in which he could reach the public and mobilise their support for the Hospital. His interest in the Hospital's charitable activities and in the physical and mental health of contemporary children was likely heavily influenced by his brother, Leonard. This is unsurprising, given that Leonard worked directly with children at the Paddington Green Children's Hospital and published two medical texts on childhood illnesses – *Interstitial Nephritis in Childhood* in 1897 and *Functional Nervous Disorders in Childhood* in 1907 – as well as a fictional collection called *Hospital Sketches* (1902), a series of scenes detailing authentic examples of consultations from the hospital. Some of these represented the harsh realities faced by working class children in contemporary London, including child labour, exposure to disease, and poverty. Leonard's own experiences therefore offered his brother an insight into the

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urgent demand for children's medical care as well as the financial challenges that many children's hospitals faced, problems which ultimately motivate Guthrie's representations of Great Ormond Street Hospital in 'Two Visits' and 'Winnie'.

In the former of these, the narrator foreshadows a distressing vision of the future of the Hospital – in a style like that of Marley's ghost – by demonstrating the potential damage which would ensue if it were to run out of money. While the first vision shows Mr. Punch greeted by a group of unwell but happy and comfortable children, surrounded by compassionate and attentive staff and a vibrant and well-equipped institution, the second vision sees him enter a desolate building, only to learn that the Hospital ran out of funds and that the children were sent home. Thankfully, though, readers soon learn that Mr. Punch's second "visit" is merely a dream, and the sketch ends with a request for donations. Nine years later and in a similar vein, Guthrie contributed 'Winnie' to a collection called *In A Good Cause*, the profits of which were donated to the Hospital. In 'Winnie' readers follow a young, sick girl as she undergoes and recovers from an operation. Read alongside one another, 'Two Visits' and 'Winnie' similarly appeal to the public for donations by recognising the quality of care and support, both physical and emotional, that was provided by the Hospital; another place which, by opening its doors to all children, eroded socio-economic divisions and aligned itself with philanthropic ideals of civic responsibility.

Throughout the process of writing 'Two Visits', Guthrie visited Great Ormond Street Hospital himself; indeed in January 1900, as he was planning his sketch, his diaries record two trips to the site. On the first occasion, after a '[l]ong talk w[ith] Adrian Hope', the Hospital's secretary at the time of the article's publication, Guthrie described how he was '[m]uch impressed by it all'.[18] So much so, in fact, that Guthrie was committed to accurately representing the Hospital in his article. Not only did he faithfully describe the condition of the building – noting the 'plants, flowers, toys, a bowl of gold-fish here and there', just as he details in his diary – he also introduces characters inspired by real patients whom he met at the Hospital.[19] Readers meet Johnnie, for example, a boy suffering with some form of heart disease, who 'seemed to have spent more of his few years in hospital than out of it' (p. 76). Mr. Punch tells readers that when Johnnie 'last left he told the "Sister" "it was all right, for he should soon be back". And so he was – the very next week' (p. 76). This statement can be found in an earlier diary entry following Guthrie's visit to the hospital: 'Johnnie Morris, aged 10', Guthrie jots down, '[h]ad been 15 weeks here last time [and] on leaving had said "[n]ever mind, I shall soon be back again, Sister!"'.[20] The deliberate recreation of this exchange speaks to Guthrie's use of imagination and mimicry in the reproduction of real interactions and people.[21] By bringing Johnnie's voice directly to *Punch*'s audience, Guthrie once again dissolves the distance between the child and the reader, just as he does in 'The Country of Cockaigne'. Just like Jimmy's monologue, Johnnie's lived experience is consequently transformed into a persuasive narrative which fosters empathy for the Hospital's patients and encourages donations.

Guthrie's praise for the work conducted at the Hospital – both in his diary and throughout 'Two Visits' and 'Winnie' – also recalls the accolades bestowed upon the institution by Charles Dickens decades earlier. Indeed Guthrie's writing bears similarities to both 'Drooping Buds' (1852), an essay concerned with the recent opening of the Hospital, and 'Between the Cradle and the Grave' (1862), an article appealing for

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ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
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funds by reminding readers of the impressive work conducted there.[22] Like Dickens's earlier essays on Great Ormond Street Hospital, Guthrie's article is a moral call to action. Throughout his sketch, he deploys depictions of vulnerable children to elicit sympathy and translates that emotional response into support for their health and welfare. The use of this strategy attests to the enduring power of Dickensian literary advocacy, whereby writing about the conditions of London encouraged readers to recognise their responsibility towards those inhabitants most in need. As in 'Drooping Buds' and 'Between the Cradle and the Grave', Guthrie similarly emphasises the happiness and comfort of the children residing in the hospital, as Mr. Punch tells readers that the '[s]mall convalescents sat […] in happy and intimate silence' (p. 76). The faces of the small patients would 'light up', the narrator adds, 'at a caressing touch' or the 'playful word' of the nurses caring for them (p. 76). One of the children, called Albert, a boy with a diseased hip joint, even volunteers to remain there on account of his satisfaction with the care provided by the staff, declaring that he is '"too happy with "Sister"'' (p. 76). Likewise, in 'Winnie', the arrival of an anonymous female visitor prompts the eponymous child-protagonist to question 'whether fairies are still to be met with', adding that she 'shouldn't wonder if the pretty lady was one'.[23]

It is important to note, of course, that while Guthrie deliberately uses these scenes to illustrate the compassion provided by the Hospital's medical staff and visitors and the happiness of the children who reap the benefits of their devotion – thereby appealing to his audience for donations – his representations also position Albert's 'Sister' and Winnie's "fairy (godmother)" as maternal surrogates to the children. Reminding readers of the Hospital's (ostensibly) philanthropic upper-class female visitors, Winnie's surrogate godmother appears to replace her biological parent during her recovery.[24] As the visitor and the devotion she offers is described to be quasi-mythical and magical – a depiction which reminds readers of the unattainable and mythological countryside in 'The Country of Cockaigne' – Mr. Punch implies that Winnie's biological mother is unable to provide her daughter with the same compassion and care as the women calling at the Hospital. In a similar vein, Albert's preference to stay at the Hospital implies that the devotion provided by the nursing staff supersedes the attention and care afforded to him in his own home.

This unsettling medicalization of working-class children resurfaces during Mr. Punch's second "visit" to the Hospital. Upon re-entering the now vacant building, Mr. Punch is shocked to learn that the children were sent '"back to their poor homes, and insufficient food, and air, and space"', recalling the unhealthy urban environment in which readers previously met Jimmy and Florrie (p. 77). The Hospital is consequently imagined as a haven for suffering children, an escape from the dangerous and diseased streets which extend into many homes. In her reading of Dickens's depiction of the vulnerable child, Katharina Boehm explains how *A House to Let* (1858) concludes with the 'image of the public space of the hospital […] as the ideal home for the neglected child'.[25] Socio-political discourses surrounded the children's hospital, Boehm argues, because the building became 'a symbolic home for the homeless children of London's streets'.[26] Guthrie's illustration of Great Ormond Street Hospital is in touch with these narratives; indeed, the image of the comforting and inclusive ward sharply contrasts the lack of care offered by the poorest of families. The Matron tells Mr. Punch, '"we had to send every child home […] to such care and comfort as its parents can give it, which is

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ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
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little enough, for most of them are very poor"' (p. 77). Great Ormond Street Hospital is therefore crucially positioned as a site of physical recovery *and* a place that remedies neglect, thereby reinforcing this space as a 'symbolic home' for the most disadvantaged of children.

Upon hearing the news of the Hospital's closure, Mr. Punch laments, '"[i]f I had only come up before […] I might have prevented it. I would have appealed myself, in my own paper, to my own public, not to let such a thing be!"' (p. 77). With 'a bitter sense of privilege neglected, a golden opportunity missed', Mr. Punch leaves the Hospital and wakes up in his armchair, where he realises – with a sigh of relief – that his second visit to Great Ormond Street was a terrible dream:

> [I]t was *not* too late – there was still time! But only just – for, like most dreams, this one of *Mr. Punch*'s had a basis of fact. It is literally true that the oldest and largest Children's Hospital in London is in urgent need of funds at this moment, and must inevitably close its doors very soon […] unless something is done… But what, and who is to do it? (original emphasis, p. 77)

Guthrie then goes on to provide the direct address for Adrian Hope at the Hospital, before warning readers to not let the chance to donate pass them by, lest they miss their own 'golden opportunity' to make a difference. As in 'The Country of Cockaigne', this direct appeal to the individual actively positions child health and welfare as a collective civic responsibility, encouraging readers to recognise their own role in improving the lives of underprivileged children. This sentimental and Dickensian appeal proved highly successful; in fact, the public was so moved by the sketch that on 1 March 1900, Guthrie took to his diary to record that the donation fund was 'nearly [at] £11,000'.[27] This achievement is presented not only as a financial success but as evidence of the positive outcomes that can take place when socio-economic divisions are overcome through charitable action.

Conclusion

Given his efforts to campaign on behalf of these above-mentioned charitable organisations, it may not be a surprise to learn that Guthrie's investment in child health and welfare reached his very own pocket. In fact after his death in 1934, Guthrie gifted '£200 to the Hospital for Children; £200 to the Children's Hospital, Paddington Green; £50 to the Children's Country Holidays Fund; [and] £50 to the Lady St. Helier's Children's Country Holiday Fund'.[28] These examples undoubtedly demonstrate Guthrie's embodiment of the philanthropic values that he advocates for in 'The Country of Cockaigne', 'Two Visits', and 'Winnie'. At the same time, though, they also reveal that his commitment to child health and welfare extended beyond soliciting donations from others to making charitable contributions to these organisations himself. Guthrie's appeals can therefore be positioned as part of a broader personal commitment to child welfare which – to the best of my knowledge, at least – was motivated by a sense of civic responsibility.

These sketches are not merely descriptive accounts of the charities' work but should instead be understood as carefully constructed appeals designed to mobilise public sympathy and secure charitable donations. In turn, Guthrie hoped to liberate 'childish sufferers from pain', a line taken from a short verse published within a souvenir

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ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
OCLC Number: 1286882178

collection of poems, short stories, and cartoons which were also sold to raise money for Great Ormond Street Hospital.[29] As this article has demonstrated, Guthrie's philanthropic appeals consistently bring the child and the reader into close proximity in order to collapse the distance between them and encourage charitable donations. In doing so, the narratives align with the missions of the CCHF and the Hospital, both of which were organisations wherein socio-economic boundaries were symbolically suspended for the benefit of the child. Consequently, then, Guthrie's writing simultaneously reflects and actively reinforces contemporary philanthropic ideologies while revealing how child health and welfare was increasingly understood as a collective responsibility in which all members of society were implicated.

Notes

1. This essay contains within it sections from the second chapter of my doctoral thesis. See: Hayley Smith, "'Stories for Boys and Girls': Guthrie, Activism, and the Emotional Geography of London', in *Recovering Thomas Anstey Guthrie: Genre and Geography* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University, 2024), pp. 60–76.
2. Mary Jeune, 'The Children of a Great City – II', *The Woman's World* (London: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1888), pp. 253–258.
3. For more detail on Guthrie and his career, I would recommend the following resources as a useful starting point: Peter Merchant, 'Thomas Anstey Guthrie ("F. Anstey") (1856–1934)', *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Urban Literary Studies*, ed. by J. Tambling (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62592-8_134-2>; Hayley Smith, "[A]ll but forgotten": Thomas Anstey Guthrie', in *Recovering Lost Voices: Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, ed. by Michaela George and Elizabeth Drummey (Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2026)*;* and Smith, *Recovering Thomas Anstey Guthrie: Genre and Geography* (2024).
4. Mary Jeune thought the work of the CCHF (and other similar initiatives offering holidays to disadvantaged children) so significant that she even set up her own children's holiday charity. For more on Jeune's writing and charity work, see: William A. Davis, 'Irréconciliables,' 'Reclaimables,' and 'First Falls': Lady Mary Jeune and the Fallen Woman in "Tess of the d'Urbervilles"', *The Hardy Review*, 10, 1 (2008), 69–82; 'Mary Jeune, Late-Victorian Essayist: Fallen Woman, New Women, and Poor Children', *English Literature in Transition*, 58, 2 (2015), 181–208.
5. Anonymous, 'Country Holidays for Town Children', *British Medical Journal*, 5 July 1890, p. 32; Anonymous, 'Children's Country Holidays', *British Medical Journal*, 30 June 1888, p. 1395.
6. Janet Oppenheim, "*Shattered Nerves": Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (New York: OUP, 1991), p. 246.
7. Ibid.
8. Leonard G. Guthrie, *Functional Nervous Disorders in Childhood* (London: OUP, 1907), p. 138.
9. Ibid., p. 139.
10. Anonymous, 'The Children's Country Holidays Fund', *Charity Organisation Review*, March 1907, pp. 140–141.

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Standard Periodical Directory Publisher ID# 480178658
ISSN: ISSN 2770-873X
OCLC Number: 1286882178

11. Ibid.
12. F. Anstey, 'The Country of Cockaigne', *Punch, or the London Charivari*, 17 August 1895, p. 76. All future references are to this page of the text.
13. F. Anstey, *A Long Retrospect* (London: OUP, 1936), p. 231.
14. Princeton, University of Princeton Special Collections, F. Anstey Collection, C1068, AM15444. Folio numbers are not provided in this collection, but this specific letter is dated 22 June 1899 and can be found in box 1, folder 3.
15. For more on Cockaigne in medieval folklore, see: Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, trans. by Dianne Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), p. 3.
16. London, British Library, Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 44v.
17. Ibid., fol. 45v.
18. Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 49r.
19. F. Anstey, 'Two Visits', *Punch: or, the London Charivari*, 31 January 1900, pp. 76–77. All future references will be to this version of the text and will be given in parentheses following quotations.
20. Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 50r.
21. I speak more to Thomas and Leonard Guthrie's interest in and commitment to the reproduction of authentic contemporary voices in 'Traces of the Ordinary: The Guthrie Brothers and the Voices of Victorian "Nobodies"', in *Ordinary Oralities: Everyday Voices in History*, ed. by Josephine Hoegaerts and Janice Schroeder (2023), pp. 99–112.
22. For more on Dickens and Great Ormond Street Hospital, see: Charles Dickens, 'Drooping Buds', *Household Words*, 3 April 1852, pp. 45–48; Charles Dickens, 'Between the Cradle and the Grave', *All the Year Round*, 1 February 1862, pp. 454–456; Howard Markel, 'Charles Dickens' work to help establish Great Ormond Street Hospital, London', *Lancet*, 354 (1999), 673–675; Jules Kosky, *Mutual Friends: Charles Dickens and Great Ormond Street Children's Hospital* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989); and chapter 3 of Katharina Boehm, *Charles Dickens and the Sciences of Childhood: Popular Medicine, Child Health, and Victorian Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 79–112.
23. F. Anstey, 'Winnie, an Everyday Story', in *In A Good Cause: Stories and Verses on Behalf of the Hospital for Sick Children*, ed. by F. Anstey, Sir Gilbert Parker, Owen Seaman and others (London: John Murray, 1909), pp. 1–78 (p. 25). All future references to the text will be given in parentheses following quotations.
24. Victorian ladies frequently visited Great Ormond Street Hospital as a fashionable "hobby". This is also known as slumming, whereby wealthier citizens would spend time in environments of a lower economic and social status. For more on Victorian slumming, see: Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
25. Katharina Boehm, '"A Place for More than the Healing of Bodily Sickness": Charles Dickens, the Social Mission of Nineteenth-Century Pediatrics, and the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children', *Victorian Review*, 35, 1 (2009), 153–174 (p. 153).
26. Ibid., p. 159.
27. Millar Bequest, Add MS 63557, fol. 63r.
28. Anonymous, 'Benefactions of "F. Anstey"', *Times*, 15 May 1934, p. 11.

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29. The full verse reads: '[y]ou, generous aiders at this Matinée, | Seek no reward – yet more than gold you gain; | Ransoming childish sufferers from pain, | By pleasure that you give their friends to-day'. See: F. Anstey, 'Avant-propos', in *In A Good Cause: Souvenir of a Performance Given on Thursday Afternoon, May 3, at the Palace Theatre, in Aid of Mr. Punch's Fund for the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street.* (London: Whitefriars Press, 1900), p. 1.

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