Savages or Citizens?
Children, Education, and the British Empire, 1899-1950

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I first encountered Charlotte Mason when I was teaching at Intown Community School in Atlanta, Georgia. I am thankful that Intown was a school that valued books and learning and demonstrated those values by giving each teacher a complete set of Charlotte Mason's books on education. I had no idea that those garishly pink books that sat on my bookshelf would turn out to be the genesis of this dissertation. Special thanks go to Lisa Cadora who nurtured my interest in Mason during my years of teaching there.

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the soul after a long day's work in the archives. Tanya Flowers at the Armitt Library was always a lovely host, who patiently answered all of my questions about the Charlotte Mason papers. Two years work for the *Journal of British Studies* provided not only time to spend researching and writing but also an introduction into the academic community. A Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship at the University of Minnesota afforded me a year to finish writing.

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papers to negotiate around, and even more late nights keeping me company while I was working. Through it all, he never complained and brought a sense of humor to the whole project. On the days when I was sure a few missing commas were going to ruin the whole thing, I am thankful he was around to convince me otherwise.

Finally, I had no idea when I started to write that Liam would be joining our family in a manner of weeks. It was definitely more challenging to work with a toddler under foot, but he helped me to keep perspective and he continues to be the best sort of fun. Little Liam, this dissertation is dedicated to you. I am happy to say that tomorrow when you grab my hand and say, “Mama come,” Mama will be ready to play.

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the educational philosophy of Charlotte Mason (1841/42-1923) and her educational organizations, the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) and the Parents' Union School (PUS) to better understand how white, English children living in the British Empire learned what it meant to be English during the years 1899 to 1950. Through the PUS, Mason provided an organized home-school curriculum to families living abroad that promised to solidify an English national identity in their children. Mason's educational philosophy built on New Liberal conceptions of the individual and extended them to children. PUS children's schoolwork and letters demonstrate that they were not just passive recipients of lessons on "place and race" but actively participated in shaping a new sense of Englishness.

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Introduction

Being British, English…and African?

Women and Children at Home in the British Empire

> "It is different in India," said Mistress Mary disdainfully…
>
> "Eh! I can see it's different," [Martha] answered almost sympathetically. "I dare say it's because there's such a lot o' blacks there instead o' respectable white people. When I heard you was coming from India I thought you was a black too."
>
> Mary sat up in bed furious.
>
> "What!" she said. "What! You thought I was a native…"
>
> "…I've nothin' against th' blacks. When you read about 'em in tracts they're always very religious. You always read as a black's a man an' a brother. I've never seen a black an' I was fair pleased to think I was goin' to see one close. When I come in to light your fire this mornin' I crep' up to your bed an' pulled th' cover back careful to look at you. An' there you was," disappointedly, "no more black than me—for all you're so yeller."
>
> Mary did not even try to control her rage and humiliation. "You thought I was a native! You dared! You don't know anything about natives! They are not people—they're servants who must salaam to you. You know nothing about India. You know nothing about anything!"[1]
>
> *The Secret Garden*
> Frances Hodgson Burnett, 1911

Despite Mary's insistence that Martha "knew nothing about anything," one might ask who really "knew nothing about anything"—Mary or Martha? Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* remains a much-loved children's book, but lurking behind the story about Mary and her friend Collin is a story about the dangers of empire and the nature of home. An orphan whose parents and entire household staff had either died or run away in a cholera outbreak in India, Mary returns to England to live with her uncle in Yorkshire. For Martha, a maid in Mary's uncle's house, Mary represents the exotic and unfamiliar empire. For Mary, Martha represents the unfamiliar (and from her perspective rather drab) metropole. As a child of the empire, Mary, as the story makes obvious, was

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[1] Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden*, Norton Critical Edition, ed. Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2006), 17-18.

really the one with the most to learn. By virtue of their time spent in India, both Mary and her mother were left in a liminal position—neither wholly English or Indian, nor even entirely British.

For Mary's mother, the issue was her lack of motherly virtues. She hardly represented an ideal mother; rather she was only interested in parties, not raising a daughter. In fact, it is her refusal to move to the hill station because of her desire to attend one last party that results in the cholera outbreak that kills the entire Lennox household except for Mary. Even worse than her frivolousness, Mary's mother spurned the entire notion of motherhood: "She had not wanted a little girl at all, and when Mary was born she handed her over to the care of an Ayah, who was made to understand that is she wished to please the Mem Sahib she must keep the child out of sight as much as possible."[2] Mary's literal orphanhood is foreshadowed by her figurative orphanhood, and Burnett makes clear that, out in the empire, the home is a threatened space where Victorian notions of the family may or may not be found to the extreme detriment of the children living there. For Mary, the issue was her family's failure to follow common child-rearing practices in the empire in order to inculcate a sense of English identity in

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[2] Ibid., 3. For an analysis of the colonial aspects of *The Secret Garden*, see Jerry Phillips, "The Mem Sahib, the Worthy, the Rajah and His Minions: Some Reflections on the Class Politics of *The Secret Garden*," in *The Secret Garden*, ed. Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2006), 342-66; M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), chapter 3. On the imperial aspect of children's literature, see J. S. Bratton, "Of England, Home, and Duty: The Image of England in Victorian and Edwardian Juvenile Fiction," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 73-93; Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Kutzer, *Empire's Children*; Mawuena Kossi Logan, *Narrating Africa: George Henty and the Fiction of Empire* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999); Roderick McGillis, ed. *Voices of the Other: Children's Literature and the Postcolonial Context* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.,1999); Claudia Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls:The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Jeffrey Richards, ed. *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,1989); Rashna B. Singh, *Goodly Is Our Heritage: Children's Literature, Empire, and the Certitude of Character* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004).

her. She remains in India, as opposed to being sent to a boarding school in England, and she remains entirely in the care of her Indian ayah. Mary and her mother are caricatures of what residents in the metropole feared women and children in the empire would become.

Mary lacks any sort of relationship to her national home, England; the countryside, the weather, the food, the servants—all are unfamiliar to her. She cannot dress herself, because in India her ayah dressed her, whereas in England Martha says she must learn to do it herself. She cannot even understand Martha's Yorkshire speech. The problem for Mary is that she identifies with a vision of Britishness that has been corrupted by her time in India. She equates being British with a sense of superiority, a feeling nurtured by her experience of life in the empire, but one that did not necessarily translate in England. In the empire, Mary's white skin marked her as part of a privileged class; in the metropole, but for being taken in by a wealthy relative, Mary might not have found herself in the same privileged position.[3] Her colonial childhood left her haughty, poorly educated, selfish, and generally disagreeable. The moors, gardens, manor house, and hearty food provide all the necessary ingredients over the course of the story to teach Mary what it means to be English. By the story's end, Mary is virtually unrecognizable from the sallow, disagreeable figure on the first page. Having learned how to be English, she casts aside an allegiance to a broader British identity in favor of a more local, more exclusive English one.

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[3] Ann Laura Stoler discusses the confluence of race and class in Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), chapter 2. Elizabeth Buettner also describes the experience of declining class position upon retirement from service to the empire and return to England in Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), chapter 5.

Burnett represents English identity with tangible identifiers like the maintenance of a verdant garden and the ability to be self-sufficient, motifs representing broader themes of character and citizenship. Cast more broadly, Mary's character flaw was her lack of character. Education in the colonies and in England itself was focused on the development of habits that were meant to inculcate a good, strong, moral character. No one was more interested in character development in children and their future as citizens than educationalists in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, because the development of good character needed to be fostered in children in order to bear positive results in their adulthood. In particular, the educationalist Charlotte Mason developed her interest in children's character development into an educational philosophy and pedagogy particularly suited to children in the empire. In her own day, Mason was quite well-known as the founder of the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU), the headmistress of the House of Education, her teacher's training college, and the innovative developer of the Parents' Union School (PUS), the first home-school organization. Her fame and success in the later years of her life are particularly surprising, since, by all accounts, Charlotte Mason should not have achieved the success she did.

Born into a family fallen on hard times, Mason's childhood was defined by poverty and her mother's poor health. Orphaned at age sixteen, Charlotte Mason (1841/42-1923) worked as a teacher until her poor health and philosophical differences with educational practices in the late nineteenth century pushed her out of the children's classroom and into a more public role as an educational theorist.[4] Considering that she had no economic resources or family connections to draw on, it is remarkable she

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[4] See chapter 1 for more on Mason's background and family history.

achieved the level of education that she did. From a philosophical standpoint, she strongly disagreed with the influence of utilitarianism in education because of the way it failed to recognize the individuality of children, privileging class identity over and above their personhood. Between 1885 and 1886, Mason articulated a new philosophy of education that drew on liberal ideas about the nature of the individual and applied them to children. For Mason, children's educational needs were best served when they were first recognized as individuals. Equally important from Mason's perspective was the need for society to recognize that all children regardless of class or gender deserve a common education.

To spread her message, she created an educational union for parents, the PNEU.[5] Composed largely of middle- and upper-class women, the organization encouraged women (though it was also open to men) to take an active part in their children's education. In theory, the organization also desired to spread their educational beliefs to the working class, but this proved quite challenging in practice. To support the work of the PNEU, Mason also opened the House of Education and organized the Parents' Union School (PUS). The House of Education provided a trained group of women to serve as governesses and teachers in home-school rooms around the world, while the PUS provided a ready curriculum for families to follow.[6]

By 1923 when Charlotte Mason died, she had penned six books detailing her educational philosophy and had a loyal following continuing her educational plans all around the world. At her death, *The Times* claimed "her personal influence was probably

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[5] For more on the formation of the PNEU, see Chapter 2.
[6] See Chapters 4 and 5 respectively.

more widespread than that of any educationist of her time."[7] The Board of Education credited her with making commonplace "a belief in the child's natural powers of appreciation," thus recognizing Mason's role in centering the child in education.[8] In its heyday, the PNEU drew its membership from some of the most elite households in England, and its board included influential individuals in education and the Church of England. Her home-school organization, the Parents' Union School (PUS), has grown into the World-wide Education Service, providing a home-school curriculum for families living abroad.[9] Her teacher's training college, the House of Education (later called the Charlotte Mason College), opened in 1894, and existed independently until the 1960s.[10] Even today there remain a devoted following of home-school families and private schools around the world committed to the educational principles that Mason articulated.[11]

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[7] From *The Times*, January 13, 1923, quoted in *In Memoriam* (London: PNEU, 1923), 25, http://www.amblesideonline.org/CM/InMemoriamI.html (accessed June 27, 2009).

[8] "An Official Tribute," newspaper clipping, 12 February 1923, CM box 1, Armitt Library. Unless otherwise noted, all sources from either CM boxes of CM files are at the Armitt Library. The Armitt Library holds the collection in trust for the Armitt Trust, who owns the entire Charlotte Mason collection. While box numbers are always available, there are not always file numbers.

[9] The description of their purpose is very reminiscent of how Mason herself viewed the PUS: "The World-wide Education Service (WES) is one of the leading providers of home education courses worldwide. It is one of the few home schooling organisations which is accredited by the ODLQC, the national body for quality in open and distance learning. We offer lesson plans and materials in a wide range of school subjects for children aged 4 to 14 years. Our team of specialist tutors monitor their pupils progress and provide guidance for the whole family, supporting and advising parents in the education of their children. WES attracts families from a variety of backgrounds, many of whom join us through personal recommendation. They enrol, confident in the knowledge that their children will be following a structured curriculum based on the National Curriculum of England and which allows them to rejoin mainstream schools at any time if they so wish" (World-wide Education Service website, http://www.weshome.com/ [accessed May 15, 2009]).

[10] Mason's school is now a part of St. Martin's College, Lancaster.

[11] Ambleside Online is one example of an online community devoted to Mason's educational principles. They provide "a free homeschool curriculum designed to be as close as possible to the curriculum that Charlotte Mason used in her own private and correspondence schools." To accomplish this, they provide online access to reading lists, exam questions, *Parents' Review* articles, and Mason's own writings. In addition they also provide online support for how to start following Mason's curriculum. This site is unique in that it literally recommends the reading lists that Mason herself created in the early 20th century. It makes no attempt to historicize Mason. See http://www.amblesideonline.org/ (accessed October 22, 2008). ChildLight USA is currently undertaking a critical academic analysis of Mason to sort out the parts of her educational philosophy that are relevant today from the aspects that are tied specifically to the

Education scholars are finding Mason's educational philosophy and pedagogy to be increasingly relevant in meeting the educational needs of today.[12] From a historical perspective, what is important about Mason, the PNEU, and the PUS is the ways in which she engaged with the most pressing questions of her day: what did it mean to be British? What did it mean to be English?

As an educational reformer, Charlotte Mason responded to broader fears of national and imperial decline in the early twentieth century. Heightening class conflict in the metropole served as proof to Mason and her Edwardian counterparts that the nation was coming apart at the seams. Unrest in the empire suggested that Britain's position as a global empire was also in danger. Her educational philosophy built on ideas about the dangers of empire to children and families that fictional works like *The Secret Garden* popularized. The fictional Mary became a trope against which children in the empire were measured. Raleigh Trevelyan, born in 1923 in Port Blair in the Andamen Islands

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historical moment in which she wrote. In addition to Mason's home-schooling followers, there are also schools that follow her philosophy. One such group of schools is the Child Light Schools Association in Georgia. See http://perimeter-pcs.followers.net/about_us.child_light_schools_association__formerly_perimeter_schools_association_ (accessed May 15, 2009).

[12] Academic research into Charlotte Mason is largely based in education departments. For more on Mason from this disciplinary perspective, see Elizabeth Bateson, "Charlotte Mason, the PNEU and the House of Education: Perspectives on a Female Educator in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (masters thesis, Lancaster, 2004); Jack Beckman, "Lessons to Learn: Charlotte Mason's House of Education and Resistance to Taxonomic Drift (1892-1960)" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 2004); B. Brenier, "Education for the Kingdom: An Exploration of the Religious Foundation of Charlotte Mason's Educational Philosophy" (Ph.D. diss., Lancaster University, 2008); Nicolle Hutchinson, "Leadership for Learning Community: Shared Governance, Stewardship, and Charlotte Mason's Pedagogy" (masters thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2009); J. C. Smith, "Charlotte Mason: An Introductory Analysis of Her Educational Theories and Practices" (Ph.D. diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2000); D. A. Van Pelt, "Charlotte Mason's Design for Education" (masters thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2002). See also Elaine Cooper, ed. *When Children Love to Learn: A Practical Application of Charlotte Mason's Philosophy for Today* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2004); Penny Gardner, *Charlotte Mason Study Guide: A Simplified Approach to A "Living" Education* (Orem, UT: Sunrise Publishing, 1997); Susan Schaeffer Macaulay, *For the Children's Sake: Foundations of Education for Home and School* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1984).

off the coast of India, remembers the mother of a friend, commenting, "'He was born in the East, I suppose?'" This question gave him pause:

> What was the peculiarity that she had divined in me? Something odd in my manner, my face, my complexion? Was I like that child in *The Secret Garden*, with 'a little thin face and a little thin body, thin light hair and a sour expression … the most disagreeable-looking child ever seen?' Did I smell of curry?[13]

An imperial childhood, even one more appropriately cut short (at age eight in Trevelyan's case) for boarding school in England, still left both the perception of physical and more intangible marks. Trevelyan's comments about his experience of this anxiety are particularly instructive, because he clearly understood, even as a child, that his imperial childhood made him an uncertain object. Unlike children born and raised in England whose status was secure, Trevelyan could be viewed as belonging in the national community or simultaneously outside that same community. These empire children, by virtue of the geography of their birth, became objects rather than agents of their own lives and histories. Their mothers faced a similar set of issues. Being a 'good' mother in the empire meant sending your children away. Choosing not to send children away and instead educating them in the home in the colony potentially meant failing in their duty to raise new citizens for the state. Like their children, these women became objects of a colonial discourse of child-rearing. This dissertation seeks to complicate this picture by focusing on families who chose differently—educating their children wherever they lived in a rapidly changing imperial context and creating for themselves and their children individual identities, new definitions of home, and more nuanced understandings of Englishness and Britishness.

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[13] Raleigh Trevelyan, *The Golden Oriole* (New York: Viking, 1987), 1.

Moving Between Nation and Empire

Between the years 1899 and 1950, Britain experienced a number of significant changes—the nature and make-up of the empire, the electorate, wars and depression—which all called into question social and cultural values that had defined what it meant to be British. The changing nature of both the nation and empire destabilized the relationship between the metropole and the periphery, making it all the more crucial to think critically about what it meant to be English and British and who fit into those categories. These same years were also the most significant for the PNEU and PUS. These two organizations provide a fascinating lens to consider the relationship between the metropole, empire, and class.

Although older historiography treated the empire as peripheral to the history of Britain, the New Imperial History "understands Britain's history within the context of its empire."[14] This historiography argues that "the 'local' and the 'global' have been difficult to disentangle since 1492," expanding the "national" narrative of British history to include what was happening in India, Egypt, and Iran and expanding the reach of imperial history. [15] The British Empire was not just made by politicians and civil servants serving in the empire but was equally formed, as this dissertation asserts, by the presence of women and children in the colonies.

The New Imperial History often hinges on debates about the effect of the empire on people's daily lives in the metropole. John M. MacKenzie's prolific series *Studies in*

[14] Richard Price, "One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 3 (July 2006): 603.
[15] Kathleen Wilson, "Introduction: Histories, Empires, Modernities," in *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15.

Imperialism has contributed a plethora of volumes to this debate. By the late nineteenth century, with the heyday of the British Empire, MacKenzie argues that even if the average person understood little about the mechanism of imperialism, "imperial status set them apart, and united a set of national ideas which coalesced in the last three decades of the nineteenth century."[16] The definition of the nation was intimately connected to Britain's imperial identity. It was created not so much through any direct political action, but the creation of a "new type of patriotism" centered around "renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes…and racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism."[17] MacKenzie and the many contributors to his *Studies in Imperialism* trace these ideas through education, music, and juvenile literature. The argument is compelling—the fact that Britain had an empire clearly impacted people's daily lives in the metropole in a myriad of ways. What is still being worked out in this historiography is how to show movement from metropole to colony and colony to metropole without privileging the metropole. Here the PNEU and the PUS are incredibly useful, because they are examples of organizations that very literally staked their *raison d'etre* in the relationship between the metropole and empire.

At its inception in 1887, the PNEU was centered directly on matters of class and peripherally on matters of empire. The questions that concerned them included: How will middle- and upper-class families respond to an organization telling them how to parent and educate their children? How can a middle- and upper-class organization best reach out to and meet the needs of working-class parents? Although, they were largely

[16] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 2.
[17] Ibid.

able to answer the first, they never could answer the second. The PNEU's concern with class originated from their anxieties about the nation and how community, or a sense of belonging, was felt. Rather than seeing the nation in the late nineteenth century as a place in which people largely identified with the nation, they saw instead a nation in the process of being split apart along class lines.[18] The enfranchisement of working-class men in the 1867 Reform Act heightened the tension between the classes, causing the middle and upper class to fear an influx of uneducated, unreasonable voters who would make poor decisions in casting their vote, thus altering the nature of the nation. These fears motivated many of the education reforms in the late nineteenth century. In urging a liberal education for all children regardless of class and providing for one through the PUS, the PNEU showed itself a participant in these debates. Their inability to find a way to be an educational organization that truly crossed class lines pushed them in the direction of being an imperial organization. They displaced their class issues onto a population whose needs they could meet less controversially—families living in the empire.

For the PNEU, the British Empire became a site in which to create a sense of nation that went beyond class divisions. Their 1892 name change from the Parents' Educational Union to the Parents' National Educational Union emphasized the shift from class to nation and empire as the organization's defining issue. By providing an educational curriculum focused on the creation of English citizens, the PNEU attempted

[18] On the changing class relationships in the late nineteenth century, see Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland, and Jane Rendall, eds., *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the Reform Act of 1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ross McKibbin, *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1990); Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

to forge a new sense of belonging and national identity. What happened in the empire, the education of white, English children, built a new Britain for the twentieth century. The movement of PUS students, teachers, and PNEU members and Charlotte Mason's ideals from the metropole and colony and vice versa was a dynamic interaction, providing an example of the ideas theorized in the New Imperial History.

One of the critiques levied against the New Imperial History is that it merely underlines the images of colonialism that were predominant in British culture and fails to consider how people might have responded to or cared about these images. Both Bernard Porter and Andrew Thompson question the idea that the British Empire was so influential in the culture and daily lives of English people during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[19] Porter in particular focuses on education to evaluate the impact of empire and imperial sentiment on children's lives.

Porter sees differences both over time and between each class's educational experiences. At the public schools, the upper- and middle-class schoolboy learned not the ins and outs of empire, but how to be "good potential rulers—in any environment—through a concentration on what was called 'character.'"[20] Class and empire went hand-in-hand and the upper class did not need an education on empire. They merely needed to take their place as leaders in the nation. The middle-class school boys, attending one of the endowed schools, also experienced a marginal imperial message. They learned patriotism based on "the growth of peace and freedom in Britain."[21] Empire-building

[19] See Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).
[20] Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists*, 55.
[21] Ibid., 70.

rested uneasily with this message though. Even working-class education was devoid of empire because of its minimum standards. Porter admits that after 1880 there was an upsurge of imperial sentiment in the metropole, but even this he argues was largely bounded by class. A broader imperial identity risked giving children of a lower class "ideas above their station, and so be socially destabilizing."[22] By the interwar period, Porter argues that the messages about empire in history, geography, and civics textbooks had become kinder, gentler, and less violent. It was not an empire anymore, but a commonwealth; no longer an empire of conquest, but an empire of benevolent rule.[23] Ultimately for Porter, the issue is not that empire did not affect people (experientially or economically) but that it simply was not as impactful on people's daily lives as other historians (a.k.a John MacKenzie) have alleged.

The PNEU and PUS provide one way to answer Porter's critique. First, they are both organizations where we can see the impact of the empire on the metropole. The *Parents' Review*, the journal of the PNEU, acted as a venue for exchange between the metropole and empire. The PUS served a similar purpose. By meeting the educational needs of families living abroad, it worked to tie the empire children to the "home children" (as the PNEU referred to children in the metropole). The sources left behind as part of the Charlotte Mason papers also provide a way to look at, not only the imperial messages directed at the British, but how people responded to and understood their place in the empire. The efforts that the PNEU and PUS put into inculcating a sense of English identity in children suggest that there was a very real sense of anxiety about children in the empire and their place in the nation. Did the empire matter for the PNEU and PUS?

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[22] Ibid., 204.
[23] Ibid., chapter 11.

Absolutely! For the PNEU the empire was a way to displace class tensions in the metropole. They could not unify across class lines, so they unified across national lines instead. For families in the empire, the PNEU and PUS was a means back into domestic and national life. The depiction of the empire in the interwar period dovetailed neatly with the PNEU's overall national aims.

Englishness and Britishness

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed dramatic shifts in the relationship between the British Empire and the metropole. During the Edwardian era (1899-1914), people questioned the very ability of the British to maintain the empire. With the demise of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, the British Empire grew to include large tracts of the Middle East that were rich in oil, and, thus, industries expanded to these areas along with British workers and their families. Growing nationalist sentiment in Egypt, India, and Palestine forced the British to hand over more and more control to local leaders. This slow transfer of power was in many ways the first step to decolonization and independence in the post-World War II period. Through all of these upheavals, British men continued to move to the far reaches of the empire with their wives and children. Like Penelope Lively, the daughter of an Englishman working for the Bank of Egypt, children were still taught to be English in the empire, and, like Mary Lennox, their failure to learn was not without consequences; but the context of what it meant to be English was undergoing serious flux both in the metropole and in the empire. In turn, the definition of Britishness changed as well.

A close reading of the literature of the PNEU and PUS and Charlotte Mason's own writings shows an emphasis on Englishness to the exclusion of an assertion of Britishness, which seems odd in light of the geographical breadth of the PNEU and PUS. Her organization spread across Britain, including men, women, and children from Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and England. If the emphasis on Englishness bothered her followers in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, nothing survives to document it. Her biggest supporters, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, were Scottish; they do not appear to have been particularly bothered about the emphasis on Englishness.

The two terms of identity, Englishness and Britishness, represent the inherent difficulties in defining identity in Great Britain, and Mason's emphasis on Englishness was not accidental. She wrote about Englishness, because she wished to emphasize a particular facet of identity. To claim something is British is to claim a broader, more inclusive identity that asserts the "political and social unity of the United Kingdom."[24] At the same time that claims to Britishness suggest a more inclusive identity, Britishness also necessarily emphasizes its constituent parts—it is four nations and an empire, a commonwealth and dominions. To survey recent literature on the nation, Britain is something that is in danger of breaking up, is questionably united, and takes unraveling to really understand.[25]

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[24] Krishna Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6.

[25] A few of the more influential books on Britishness include Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Paul Gilroy, *'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack': The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (1987; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Raphael Samuel, ed., *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, vols. 1-3 (London: Routledge, 1989); Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Englishness on the other hand is both a smaller, more exclusive identity that indicates more than just common institutions of government, but a long, colorful, and successful history protecting and expanding the rights of the freeborn Englishman.[26] Englishness, at least in its colloquial expression, is something to feel sentimental and patriotic about, unlike Britishness which is devoid of similar emotional attachments.[27] In other words, British is what you are by virtue of where you live, but English is what you feel.

The definitions of Englishness and Britishness were never static and at different moments in history they moved farther apart and closer together in meaning. Just like any identity, these identities were invented, imagined, and performed on a daily basis and as such their meaning was always fluid. When Charlotte Mason devised the PUS curriculum to teach children to be English (as opposed to British), she drew on tropes of Englishness popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but also took advantage of the fluidness of the concept to craft a unique version of Englishness that the PNEU and PUS promoted. Alison Light argues that British identity in the 1920s and 1930s:

> move[d] away from formerly heroic and officially masculine public rhetorics of national destiny and from a missionary view of the Victorian and Edwardian middle classes in 'Great Britain' to an Englishness at once less imperial and more inward-looking, more domestic and more private—and, in terms of pre-war standards, 'feminine.'[28]

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[26] On Englishness, see Robert Colls, *Identity of England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm, 1986); Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*; Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge 2003).

[27] Colls and Dodd, eds., *Englishness*, preface; Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, 7-9.

[28] Alison Light, *Forever England: Femininity, Literature and Conservatism between the Wars* (London: Routledge, 1991), 8.

In large part, the definition of Englishness that Mason embraced and promoted in the Edwardian era is the one described by Light as more characteristic of the interwar period. Admittedly, it was completely contradictory on a number of levels. First, it was both completely about an English home, seemingly anti-imperial, while simultaneously creating a space for homes in the empire that were peopled by English citizens. Second, it was ostensibly more private, situating the development of Englishness in the home, but simultaneously more public, opening the home to the nation. Neither Mason nor the members of the PNEU could imagine England apart from its empire. By embracing English identity, Mason chose the identity that would best enfold women and children into the nation. To call them British only emphasized their distance from England, Englishness, and their citizenship; to call them English invested them with citizenship and a stronger sense of belonging. In her description of English identity between the wars, Light notes that it is generally characterized as a retreat into a conservative worldview and conservative politics. In the Edwardian era, as Mason was promoting her view of Englishness, it utilized the language of conservatism but for more liberal ends, because its unintended result was the broadening out of English identity.

Bringing Together the Histories of Childhood, Empire, Education, and Women

Mason provides a way of looking at childhood that positions children within a liberal discourse of the individual. Much of the historiography on childhood is focused on how children were perceived in a given time and place. Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood*, published in 1960, was the first monograph that took childhood seriously as a historical subject. Ariès's concern was not with children per se but with the idea of

childhood more generally. He argued that it was not until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the idea of childhood was fixed as a separate phase in a person's life. To prove this thesis, he analyzed portraits, child-rearing practices, and children's clothing. Central to Ariès's argument was his contention that there was no conception of childhood in the medieval period.[29] *Centuries of Childhood* established the terms of debate, and the initial histories of childhood were devoted to refuting Ariès's thesis and thus were the province of medieval and early modern historians.[30] His overall argument has been largely disproven, but Ariès's basic point— childhood was a constructed notion—remains, and historians have continued to work from the starting point that ideas of childhood change over time, and therefore children's place in society also changes over time.[31]

By focusing on the creation of a discourse of childhood, Ariès made adults the primary actors in his history of childhood and, as a result, obscured children as historical actors. This tension between the creation of a discourse and the experience of children is still evident in the historiography of childhood today.[32] In the archives, "the voice of the child" is "more or less absent," because "the sources have been written and compiled by

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[29] Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (1960; New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 128. For a similar argument to Ariès's situated in England, see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979)
[30] See John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 36. In the English case, see Barbara Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); ———, *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
[31] For a reappraisal of *Centuries of Childhood*, see Adrian Wilson, "The Infancy of the History of Childhood: An Appraisal of Philippe Ariès," *History and Theory* 19, no. 2 (1980): 132-53.
[32] One recent exception to this is Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

adults."[33] Obviously, any history of childhood must consider the adults who constructed the discourse of childhood, but the historiography must also bring together the discourse with the subjects it concerned.

In the nineteenth century, the child was a figure to be scrutinized and disciplined as much as the working class, women, or the figure of the colonized 'other.' Foucault argues the image of the child was of a "schoolboy, the child surrounded by domestic servants, tutors, and governesses, who was in danger of compromising not so much his physical strength as his intellectual capacity, his moral fiber, and the obligation to preserve a healthy line of descent for his family and social class."[34] The late Victorian and Edwardian eras added the nation and empire to Foucault's list of responsibilities of the child.

Historians of childhood have centered their studies on questions of class, gender, and education.[35] Although Foucault argues that the figure of the child was an important site on which discourses of sexuality, power, and discipline were worked out, the working-class child was particularly important. Although many young men volunteered to fight in the Boer War, a surprising number were initially rejected on medical grounds and after "subsequent losses through failure of health…only two out of every five volunteers remained as effective soldiers."[36] The fear of declining health at the turn of

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[33] Harry Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3. Italics in original.
[34] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley, Vintage Books ed. (1978; reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 121.
[35] For a useful review of the historiography of childhood, see Hugh Cunningham, "Histories of Childhood," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (October 1998): 1195-208; Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society*; Carolyn Steedman, "'Muddling Through'," *Journal of British Studies* 33, no. 2 (April 1994): 215-21.
[36] Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 93.

the century was framed around a discourse of national and imperial anxiety. Britain was not only looking towards its empire but also at the growing economic and industrial power of Germany, Japan, and the United States. Fit soldiers were required to defend the empire, and fit workers were required to maintain Britain's national power and prestige. The concern for healthy future soldiers and workers turned attention to the working class and in particular to the working-class mother. Rather than looking towards environment and poverty as the cause of the problem, the ill-health of working-class children was blamed on inadequate and unfit working-class mothers. Ellen Ross and Anna Davin convincingly argue that the period between 1870 and 1914 changed the way that motherhood was viewed and also increased state scrutiny into the lives of mothers, particularly working-class mothers.[37]

The same period also saw significant changes in the lives of working-class children and the definition of childhood.[38] Anna Davin's *Growing Up Poor* is the most detailed description of working-class childhood and children between the years 1870 and 1914.[39] She argues that "the history of children in society requires and permits exploration of the whole social structure" because "the overall economy, the local economy and the domestic economy, interconnecting with overall, local and domestic demography, underpin the experience of childhood."[40] By using childhood as a lens to

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[37] See Ibid; Anne Huebel, "'More Than an Individual'? The Paradoxes of Motherhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2004); Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
[38] Carolyn Steedman provides an interesting discussion of the educator Margaret MacMillan whose career brackets this change in ideas of childhood and the life of children in Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).
[39] Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* (London: River Oram Press, 1996).
[40] Ibid., 11.

understand larger trends in the late Victorian and Edwardian era, Davin is also careful to show that her subjects "had their own feelings, attitudes and stories."[41] Davin's story is very localized to the extent that she focuses her analysis on working-class children living in the East End in London and does not consider children in rural areas or in the empire. Still she presents a model of how to bring together a study of discourse with a focus on the experiences of children.[42]

Hugh Cunningham's *The Children of the Poor* looks at the ways that the state's focus on the "importance of childhood helped to bridge the gap between the children of the poor and other children."[43] His focus is more exclusively on discourses of childhood than on actual children, but one of the discourses that he examines highlights an interesting connection to the empire. Working-class children were often likened to savages, and, conversely, colonized peoples were often likened to children. Cunningham argues that:

> this constant reiteration of the similarity between children and the subjects of Empire had a mutually reinforcing effect on their images. Both had a dearth of what had come to be thought of as essential adult qualities; their childishness or savagery consisted in their total absence of forethought, self-denial and self-government. They were described more in terms of negatives, of what they lacked, than of any positive qualities. The responsibility, the burden, on adults was to provide guidance and rule for these children and savages.[44]

Adults constructed childhood as a space in which to educate children out of savagery into civilization. Like Davin, Cunningham confines his analysis to the metropole and does not consider the empire.

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[41] Ibid.
[42] For an interesting discussion of working-class childhood, see Carolyn Steedman, *The Tidy House: Little Girls Writing* (London: Virago Press, 1982). She uses examples of girls' writing from school to analyze how working class girls felt about motherhood.
[43] Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 5.
[44] Ibid., 131-32.

Children raised in the empire had a double burden. By virtue of discourses of childhood, children were defined as 'savages,' but, by virtue of living in a colonial setting, they were in danger of being seen as closer to the colonized peoples rather than the colonizer in the metropole. In a sense, the burden they carried on the road to civilization was twice as heavy as that of children in the metropole. An interesting parallel to Cunningham's analysis is Laura Peters's *Orphan Texts*. Peters looks at the depiction of orphans in Victorian literature. She argues "the orphan occupies the place of the colonized subject within Victorian society: dispossessed, without rights, and embodying a difference to be excluded. On another level, the orphan's lack of rootedness and obvious social obligations identifies him as a possible agent of empire."[45] Beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century, there were a variety of proposals to send orphan children to help in settling the empire.[46] Peters's framework is useful, because she analyzes the orphan as a figure that anxieties about the nation were played out upon. Lydia Murdoch makes a similar argument in her recent book *Imagined Orphans*, focusing on narratives of orphan children as one site in which competing definitions of citizenship and class played out between the working class and middle and upper class.[47]

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[45] Laura Peters, *Orphan Texts: Victorian Orphans, Culture and Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 65.

[46] On child emigration schemes to the empire, see Stephen Constantine, *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); ———, "British Emigration to the Empire-Commonwealth since 1880: From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?," *Journal of Imperial & Commonwealth History* 31, no. 2 (2003): 16-35; Elaine Hadley, "Natives in a Strange Land: The Philanthropic Discourse of Juvenile Emigration in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England," *Victorian Studies* 33, no. 3 (1990): 411-39; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Gillian Wagner, *Children of the Empire* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982).

[47] Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006).

The PNEU and PUS bring these two histories of children together—the focus on empire children was about class, nation, empire, and citizenship.

In her focus on citizenship, Mason had to propose a new definition of the child; to do so, she built on late-nineteenth century New Liberal theories of the individual and his or her relationship to the state. One key intervention that Mason made was that she adapted the liberal understanding of the individual to focus on children and women. In the case of children, it allowed her to envision them as citizens. In the case of women, it allowed her to view women as individuals first and wives and mothers second. Mason couched her belief in the individuality of children in a critique of utilitarianism. Utilitarian educational philosophy dictated the type of education that children of different classes deserved from the state. From Mason's perspective, this sort of educational philosophy maintained class divisions and failed to recognize the inherent individuality of children. Utilitarian educational programs were the opposite of Mason's liberal education for all children. By viewing children in terms of their class and their ultimate use to the state (whether through work in factories or civil service or in the Houses of Parliament), utilitarian educational programs failed to nurture the development of children into citizens. Mason's construction of children as citizens provided for the broadening of a definition of Englishness.

Finding the Voice of Empire Children

Between the Education Act of 1870 and the Education Act of 1902, school attendance became mandatory for British children. School became a prime site to instill imperial values in children in order to guarantee the future of the empire, but school was

also a place to maintain social order. *Benefits Bestowed* and *The Imperial Curriculum*, both edited by J. A. Mangan, examine school curriculum and how it promoted an imperial ideal.[48] Mangan builds on the work of John MacKenzie, who argued that history, geography, and English became more important parts of the school curriculum only later in the nineteenth century with the advent of the classic imperialism of that same period.[49] He uses history and geography textbooks as his main source; a project that Stephen Heathorn continues in his more recent *For Home, Country, and Race*.[50] Heathorn argues that schooling was "explicitly engaged in a process of national-identity construction" which showed children not only their place in the empire, but also more importantly "their own 'place' in the complex abstraction called a nation."[51] He finds that textbooks focused on teaching children to be English and not British, creating an "unresolved tension within the texts (and classroom culture in general) between English identity and British identity," with the result that "those on the 'periphery' did not have the same 'right' to speak for the whole."[52] English children raised and educated in the empire were precisely this peripheral group, but, because Heathorn and even MacKenzie are focused on looking at a series of textbooks, they do not interrogate how children themselves interpreted the textbooks, nor do they consider how the colonial message of

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[48] J. A. Mangan, ed. *Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) and ———, ed. *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in British Colonial Experience* (London: Routledge,1993).
[49] MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 174-97. Gauri Viswanathan's *Masks of Conquest* argues that the discipline of English was actually created in India as a help in maintaining British colonial rule in India and only later did English literature become an important part of school curriculum in the metropole (Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1989]).
[50] Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
[51] Ibid., viii.
[52] Ibid., 95.

the textbook might have functioned differently in the colonial context versus the metropole.

The dominant discourse on child-rearing in India compelled parents to send children back to England by the age of six for exposure to "Britain's climate, culture, and schooling provisions, factors that, taken together, inculcated highly coveted forms of cultural and career competence connoting whiteness and respectability."[53] What needs further thinking is the ways that discourses of childhood actually played out in the imperial context. Charlotte Mason and her educational philosophy provide insight into this process, because she provided for a different educational option in the colonies by providing a home-school educational service. Curiously, despite her popularity with families living abroad in the early twentieth century, Charlotte Mason and the PNEU are entirely absent from the literature on children, education, and the empire. Although she authored a set of geography textbooks, they are not part of MacKenzie's source set, and Heathorn only mentions them in his bibliography but does not refer to them in the body of his text. Elizabeth Buettner does mention the PNEU, but only in passing because of the popularity of the "correspondence lessons administered by the Parents' National Educational Union in England."[54] This small mention of Mason and the PNEU is representative of how she fits into the literature on education, children, and empire. Generally, she is briefly mentioned in a single sentence as an example of an education

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[53] Buettner, *Empire Families*, 110. For an overview of Buettner's argument, see Elizabeth Buettner, "Problematic Spaces, Problematic Races: Defining 'Europeans' in Late Colonial India," *Women's History Review* 9, no. 2 (2000): 277-98 or her earlier dissertation, Elizabeth Ann Buettner, "Families, Children, and Memories: Britons in India, 1857-1947" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1998).
[54] Buettner, *Empire Families*, 87.

reformer.[55] Looking at and through Mason, the PNEU, and PUS enriches the picture, because it captures, to some degree, the voice of children articulating ideas about home, nation, empire, and citizenship.

Thinking about the relationship between childhood and the project of colonization presents unique difficulties because of the kinds of sources available. Most records about children are written by adults, either looking back on their own childhoods or observing other children, and usually present a more middle- or upper-class conception of childhood. Working-class children's own words are filtered through the lens of middle-class government officials questioning them as in the case of the hearings over child labor in the nineteenth century. Adults looking back on their own childhood depict not the reality that was their experience, but rather the memory of that experience, which certainly reflects their experience to some extent, but often is also imbued with a strong sense of nostalgia that colors their memories.

Autobiographies, particularly childhood autobiographies, have an important and unique project in mind. If the basic plotline of all autobiographies is "'*this* is what I was; *that* is what I did,'" the childhood autobiography emphasizes not "assertion," but "interrogation: '*how* did I come to be like that? *Why* was I impelled to do this?' In essence the Childhood [autobiography] is a quest, a search for understanding…"[56] In the case of the children raised in the empire, the quest being undertaken is an attempt to

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[55] In terms of Mason in the metropole, see Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 69-70; Marian Wallace Ney, *Charlotte Mason: 'A Pioneer of Sane Education'* (Nottingham: Educational Heretics Press, 1997); John Roach, *Secondary Education in England, 1870-1902: Public Activity and Private Enterprise* (London: Routledge Press, 1991), 235; W. A. C. Stewart, *The Educational Innovators: Progressive Schools 1881-1967*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 84.

[56] Richard N. Coe, *When the Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 41.

resolve anxieties surrounding definitions of Britishness, Englishness, and race in both the colonial and post-colonial period. The need to explain and justify one's position as both inside and outside the empire and nation is the underlying motivation of these works. Carolyn Steedman argues, "the idea of childhood[,] came to be commonly used to express the depths of historicity within individuals… The search for the child…is the expression of a desire to give the child a home."[57] This desire to explain and find a home allows many of these authors to attempt to resolve tensions of identity in their narrative.

For children raised in the empire, their autobiographies are a study in contrasts between a place that is home and a place that should be home. Critics claim that these autobiographies exhibit a nostalgia for empire that is out of step with the unjustness of colonialism. In order to respond to this criticism, writers are often left with a narrative at odds with itself. They write fondly of their childhood memories but layer on top of these the admission that colonialism is and was wrong, tingeing their memories with a feeling of guilt.

What is really needed are children's own words from the period under consideration. Though these words also come with their own assumptions and biases, they provide a more immediate source. Students following the curriculum of the PUS from their homes in the empire took essay exams three times a year. Two sets of exams were sent back to Mason and PUS to be marked, while parents evaluated the third. Mason believed that children should be asked broad questions based on the reading they had accomplished over the term. Questions/essay topics included: "Show how Britain has come to possess so great an Empire" or "What is meant by being a good citizen?"

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[57] Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 12, 158-59.

Students were sometimes asked to write an essay on a topic of their choosing in a style similar to someone like John Ruskin whom they might hav read that year. Mason was very clear in her educational philosophy that these exam questions should not have one right or wrong answer but allow children an opportunity to show what they had learned drawing on their reading, their knowledge of current events, and their ability to make connections between the two. Children's answers necessarily focus on the content of the lessons, so they are limited to some extent, but this limitation is both a positive and negative to the historian. In one sense, children are not just randomly answering the questions but undoubtedly trying to come up with the answer that will earn them good marks. In another sense, these exams are an ideal sort of source, particularly coming out of Mason's curriculum, because they address the very questions that I am seeking to answer. Mason was not just seeking to educate children but was very specifically and deliberately engaged in educating children to be English. The PUS, and the PNEU for that matter, provided an education with a very specific purpose. This emphasis is why exam questions focused so heavily on questions of history (which brings out ideas of the nation and who is and is not a part of it), English literature (which brings out ideas of character that form the basis for Mason's nation), nature study (which emphasized English vegetation), and government or citizenship studies (which directly address the formation of a new national identity) are so valuable. The PUS provided an avenue for children to wrestle with questions of national identity. Although the nature of the curriculum might have steered them in certain directions, the methodological approach to testing gave children more freedom in expressing their ideas.

In addition to the exams, the Charlotte Mason Papers include letters from children describing their lives in the empire and specifically noting where they identified as having a sense of belonging. The *Parents' Review* and the *L'Umile Pianta* (the alumni magazine of the House of Education) regularly included letters from women living in the empire addressing similar issues. The PNEU hosted conferences specifically about the creation of home in the empire, and the conference proceedings were often included in the *Parents' Review*. Together these sources offer a fuller picture of how imperial and national identity in the first half of the twentieth century was created.

Chapter Outline

The first chapter, "The Educational Outlook in England at the Turn of the Century," focuses on Charlotte Mason's life between her birth in 1841/42 and 1880 and how the changes in education in England influenced her early teaching career. In the second half, it turns to Mason's critique of other dominant educational philosophies, including Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Montessori. I argue that Mason's personal experiences teaching in a changing education system influenced the development of her educational philosophy that was rooted in the idea of the individuality of children.

In "Building an Educational Union: The Origins of the Parents' National Educational Union," the second chapter, I examine how Mason strategically created a past for herself to put her in a position to be successful later in life. This chapter also looks at the contradictory role of class dynamics in the formation of the PNEU. Although at the initial formation of the PNEU the inaugural members suggested that the organization would be one that worked beyond class division, the simple reality was that

it proved impossible to overcome the inherent class attitudes and politics of the membership. Because of this difficulty, the PNEU turned its attention to a more reachable population—families in the empire.

The third chapter, "Diagnosing the Malady of the Nation: Protecting Children's Individuality," focuses on how Mason related her educational philosophy to wider debates about the nature of the nation with particular emphasis on her idea of character and its relationship to wider conceptions of national identity. I argue that the changing nature of the British nation and British Empire in the first half of the twentieth century required a new definition of the nation that was not just defined in opposition to the colonial 'other,' but was contingent upon a redefinition of the relationship between the individual and the state, thereby creating a new citizen. The PNEU's emphasis on history, citizenship, religion, and literature and Mason's critique of utilitarian educational philosophies were an attempt to educate children to be this new sort of citizen for a new sort of Britain.

The fourth chapter, "Finding Home Away from Home: Women, Education, and the Empire" explores the role of women in educating children. From as early as the late nineteenth century, Mason was actively engaged in constructing a new ideology of motherhood that rejected reducing women to their role as mothers and instead viewed women first as individuals. This move to the individual personhood of women was necessary in constructing a new view of citizenship. Additionally, Mason trained teachers and governesses. Particularly in the case of governesses, her activities contributed to the professionalization of it as a valuable career for women. She argued that it was a career that required women to be trained—caring for children was not an

innately feminine trait, but required a scientific approach both to the actual work of caring for children and learning how to do it. During the First and Second World Wars, more and more of this work was taken on by women, because they could no longer send their children away for school. Through their actions, women in the colonial setting uniquely participated in the process of creating homes in the empire.

In the final chapter, "Creating Community through Schoolwork: Lessons on Home for/from the 'Colonial' Children," I focus on the education of children in the colonies specifically. It was particularly important to educate this group of children about their place in relationship to the metropole and within the empire more broadly. The development of citizens of good character, and obviously identifiable as English, was necessary in the construction of a new idea of the nation and the empire. Although their physical location was in the periphery of the empire, children educated in the empire were especially important in this project. The PUS worked with the PNEU to create a discourse of the family of the nation that brought together the "colonial children" with the "home children." The PUS children actively participated in the creation of a new identity that better reflected their understandings of home.

Conclusion

Alexandra Fuller's memoir, *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight*, was a popular success when it hit bookstore shelves in 2001.[58] Her story is funny and tragic all at the same time. Born in England in 1969, she moved to Rhodesia in 1972 with her family, following in the footsteps of three generations of family members before them. Even

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[58] Alexandra Fuller, *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight: An African Childhood* (New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2003).

though her experience in Africa begins long after the scope of this dissertation, Fuller recalls the same sense of being out of place that the fictional Mary Lennox demonstrates in *The Secret Garden*. At school, she was constantly being asked, "'But what are you?...Where are you from *originally*?'"[59] She finds all of the answers to be equally unsatisfying both to herself and whoever asks the questions, "'I'm African.'… 'I was born in England.'… 'I have lived in Rhodesia…, and in Malawi…, and in Zambia.'"[60]

Fuller remembers that her mother faced the same issues in defining who she was and where home was. Listening to Scottish music left her mother teary and homesick, which Fuller had a hard time understanding since her mother had lived in Africa for all but three years of her life. When she pointed this discrepancy out to her mother, that Africa really was her mother's home, her mother responded, "But my heart… is Scottish."[61] Notions of home and identity in the imperial context were contradictory and created a myriad of paradoxes for the women and children carving out homes in the empire. These concerns layered on top of larger debates about class, individualism, and the place of women in relationship to the state. Charlotte Mason, the PNEU, and the PUS provide one avenue of teasing out the home and belonging in the British Empire. Perhaps it really was possible to be British, English, and African.

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[59] Ibid., 10.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid., 11.

Chapter 1

The Educational Outlook in England

at the Turn of the Century

Lady Aberdeen was a busy woman. When the International Congress of Women (ICW) formed in 1888, the organization named her its president.[1] Her position in the ICW provided her the perfect venue to promote another organization in which was active—the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU)—for which she (along with her husband) served as president as well. At the 1889 ICW meeting in London, Lady Aberdeen chaired the section on women in education. The education section was a veritable who's who in women's education at the time, including speeches by Maria Montessori and Margaret McMillan. Despite her personal absence from the meeting, Charlotte Mason's presence was nonetheless felt. In her speech, "Parental Responsibility," Mrs. Hart Davis reminded the conference attendees that they needed to be persistent advocates for their daughters' education:

> Only very gradually will parents see that girls deserve to have as much spent on their education as boys, that the best dower they can hold in their hands is an all-around education, leading when possible to a profession…that without preparation for it [independent ennobling work] she runs a risk as great, or greater, of the evils of leading an aimless life, and letting herself drift along with no healthy concentration in the directions in which her abilities may lead her; and for want of that concentration ending in dissatisfaction at finding too late that she is unfit to produce any real work.[2]

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[1] On the ICW, see Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); International Council of Women, *Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966).

[2] Ishbel Gordon Aberdeen, ed. *Women in Education: Being the Transactions of the Educational Section of the International Congress of Women* (London: T. Fisher Unwin,1900), 9.

Although educational opportunities for girls were expanding at the end of the century, Mrs. Hart Davis's remarks point to the contradictory messages behind these expanding educational opportunities. Education was not just about providing for women who would never marry or have children, but, according to Mrs. Hart Davis, was necessary to afford women access to an independent life. Taking up her remarks, Henrietta Franklin reminded the audience about the contributions of English educationalist Charlotte Mason to education generally and her encouragement of parental responsibility in education.[3] Five years later at the third conference of the ICW in Berlin, Lady Aberdeen and Franklin again touted Charlotte Mason and the PNEU as important contributors to education in Britain.[4] The regular inclusion of Charlotte Mason and her educational program at the International Congress of Women points to Mason's importance in wider circles of both education reform and women's reform at the turn of the century.[5]

Between 1900 and 1922, Mason kept busy lecturing, writing, running the PNEU, and acting as headmistress of her training school, the House of Education. Her intense work at the beginning of the century reflects how she and the members of the PNEU viewed the early years of the twentieth century. Previously dominated by the likes of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke, educational thought in England at the turn of the century was experiencing new continental connections, with the influx of Friedrich Froebel's and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's educational thinking from Germany and Maria Montessori's from Italy. Mason, a devoted Englishwomen, viewed the influx of

[3] Ibid., 10-12.
[4] I am grateful to Aeleah Soine for sharing with me programs she found from the 1904 ICW meeting in Berlin recording Henrietta Franklin's speech on Charlotte Mason.
[5] There is nothing amongst the Charlotte Mason papers to indicate why she did not personally attend the meeting. I would guess that her health prevented her attending the conference.

thought on education and the child with a sense of excitement and trepidation. On the one hand, she was excited by the prospect of England being "in the throes of an educational revolution…emerging from chaos rather than about to plunge into it…"[6] On the other hand, the vast body of educational philosophies floating around undermined her goal for a systematic, all-encompassing philosophy of education.[7] In part, her trepidation stemmed from her own nationalist priorities. She wanted not just any educational system or philosophy but one that promised to raise up devoted English citizens.

This chapter examines the educational milieu in which Mason created and enacted her own philosophy of education. Using Mason's own early education experiences, this chapter first traces the structural changes in the education system in England from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1902 Education Act.[8] Next, this chapter examines Mason's own educational philosophy as laid out in her educational manifesto to demonstrate how her pedagogy and philosophy were both similar and different to other educational philosophies gaining in popularity in the early twentieth century. Mason's critiques of other educational philosophers hinged on their beliefs about children as persons, the role of women in education, and the relationship between education and the state.

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[6] Charlotte M. Mason, *Parents and Children* (1904; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 119.
[7] Ibid., 118.
[8] The educational acts discussed in this chapter applied only in England and Wales. Ireland and Scotland had separate education systems that functioned under a different set of laws.

The Structure of Education in Britain

Charlotte Mason's life, 1841/42-1923, coincided with great educational ferment in Britain.[9] The educational debates in Britain can be mapped across Mason's own experiences as a student and educator. Born in 1841/42, the only child of Joshua Mason and an unnamed mother, Mason's childhood was overshadowed by her mother's poor health, until her death when Charlotte was sixteen years old. Shortly thereafter her father also died. The scattered bits that remain about Mason's childhood suggest it was "lonely" with few toys or friends, but filled with books. Though their economic situation was "poor" according to Mason, the lifestyle she describes is more akin to the middle class than the working class.[10] Her mother did not work, and neither was Mason expected to work and contribute to the family's income, though she did expect to work as an adult. Perhaps because of her own family situation, she dreamt of becoming a teacher for "poor children."[11]

Based on the limited information provided by Mason, she grew up in a family that valued education, but not until after the death of both of her parents did she receive any formal schooling. Instead her education was undertaken in the home by her parents. This sort of informal home education was not uncommon, in light of the array of educational options available, the class stratification of schools, and, particularly, in the case of girls' education. Mason's personal recollections of a middle-class education coupled with her family's poverty complicate identifying her family's background.

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[9] See chapter 2 for an explanation of the difficulty in dating Mason's birth and for a more critical analysis of Mason's family history.
[10] Essex Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason* (1960; reprint, Petersfield: Child Light Publication, 2000), 2, 4. Mason's father was a cotton merchant, whose business failed as the supply of cotton from the Southern United States dried up in the years leading up to the Civil War.
[11] Ibid., 4-5.

Better understanding her family's class affiliation would clear up some of the mysteries about the education she received, because class mattered absolutely in terms of the form and content of education in the middle of the nineteenth century.

At best, Mason's family was part of the lower-middle class—a group whose economic situation often gave them more in common with the working class than the middle class. Mason's subsequent experiences as a teacher buttress this position. Most teachers came from lower-middle-class families, where it was expected that daughters would work outside the home as adults; and, thus, women's waged work was seen as an "appropriate activity."[12] For working-class and lower-middle class families, such as Mason's family, the Non-Conformist British and Foreign Schools Society and the Anglican National Society provided them with some level of education in elementary schools.[13] To maintain the schools, students paid a small fee each week, and the schools also received a small government grant.[14] The education provided was hampered by large class size, which remained the case throughout the nineteenth century. One London school in 1898 featured two rooms big enough to hold ninety-six and seventy-two students at a time—numbers hardly conducive to individual attention and instruction.[15] The children learned reading, some writing, and religious instruction under the monitorial

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[12] Dina Mira Copelman, *London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class, and Feminism, 1870-1930* (New York: Routledge, 1996), xv. Dina Copelman estimates that between 1870 and 1914, 80-90% of teachers were recruited from the working class and lower middle class (Copelman, *London's Women Teachers*, 32).
[13] Felicity Hunt estimates that 80-85% of children attended elementary schools, as opposed to either endowed grammar schools or public schools (Felicity Hunt, "Introduction," in *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950*, ed. Felicity Hunt [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987], xiv).
[14] On the grant program established in 1833, see Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870* (London: Lawrence &Wishart, 1974), 163-65.
[15] Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* (London: River Oram Press, 1996), 121.

system developed and promoted by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell.[16] Under the monitorial system, one teacher oversaw a smaller group of monitors below him or her who would then teach younger groups of children. In this way, the number of children in a school could be maximized without a simultaneous need for more teachers. Older children in the class would be taught a lesson, which they in turn would teach to children below them. In this way, one teacher could (in theory) successfully manage such a large classroom.[17] For girls, elementary education included not just reading and writing, but also sewing and lessons in domestic economy.[18] Since this education was not free, it remained out of the reach of even some members of the lower-middle class. As a cotton merchant in the 1840s and 1850s, the Mason family's economic position was undoubtedly unstable, making attendance at a local elementary school simply a financial impossibility.[19]

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[16] Andrew Bell developed his system while serving as Anglican priest in India and teaching there.

[17] Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2001), 148. Although large classes persisted to the end of the century, there was a move away from the monitorial system to group lessons. On the monitorial system, see H. C. Dent, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1800-1975* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977).

[18] On girls' curriculum, see Davin, *Growing up Poor*, 142-53; Annmarie Turnbull, "Learning Her Womanly Work: The Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914," in *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950*, ed. Felicity Hunt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 83-101.

[19] Other more informal educational opportunities were available to the working class as well. For an overview of working-class education, see Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*; Neil J. Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change: British Working-Class Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Dame schools for very young children were popular with working class parents because they "accommodated themselves to working-class needs" by offering "uncensorous 'minding', practical literacy, a more homely atmosphere, and did not try to impose formality, inspection, discipline, and punctuality upon families and their children. They were free of religious instructions, free of the monitorial method. They were 'family-friendly'" (Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865-1914* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987], 82). Ragged schools taught technical skill (needlework for girls and shoe-making for boys) in addition to a rudimentary education, but disappeared after the 1870 Education Act. On ragged schools, see H. W. Schupf, "Education for the Neglected: Ragged Schools in Nineteenth Century England," *History of Education Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1972): 162-83. Sunday schools were also a common form of working-class education. Here children were taught reading, writing, and religion. Laqueur argues that Sunday schools were a "relatively autonomous, largely working-class institution," but historians have challenged his assessment (Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976], 63). See Malcolm Dick, "The Myth of the Working Class

Besides finances, issues of status and gender might have played a role in the decision to keep Charlotte's education a family affair. In a Victorian elementary school, Mason might have shared a desk, played with, and learned her lessons side-by-side with working-class children, which her parents might have been keen to avoid. Because she was a girl, Mason's parents might have viewed her education as less about an education to prepare her for a future of work, but instead training to run a household and become a wife and mother. In this case, "mothers were the best teachers," and the home was the best site for this type of education.[20] But despite being educated at home, Mason describes her education as more academic and less about preparation for running a household, so this latter explanation seems least likely. Social constraints might have been at work as well. As class became an important marker of identity, the middle class, in particular, became increasingly interested in educational opportunities for their children that would set them apart from both the working class and the aristocracy.[21] The middle class wanted an education similar to the aristocracy without the perceived corruption and vice that education for being merely a gentleman created. Concurrent with the passage of the 1832 Reform Act, extending political rights to middle-class men,

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Sunday School," *History of Education* 9, no. 1 (1980): 27-41; Nicholas Rogers, "Class and Popular Education in Nineteenth Century Britain," *History of Education Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1979): 477-84. Prior to Laqueur, Thompson argued that Sunday schools were "a dreadful exchange even for village dame schools" because their focus was solely "the 'moral rescue' of the children of the poor" at the expense of learning to read and write (E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* [New York: Vintage Books, 1963], 377).

[20] Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 38.

[21] On the middle class, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); John Smail, *The Origins of the Middle Class: Halifax, Yorkshire, 1660-1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Dror Wahrman, *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representations of Class in Britain, C. 1780-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

the number of endowed grammar schools, catering to the children of middle-class industrialists, grew exponentially.[22]

If the elementary schools were out of reach financially for the Mason family, the public schools most definitely would have been. These schools taught a strictly classical curriculum and in this way indicated that they catered to the upper class. The point of this type of education was to be a gentleman, not to learn a trade or become a good businessman. The school curriculum at the public schools did not include science or vocational training in the nineteenth century, because "science was linked in the public mind with industry…. Industry meant an uncomfortable closeness to working with one's hands…. Vocational preparation—for law, medicine, or any newer profession—carried the stigma of utility."[23] The curriculum initially worked to keep the middle class out and strengthened middle class contempt for the aristocracy until later in the nineteenth century, when, Martin Wiener argues, the upper-middle class began to adopt the lifestyle of the upper class.[24] In 1864, the Clarendon Commission released a report on the great public schools, criticizing "the low intellectual attainments of many of the boys." It

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[22] For an overview of the history of education in Britain, see John Roach, *Secondary Education in England, 1870-1902: Public Activity and Private Enterprise* (London: Routledge Press, 1991); ———, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870* (London: Longman, 1986); Simon, *The Two Nations*; Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1965); ———, *Education and the Social Order, 1940-1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991); W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain, 1750-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998). Anne Digby and Peter Searby, *Children, School, and Society in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: Macmillan, 1981). includes a collection of primary sources related to education. John Roach categorizes the new private schools into four groups. The first were schools run for a private profit; the second were "schools founded by bodies of proprietors in the 1830s and 1840s to provide good education for boys in classical and modern subjects;" next came schools attached to a particular religious denomination; and finally county schools that catered to the children of farmers, skilled artisans, and clerks (Roach, *A History of Secondary Education*, 104).

[23] Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18,19.

[24] Not until World War I revealed "technical shortcomings" in Britain were science, math, and engineering given a stronger position in school curriculums (Neil Daglish, "'Over by Christmas': The First World War, Education Reform and the Economy. The Case of Christopher Addison and the Origins of the DSIR," *History of Education* 27, no. 3 [1998]: 316).

found, however, the "character training" at these institutions to be quite good.[25] The commission's finding highlighted the class stratification enshrined in education in England, and, in fact, their recommendations only entrenched it further. By advocating a fee structure that excluded the poor entirely, only a very select group of children of the upper-middle class could afford these schools. The nine great public schools continued to serve the needs of elite boys.[26]

The endowed grammar schools might have catered to a family of Mason's class background but not their financial background. These schools were similar to the elementary schools in the age of students attending but provided an education for middle-class students. The Taunton Commission opened its investigations into the endowed grammar schools in 1864, just as the Clarendon Commission closed its own investigations.[27] The commission found that the endowed grammar schools provided a poor education and, perhaps even more seriously, threatened to destabilize already fragile class divisions. Because many endowed grammar schools offered a number of spots for children to attend without paying fees, both middle- and working-class children could attend. The commission was concerned that the free attendance of working-class children pulled down the overall educational standard of a school. Here also these free

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[25] Roach, *A History of Secondary Education*, 260. The great public schools included Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Westminster, Shrewsbury, and Charterhouse. These seven were all boarding schools. St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', both day schools, are also usually considered as public schools, albeit with slightly different situations since neither was a boarding school.

[26] For a longer discussion of the Clarendon Commission's findings, see Simon, *The Two Nations*, 299-318.

[27] On the Taunton Commission, see David Ian Allsobrook, *Schools for the Shires: The Reform of Middle-Class Education in Mid-Victorian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), chapter 8; Jane Purvis, *A History of Woman's Education in England* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1991), 73-74; Simon, *The Two Nations*, 318-36. On school fees, see Jane J. Lewis, "Parents, Children, School Fees, and the London School Board, 1870-1890," *History of Education* 11, no. 4 (1982): 291-312.

spots were eliminated. The end result was a system of endowed schools, whose fee structures made them the bastion of the middle class and excluded the working class.[28]

Because Mason's parents chose to educate her at home, she never directly experienced a classroom education. At age sixteen, orphaned, with no family connections to fall back on and in ill health, Mason suddenly had to negotiate her path through the English education system. One path available to Mason would have been to take a post as a governess. A governess oversaw the home education typical for girls, but she was left in a difficult position. A governess needed first and foremost to be a lady, but by definition a lady did not work, leaving her in a position of "status incongruence."[29] She was at once "a lady, and therefore not a servant, but she was an employee, and therefore not of equal status with the wife and daughters of the house."[30] A governess did not necessarily have any special education to qualify her to teach children. Her employment as a governess said more about her economic straits than her education, which might have been poor and disjointed. Thus, the turnover in governesses was substantial as families sought a woman who could teach music, art, and a foreign language in addition to reading and writing to their daughters. By the middle of the

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[28] See Simon, *The Two Nations*, 318-36.

[29] M. Jeanne Peterson coined the term "status incongruence" to refer to the Victorian governess in M. Jeanne Peterson, "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society," *Victorian Studies* 14, no. 1 (1970): 7-26. Her article was later reprinted under the same title in Martha Vicinus, ed. *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,1972), 3-19. On the governess, see Ruth Brandon, *Governess: The Lives and Times of the Real Jane Eyres* (New York: Walke & Company, 2008); Edward E. Gordon, "The Victorian Governess as Educator," *Vitae Scholasticae* 8, no. 1 (1989): 235-58; Bea Howe, *A Galaxy of Governesses* (London: Derek Verschoyle, 1954); Kathryn Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (London: Hambledon Press, 1993); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), chapter 5; Alice Renton, *Tyrant or Victim?: A History of the British Governess* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991). On governesses in the British Empire, see Marion Amies, "The Victorian Governess and Colonial Ideals of Womanhood," *Victorian Studies* 31, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 537-65.

[30] Peterson, "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society," 15.

nineteenth century, the founding of the Governesses's Benevolent Institution and literary works like *Jane Eyre* sought to raise the position of the governess from "a confession of failure to a condition of possibility."[31]

By the 1840s, increasing demands on the governess led to an improvement in training opportunities for the governesses themselves, though not necessarily a more professional status. Just as the middle class was demanding better educational opportunities for their sons by the 1840s, they were also demanding better trained governesses for their daughters.[32] F. D. Maurice, a Christian Socialist and English Professor (and incidentally a strong influence on Charlotte Mason), led a movement to establish the Governesses's Benevolent Institution in 1843 to provide economic assistance to governesses during times of unemployment or old age.[33] They were deluged by requests and unable to fill all of the need, so Maurice spearheaded the opening of a college for women to improve their educational preparation for being a governess in the hopes of ultimately improving their economic station. In 1848, Queen's College opened its doors to women, followed shortly thereafter by Bedford College. Although Queen's College provided classes for governesses, it did not want to be seen as "setting up a special training scheme for governesses…"[34] Queen's College stayed focused on preparing women to work as governesses and was administered mainly by men, whereas Bedford College quickly dropped its governess program in favor of

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[31] Laura Morgan Green, *Educating Women: Cultural Conflict and Victorian Literature* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2001), 27.
[32] See Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, 23.
[33] On the GBI, see Brandon, *Governess*, 226-28; Renton, *Tyrant or Victim?*, 90-93.
[34] Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, 186. "The Committee disclaim any idea of training governesses as a separate profession. They believe and hope, that the ranks of that profession will still be supplied from those, whose minds and tempers have been disciplined in the school of adversity, and who are thus best able to guide the minds and tempers of their pupils" (*GBI Report for 1848*, quoted in ———, *The Victorian Governess*, 186).

broader education for women and was administered largely by women.[35] The governess, despite all the contradictions in her status and the often poor conditions that she labored under, provided one of the spurs for the movement for higher education for women. Later in her life Mason's work converged with these trends. The House of Education, originally focused on training governesses, provided a space for professional development to women interested in taking positions as governesses. The program of study asserted that what qualified a woman to be a governess was not her class position, but her intellectual and educational attainments. In 1857/58, another path available to Mason was a teacher training college, many of which were opening all across England.

When the Taunton Commission initially convened, they only intended to investigate boys' schools, but Emily Davies successfully pressured the commission to include girls' schools in their investigations as well. A year later, women, including Emily Davies (first principal of Girton College), Dorothea Beale (principal of Cheltenham Ladies College), Anne Clough (first principal of Newnham College), and Frances Buss (principal of North London Collegiate School), testified before the committee on the position of girls' education. Their testimony clearly demonstrated that girls lacked access to schools with well-qualified teachers, but meeting these needs required some sort of teacher training that would qualify women to be teachers. In 1872, the Girls Public Day School Company (later Trust) opened girls' schools across England that provided a liberal education with real academic expectations. In 1873, Girton College at Cambridge headed by Emily Davies opened its doors with a goal of providing

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[35] Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, 23-24. Additionally, Queen's College was affiliated with the Church of England, while Bedford College was affiliated with the non-Conformist tradition.

women the same education available to men at Cambridge, but it required women to enter fully versed with a classical education. Six years later, recognizing that the educational prerequisites required at Girton might not be easily met by most women, Anne Jemima Clough, the first principal of Newnham College at Cambridge, offered a more flexible educational program to women.[36] The graduates of these programs went on to head "the expanding network of girls' schools and thus to improve the formal schooling of the next cohorts to come to Cambridge: the two processes fed off each other."[37] In fact, many of the women influential in the push for an extension of women's education, namely Dorothea Beale and Anne Clough, became important supporters to Mason and the PNEU later in the nineteenth century.

Mason followed a middle ground, largely because of her financial situation. She somehow found a way to attend the Home and Colonial Infant School Society's training school, where she became acquainted with Pestalozzi's educational philosophy and the practice of the object lesson in a classroom setting. The Home and Colonial Infant School Society formed with the aim of training teachers for infant classes (children up to age seven or eight) and was started by Elizabeth and Charles Mayo, who had trained at Pestalozzi's teacher training school.[38] Pestalozzi believed that by presenting children

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[36] There are many books on women's higher education in England, but a few have been particularly useful: Ibid; Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), chpt. 2; Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch, eds., *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000); Jane Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Purvis, *A History of Woman's Education in England*

[37] Gillian Sutherland, "Anne Jemima Clough and Blanche Athena Clough: Creating Educational Institutions for Women," in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*, ed. Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 107.

[38] Nanette Whitbread, *The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School: A History of Infant and Nursery Education in Britain, 1800-1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 21-22. Pestalozzi's educational philosophy and methods are described in Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co., 1898).

with an object and asking them increasingly difficult questions about it, they "would learn to think and reason abstractly, moving from objects to ideas."[39] When Pestalozzi's ideas migrated to Britain, the practice of the object lesson changed to reflect British educational goals. Rather than presenting children with three-dimensional objects, children were given pictures of objects and "ask[ed] catechistical questions…rather than open-ended inquir[ies]."[40] The practice of Pestalozzi's methods that Mason learned at the Home and Colonial Infant School Society emphasized teachers directly shepherding their students towards the right answer with little time or emphasis on a child's own examination of an object.[41] In 1861, having completed only one year of a two-year program because of financial and health concerns, Mason left the school to take up a teaching post at the Davison School in Worthing for the "youngest children of the urban poor."[42]

At the Davison School, Mason's professional life intersected with another key moment in the history of education in Britain, the passage of Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1862.[43] The Revised Code introduced the infamous payment by results system,

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[39] Parna Sengupta, "An Object Lesson in Colonial Pedagogy," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 1 (2003): 96.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., 96-121. Parna Sengupta argues that the British also over-emphasized objects with a connection to the colonies as a means to teach children, in subtle ways, the differences between the colonizer and the colonized.
[42] Stephens, *Education in Britain*, 10. On infant schools and the influence of Froebel therein, see Davin, *Growing up Poor*, 113-19; Kristen D. Nawrotzki, "Froebel Is Dead; Long Live Froebel! The National Froebel Foundation and English Education," *History of Education* 35, no. 2 (2006): 209-23; ———, "'Like Sending Coals to Newcastle': Impressions from and of the Anglo-American Kindergarten Movements," *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 223-33; Jane Read, "Free Play with Froebel: Use and Abuse of Progressive Pedagogy in London's Infant Schools, 1870-C. 1904," *Paedagogica Historica* 42, no. 3 (2006): 299-323; Alisdair F. B. Roberts, "The Development of Professionalism in the Early Stages of Education," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 24, no. 3 (1976): 254-64; Whitbread, *The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School*.
[43] On Lowe's Revised Code, see Laadan Fletcher, "A Further Comment on Recent Interpretations of the Revised Code, 1862," *History of Education* 10, no. 1 (1981): 21-31; A. J. Marcham, "Recent Interpretations

where teachers were “rewarded according to *their* productivity” by counting the number of children who passed exams administered by an education inspector.[44] Widely criticized by historians of education for its “stultifying effects,” the Revised Code established the “three Rs” as the basis for examinations that then determined whether or not a particular school was eligible for a government grant.[45] On a given day, an inspector would come to the school and examine the students in reading, writing, and arithmetic. If enough students demonstrated proficiency in these areas, then the school would continue to receive its government grant, which contributed to the pay of the teacher.

Taken in the context of classical liberalism, utilitarianism, and the class politics of the mid-Victorian era, there is a certain logic to the Revised Code.[46] As the Newcastle Commission discovered in its investigation into education in 1858, education in England was woefully uneven. But since the dominant political beliefs of the time dictated less state intervention, there were limited options to improve education systematically, because it all had to be done at the local level. Since the 1830s, the state had been slowly intervening in education, most importantly for the implementation of the Revised Code, by providing government grants to some schools. With the discoveries of the Newcastle Commission and the Clarendon Commission, demonstrating the poor quality of

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of the Revised Code of Education, 1862," *History of Education* 8, no. 2 (1979): 121-31; ———, "Revised Code of Education, 1862: Reinterpretations and Misinterpretations," *History of Education* 10, no. 2 (1981): 81-99; Smelser, *Social Paralysis and Social Change*, 122-28; D. W. Sylvester, *Robert Lowe and Education* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); ———, "Robert Lowe and the 1870 Education Act," *History of Education* 3, no. 2 (1974): 16-26.

[44] Edwin G. West, "The Benthamites as Educational Engineers: The Reputation and the Record," *History of Political Economy* 24, no. 3 (1992): 614. Italics in original.

[45] Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 149.

[46] Utilitarianism, a political philosophy developed by Jeremy Bentham, is best known by the adage, “the greatest good for the greatest number of people.” Sorting out what the greatest good would be required measuring the relative pleasure or pain caused a by a particular action or policy.

education, government officials had to decide which schools should receive money and on what basis. Lowe's Revised Code provided a means to divvy out the limited government grants available.

It is impossible to understand the Revised Code outside the class politics of the day and its connection to utilitarianism. Asked to provide an example of a school organized around utilitarian lines, Jeremy Bentham, the father of utilitarian philosophy, designed an "architectural, administrative, and pedagogical plan" for a school that would cater to the middle class.[47] Bentham argued that the school curriculum had to be changed from a more classical model based around learning Greek and Latin to a more practical curriculum including science, math, and engineering, but not history, literature, or art.[48] The school building itself was organized according to a panopticon model, so students would be under "constant supervision."[49] Every moment of the day was planned and used as an opportunity to educate the child. Even the walls were covered in maps, pictures, and diagrams, so that "if a child finished his work and had, for a few moments, nothing to do, he still could not fail to learn."[50] The pedagogical method was "repetition, drilling, and testing" creating a classroom where "economy, control, uniformity, and utility" ruled.[51] From Bentham's perspective, the practical nature of this plan was that it could be tailored to suit the needs of each class. The working class would be "taught

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[47] Elissa S. Itzkin, "Bentham's Chrestomathia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39, no. 2 (1978): 304.
[48] English literature and history were important subjects in the later nineteenth century in creating justification for and building support of the empire in the metropole. In fact, the study of English literature had already become a tool of imperial rule in the colonies. See Gauri Viswanathan, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989). For a discussion of history, see Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
[49] Itzkin, "Bentham's Chrestomathia: Utilitarian Legacy to English Education," 308.
[50] Ibid., 311.
[51] Ibid., 316.

useful skills necessary to be independent and to earn a living" and to be "prudent" and "moral."[52] The middle class, on the other hand, could be given an education more suitable (i.e. reflecting greater utility) to joining the new professional careers open to them in law, medicine, or business.

The Revised Code brought with it a number of negative effects. Most importantly for the curriculum that Mason would create for the PUS, by limiting the examination subjects to three, the Code discouraged schools and teachers from teaching a broader curriculum, particularly in the elementary schools, where poor attendance and fewer resources made the teaching of even just three subjects difficult. Over the course of the 1860s and 1870s, the number of subjects that qualified for examination under the Revised Code expanded, but the mainstay remained the three Rs.[53]

For Mason, the Revised Code changed her relationship to the school and her students and sharpened her own critique of existing educational practices. The Davison School did receive some money from the government, but with the passage of the Revised Code, the continuance of that money was dependent on the students' successfully passing exams. In 1865, Mason's teaching received favorable comments,[54] but, in 1866, the results were not nearly as positive. The inspector commented, "'the

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[52] Brian Taylor, "A Note in Response to Itzkin's 'Bentham's Chrestomathia': Utilitarian Legacy to English Education," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 43, no. 2 (1982): 311.

[53] Historians of education generally criticize the act for its effects on children. They claim that children suffered in school environments that focused on rote-learning only, but Jonathan Rose argues that working-class children did not uniformly dislike rote-learning, "for many, it was both easy and fun"—a place that "offered what many poor households did not: a structured learning environment, recognition for academic achievements, and (often) sympathetic adults" (Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, 165, 167).

[54] "This is worked as a Girls' and Infants school in one large room with two classrooms, the whole under the management of Miss Mason, two assistants and one pupil teacher. Much skill and judgment are show by Miss Mason in the management of so large a number of children, all of whom see to receive a due share of her attention. The Scripture lessons are remarkably well given" (quoted in Margaret Anne Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U." [master's thesis, University of Aston, 1984], 91).

weak point was numeration, the second standard. Unless this defect is corrected next year, a reduction will be made in the grant.'"[55] The following year the grant was not renewed due in part to the poor showing on the arithmetic section of the exam, but also poor record keeping on Mason's part. The school lost its government grant, and Mason lost some of her status as a teacher. Based on levels of training and years of experience, teachers received the status of first, second, or third class teacher, first being the lowest and third the highest.[56] Mason achieved third class status in 1864 and was subsequently dropped back to first class in 1871 because of her poor evaluation under the tenets of the Revised Code.[57] Her practical experience with the Revised Code was hardly favorable. While it did not cost her job, it did cause a decline in her professional status and made known her weakness in math, an area that would continue to be weak in the PUS and at the House of Education. In 1873, she officially resigned her post at the Davison school due to illness.[58]

The life of a teacher, particularly a single, female teacher, was a difficult and sometimes bleak existence. Teachers faced a variety of obstacles, not unlike those faced by teachers today—difficulty finding affordable housing, large classes, few resources to support the teacher, and the interference of parents and the school board, and in Mason's case, the government inspector. At the same time, it provided women the economic means to live on their own (sometimes only barely), affording them some measure of

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[55] Quoted in Ibid.
[56] On the system of teacher ranking in Britain in the nineteenth century, see Dent, *The Training of Teachers in England and Wales*.
[57] Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U.", 94.
[58] Her last years at the school were characterized by long absences because of illness.

freedom.[59] Teaching opened doors for Mason, but so too did her frequent periods of ill-health. Martha Vicinus argues that complaints of illness by women in the Victorian period could be deployed strategically as a "means of escape and an escape in themselves."[60] Mason's poor health created the opportunity for travel—an escape from working life that was hard and in which Mason was experiencing somewhat limited success into an intellectual space to develop her ideas about education. The timing of her resignation from the Davison School was not by chance. Ten years teaching under Lowe's Revised Code provided her the opportunity to experience state intervention in education though the government inspector and realize that maintaining her status under that system was somewhat out of her hands.

The passage of the 1867 Reform Act expanded not only the suffrage but, in effect, educational opportunities as well. With their political voice strengthened, the working class demanded better educational opportunities for their children as well. In 1870, the first major education act passed in Britain. Locally elected school boards could pass local taxes to provide for the building and staffing of elementary schools. Schools established by these local school boards were to remain unaffiliated with any particular religious denomination. It was still not necessarily a free education; only those individuals so destitute that they could absolutely not afford the school fees were exempt from payment. Coming on the heels of the 1867 Reform Act, the act offered the newly enfranchised the possibility of "exercising political and financial control over education

[59] The best description of the daily life of a teacher can be found in chapter 7 of Copelman, *London's Women Teachers*. See also Alison Oram, *Women Teachers and Feminist Politics, 1900-39* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).
[60] Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 20.

in very direct ways."[61] The local school boards had the power to control any educational issues in their district and could require school attendance, although the act itself did not mandate attendance on the national level.[62] For example, the London School Board mandated school attendance for children between the ages of five and ten, and in some cases to age thirteen, at least half-time.[63] Mandatory attendance quickly followed however: in 1867 an act was passed mandating school attendance to age 10; in 1893, to age 11; in 1899, to age 12; and in 1918, to age 14.[64] With the number of children required to attend school growing and the ability of local areas to expand educational opportunities in their communities, more teachers and more schools were needed than ever before.

Returning to England in 1874, after a bout of illness and travel on the Continent to recover, Mason was offered a position as a lecturer in education, hygiene, and physiology and the director of pedagogy at the practicing schools of the Bishop Otter College, a teacher training school for women.[65] Her tenure at the Bishop Otter College was another pivotal moment in Mason's early career that was closely tied to broader educational changes. The Church of England founded the school in 1839 and re-opened it in 1873 as a school for women in response to the increasing demand for teachers under the 1870

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[61] Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment, and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 215. Women were eligible to stand for election on these local school boards and could also vote in school board elections, assuming they met the property requirement. See Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865-1914*.
[62] An amendment to the act in 1872 finally made elementary education to age 12 mandatory. The possibility of doing this was related to the Factory Acts. Once children's work was limited, time was opened up for them to attend school. As schooling was made compulsory, it served to lengthen the experience of childhood for children. See José Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 88-89.
[63] Davin, *Growing up Poor*, 91.
[64] W. A. C. Stewart, *The Educational Innovators: Progressive Schools 1881-1967*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968), 7.
[65] It is unclear exactly how Mason was able to afford to travel on the continent. In the next chapter, I argue that Mason was financially helped along by a wealthy friend whom she had a close relationship with.

Education Act. More than a place to teach academics, schools like the Bishop Otter College organized themselves around a "culture of femininity…translate[ing] the social practices of the middle-class home, and importantly its family organization, into a new institutional setting."[66] Here Mason rose to the position of vice-principal, made valuable contacts for her future work with the PNEU, and adapted the conventions of the solidly middle class. In the academic environment of the school, Mason would have had the opportunity to be part of conversations about what was happening in education in England and would have also had the chance to expand her own ideas about the direction of education in England and her place within it. After four years of work at the Bishop Otter College, Mason's health deteriorated to such a degree that she was again forced to resign. Her biographer, Essex Cholmondley, reports that Mason spent the next two years travelling on the Continent and exploring the English countryside.

In 1880 when Mason reappeared in England, she was again active in a community interested in education, but she no longer tied herself to existing educational institutions or philosophies. Instead, she put forth her own ideas and began the process of garnering support to open her own training school for teachers (officially opened in 1892), establishing her own educational union (the PNEU in 1887), and offering a home-school curriculum for families (the PUS in 1891).[67]

While Mason was busy establishing her own educational plans, education continued to expand in ways that would ultimately benefit Mason by increasing the need for trained teachers and institutions of higher education for women. The Education Act

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[66] Elizabeth Edwards, *Women in Teacher Training Colleges, 1900-1960* (London: Routledge, 2001), 2.
[67] The formation of the PNEU and PUS will be covered in greater detail in chapter two and three respectively. For more on the House of Education, see Chapter 4.

of 1902 established secondary education for a select group of students who could afford the fees for school.[68] Although it provided for expanded secondary education, it did not mandate that those schools come under the power of the school boards, so some localities merely expanded their grammar schools to meet the needs of older children while new schools were simultaneously being opened. Despite the big changes in the educational system in the nineteenth century, the system remained a patchwork of opportunities under the slow growth of the state.[69] Concurrent with the achievement of full male suffrage and the expansion of the right to vote to women over the age of thirty, the Education Act of 1918 established state nursery schools, made school mandatory until age fourteen, and increased pensions and salaries for teachers. With the passage of each of these acts, the need for teachers and schools grew, increasing demand for the teachers and curriculum that Mason was creating. Since none of these educational acts created a national system of education, Mason's educational efforts, outside the state, continued to be relevant. Her schools and ideas fit neatly within the hodge-podge of different schools and curricula available in England.[70] The expansion of mandatory education did not

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[68] See Davin, *Growing up Poor*. See also Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 87-151.
[69] Denis Lawton, *Education and Labour Party Ideologies, 1900-2001 and Beyond* (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2005), 22.
[70] The Education Act of 1944 was the culmination of the continued expansion of education from the 1870 Act. The Education Act of 1944 made secondary education available to all children and required that all schools provide meals and milk to children (Clyde Chitty, *Education Policy in Britain* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004], 18). The act was supposed to make education equal, but the system required a student to demonstrate merit to enter a particular school. Three types of secondary schools were established: "grammar schools for the more intellectually minded," "technical schools for those who would benefit from a technological education," and "'secondary modern' for the rest" (Kathleen Jones, *The Making of Social Policy in Britain: From the Poor Law to New Labour*, 3rd ed. [London: Athlone, 2000], 125). At age eleven, children were tested to determine which school would best suit their needs, but testing children at age eleven to determine their educational future was problematic and ignored environmental impacts. Although the system was based on merit, some children had a greater opportunity at the outset. In many ways, the 1944 Education Act returned to a utilitarian educational system. The more recent 1988

necessarily bring with it a mandatory curriculum or uniquely English educational thought. Schools still functioned as largely autonomous entities.[71] Thus, the early years of the twentieth century were an ideal moment for people like Mason to develop an educational philosophy consistent with the burgeoning needs of the newly expanding school system and the new ideas about citizenship and the nation at the same time.

Educational Philosophies at the Turn of the Century

Just as important as the formal structure of education (buildings, relationship to the state, and mandatory attendance) was the practical structure of education (pedagogies, curriculums, and philosophies). As educationalists wrestled with the advantages and disadvantages of various structures, they had to consider the national implications of educational philosophies. None of the leading, more recent educational theorists were British; most were from the Continent. Because Mason viewed education as the primary means to raise up a capable citizenry, the national ties and implications of the various educational theorists mattered. The goal, from Mason's perspective, was not just a citizenry able to read, write, and recite some basic history, but an invigorated English citizenry. Adapting whole-scale the educational philosophies of a Maria Montessori or Johann Friedrich Froebel threatened to bring with it Italian or German national

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Education Act demonstrates a similar shift. The Education Act of 1988 established a national curriculum, giving teachers a packet of teaching materials that included "a 'timed script' for the hour" (Angela Thody, "Utopia Revisited - or Is It Better the Second Time Around?," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 32, no. 2 [2000]: 48). Schools were also regularly inspected to insure that they were living up to the educational standards set by the government. In the year 2000, "performance related pay for teachers was introduced," reminiscent of the 1862 Revised Code's payment by results schema (Thody, "Utopia Revisited - or Is It Better the Second Time Around?," 58). The emphasis in education seems to have swung around even more to a performance based system focused around concepts of utility.

[71] Schools that accepted state money, though allowed to include religion in their curriculum, had to teach religion from a non-denominational standpoint.

characteristics. This nationalist dimension is in some ways an unusual turn for Mason. There is nothing in her own personal history up to 1900 that indicates that she had experiences that would have left her deeply patriotic. Key moments in British imperial history before 1900, like the Mutiny in India (1857-58), the division of Africa at the Congress of Berlin (1878), or the British occupation of Egypt (1882), do not seem to have been keenly experienced for Mason; they certainly did not bear mention. Two experiences might have been influential in the pre-1900 period in encouraging Mason to identify as English and see England in relationship to a wider world. The first is her father's business failure. Though not specifically tied to the empire, trouble in the United States directly brought about his financial troubles. Through this experience Mason could have recognized the connections between England and other parts of the world and perhaps identified more closely as English.[72] She also travelled all over the Continent in the 1870s. These travels might have solidified a stronger sense of English identity in Mason.[73]

Equally important, Mason wanted an educational philosophy that was a complete package. She criticized (perhaps unfairly) attempts to bring an educational philosophy to bear in England as "deal[ing] with the issue and ignor[ing] the source. Hence our efforts lack continuity and definite aim. We are content to pick up a suggestion here, a practical hint there, without even troubling ourselves to consider what is that scheme of life of

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[72] On Britain and its reactions to the American Civil War, see R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).

[73] Mason's travels in Europe seem to have been largely to Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. She traveled to the first two locations to visit spas for her health. She visited Italy more as a tourist, visiting museums and cathedrals. Maura O'Connor argues that Englishmen and women who traveled to Italy in the nineteenth century used their travels as a way to "understand their own historical destiny" (Maura O'Connor, *The Romance of Italy and the English Political Imagination* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998], 21).

which such hints and suggestions are the output."[74] Drawing on the educational ideas of Herbert Spencer, Mason wanted an educational philosophy that viewed education as a science, combining "reverence for personality as such, a sense of the solidarity of the race, and a profound consciousness of evolutionary progress."[75] Spencer had no direct experience as an educator; his educational ideas stemmed from his own observations and interests in psychology, political philosophy, and science.[76] For him, the development of an educational philosophy needed to "replace insight with science and bring the *same* system to the process of schooling that the laws of political economy had brought to the development of society."[77] For Mason, more specifically, the claim to be naming a science of education allowed her to make the argument for teaching as a professional endeavor, whether undertaken in the home or in a traditional school room. Women were then not good teachers by virtue of their sex, but by virtue of their professional knowledge. While Spencer's thinking inspired Mason, its limitation was in its charge parents to "bring up children without authority in order to give them free room for self-development."[78] Although Mason agreed that the child was an individual and, as such, required an education that provided space for self-development, the child was also part of a family, school, and nation. These relationships limited the expression of the child's individuality.[79] According to Mason, a complete educational philosophy had to begin

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[74] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 118.
[75] Charlotte M. Mason, *School Education* (1907; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), preface, np.
[76] Spencer's educational ideas are laid out in Andreas M. Kazamias, ed. *Herbert Spencer on Education* (New York: Teachers College Press,1966).
[77] Stephen Tomlinson, "From Rousseau to Evolutionism: Herbert Spencer on the Science of Education," *History of Education* 25, no. 3 (1996): 240.
[78] Mason, *School Education*, 7.
[79] This idea was entirely contradictory. See Chapter 3 for a longer explication of Mason's philosophy on the individuality of the child.

with an idea of the child and work outward in a widening sphere of relationships—the child as an individual, the child and the family, the child and the school, the child and the nation.

In 1912 at the height of the suffragette movement and with 850,000 miners on strike, Charlotte Mason submitted a series of letters to the editor to *The Times* diagnosing the troubles of her age. Titled "The Basis of National Strength," Mason argued that "Educationally, we are in a bad way."[80] She described Britain as "enfeebled by a philosophy whose first principle is that we must never under any circumstances *lose our life*. The greatest happiness of the greatest number is our avowed general aim; comfort at all hazards is our individual desire; and 'Every man for himself,' is the secret or open rule of life followed by many of us."[81] The trouble with the educational system stemmed from its reliance on a utilitarian methodology that emphasized "the utility of scientific discoveries at the expense of knowledge."[82] Mason argued that society asked:

> "What is the good of knowledge? Give a boy professional instruction, whether he is to be a barrister or a bricklayer, and strike out from his curriculum Greek or geography, whatever is not of utilitarian value. Teach him to play the game and handle the ropes of his calling, and you have done the best for him." Now, here is the mischievous fallacy, an assertion that the child is to be brought up for the uses of society only and not for his own uses. Here we get the answer to the repeated question that suggested itself in a survey of our educational condition. We launch children upon too arid and confined a life.[83]

Mason decried a utilitarian outlook on children and education, characterizing it as "immoral."[84] She rested her case against utilitarian educational schemes on the basis of

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[80] Charlotte M. Mason, *A Philosophy of Education* (1925; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 300.
[81] ———, *Ourselves* (1905; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 136. Italics in original.
[82] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 318.
[83] Ibid., 302. Mason's letter was reprinted in the appendix to her final book published after her death.
[84] ———, *School Education*, 241.

an argument around class. The results of utilitarian educational schemes were labor unrest in the working class and lethargy in the middle and upper classes. The trouble was not just limited to the metropole but also affected the empire. The lethargy resulted in only "measured success" for the "Public School men" serving "at outposts of the Empire."[85] Mason's critique was the starting place of her educational philosophy, "children are born persons," and as such she believed they were innately hungry for knowledge.[86] Children were not figures upon which the state could attempt to allay its fears of national regression, but individuals. By 1912, Mason was promoting an educational philosophy that was well-developed and well-known thanks to twenty years' work on her part in bringing her educational ideas to the public. She was successful, in part, because she connected her educational philosophies to other educational philosophies that were popular in England at the turn of the century.

The quintessential English educational theorist was John Locke. In Locke, Mason found not only an "English" theory of education, but also a philosophy of the child, admittedly one with which she disagreed with. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Locke developed his philosophy of education most clearly. He argued that children were born with minds like blank slates, without innate ideas, but through their senses and a process of association learned about the world around them. Education was, thus, "of decisive political importance," because through education children gained reason and became

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[85] ———, *A Philosophy of Education*, 301.
[86] Ibid., xxix. Each of Mason's books begins with a twenty point educational manifesto and this is the first point.

rational beings.[87] The ability to reason and be rational was in part what determined whether or not an individual was free, and this freedom determined the nature of government and civil society. In relationship to education, Samuel Pickering argues that Locke's writings were seen as "practically biblical" in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.[88] Locke situated education in the home as the responsibility of parents, but the home that Locke envisioned only really applied to a small group of people, mainly the landholding elite. More practically, in terms of curriculum and pedagogy, childhood, for Locke, was thus a dangerous time, because the child could absorb a variety of ideas, both right and wrong.[89] Students (both boys and girls) were thus encouraged "to find things out for themselves, not to accept what teachers said."[90] Reason and the child acted as a check to the teacher's authority. Pedagogically, education was to be presented in such a way as to be "play and recreation" in order to keep the child's focus and interest;[91] and, therefore, Locke did not endorse "rote-learning."[92] Practically speaking, Mason had much in common with Locke, particularly in her position against rote-learning and her efforts to highlight children taking the lead in

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[87] Nathan Tarcov, *Locke's Education for Liberty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 81.
[88] Samuel F. Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 9. On the matter of class, Pickering claims Locke's popularity came because he, "took educational suggestions dangling loosely from many works and wove them into what the eighteenth century saw as a magic carpet. Not only would it carry children upward, but it was available to everyone, not simply princes lounging amidst frankincense and myrrh, but shopkeepers' sons rummaging through sugar and salt. Locke convinced parents, especially those in the rapidly expanding middle class, that childhood education shaped both the moral and economic man. From him they learned how to develop a child's personality so that instead of being prepared merely to carry himself with grace among the lords of the land or to meet his maker, as religious writers had it, he would be fit for ordinary daily life and be able to its many physical, mental, and moral challenges" (Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England*, 6).
[89] William J. Sheasgreen, "John Locke and the Charity School Movement," *History of Education* 15, no. 2 (1986): 70.
[90] Ibid., 69.
[91] Pickering, *John Locke and Children's Books in Eighteenth-Century England*, 70.
[92] Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment*, 1st American ed. (New York: Norton, 2000), 342.

their own learning. Unfortunately, Locke's starting position proved the most problematic for Mason.

Any successful educational program, according to Mason, needed to take account of the "sacredness of the person" and "make for the evolution of the individual" and "the solidarity of the race."[93] By the "sacredness of the person," Mason meant the individual person. She believed that each person was inherently interesting and needed to be viewed as an individual. By the second "make for the evolution of the individual" Mason believed that any educational program needed to "have for its sole aim the making the very most of that person, intellectually, morally, physically."[94] These first two were less abstract than the last, "the solidarity of the race," an idea that Mason mentioned often. By this idea, she meant seeing the individual in connection not only with other people in the present (seeing the individual Englishman in relationship to the entire nation of Englishmen at a particular moment), but "our sense of the oneness of humanity reach[ing] into the remotest past, making us regard with tender reverence every relic of the antiquity of our own people or of any other; and, with a sort of jubilant hope, every prognostic of science of philanthropy which appears to us to be the promise of centuries to come."[95] Locke, in his emphasis on the children of gentlemen, left no room for the person, "except in the way of the semi-mechanical activities of his so-called faculties; he is practically the resultant of the images conveyed through his senses."[96] By providing a gentlemen's education, Locke made the costly mistake in Mason's eyes of leaving every man "shut tight…in his own skin, …taught to behave himself becomingly within that

[93] Mason, *School Education*, 46, 47, 48.
[94] Ibid., 47.
[95] Ibid., 48.
[96] Ibid., 50.

limit."[97] In failing to see children as individuals, Locke created not thinking persons, but persons fitting the mold of a gentleman. By seeing education as the means to mold future citizens, Mason situated the philosophy of the child as the starting place of education and the ground upon which all other educational philosophies needed to be critiqued.

If Locke failed in offering a convincing philosophy of the child, Jean-Jacques Rousseau succeeded in conceiving of the child in relationship to the family. Mason embedded her own educational philosophy in the family and home, so there was a great deal of natural affinity between her and Rousseau. She credited Rousseau with convincing parents that "the bringing-up of their children was the one work of primary importance for men and women."[98] In *Émile*, Rousseau situated education outside urban society but within the embrace of mother, tutor, and nature.[99] Émile's education followed through four stages. The first, from birth to age two as the child learned to walk and talk, were of the least interest to Mason. In the second stage, from age two to twelve, Émile experienced no formal education (no "book-learning"), but was free to explore nature and through these explorations develop his senses. Mason agreed in principle with this as well. She, too, emphasized outdoor time, and to insure that there was adequate time in the day for being outside, the time table that she devised for families in the PUS only filled half a day, leaving the afternoons free for outdoor time. In the third stage, more formal education was introduced but in the form of subjects easily figured out on the

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[97] Ibid.

[98] ———, *Parents and Children*, 2.

[99] On the role of the family in *Émile*, see Eileen Hunt Botting, *Family Feuds: Wollstonecraft, Burke, and Rousseau on the Transformation of the Family* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), chapter1; Jennifer J. Popiel, *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008), chapter 1.

child's own—science and geography. By walking around and exploring an area and through close observation about nature, children could learn the rudiments of these subjects. Mason promoted this same idea as well. In the PUS, the study of geography began with the local neighborhood and then moved out in ever-widening circles. In these first three stages, the learning was directed by children using their senses to understand and organize information about the world around them. The final stage of childhood, from age fifteen to manhood, focused on moral and social development. In this stage, history, literature, and philosophy became important subjects. Books became the primary means of instruction, not just children's own experience of the world. In this last phase, Émile finally viewed himself in relationship to society.[100] There is much that Mason held in common with Rousseau, but her critique of his educational philosophy was twofold. The first problem was the length of each stage of education. From Mason's perspective, an education for moral and social development could not wait until children were fifteen years old, because, by then, their habits and character had been set in place. To insure the development of good habits and good character, education needed to be much more formal much earlier. Second, by educating the child in isolation from society both literally and figuratively, Rousseau failed to provide for the complete growth of the individual personhood of the child, which required children to see themselves in relationship to society present, past, and future. Because Mason created her educational philosophy at a moment of nationalist fervor in Britain, she could not imagine the child apart from his or her place in the nation. More fundamentally, Mason disagreed that

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[100] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile* (London: Everyman, 1993), 236. A useful survey of these stages can be found in W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), 28-29.

children were "meant to grow up in a state of nature," because education was not just about knowledge but about character development.[101] Character development could not be left to chance but needed to be actively encouraged by parents and teachers.[102]

Mason's combining of personhood (individuality) and character development drew on the educational philosophy of Johann Friedrich Herbart.[103] Herbart was a German educational theorist, whose work was hugely influential in England at the turn of the century. His popularity, at least according to Mason, had much to do with teachers' "eager[ness] to magnify their office."[104] She believed his philosophy attributed too much power to the teacher in presenting ideas to a student, detracting from the recognition of that child's own ability to create connections between ideas and develop their own unique understandings.[105] In actual fact, Mason's philosophy had much in common with Herbart's. Herbart did leave considerable room for children's ability to find and create meaning from information imparted to them. Perhaps their greatest difference was in what or who each perceived as being the primary actor. For Herbart, the ideas acted on the child, whereas, for Mason, the child acted on the ideas. Equally problematic from Mason's perspective was the fact that Herbart was German; England did not require a *German* educational theory, but an *English* educational theory.[106]

When it came to the role of teachers in education, Mason looked at the philosophies of Pestalozzi and Froebel. She credited Pestalozzi and Froebel with

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[101] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 64.
[102] The role of parents in Mason's educational philosophy will be covered in detail in chapter 2.
[103] For a brief overview of Herbart's educational philosophy, see Alan Blyth, "From Individuality to Character: The Herbartian Sociology Applied to Education," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 29, no. 1 (1981): 69-79.
[104] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 114.
[105] See Ibid., 114-115 and Mason, *School Education*, 60-61.
[106] See chapter 2 for more on Mason's critique of adapting German educational philosophies.

bringing to the educator's attention "the enthusiasm of childhood, joyous teaching, loving and lovable teachers and happy school hours for the little people."[107] Both Froebel and Pestalozzi infused the kindergarten with a domestic feel, rather than an institutional feel.[108] The student to teacher ratio was lower, and the classroom was set up to be child friendly. At some level, in thinking so particularly about the needs of young children in education, both men recognized children as valued members of society, which appealed to Mason. Like Pestalozzi, Froebel also used a series of object lessons. In both instances, the teacher was responsible for creating the atmosphere of the classroom and for directing the object lessons, particularly in Froebel's case. Froebel's object lessons were based around what he termed as gifts. The youngest child would be given a set of colored balls as the first gift, and this object would be used to teach the concept of the sphere, which could then be tied to the larger concept of unity.[109]

The nature of the lessons, the role of the teacher, and what these practices implied about the child were sticking points for Mason. Mason's own curriculum was not based around object lessons but around reading books. Froebel's object lessons had a particular goal. All of the children were intended to come to the same conclusions in the end. The lessons that Mason envisioned, based on reading quality literature, had a different intention. These lessons presented "ideas of the fittest to the mind of the child," but it remained unknown "which he will take, and which he will reject."[110] The learning

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[107] Mason, *School Education*, 56.
[108] Froebel's educational ideas are laid out in Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man* (Clifton, NJ: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1974). On Froebel's educational philosophy and its application in England, see Evelyn Lawrence, ed. *Froebel and English Education: Perspectives on the Founder of the Kindergarten* (New York: Schocken Books,1969).
[109] Read, "Free Play with Froebel: Use and Abuse of Progressive Pedagogy in London's Infant Schools, 1870-C. 1904," 306-07.
[110] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 127.

outcomes were dependent on the child and not some sort of predetermined conclusion. Not only did Mason see differences between the nature and purpose of the lessons, she saw the teacher's role in those lessons differently. For Mason, the teacher and even the parent were "permitted to play only a subordinate part after all."[111] The danger in Froebel's kindergarten system with its clearly defined series of lessons was that it would become "a miserable wooden *system* … in the hands of ignorant practitioners."[112] Mason's critique was twofold. First, the object lessons assigned too much of a role to the teacher. The learning was centered around the teacher directing the lessons. Second, by so specifically assigning the lessons, there was also a danger that the teacher would only need to be minimally qualified. After all, how much training was really required to direct a series of predetermined lessons? Mason expected teachers, whether they worked in traditional classrooms or home-school rooms, to be extremely knowledgeable about teaching pedagogies and also their subject matter.[113] The teacher's part in the learning process was "to see that his educational *plat* [was] constantly replenished with fit and inspiring ideas, and then we must needs leave it to the child's own appetite to take which he will have, and as much as he requires."[114] By conceiving of the relationship between the teacher, child, and lessons, Mason believed her system "safeguard[ed] …his [the child's] individuality."[115]

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Charlotte M. Mason, *Home Education* (1935; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 9. Italics in original.
[113] Mason's students were well-read in these different educational philosophies. In 1901, the students at the House of Education were reading Froebel, Locke, Pestalozzi, and the German educationalist Herbart (*L'Umile Pianta*, February 1901).
[114] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 127. Italics in original.
[115] Ibid.

The emphasis on the individuality of the child created a tension within Mason's educational philosophy that is reflected in how she viewed the relationship between the child and the nation in terms of the child's individuality. Despite her emphasis on the child's individuality, she intended her curriculum to develop a healthy dose of English patriotism. In *Ourselves*, written as a character-building text for children, Mason cautioned children, "Loyalty is due to *our own*; and however greatly we may value or become attached to alien kings or alien countries, the debt of Loyalty is due, not to them, but to our own. Invidious comparisons, depreciating the land of our birth in favour of some land of our choice, whose laws and rulers, ways and weather, we may prefer, is of the nature of disloyalty."[116] Individuality had its limits; it was limited by the boundaries of the nation.

Summary and Conclusion

Mason grew up and trained to be a teacher in a moment of great educational change in Britain. Despite her insistence over the course of her life of the originality of her educational thinking, Mason borrowed liberally from existing educational philosophies in her day, tweaking them to her own purposes to emphasize children as persons, the role of women in education, and the relationship between education and the state. She was not the only one engaged in this project. The Froebel Society in Britain and the influence of Maria Montessori's child-centered education all criticized utilitarianism and centered children in the education process. Mason disagreed, however, with the means and ends of these educational organizations and practices. She reserved

[116] ———, *Ourselves*, 119. Italics in original.

her harshest criticism for Montessori's methods, claiming "it is not meant that a child should be isolated in what may be called a 'child environment,' especially adapted and prepared… It stultifies a child to bring down his world to the 'child's' level."[117] By focusing her educational efforts on both parents and children, and ultimately attending to the unique educational challenges of the colonial context, Mason differentiated herself from the competing educational philosophies of her day.

[117] ———, *Home Education*, np.

Chapter 2

Building an Educational Union:

The Origins of the Parents' National Educational Union

In her magnum opus, *A Philosophy of Education*, Charlotte Mason reflected the class, national, and imperial issues that structured her life's work in education.[1] This book gave Mason the opportunity to emphasize her two most important ideals that *all* children deserve an education and that children are citizens, not just future citizens. Not only are these points unique in terms of her educational thought, they also point to some of the contradictions in philosophy and practice that followed Mason and the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) from its earliest inception. In theory, Mason asserted that all children, regardless of class, gender, race, or national identity, deserved an education, but in practice the PNEU often found itself hemmed in by the class, race, gender, and national politics of the day. Although children across the globe participated in the curriculum of the home-school organization, the Parents' Union School (PUS), the curriculum worked to inculcate a sense of Englishness—a single national identity.

Contradictions notwithstanding, Mason saw these two aspects of her educational program as mutually reinforcing:

> Children's aptitude for knowledge and their eagerness for it made for the conclusion that the field of a child's knowledge may not be artificially restricted, that he has a right to and necessity for as much and as varied knowledge as he is able to receive; … in a word, a *common* curriculum (up to the age of say, fourteen or fifteen) appears to be due to all children. … Children educated upon some such lines as these respond in a surprising way, developing capacity, character,

[1] Charlotte M. Mason, *A Philosophy of Education* (1925; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989). Mason completed the book in 1922, but did not live to see its publication in 1923.

> countenance, initiative and a sense of responsibility. They are in fact, even as children, good and thoughtful citizens."[2]

A common curriculum for all children resulted in citizens, and the effort to see children as citizens necessitated a common educational standard. But who owed this to children anyway? The state or society more generally? Mason worked alongside the state, but always retained her independence from it. Society owed children an education, but for the ends of the creation of citizens. Mason's articulation of this was no less contradictory. By claiming the citizenship of children as children, not as adults, she assigned children an active role in national life. Their educational experiences contributed to the ongoing development of the nation, but by teaching English citizenship, the curriculum of the PUS limited their active participation to the maintenance of something already in existence and not the formation of an entirely new vision of the nation.[3]

Mason's own vision of the nation was nurtured through her extensive travels abroad and in England. Having spent the 1870s and early 1880s travelling, she turned her attention to writing geography texts, providing a physical and cultural geography of the places she had recently visited. Her first book, *The Forty Shires: Their History, Scenery, Art, and Legends*, a compendium of her walking tours in the English countryside, was published in 1880. She began work on her five-volume *Ambleside Geography Books* in 1880, completing the work in 1892. These books offered the chance to describe her view of Britain and its relationship to the empire and the world. Their success also provided Mason a period of financial leisure. She moved to Bradford on the

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[2] Ibid., 12, 20.
[3] At the very least this was Mason's intention. Chapter 5 will show how the children nonetheless created their own sense of identity.

invitation of a friend from the Home and Colonial Society Training School who had recently opened a middle school for girls and invited Mason to do some lecturing there. Mostly, the move to Bradford gave Mason the space to continue her work on the *Ambleside Geography Books*.[4] As an unmarried woman with no personal inherited wealth to her name and neither living parents nor living siblings, Mason was dependent on these sorts of invitations until her writing gave her the ability to be financially independent.

Considering the breadth of her success, both as an author and education reformer, it is strange that the answer to the question "who was Charlotte Mason" is curiously elusive. We really only know for sure that as the daughter of a merchant, she lacked the familial and economic connections necessary to open the doors of power and influence to herself and yet she still managed to achieve great personal and professional success. Not one to be relegated to the background, Mason managed the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) with an iron fist, ensuring that she was always the center of the organization's activities. Her forceful personality was part of the reason for her success, but equally important was her ability to be identified as a respectable, middle-class woman. She carefully hid any aspect of her past that might have compromised her claim to this identity, and thus, limited her ability to successfully promote an alternative vision of the nation.

This chapter traces the formation of the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) and the Parents' Union School (PUS) by paying attention to the role of class identity and class politics in Mason's own story and in the PNEU. It begins with an

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[4] This narrative of events can be found in Essex Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason* (1960; reprint, Petersfield: Child Light Publication, 2000), 12-15.

examination of some of the questions raised by Mason's story about her background and then closely analyzes the story that Mason told about how she came to the starting point of her educational philosophy. I argue the following: Mason's efforts to provide an education to all children required her to carefully negotiate the class politics of her day and her own personal history. While the middle- and upper-class membership of the PNEU proved the most able to implement Mason's educational philosophy, they were also the very same classes whose life-style and child-rearing behaviors Mason most directly challenged. The working class, whom she theoretically addressed as well, proved the most difficult to reach, because Mason's educational practices assumed a middle-class home. The chapter concludes with the formation of the PNEU and PUS and debates about class and empire within both organizations. The PNEU used debates about education to mask larger concerns about class identity, politics, and conflict in early twentieth-century Britain. Although the PNEU's membership never successfully alleviated their fears surrounding class issues, the creation of the PUS, with its wider imperial focus, displaced those concerns upon a more reachable population—English families living, raising, and educating their children in the British Empire.

Trying to Escape/Create a Past

The only existing biography of Mason, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, presents less of a scholarly biography and more of a "received mythology" about her.[5] Elsie Kitching, the principal at the House of Education following Mason, originally began

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[5] Jack Beckman, "Charlotte Mason-from Enigma to Educationalist," at the *Perimeter Schools Association 2003-2004 Conference* (Atlanta, GA 2004). H. C. Barnard, who reviewed the book, described it as a "pious tribute" to Mason (H. C. Barnard, "*The Story of Charlotte Mason*," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 9, no. 1 [November 1960]: 79).

work on the book after Mason's death in 1923. She did not complete the book before her death in 1955, and the task passed to Essex Cholmondley, a former student of Mason and later headmistress of the school. By the time Cholmondley inherited the project, Kitching had already laid the groundwork for the book's style and tone. Both women took great pains describing their role in the writing process as merely compiling the "many of its pages … written by Charlotte Mason."[6] Since Kitching claims Mason kept no "letters or diaries," it is unclear exactly what these sources might have been.[7] Instead Cholmondley and Kitching's narrative asserts the unimportance of Mason's biography in favor of the importance of Mason's message. In so doing, they close down discussion about Mason's background and make facts out of Mason's fictions. In her "Editorial," Kitching claimed that in her telling of Mason's life, she tried to follow advice that:

> 'The book must be an introduction to Charlotte Mason herself. It is a story that ought to be told as far as possible in her own words, without too much stress on organization; I am inclined to think that her work is in danger of being overlaid by too many interpreters and the simplicity of her message needs preserving.'[8]

The emphasis on an authentic knowledge of Mason and her educational beliefs that was not sullied by interpretation is curious in light of the fact that no "authentic" knowledge about Mason's past seems to exist. In fact, any individual asking questions about Mason's background "was firmly discouraged both before and after Miss Mason's death."[9]

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[6] "Dedication and Authorship" in Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, ii. Cholmondley claims the "authorship of this book is really a single one" (ii).

[7] E. Kitching, "Editorial," in Ibid., v. This is made even more difficult since there are very few footnotes and thus no way to track the sources back.

[8] Ibid., v.

[9] Quoted in Margaret Anne Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U." (masters thesis, University of Aston, 1984), 104n7. Coombs interviewed women still alive who were part of the PNEU and two of her interviewees provided this information.

The book emphasizes Mason's family life as respectable, her own status as a legitimate daughter, and her experiences as an educator. For Mason much was at stake in telling a certain sort of story about her past. By emphasizing the middle-class sociability of her background, Mason created a family history that allowed her to accomplish her educational goals and, more importantly for her success, gave her access to a stratum of society that could better spread her educational philosophy and imbued her with middle-class respectability. At the same time, Mason never entirely escaped matters of class; class proved to be one of the most contentious within the PNEU. Additionally, the lack of personal information creates a very particular narrative of Mason's life that Mason encouraged; in it Mason's life really begins with the creation of the PNEU. Not only does this narrative allow Mason to be exactly what her supporters wanted her to be in terms of class and political and social ideology, it also emphasizes her success in life and glosses over the years of her life that might have been personally difficult.

It is impossible to know what Mason's background and upbringing were really like. There simply is not documentary evidence to prove or disprove what Mason said about herself. There are, however, a number of curious moments in her story that raise a host of tantalizing questions; the first of which revolves around her birth. In the 1861 census of England, Charlotte Mason reported her age as twenty and her birthplace as the Isle of Man.[10] Ten years later, during the 1871 census, she reported her age as twenty-

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[10] 1861 census record for Charlotte M. Mason, Class: *RG9*; Piece: *614*; Folio: *145*; Page: *14*; GSU roll: *542671*, Ancestry.com, *1861 England Census* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 2005. Original data: *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1861*. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1861. Data imaged from the National Archives, London, England. (accessed May 15, 2009). I have been unable to locate a census record for Mason's family in 1851.

nine and her birthplace as Bangor, Wales.[11] The discrepancy between the two might indicate that Mason was trying to distance herself from her past, making it less easy for anyone to verify the details of her life. In checking the facts of Mason's biography, Margaret Coombs recorded that Edith Grovenham, one of Mason's friends, "told Elsie Kitching that Charlotte's parents had married in Dublin in 1841."[12] If correct, this would explain why Mason misreported her age and year of birth in the 1871 census. Had her parents married in 1841, it is entirely possible that their daughter could have been born in 1842, a legitimate daughter. Born on January 1 (her birth date), 1841, it seems less likely. Illegitimacy carried with it severe social stigma, potentially bringing "instant unrespectability" upon the child even if the parents subsequently married.[13] Adults feared that illegitimate children "were inherently 'bad' and would pollute the other children."[14] Families entrusting their daughters to Mason and her school might have been less likely to do so had she carried the taint of illegitimacy with her. Perhaps too, Mason was already trying to distance herself from her Irish background, which might have further positioned her as an outsider. Even this distancing is a curious move on her part, since she does admit to living variously in Wales and the Isle of Man. Both were places on the periphery of Britain and well outside the center of England. In light of this fact, it

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[11] 1871 census record for Charlotte M. Mason, Class: *RG10*; Piece: *1107*; Folio: *35*; Page: *13*; GSU roll: *827512*, Ancestry.com, *1871 England Census* [database on-line], Provo, UT, USA: The Generations Network, Inc., 2004. Original data: *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1871*. Kew, Surrey, England: TNA: PRO, 1871. Data imaged from the National Archives, London, England. (accessed May 15, 2009).

[12] Letter from Elizabeth Grovenham to Elsie Kitching, p.c., n.d., c. 1923, letter 9.7, 1927, quoted in Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U.," 107n15. In going through the boxes of the Charlotte Mason collection, I did not come across any correspondence between Grovenham and Kitching. Perhaps it has been lost.

[13] Ginger Frost, "'The Black Lamb of the Black Sheep': Illegitimacy in the English Working Class, 1850-1939," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 304. Illegitimacy held such a stigma that even local charities sometimes excluded illegitimate children. See Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914* (London: River Oram Press, 1996), 93.

[14] Frost, "The Black Lamb of the Black Sheep," 304.

should not be surprising that Mason later articulated a notion of the nation as a place uniting people of different geographies. Overall, sanitizing her family background helped Mason establish herself as a respectable woman, the precondition to gaining access to her upper- and middle-class supporters.

Second, there is the matter of her mother. Since so much of her later thinking about children was embedded in a discourse about motherhood, it is odd that she would have so little to say about her own mother; her obituary neither mentions her mother nor even recognizes that she had one.[15] Perhaps her mother was completely unknown to her, or, perhaps as an adult looking back on her childhood, Mason perceived of her as an inadequate mother and thus constructed a mother-figure who retained a few positive traits, but otherwise remained undefined. Nonetheless, Mason's own description of her mother makes this anonymous woman less of a real figure and more of an imagined one. What she contributes to the story is, at least in Mason's recollections, her poor health and a subsequent constant moving around in an attempt to find a more conducive climate for her mother's recovery. Later in her life, Mason formed another relationship that possibly mirrored a mother-daughter relationship, her friendship with Elizabeth Brandreth, a neighbor in Worthing.[16]

Elizabeth Brandreth lived with her father and her three nieces and nephews, whose father (Elizabeth's brother) was serving in India. In fact, Mason's friendship with the Brandreth family, especially during the late 1860s and early 1870s, provided much of the early impetus for the development and consolidation of her philosophy. Elizabeth's

[15] See Charlotte Mason's obituary in the *Lake District Herald*, CM box 33.

[16] It is not clear how the two met except that the Brandreth family was a strong supporter of the Davison School in Worthing. Coombs refers to her as "Emily" but the census records that I have found provide the daughter's name as Elizabeth.

father, Thomas Shaw Brandreth, had retired to Worthing after a career as a scientific inventor to focus on the classical education of his children.[17] In him, Mason would have found someone thinking seriously about the nature of home education. Mason credited her observations of the three Brandreth children as the genesis for her educational philosophy.[18] They (and their missing parents) provided Mason with an experience of the impact of the empire upon parents, children, and education. Of all the members of the Brandreth household, Elizabeth was likely the most important relationship to Mason. When, in 1871, Mason was too ill to teach, Elizabeth travelled with her to Paris and Switzerland.[19] This pattern was repeated throughout the 1870s and 1880s, suggesting that Elizabeth was an important source of financial support for Mason. In 1873, Thomas Brandreth died precipitating Elizabeth's move to London, where she worked as a social worker and Mason "visited her many times."[20] Cholmondley reports that when Elizabeth died in 1893, Mason was so distraught that a "three month rest was required."[21] During the 1881 census, Mason reported her name as Charlotte M. Mason (Charlotte Maria Mason), but by the 1891 census she had changed her name to Charlotte Maria Shaw Mason. The addition of the name Shaw is usually explained as an homage to the patriarch of the family, but considering the late date of the name change relative to his death (almost twenty years later), this explanation is not necessarily the most compelling

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[17] Stanley Lane-Poole, 'Brandreth, Thomas Shaw (1788–1873)', rev. R. C. Cox, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/view/article/3272, accessed 23 Oct 2008].
[18] This will be explained in greater detail later in the chapter.
[19] Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 9.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., 48. Cholmondley includes one quotation from Elizabeth Brandreth about Charlotte Mason: "From the first of my knowing you, the *rest* to me was your taking life, each and all of its daily perils, as sent, and continually attended to by the sender" (Ibid., 48.) It is unclear how she had access to this correspondence.

explanation.[22] In light of Mason's history with Elizabeth Brandreth, it seems equally possible that Mason's name change was not to honor the patriarch of the Brandreth family, but a quiet honor bestowed on and to the daughter of the family. Even the little bits that survive in Cholmondley's biography about Elizabeth Brandreth suggest an intense relationship between the two women, though there is nothing that indicates a sexual relationship between the two. Margaret Coombs dismisses the idea that their relationship might have been anything more than friendship, at the very most, largely because of the twelve-year age difference between the two women and the difference in their class position.[23] In fact, the age and class difference gives credence to the idea that the two were engaged in an intimate relationship. One of the few pieces of writing by Mason (outside her published works) that has survived is a poem entitled "My Lady's Hand." The poem is a love poem to another woman: "Let other lovers tell of lips,/Of eye-lids on you rising/Unveiling eyes that gleam as stars/My Lady's hand will I sing!"[24] In analyzing relationships between women, Martha Vicinus argues that one of the metaphors to describe a relationship between women, especially one with an age

[22] This was the explanation given to me by John Thorley in March 2007 while I was working at the Armitt Library. Thorley was the last president of the Charlotte Mason College before it was folded into St. Martin's College. He now volunteers at the archive and is the resident expert on all things Charlotte Mason.

[23] Coombs describes the relationship more as "patronage rather than mutual friendship" (Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U.," 100).

[24] This particular version of the poem can be found in a journal labeled CMC 10, pt. 2, CM box 1. An earlier draft of the poem appears in a journal labeled CMC 10 with the title "Moses: A Study" written on it, CM box 1. The rest of the poem reads: "So fair a hand, so white a hand/Yet scarce in this its beauty/So dear a hand, so deft a hand/For all my lady's duty//Could it once do an awkwardness/I know 'twould fall ablushing/Methinks I see the dainty palm/Round finger-tips all flushing//A busy hand my Lady owns/Bravely she saws and hammers,/Thinks it half pity and to live/By her own doughty labours!//The dons would call it psychical/This hand so soft and tender,/With the fair, smooth, unforrow'd palm,/The fingers fine and slender./And finger-tips right-delicate,/Long, taper, softly rounded:-/Ah, such rare hands, they say must e'er/To minds as rare be bounded.//Of feeling pure and grand, they tell,/Will, simple, much unfetter'd,/And knowledge clear to read off life/As from a page fair-letter'd.//O Worthy Dons! O wisest Dons!/Say have ye known my Lady?/Aye surely, at not other shrine/This praise, all her due, paid ye!" Although outside the scope of this chapter, the poem also posits an interesting relationship between the woman being described, work, and class.

difference, was that of mother and daughter.[25] In an effort to maintain the attention of the mother-figure, the younger partner (the daughter) might feign illness, "requiring the undivided attention of the beloved mother-lover."[26] Elizabeth Brandreth traveled with Mason to the continent during one of her mysterious illnesses. By the time Elizabeth died in 1893, Mason had already established herself within influential circles and no longer needed a mother-figure to attend to her. Instead, Mason became the mother-figure to the many women who came to the House of Education and followed her with an intimate devotion.[27] Whatever the exact nature of the relationship, it shows Mason capitalizing on an opportunity to establish a mother-figure in her life and improve her own status. Elizabeth provided financial support, but even more importantly she provided access to elite society and fully enmeshed Mason in a lifestyle much higher than that of a single, female teacher.

Third, is the matter of class—what exactly was her class background? If she was the illegitimate daughter of working-class parents, as Jack Beckman suggests, how did she manage to complete her education?[28] What she describes as her education is not consistent with working-class educations in the mid-nineteenth century. As the illegitimate daughter of middle-class parents, her education is more probable though still

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[25] Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), xxvii-xxix. See Chapter 5 for a longer analysis of the mother-daughter metaphor in relationships between women. For an analysis of female friendships, see Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), part 1. Other recent scholarship on relationships between women in Britain includes Rebecca Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex between Women since 1500* (Oxford: Greenwood World Publishing, 2007) and Alison Oram, *Her Husband Was a Woman! Women's Gender-Crossing in Modern British Popular Culture* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[26] Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 113-14.

[27] On the culture of female friendships at girls' schools, see Elizabeth Edwards, *Women in Teacher Training Colleges, 1900-1960* (London: Routledge, 2001), 129-32 and Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 187-210.

[28] Beckman, "From Enigma to Educationalist."

unusual in that it lacked any sort of education in the "feminine arts and accomplishments."[29] Considering all the possibilities in her past, it is not surprising that Mason took such pains to be especially discrete about her background. Letting slip her exact family background might have made families less likely to take her seriously as an education reformer. Because she experienced a limited education due to her family's economic situation, it is not surprising that at the formation of the PNEU and in her educational philosophy, she asserted the need and merits of an education not tied to class. Perhaps also because of her national identity, she felt a sense of not belonging to both the local and national community. Her later efforts to claim an education for *all* children make sense in light of her childhood, but, to be successful at imparting the message, she had to create a different past for herself. The story she told about the genesis of her educational philosophy brought together the class and national concerns from her personal history into her pedagogy.

English Children, Anglo-Indian Children, or Just Plain Children?

An encounter with the empire in the form of the three Brandreth children provided Mason the impetus for her education reform: "I saw a great deal of a family of Anglo-Indian children who had come 'home' to their grandfather's house and were being brought up by an aunt who was my intimate friend. The children were astonishing to me; they were persons of generous impulses and sound judgment, of great intellectual aptitude, of imagination and moral insight."[30] This is a story that is retold in many of the

[29] Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U.", 72.
[30] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 9-10.

writings about Mason, but this re-telling in Mason's own hand, in *A Philosophy of Education*, is the most interesting and revealing in its treatment of the empire. The Brandreth children were born in India, and presumably their mother had died as there is no mention of her. At the very least, their mother had chosen to remain in India with her husband and sent the children back to England to live with family while completing their education, a common decision at the time. They were fortunate to have relatives who could care for them, rather than being sent to a boarding home for children whose parents were living abroad. These were white, English children, but Mason describes them not as English children, or even just children, but as "Anglo-Indian" children. The terminology that she uses is revealing in and of itself as to how Mason (and the British more broadly) understood the position of children living, even for short periods, in the empire and their relationship to the nation.

For those living in the colonies, the attempt to divide people according to race was a project fraught with contradiction. By the turn of the century, there were people of English, Irish, and Scottish descent living in India.[31] Within this group were people who might have lived in India for extended periods of time and then returned to the metropole upon retirement, but also some who had settled permanently in India. There were also individuals whose parentage was mixed, leaving them in a liminal space—not Indian, but also not English either. The proper terminology—Anglo-Indian, Eurasian, British-

[31] On the Irish in India, see Scott B. Cook, "The Irish Raj: Social Origins and Careers of Irishmen in the Indian Civil Service, 1855-1914," *Journal of Social History* 20, no. 3 (1987): 506-29 and T. G. Fraser, "Ireland and India," in *'An Irish Empire': Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Keith Jeffery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 77-93. On the Scots in India, see G. J. Bryant, "Scots in India in the Eighteenth Century," *Scottish Historical Review* 64, no. 1 (1985): 22-41 and Elizabeth Buettner, "Haggis in the Raj: Private and Public Celebrations of Scottishness in Late Imperial India," *Scottish Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (2002): 212-39.

Indian—changed over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[32] Whereas the white, British population living in India had been called Anglo-Indian, by the 1920s the meaning of the term, at least officially, had changed to describe people of mixed racial background.[33] In Mason's case, although she wrote this piece in 1922, it seems unlikely that she is using the term this way; what seems more likely is that Mason simply reverted to an older imperial vocabulary that she knew best.[34] Nonetheless, describing the children as Anglo-Indian and not just children or even English children gives the passage a slightly different meaning. By identifying them as Anglo-Indian, Mason emphasizes their identity as not wholly English, reflecting English imperial anxieties about children in the empire. For those children who lived significant portions of their childhood in the empire, their national and racial identity was always in question. Mason's nomenclature in this passage reflects that anxiety. Also, her positioning of the word 'home' in the single quotations alters the meaning of the word and points again to this imperial anxiety. It suggests that England was not really home and implied that India was home despite the fact that India was rarely viewed as home by the British people who lived there in the service of the empire. The punctuation and the adjective both

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[32] On the ways these terms were used, see Alison Blunt, *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Woman and the Spatial Politics of Home* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 1-3; Elizabeth Buettner, "Problematic Spaces, Problematic Races: Defining 'Europeans' in Late Colonial India," *Women's History Review* 9, no. 2 (2000): 277-98; and ———, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12-13.

[33] The official change from Eurasian to Anglo-Indian, which was especially important in census taking, was brought about by "this community's campaign to be defined in such a way as to emphasize their European ancestry and culture rather than their Indian background" (Elizabeth Ann Buettner, "Families, Children, and Memories: Britons in India, 1857-1947" [Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1998], 10).

[34] It is interesting to note in Cholmondley's quotation of this passage, she takes out the adjective Anglo-Indian and only refers to children. Cholmondley provides no footnotes, so it is impossible with the sources at hand to determine what she is quoting from, but the rest of the passage in Cholmondley's account reads the same as the passage in *A Philosophy of Education*. This could perhaps buttress the claim that Mason's use of the term, "Anglo-Indian" points to a racial difference and Cholmondley in her task of presenting a "received mythology" cleans up the story, so that there would be no hint of racism around Mason.

create a sense of these children (and the many others who might have found themselves in similar circumstance) as an 'other'— the other of the empire, who could be counted on to know less and be less culturally savvy.

Mason's purpose in telling this story is to illuminate how she arrived at the key point of her philosophy that "A child is a *person* with the spiritual requirements and capabilities of a person."[35] These were not, of course, the first children Mason had encountered. By the time Mason observed this scene, she had had been teaching for many years, so presumably she had had ample opportunity to observe children and ascertain their personhood. Nonetheless, these were the children that led her to define children as people. She highlights the children's intellectual and imaginative capabilities, claiming that she "began under the guidance of these Anglo-Indian children to take the measure of a *person* and soon to suspect that children are *more* than we, their elders, except that their ignorance is illimitable."[36] Although Mason explains that the context of the home as the site of her observations was important, her list of characteristics goes beyond what would only commonly be found in the home. A school setting would certainly allow for the observation of children's intellectual abilities. What is it that sets these children apart and makes her observances of them so remarkable? The difference is that these are not just any children, but children whose lives have been lived in the empire, and thus, on the margins of their racial and national identity. The children's identity as Anglo-*Indians* makes their actions contradictory to what Mason expects to

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[35] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 18. Italics in original. This statement can also be found in Mason's introduction to each of her books.
[36] Ibid., 9-10. Italics in original.

observe of them, and, thus, she is able to conclude that if these children are capable, then why not all other children.

The Brandreth children were not only from an unfamiliar geography, they were also from a different class from the children Mason instructed at the Davison School. Margaret Coombs labels the class difference as the key part of this story, but I find race and nation to be a much more compelling reading of this event in large part because it foreshadows the elision of class and race in Mason's educational thinking.[37] Class differences, as the next section demonstrates, proved impossible to overcome, so instead the PNEU focused its attention outside England.

A Union for Parents

Between 1885 and 1886, Mason gave a series of "ladies lectures" in Bradford that became the genesis for her first book detailing her educational philosophy, *Home Education*.[38] While the book increased interest in Mason and her ideas, the formation of the Parents' Educational Union (PEU) in 1887 represented the moment when Mason moved her ideas out of the drawing room and into the public sphere.[39] The creation of the PEU as an organization was a contentious process—what would be their goal? Would religion feature in their aims? What about membership? Who would be allowed

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[37] Coombs, "Some Obstacles to the Establishment of a Universal Method of Education for Parenthood by the P.N.E.U.," 100-01.
[38] Charlotte M. Mason, *Home Education* (1935; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989).
[39] The organization was initially called the Parents' Educational Union, but expanded to be a national organization in 1892, at which point it ceased to be called the Parents' Educational Union and became the Parents' National Educational Union. For the sake of consistency, I will refer to the organization as the PNEU unless I am specifically referencing the organization and decisions made prior to 1892. Though the *Parents' Review* referred to the organization as the Parents' National Educational Union, secondary sources often refer to it as the Parents' National Education Union. I will follow the name as given in the primary sources.

to join—men and women? Single women or only mothers? Members of only the middle and upper classes? What about the working class? To answer these questions, initially only a dozen parents gathered to form a plan for a "Parents' Educational Union."[40] As they discussed what the focus of the union should be, "it was hazarded that the Education of parents was the object of the society."[41] Since the middle- and upper-class home was viewed as a sacrosanct space, "a sanctuary, where prying and intermeddling from without would be intolerable," this intervention seemed a risky purpose for the society.[42] The attendees expressed concern that "a proposal to educate parents sounds a little like an offer to teach the doctors."[43] What would parents, particularly those of the middle and upper classes think of an organization that sought to educate them as to their role as parents?

The PEU's concern with parental involvement dovetailed with a changing discussion about parental roles between 1870 and 1900, when "the phrase 'parental responsibility' acquired a resonance that spoke of deepening national self-doubt."[44] Lackadaisical parenting risked lazy, unhealthy, uncommitted future citizens, who would lack the political, social, and intellectual acumen to keep Britain's place as a strong nation and empire. It also risked social disorder. The issue of 'parental responsibility' was no less a concern of the middle class than it was foisted upon the working class. Mason's emphasis on parenting pushed members of the PNEU (and the society of the

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[40] "Miss Mason's Earliest MSS," undated, CM box 3, File CMC33. There is no available for date when this meeting happened. Elsie Kitching refers to 1888-1889 as the "second session," so presumably the inaugural year of the PNEU was 1887-1888.
[41] Ibid.
[42] "Parents' National Educational Union: The Report for 1892, Together with a Brief Account of the Parents' Review, House of Education, and Parents' Review School," CM box 11.
[43] "Miss Mason's Earliest MSS."
[44] George K. Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 74.

nation more broadly, who the PNEU hoped to influence) to approach parenting with a discipline, deliberation, and spirit of openness not previously claimed by and imposed upon the middle and upper class. As such, it was not always a welcomed effort.[45]

Mirroring political debates at the time, one critic characterized the PEU as "meddling," thereby "threaten[ing] to lay waste to all individuality of thought and action, and to wear us out of all independence of judgment."[46] In the same way that a small state was seen as the best way to protect the liberty and freedom of the English citizen, so too were parents' interests best served by giving them free reign to parent and educate as they saw fit. But for this critic, the PEU presented an additional danger to traditional English society because of how it turned private, domestic life into public information. To work directly with parents in addressing their concerns, the PEU asked parents to send in questions, such as "How would you deal with a greedy or a sullen child?" This request was "meddling brought to a pitch indeed." After all:

> Imagine what a dynamic collection these queries,—with or without signature, but always, one would think, in these days of universal societies and secretaries pretty easily localized,—what a collection, we say, will these queries form in any but a very prudent hand. Give a dog a bad name, &c., is the truest of proverbs when applied to the young. Their little faults and inconsistencies, as much as their parents's faults and inconsistencies, are entitled to the tender oblivion and privacy of home life, in which (no doubt from not having an educational society to consult) families have plated themselves ever since the earliest one of all.[47]

Perhaps action could be forgiven, but not intervention into the most sacred of spaces—the home, especially the middle-class home.[48]

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[45] Chapter 3 will look at the ways that the formation of the PNEU dovetailed with larger national concerns about health, education, and children.
[46] "The Cry of Parents," *Macmillan's Magazine* vol. 62 (May 1890): 55.
[47] "The Cry of the Parents," 57.
[48] For an interesting discussion of the origins of the idea of the home as a private retreat in the English context, see Behlmer's introduction, "Of Castle, Home, and Sphere," in *Friends of the Family*, 1-28.

Having committed to the goal, there still remained the logistics of the society. If the society was to be a *Parents'* Union, did that mean it would include both men and women? Initially the PEU was intended for mothers only, but a man amongst the group insisted that "fathers…must share with mothers the responsibility of bringing up children and what is to be of use to the one should help the other also."[49] In her memory of the founding of the PEU, Elsie Kitching remembered that this suggestion was taken up "joyfully" for "the society must gain in vigour and power by the inclusion of fathers."[50] The inclusion of both men and women in the PEU in the closing years of the nineteenth century was something that set the PEU, and later PNEU, apart from other educational organizations. Even in the case of the youngest children, those firmly in the purview of a mother's (or governess's) care, the PEU expected that men participate in the education of their children as well. It was not women's work, but parents' work.[51] The articulation of a notion of co-parenting was an important and unique feature of the PEU at its founding. In this particular aim, the PNEU was least successful. Mason's writings rarely mention fathers except in passing, and, in fact, she is largely preoccupied with refashioning the role of "mother" as a more professional identity for women. In its philosophical position, one critic protested that the PEU sought equal participation from fathers in addition to

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[49] Elsie Kitching, "The History of Aims of the P.N.E.U.," *Parents' Review*, 10, no. 7 (July 1899): 413.
[50] Ibid., 414.
[51] Although the 18th century had seen child-rearing guides addressed to fathers, the nineteenth century saw child-rearing guides "written for mothers alone, or for parents in such a way as to exclude fathers" (John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999], 91). John Tosh argues that this change occurred because mothers came to be viewed as "the right person to bring up children," as opposed to fathers (Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 93). Other historians argue that by the late Victorian era, fathers were in fact taking more of a role in the care and education of their children. See Eleanor Gordon and Gwyneth Nair, "Domestic Fathers and the Victorian Parental Role," *Women's History Review* 15, no. 4 (2006): 551-59. For the PEU to suggest that fathers take an active and equal role in parenting was something different from what the rest of Victorian Britain was saying about fathers and offers some support for this alternative view.

being the bread-winner. This writer complained that after working to provide an income to pay the bills, "if, to all these, is to be added the bill (in time and anxiety) of his own education as a parent, who, we ask, will be found to rashly undertake so arduous a position?"[52] In fact "The Cry of the Parents" could be more accurately titled "The Cry of the Fathers."

Despite the criticisms and the new direction that the PEU (and Mason) was pushing individuals (more interventionist, more public, and less private), the organization grew in both size and scope. Beginning with only eighty members, the PEU quickly doubled in size.[53] In the winter of 1888, the PEU hosted four meetings of its members, four working mothers' meetings, two mixed parents' meetings, and three meetings for nursemaids.[54] A few short years later they boasted a very elite board, representing the vanguard of educational philosophy and politics in the Victorian era. It included Dorothea Beale and Frances Buss, who were strong supporters of girls' education; both gave evidence before the Taunton Commission in 1864, a commission that examined grammar schools with an eye towards reforming the education system in England.[55] Beale was the principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College,[56] while Buss served as the headmistress of the North London Collegiate School.[57] The Earl and Countess of Aberdeen acted as the presidents of the organization. The Countess of Aberdeen, Ishbel

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[52] "The Cry of the Parents," 55.
[53] Kitching, "The History of Aims of the P.N.E.U.," 417.
[54] Ibid., 417.
[55] For the Taunton Commission, see chapter 1.
[56] Jacqueline Beaumont, 'Beale, Dorothea (1831–1906)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30655, accessed 22 Sept 2008].
[57] Elizabeth Coutts, 'Buss, Frances Mary (1827–1894)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37249, accessed 22 Sept 2008].

Gordon Aberdeen, was elected president of the International Congress of Women in 1893. Throughout her husband's career, she lived in Canada and Ireland, experiencing life in different parts of the British Empire.[58] T. G. Rooper was one of the state's schools inspectors. Even representatives from the great public schools participated.[59]

Aside from their status as elites, the board members represented viewpoints from across the political spectrum and had differing relationships with education. The Earl and Countess of Aberdeen were upper class and their experience with education was more informal. Their encounter with Mason originated, because they were looking for a teacher to instruct their children and wondered if Mason could recommend someone who would teach along the lines that Mason had described in her lectures.[60] The Countess was also a political Liberal. Rooper was a state official, whose experiences with education were tied to the limited system of state education that existed in England.

At its formation, the PEU also had to establish what it intended in terms of religious instruction and affiliation. Despite agreeing upon "religious bringing up of children" as one of their aims at the initial meeting, the attendees expressed concern that:

> to discuss this subject would be to throw a bomb into a mixed society…: that where there were persons of different communions present there could be no common ground; that even amongst those of the same communion, there were endless shades of opinion that the whole subject bristles with difficulties, that to venture on this ground would be to bring our society to grief over its birth.[61]

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[58] G. F. Barbour, and Matthew Urie Baird, 'Gordon, John Campbell, first marquess of Aberdeen and Temair (1847–1934)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/view/article/33464, accessed 25 July 2009].
[59] For example, the headmaster at Harrow was part of the board.
[60] Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 20.
[61] "Miss Mason's Earliest MSS." Underlining in original.

These debates within the PEU mirrored larger debates about religion in the place of education in England.[62] The 1870 Education Act provided for religious instruction in schools, but, for schools to receive government grants, their religious instruction needed to be nondenominational in character, at least in theory. In reality, schools teaching an Anglican curriculum had a distinct advantage. The PEU finally agreed that the religious component was important to maintain because if "dropped, it would be impossible to re-introduce it and this would become like various others, a society for promoting secular education."[63] Mason always understood her educational goals within the context of her own religious beliefs.[64] Because she created a religious curriculum that focused on reading Bible stories and not books of interpretation or doctrine, she left room for members to be Church of England, non-Conformist, Catholic, or even possibly Jewish.[65] The religious element of the PUS provided a degree of religious inclusivity because of its flexibility. One of Mason's biggest supporters and organizers was Henrietta Franklin, daughter of Samuel and Ellen Montagu, one of the leading Anglo-Jewish families of the day.[66] Franklin advocated for women's suffrage and girls' education and participated

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[62] On the relationship between religion and education, see Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment, and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), esp. chpt. 4; Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); Mary J. Hickman, *Religion, Class, and Identity: The State, the Catholic Church, and the Education of the Irish in Britain* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995); and J. P. Parry, *Democracy and Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party, 1867-1875*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[63] "Miss Mason's Earliest MSS."
[64] Mason was an Anglican.
[65] After Mason's death there was a major falling out between Henrietta Franklin and Elsie Kitching over the admittance of a Jewish woman to the House of Education. Kitching rejected the student on religious grounds and Franklin objected, claiming that Mason would have made provision for a Jewish student. See CM box 11, file 81.
[66] For more on the Montagu family and Anglo-Jewry more generally, see Eugene C. Black, *The Social Politics of Anglo-Jewry 1880-1920* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656-2000* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002); David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University

with her sister, Lily Montagu, in supporting liberal Judaism.[67] In fact, it was Franklin's efforts that helped shift the society from a local organization to a national union and as a Jewish woman she felt perfectly at home and welcomed within the PNEU and by Mason.

In 1892, the PEU officially changed its name to the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) to reflect its growth both in England and in the British Empire and the extension of its activities. Not merely an organization for meeting, the PNEU sponsored a journal edited by Mason, the *Parents' Review*; a teacher and governess training college, the House of Education (officially opened in 1892); and the Parents' Union School (PUS), a school for children. In 1892, Mason received a letter from an Indian educationalist asking "permission to translate your work, and thus allow me to extend the benefits of the same to people in this part of India."[68] In 1899, the first PNEU branch in the colonies began in Adelaide, South Australia. Its founder, Mrs. Kelsey, reported that "over a dozen joined when the first meeting was held" and that she planned to arrange "afternoon meetings for young governesses, with a view to helping them both in their work and studies."[69] In 1903, the secretary of the PNEU urged "Colonial members to form reading circles… where they were unable to obtain enough members to start a branch."[70] Yearly conferences provided an opportunity for people from around the world to attend and express their solidarity with the aims of the PNEU. During the 1899

Press, 1994); and Linda Gordon Kuzmack, *Woman's Cause: The Jewish Woman's Movement in England and the United States, 1881-1933* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990).

[67] Linda Gordon Kuzmack, "Henrietta Franklin," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 March 2009, Jewish Women's Archive accessed May 15, 2009, http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/franklin-henrietta.

[68] "Parents' National Educational Union: The Report for 1892."

[69] "P.N.E.U. Notes," *Parents Review* 10, no. 12 (December 1899): 816.

[70] Letter to the editor from F. Noël Armfield, *Parents' Review* 14, no. 3 (March 1903): 233.

conference, women from both Moscow and Japan sent letters "expressing regret for non-attendance at the Conference and sympathy with the principle and aims of the P.N.E.U."[71] At the 1905 conference, speakers included individuals from Norway and Germany and "there was mention of a branch forming in Hungary."[72]

Aside from its growth, the early years of the PNEU also witnessed the working out of the relationship between the organization and Mason. Although she sat on the board, Mason was not technically the president. She initially served as the secretary of the organization as a whole and local branches were, in theory, autonomous and independent, working under a local constitution. But in reality, Mason was the clear center of the organization, and hers was the final say on any issue. When a branch of the PNEU attempted to revise its local constitution to demonstrate how the members of the PNEU were working along similar lines to followers of Herbert Spencer, Johann Pestalozzi, and Friedrich Froebel, Mason intervened and forced the branch to return to its original constitution that expressed no solidarity with other educational movements.[73] Whatever its organizational structure on paper, the PNEU functioned as an organization with Mason at its head, preserving her growing national fame. Mason's health meant that her own teaching was sporadic at best, and, with memories of the poverty of her childhood, it must have been important to Mason to maintain her place within the PNEU, both to preserve her educational vision and to preserve her economic relationship to the various efforts of the PNEU. Her own class position as a child profoundly influenced

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[71] Minutes from 12 April 1899, CM box 34, small book of meeting minutes labeled CMC 234.
[72] *Parents' Review* 16, no. 8 (August 1905).
[73] Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 53-54.

how Mason held so tightly to the reigns of the PNEU, but more importantly it also influenced how the PNEU thought and talked about class.

The Problem of Class

Initially, the PEU asserted "Parents, of whatever class, should be eligible as members."[74] Social class was not meant to be a barrier to membership, but the founding members did recognize that class posed a dilemma because "the *details* of home training and culture are not the same for people who have nurseries and artistic surroundings and for those whose lot is cast within narrower lines."[75] To meet this problem, they decided "it [was] desirable to go to their [the artisan class's] usual places of meeting, and to work through existing organizations rather than to press another society on their attention. Work in mothers' unions, guilds, temperance halls, &c, is incumbent on every branch."[76] By framing the work in this fashion, the PNEU kept in place the divisions between the classes rather than creating an organization that eschewed class as a natural division. In many ways, the founders tabled the issue of class by gesturing to the inclusion of all classes without any sort of accountability or structures in place to provide for it. Yet, the issue of class remained contentious, complicated, and a constant source of debate for the PNEU over the first half of the twentieth century.

The first problem concerned the attitude of the members of the PNEU to people of a different and lower class than themselves. In a lecture at the 1902 PNEU annual meeting, Judge Reginald Bray claimed:

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[74] Kitching, "The History of Aims of the PNEU," 413.
[75] Ibid., 417. Italics in original.
[76] Ibid.

> the great blot and the great danger of modern civilization is this complete segregation of the classes. One class stands in ignorance of the manner of life and needs of the other. The personal element, the personal tie, and the personal knowledge are absent; in consequence, all effective sympathy is rendered impossible. … The passive relations now existing must be made active. If we wish for success we must endeavour to make these relations active among our children.[77]

Pushing the members of the PNEU to move from passive to active relationships with the working class, Bray urged that friendships between children of different classes be encouraged, an idea that garnered much discussion after the lecture. One woman argued, "the idea of taking children to the poorer parts of London is admirable, things are just ready for it." Another suggested, "the children of the higher class were much more ready to form such friendships than the children of the lower. We are very often misunderstood in our efforts in this direction."[78] Much like the PNEU's founding statement, there is no specific course of action suggested, and one is left to wonder if either of these women would have really sent their children into the bowels of Whitechapel to play with the sons and daughters of dock workers and seamstresses. In the next month's *Parents' Review*, the conversation continued. When asked, "If our children's relationships with the suburban children of poorer classes should be encouraged or repelled—or how should they be regulated?" comments were not nearly as positive. One woman asked whether it would be best to consider the question from the "other side, the side of the poorer children. Would such intercourse be for their advantage? Or would it not be rather taking them out of their own station and making them discontented with their own lives?" Henrietta Franklin closed the discussion by concluding:

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[77] Reginald Bray, "Our Relations to Our Fellow Creatures" (A paper read at the 6th Annual Conference), *Parents' Review*, 13, no. 7 (July 1902): 511, 512.
[78] Ibid., 517, 518.

> she had wondered whether it really was a question which needed *direct* action. If the atmosphere of the home did not accentuate any class differences and if there were a healthy tone and attitude towards people all around them, she thought that this was one of the very few things that could be safely left till the children are grown up. The love of humanity is really natural to most of us, and later on, when boys and girls are fired with the most human desire to make those happy who are less fortunately situated than themselves, they will set about it not in a patronizing way, but with the feeling that each class has much to learn from the other.[79]

All of those who commented (and the lecturer for that matter) were speaking from a position of privilege and seem committed to the principle of building relationships with people irrespective of class, but seem less willing to actually do it. In order to assuage their consciences on the matter, they agreed that the issue of class was more concerned with attitude than actual practice.

Had the issue of attitude been overcome, there still remained the question of logistics. The curriculum Mason advocated required each student to have access to the books being read in a given term. For both individual families and poorly funded schools, this requirement proved challenging. In 1916, H.W. Household, a supporter of Mason and a state schools inspector, introduced Mason's curriculum into the Gloucestershire schools. These schools included both single sex and co-ed schools and both Church of England and non-denominational schools. The majority of the students were the children of mineworkers and farm workers. Many difficulties hampered the experiment, including the influenza outbreak, the war, and slow post, which delayed book deliveries. Teachers reported that students enjoyed the curriculum, but many questioned its usefulness: "Practically all our pupils have to become **workers** at an early age…It is folly to waste the short and precious school-days in so much book learning, when the child's chief need is a practical knowledge of how to meet the difficulties of everyday

[79] "Concrete Problems," *Parents' Review*, 13, no. 8 (August 1902): 608, 609. Italics in original.

life. Students are seldom practical people, and the British Empire of the future needs workers rather than bookworms."[80] Spreading the philosophy not only required overcoming the class biases of the PNEU itself but finding teachers willing to see their students outside the traditional educational parameters determined by class. Cost was an issue as well; in Gloucestershire there was only money to purchase one set of books for each grade level, and the books had to be shared amongst the students.

Additionally, the sort of home that Mason envisioned was distinctly middle class. It was a place where children were left in the primary care of their mothers, or a governess, where mothers were free to take their children on long outings to the countryside, where children were afforded good food and good living conditions, and where the necessity for a working mother was absent. Rooper, the schools inspector, who was a member of the PNEU board, urged "much might be done amongst them [the lower classes] by the Union" and, in fact "applications for speakers to the poor" were not "infrequently made to the Union."[81] The fact that applications were received for people to speak *to* the poor and not necessarily *from* people of lower economic status suggests the failure of the PNEU to reach the working class directly.

The class question was also manifested in debates about the ethics of hiring a governess. As chapter 3 will show, Mason believed that mothers needed to participate actively in their children's education, but the simple reality was that the women attending the PNEU meetings were the most likely to hire a governess. Some members of the

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[80] H. W. Household, "Report on the P.N.E.U. Experiment in Gloucestershire," CM box 11, file 54 labeled "Correspondence re circulation of educational pamphlets to L.E.A.s 1916," 4. Bold type in original. This experimental program reached 4477 students.
[81] Dr. H. Laing Gordon, "Parental Peculiarities and Parental Possibilities," *Parents' Review* 10, no. 7 (July 1899): 463.

PNEU saw Mason's philosophy of education and motherhood as a way to restore the proper class dynamic. A letter writer to the *Parents' Review* in 1899 commented "how much young mothers must be in the power of their nurses" because of a "deficiency in … preparedness for motherhood."[82] On the other side, a different letter writer claimed the ministrations of a lower-class nurse provided the perfect break from the mother's constant stimulation:

> I believe that it is better for the children to spend some hours of the day with a good patient refined woman…than to be constantly in the mother's presence. The constant society of the mother is too stimulating, too intellectual, too engrossing for a child. He should be with a more phlegmatic, less exciting mind than that of the over-anxious mother is likely to be… I believe too, that provided the nurse's views of life are right and true, it is well that the children should in a natural way mix with people of another class to their own. I believe there is more practical socialism in letting the children hear about nurse's home and friends, and occasionally visit them, than in hundreds of lectures on 'The Brotherhood of Men.'[83]

Though claiming what was needed was a "natural way" for children to meet and mingle with people of another class, the interactions with a nurse or governess hardly seem to fit this demand. Governesses were interviewed, selected, and hired often on the basis of their claims to be solidly middle class, merely fallen on hard times. The "mistress of a good nurse" minimizes the possibility for actual interactions between classes and demonstrates the "status incongruence" of the governess.[84]

While the PNEU was not directly educating working-class children, they were meeting the educational needs of upper-working-class girls. In 1893, Emma Steinthal, an

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[82] Letter to the editor from W. E. R., *Parents' Review* 10, no. 1 (January 1899): 61. This woman's comments also illuminate the class differences considered in chapter 1 since she also concludes that though her nurse came highly recommended, she failed to understand the importance of habit "and was quite incapable of comprehending it" (61).

[83] Letter to the editor from "The Mistress of a Good Nurse," *Parents' Review* 10, no. 12 (December 1899): 814.

[84] See M. Jeanne Peterson, "The Victorian Governess: Status Incongruence in Family and Society," *Victorian Studies* 14, no. 1 (1970): 7-26.

upper-class woman who was one of Mason's earliest supporters, having attended the Bradford meetings, urged the formation of a Loan Training Fund, to "be used by girls who had not the necessary money to enable them to be thoroughly trained for the profession chosen."[85] The loans were expected to be repaid within two years. Of the thirty-one women who were receiving or had received money from the fund between 1893 and 1899, eight had chosen to attend the House of Education and pursue training as a governess.[86] Even this project exhibited class-based tension. Steinthal emphasized that "all applications are very carefully investigated by the committee, and only those cases are accepted where success seems probable, and where the help is urgently required."[87] Some working-class girls were clearly more desirable and more deserving than others, which was by no means an uncommon class assertion at the turn of the century. It does, however, contradict the ideas about class asserted by the PNEU in its formation and early conferences.

The first decades of the PNEU coincided with a period of great class unrest in England due in part to changing the changing economic situation in the nation and the new efforts to unionize even unskilled workers in the 1890s. While the 1870s were a boom time in England, the 1880s were a period of increasing international competition and economic recession.[88] Falling wages led to conflict between workers and employers. Unions, hitherto the privilege of skilled workers, were now forming even amongst unskilled workers, like the dock workers. In an effort to discourage the unskilled labor

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[85] Letter to the editor from Emiline Petrie Steinthal, *Parents' Review* 10, no. 5 (May 1899): 332.
[86] For more on the House of Education, see chapter 4. The fund also provided money for girls to attend the Norland Institute where they could learn a trade.
[87] Letter to the editor from Emiline Petrie Steinthal, 332.
[88] José Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: Social History of Britain, 1870-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 143.

unions, employers unwittingly pushed the unskilled unions into larger trade union amalgamations organized across grade and rank, not within a particular segment of workers.[89] Although labor unrest was quieted in the first eight years of the twentieth century, the period between 1908 and 1914 was fraught with labor unrest. Between 1910 and 1913, there were massive strikes across the coal, dock, and transport workers. In 1914, the transport workers, miners, and railway men formed an alliance and threatened a strike that would have brought Britain to a standstill had the First World War not intervened.[90] George Dangerfield's classic interpretation of this period, usefully paraphrased by David Powell, argues that "Britain was on the verge of an industrial relations crisis from which socialist militants and other revolutionary elements might be able to benefit."[91] While the scale of the crisis was large, it seems unlikely that Britain was on the verge of a political and social revolution brought on by a civil war instigated by the workers in 1914 as Dangerfield suggests. There was nonetheless a sense amongst the English that class relations were changing, and this attitude is reflected in the articles in the *Parents' Review* and in Mason's own educational writings.

As early as 1899, one contributor to the *Parents' Review* bemoaned the "prominent evils of our time…unjustifiable strikes, scamping of work, 'milking' of machinery, rioting and Hooliganism…"[92] The author called for military training in education in order to extend the ideas of "duty, discipline, and reverence."[93] Even if the PNEU was not going to go as far as to introduce military training into education

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[89] Ibid., 143-44.
[90] David Powell, *The Edwardian Crisis: Britain 1901-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 117-18.
[91] Ibid., 117. See also George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), chapter 4.
[92] "On Military Training as a Factor in Education" (Part 2), *Parents' Review* 10, no. 4 (April 1899): 226.
[93] Ibid.

(especially not into girls' education), another contributor to the *Parents' Review* argued that "the aim of education should be to cultivate the power of sympathy, by encouraging children to take an interest in the lives and doings of others whose circumstances are unlike, and perhaps less fortunate than their own."[94] Both of these authors demonstrate a preoccupation with class concerns; the first author is more explicit than the second. There is a clear articulation of the dangers of the working class and a solution—discipline, duty, and reverence presumably to keep everyone in their place. The second author offered a similar sort of analysis, framed in a more subtle way. She was concerned about how early the "shifting out of children into different classes" happens in England, resulting in children "forgetting that they are exceptionally privileged, they learn to talk with coldness or contempt of other children who have never had the same advantages of themselves."[95] The issue here is that children should not be patronizing of other children of a lower-class background, a very true assertion, but there is an implicit recognition that class differences were natural and should be preserved. After all, the children were not being encouraged to mingle with children of other classes. It perfectly duplicates the tension inherent in the PNEU's discussion of class, where there was an articulation of the belief in the inclusion of all classes, but an inability and unwillingness to actually do it.

Written shortly before her death, with the vantage point of having lived through the labor unrest of the Edwardian era and the expansion of the Labour party in the closing years of the First World War and early 1920s, *A Philosophy of Education* offers the best

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[94] "Social Sympathy," *L'Umile Pianta*, October 1907: 6. *L'Umile Pianta* was the alumni magazine of the House of Education.
[95] Ibid., 6.

articulation of Mason's own contradictory view of class. On the one hand, this book represents Mason's strongest defense of a liberal education for all regardless of class. Mason tried to write class out of the definition of curriculum, which was a bold move on her part, but ultimately unsuccessful. Having accomplished an educational curriculum that was not predicated on class, Mason believed "general stability" would result.[96] The emphasis on stability, which underlies all of Mason's comments about what a liberal education for all results in, rests on a heavy critique of the working class. She writes:

> In these days when *Reason* is deified by the unlearned and plays the part of the Lord of Misrule it is necessary that every child should be trained to recognize fallacious reasoning and above all to know that a man's reason is his servant and not his master; that there is no notion a man chooses to receive which his reason will not justify, whether it be mistrust of his neighbour, jealousy of his wife, doubts about his religion, or contempt for his country.
>
> Realising this, we 'see reason' in the fact that thousands of men go on strike because two of their body have been denied permission to attend a certain meeting. We see reason in this but the men themselves confound reason with right and consider that such a strike is a righteous protest. The only safeguard against fallacies which undermine the strength of the nation morally and economically is a liberal education which affords a wide field for reflection and comparison and abundant data upon which to found sound judgements.[97]

In this section of text, she centers class issues as one of the major issues facing Britain and offers education as the balm of class conflict. She seems to think that the working class had no real reason to strike, and, if they were better educated, they would be more reasonable, recognize this fact, and no longer strike. It is a politically conservative and hugely contradictory position that Mason maintained up until her death. It is contradictory, because the total overhaul of education such that the children of workers and the children of bankers would receive the same education was something radically different, but it was rooted in conservative understandings of the relationship between the

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[96] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 8.
[97] Ibid., 55-56. Italics in original.

classes. Essentially she does not recognize the validity of a community of workers, because she was so fixated on the community of the nation.

The Community of the Nation and the Creation of the Parents' Union School

For the PNEU and Mason, class was an issue that could never be suitably addressed. The constant return to the interplay of class and education in the pages of the *Parents' Review* demonstrates the members' uneasiness about the issue. While never resolved, the move to focus on the community of the nation focused the PNEU on a population and educational opportunity where they could experience much greater success. The Parent's Union School (PUS), begun in 1891, provided an organized home-school curriculum that families could follow. In line with Mason's belief that all children deserve an education, its goal was "to secure a common standard of attainment, so that the home-taught child shall be equal to the rest when he goes to school."[98] Each term, Mason created a program listing books and activities that children were to complete. The curriculum could be directed by a governess, trained by Mason or not, or a parent.[99] The number of children following the curriculum of the PUS at any given time is impossible to discern since there are no surviving enrollment records and only vague statements peppered throughout annual reports. In 1892, Cholmondley reported that there were sixty-five families enrolled in the PUS.[100] The 1918 annual report claimed 800 families were enrolled.[101] In 1920, the *Parents' Review* claimed 20,000

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[98] "Parents' National Educational Union: The Report for 1892."
[99] See chapter 4.
[100] Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 44.
[101] "Annual Report," *Parents' Review* 29, no. 6 (June 1918): 401.

students were in the PUS,[102] and, by 1948, the annual report recorded that "it is quite impossible to answer" how many children were following the PUS curriculum.[103] They did estimate though that between July 1948 and May 1949, 195 new families joined the PUS.[104]

The only requirement to joining the PUS was a subscription to "the *Parents' Review*, as some guarantee that they are themselves making a study of the principles of education."[105] Because of the nature of the PUS programs, literally just a list of books, there were regular reminders to students "that they should not pass on P.R.S. programmes to each other. Such programmes are *only* for the use of children whose parents have joined the P.R.S."[106] The PUS was a business as much as it was an intellectual educational endeavor. Once a family joined the PUS, they were sent a questionnaire that was used to place their child in the appropriate form (grade level). Programs and a schedule would then be sent to the parent, who would be responsible to purchase the books listed on the schedule. While the books might be expensive, the programs themselves were not. An undated paper lists the cost of the programs at two guineas a year for a family with two or more children under the age of ten, two guineas a year for one child over the age of ten, and three guineas a year for a family with two or more children over the age of ten.[107] To ensure that children in the PUS achieved a common educational standard, there were twice yearly exams, at Easter and Christmas, sent back to Mason to be graded. In the summer, parents were expected to oversee an additional

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[102] *Parents' Review* 31, no. 7 (July 1920): 482.
[103] "58th Annual Report 1948-1949," *Parents' Review* 60, no. 2 (February 1949): 198.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 44.
[106] *L'Umile Pianta*, June 1905: 56. The school was initially called the Parents' Review School, but the name changed to the Parents' Union School within a few years.
[107] "PR School Examination Regulations," CM box 23, file 57.

exam and report the results back to Mason. This structure was particularly useful to families living abroad, who were able to follow a common curriculum without having to send their children away. But it came with its own difficulties as well. During both the First and Second World Wars, when transportation was disrupted it was difficult for families to send and receive programs, exams, and books. Nonetheless, the PUS spread across the entire British Empire with families in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Australia, North America, Asia, and Africa.

Summary and Conclusion

At Mason's death, one reflection on her life likened the PUS to a "kind of educational League of Nations."[108] By linking home-school rooms across the empire, Mason created a community of the nation that was tied by education and not place. The PUS brought families into the nation whose children would have been otherwise marginalized in the nation because of living in the empire. This group was a perfect choice on which to displace the class anxiety of the PNEU because, while the PNEU and Mason were not able to reconcile their class differences successfully, they were able to provide a compelling definition of the nation through the educational curriculum of the PUS that provided for the English imperial citizen living abroad.

Mason's belief in the rights of children to education and her related belief in the personhood of children not only marked Mason as a progressive educationalist, they also made obvious the contradictions in her educational program. At its inception, the PNEU struggled to overcome class divisions. They were ready to assert that education should

[108] "For the Children's Sake," quoted in "In Memoriam: Charlotte Mason (1842-1923)," CM box 23, file 166.

be without class boundaries, but unwilling to put it into practice and have their children befriend children outside their social group. This position reflected larger class anxieties in the Edwardian era and the experiences of Mason's own childhood. Since the PNEU could not overcome class divisions, they elided class and race and focused their attention on English children living abroad. They ignored the nation they lived in that was divided by class and centered their arguments about education in a national discourse to create a nation composed of people from different geographic localities.

Chapter 3

Diagnosing the Malady of the Nation:

Protecting Children's Individuality

> That country cannot prosper where the home is not first and foremost, and so we must all feel grateful for the formation of this Union, which gives us the opportunity of enabling us to fit ourselves to be to our children more what we were meant to be, and to understand truly the meaning of the great work of education. It is indeed a national work of the first and greatest importance, and, if we believe this for ourselves, we ought to go further and show ourselves possessed with the missionary spirit to persuade others to come and join us also.[1]
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> Lady Aberdeen, PNEU Conference, May 1901

Lady Aberdeen's words must have met with a rousing response at the 5th Annual Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) conference, especially in light of her confidence in the face of a political situation that was anything but assured. Just a few short months before the conference, Queen Victoria died after sixty-three years on the throne. The coronation of the new monarch, Edward VII, marked a moment of uncertainty for the British people: what sort of Britain would they be under the guidance of a new ruler? Anxiety also swirled around the empire, particularly in South Africa where the British had been fighting a war for the previous two years. Only one month after the conference, Emily Hobhouse's report on the conditions in the British internment camps for Dutch settlers removed from their lands and homes in South Africa created a "national scandal" and many questioned at what cost the war in South Africa was being won.[2] Britain's physical and moral ability to maintain the empire successfully appeared

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[1] Lady Aberdeen, "Conversazione," *Parents' Review* 7, no. 8 (August 1901): 590.

[2] Paula M. Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire: Public Discourse and the Boer War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32. For a more detailed description of the progress of the

questionable, but, if Britain was not an empire on which the "sun never set," what sort of Britain was it? In the midst of these significant events, Lady Aberdeen took the stage and suggested what was necessary for the nation to prosper. As the acting president of the PNEU (with her husband), it is no surprise that Lady Aberdeen located the basis for a prosperous future in the philosophy of the PNEU.[3] Though ostensibly an organization focused on education, the educational debates were couched in a language of the home. On the one hand, Lady Aberdeen's remarks pointed directly to a literal home. On the other hand, she also gestured to a more figurative definition of the home as the nation. Armed with missionary zeal, the members of the PNEU and Charlotte Mason spread the gospel of home to a Britain increasingly unsure about what defined home in both senses in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Mason lived, taught, and wrote during a series of pivotal moments for defining the role of women in society, the place of empire, and more generally for thinking through what it meant to be British. Between 1886 and 1910, the formative years of the PNEU and the publication of five of her six books on education, women were agitating for the vote in more militant ways, workers were striking for higher pay and better quality of life, and the major political parties, Liberal, Conservative, and Labour, were changing as well, signaling a major shift in British political philosophy. By the time she finished her last book in 1922, a synthesis of her life's thinking and work in education, Mason wrote from the vantage point of having witnessed the First World War and during yet

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war, see Bill Nasson, *The South African War 1899-1902* (London: Arnold, 1999); Dennis Judd and Keith Surridge, *The Boer War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002).

[3] Although Lord and Lady Aberdeen acted as the presidents of the PNEU, Charlotte Mason was ultimately in control. As upper-class, politically active, and well-connected individuals, their presidency was indicative of their aristocratic patronage of the organization.

another period in which Britain had to re-establish its identity and position in a newly configured world order. Although Mason rarely wrote directly about the political, social, and economic events dominating the newspaper headlines, it is clear that these were the issues compelling her to write. They infringe upon the very margins of her page and set the stakes of her educational philosophy. For Mason, pedagogical practice was no small matter. To accept the methods of Froebel was to accept a certain sort of future citizen imbued with, in this case, the national characteristics of the Germans, and, thus, a certain sort of future nation. She blamed Germany for the war and located the real problem in its reliance on utilitarian educational principles, defined as an emphasis on vocation and physical fitness and the development of the faculties without equal concern for character development.[4] Mason's educational philosophy stretched beyond the realm of pedagogy to the realm of psychology and philosophy—what was a child? Answering this question was not just a way to determine the proper pedagogy but a way to work out the bigger questions animating her day: what defined the individual? What was the individual's relationship and duties towards the state and empire and vice versa?

This chapter begins by examining the idea of home in relationship to patriotism for children before looking at the nature of the national identity crisis in Edwardian England and how Mason, the PNEU, and the PUS claimed success in solving this crisis. I argue that Mason and the PNEU tied the health of the nation and empire to the individual British citizen, but, rather than looking at the adult British citizen, they focused on the child and the role that his or her education played in the development of future citizens. The changing nature of the British Empire in the first half of the twentieth

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[4] Charlotte M. Mason, *A Philosophy of Education* (1925; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 6. See Chapter 1 for more on Mason's critique of Froebel.

century required a new definition of the nation that was not just defined in opposition to the colonial 'other,' but was contingent upon a redefinition of the relationship between the individual and the state, thereby creating a new citizen. By seeking to move beyond Victorian and Edwardian gender and class norms, the PNEU encouraged the development of citizen children who would alter the social landscape of England through their understanding of their role as citizens.

What Defines Home?

The idea of home as both a family's literal dwelling space and a national "imagined community" consumed the PNEU.[5] The home itself formed the centerpiece of Mason's educational program, particularly in the case of families living in the empire where the home served as the school space in addition to being the site of daily life and a small oasis of England and Englishness. As a literal space, Mason was very clear that it was "home influences brought to bear upon the child that determine the character and career of the future man or woman."[6] Echoing Mason in 1902 on the topic of the training of the citizen, one contributor to the *Parents' Review* argued that "it is as the earliest school of the citizen that the home is most important."[7] For children living in the empire, the literal space of the home and the more impressionable "home influences" brought to bear were not all the same. Most of the children participating in the PUS lived in the empire, where their home might be decidedly un-English in furnishing, layout, material,

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[5] The term "imagined community" is of course taken from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed. (London: Verso, 1991).
[6] Charlotte M. Mason, *Home Education* (1935; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 1.
[7] Rev. Dr. Hunter, "The Training of the Citizen," *Parents' Review* 13, no. 7 (July 1902): 555.

and location.[8] More important than the literal space of the home, the "home influences" might include Indian ayahs, working-class nannies, and African servants. In order to provide the best sort of "home influences," families living in the empire often sent their children to boarding schools in England, but Mason criticized parents for doing so.[9] By sending children to boarding schools, parents "yield[ed] the responsibility of direction, as well as actual instruction, more than is wholesome for the children."[10] Sending a child away to boarding school was the ultimate surrender of parental responsibility for educating children. By sending children away, parents not only failed in their parental duties, but broke up the family unit.[11] Conveniently, the PUS provided a ready solution to the problem of boarding schools, but, while solving the problem of a curriculum, the sort of identity an imperial home influence might create became much more complicated.

Mason asserted that education was much more than just the subject studied or assignments completed: "Education [wa]s an atmosphere." Here Mason gestured to the

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[8] For an analysis of the spatial dimension of life in the empire, see Sara Mills, *Gender and Colonial Space* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). See Chapter 4 for a description of how PUS families structured the space of the home as both home and school.

[9] Both Elizabeth Buettner and Vyvyen Brendon, by focusing on families who sent their children to boarding schools, emphasize a discourse of separation in colonial domestic life. See Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Vyvyen Brendon, *Children of the Raj* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005). While their analysis is compelling, it ignores the stories of children kept with the family rather than being sent back to England and thus also misses an alternative narrative of ideas of home.

[10] Mason, *Home Education*, 169.

[11] On boarding schools in England, see William N. Weaver, "'A School-Boy's Story': Writing the Victorian Public Schoolboy Subject," *Victorian Studies* 46, no. 3 (2004): 455-487; Christina de Bellaigue, "Behind the School Walls: The School Community in French and English Boarding Schools for Girls, 1810-1867," *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 1/2 (February 2004): 107-121. Even poor children faced separation from their parents in the workhouses. Criticism of this resulted in the boarding out system where poor children were sent to the country to live with families, escaping the twin dangers of the workhouse and the loss of domestic order. On boarding out, see Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), chapter 2; Anna Clark, "Gender, Governmentality, and the British State: The Boarding out of Pauper Children in England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1860-1880," (2005).

importance of place as something literal and something more ephemeral. Taken in its most limited sense, reading "atmosphere" as synonymous with environment, Mason proposed nothing new. Families in the empire regularly sent children away to remove them from the deleterious effects of the colonial environment. If this belief was true, "Put a child in the right environment and so subtle its influence; so permanent its effects that he is to all intents and purposes educated thereby," then parents feared and acted as if the opposite was true as well.[12] Mason moved beyond a simple equation of atmosphere with environment; she intended something broader, encompassing environment and attitude:

> But, supposing, that 'Education is an atmosphere' brings a fresh and vigorous thought to our minds, suppose that means to us, for our children, sunshine and green fields, pleasant rooms and good pictures, schools where learning is taken in by the gentle act of inspiration, followed by the expiration of all that which is not wanted, where charming teachers compose the children by a half-mesmeric effluence which inclines them to do as others do, be as others are….[13]

In its purest form, Mason's idea was fluid and expansive. It moved beyond the notion of place mattering absolutely, but, paradoxically, it also could not escape place.[14] The PUS hosted Children's Gatherings as a way to remind children of all the different homes all over the world where children carried out PUS work. Geography divided them and they, especially the children living outside the confines of the national home, had to be taught to see themselves as part of the same national family by learning how to be patriotic.

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[12] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 94.
[13] Charlotte M. Mason, *School Education* (1907; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 149.
[14] For an interesting reading on representations of home, place, and the British Empire, see Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Mason understood patriotism as the beginning of citizenship. To instill the proper patriotic sentiment in children, Mason wrote *Ourselves*.[15] Intended to be read aloud as part of the PUS curriculum, *Ourselves* is a figurative journey through the country of Mansoul.[16] Mansoul is a busy place, populated by painters and authors, museums and libraries, parks and factories, and even unexplored territories.[17] The book is really its own colonial guidebook, teaching children to conqueror the realm of Mansoul and, in the process, develop good habits and character.

In the Kingdom of Mansoul, the heart is personified as a house, and one of the lords of the house is loyalty. Loyalty is due first to King and second to country. This statement had to be qualified to complement what she had said in other places about patriotism, so Mason drew a distinction between benevolence and loyalty:

> benevolence is due to the whole world, Loyalty is due to *our own*; and however greatly we may value or become attached to alien kings or alien countries, the debt of Loyalty is due, not to them, but to our own. Invidious comparisons, depreciating the land of our birth in favour of some land of our choice, whose laws and rulers, ways and weather, we may prefer, is the nature of disloyalty.[18]

Mason makes very clear in this passage where home is and what is owed to that home—loyalty even in the face of experiences that might create other ideas of home. There is no fluidity in the definition of home. Paradoxically, a mere two pages later, Mason disparages what she sees as a common understanding of English patriotism in her day. She cautions that loyalty to country:

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[15] Charlotte M. Mason, *Ourselves* (1905; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989). The book was comprised of two parts, Part One for children under age sixteen and Part Two for children of all ages.
[16] Mason borrowed the term "Mansoul" from John Bunyan Ibid., Part 2.
[17] Ibid., Part I, chapter 1.
[18] Ibid., 119. Italics in original.

> is not to be confounded with the ignorant and impertinent attitude of the Englishman or the Chinese who believes that to be born an Englishman or a Chinese puts him on a higher level than the people of all other countries; that his own country and his own government are right in all circumstances, and other countries and other governments are always wrong.[19]

Here again she criticizes blind patriotism. The mere fact of being English does not make something good, acceptable, or positive. By using the "Englishman" as her hypothetical example, she offers a stiff critique of the dominant form of patriotism in her day. Here at least she seems to assert that birth does not necessarily determine worth, but she qualifies this belief with the word "ignorant." She implies that, while blindly asserting the superiority of the English is a problem, doing it out of a position of education and rational thinking about the success of the nation and its people is more acceptable. The tension between these two views of patriotism and their relationship to ideas of home reflects the larger anxieties about the nation that swirled in the Edwardian era.

The Symptoms of the Malady of the Nation: Intellectual

The symptoms of the British national malaise at the beginning of the twentieth century were twofold—intellectual and experiential. The intellectual symptoms exhibited themselves in a period of animated discussion and debate over the role of the state and the individual's place in relationship to it. The Edwardian era (1899-1914) represented the flowering of one strand of thought—New Liberalism—and the re-articulation of another—Conservatism.[20] The Conservative party of the late nineteenth and early

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[19] Ibid., 121.

[20] The two major political parties of the late nineteenth century were the Liberals and Conservatives. For an overview of the defining features of Liberal and Conservative political ideologies at the turn of the century, see Rodney S. Barker, *Political Ideas in Modern Britain* (London: Methuen 1978); ———, *Politics, Peoples, and Government: Themes in British Political Thought since the Nineteenth Century* (New

twentieth century was, in some ways, a strange conglomeration of people and politics. It not only included traditional Conservatives (the landed elite), but also discontented Liberals, who pushed the party to back a more extensive social program. In an effort not to alienate its traditional electorate, the party carefully put together a pro-empire program that strongly emphasized tariff reform. This platform allowed the Conservative party to offer the promise of economic improvement to the working class without the extensive social programs offered by the Liberals. It also expressed the Conservative ideology of the nation. For the Conservatives, the nation was defined as a whole, not by the individual citizens.[21] Mason is most often viewed as adhering most closely to the Conservative party because of her emphasis on king, church, and empire, the traditional centerpieces of Conservatism, but her ideology of nation more closely related to the New Liberals.

The development of New Liberal thought had its antecedents in the nineteenth century philosophies of liberalism and utilitarianism. The debates about education reform that occurred as Mason was coming of age and beginning her teaching career happened within the context of these political discussions. Traditionally, in order to best protect individualism, the British state was small and non-interventionist, particularly when compared with its Continental counterparts.[22] Male property owners (because classical liberalism always envisioned male subjects) had the right to make decisions

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York: St. Martin's Press, 1994). On Liberalism, see George L. Bernstein, *Liberalism and Liberal Politics in Edwardian England* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986); Ian Packer, *Liberal Government and Politics, 1905-15* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006). On Conservatism, see Frans Coetzee, *For Party or Country: Nationalism and the Dilemmas of Popular Conservatism in Edwardian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); E. H. H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism: The Politics, Economics, and Ideology of the British Conservative Party, 1880-1914* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[21] Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism*, 311-17.

[22] Lauren M. E. Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 6.

about their property and life without the state inferring.[23] They were freeborn Englishmen, self-governing citizens who acted as individuals, meaning they had the right to manage their own affairs, their family, their property, and their economic interest as they saw fit. But this vision of the British state was unable to keep pace with the rapid industrialization Britain experienced over the course of the nineteenth century.[24] New Liberalism envisioned a liberal state that promoted not just the interest of the individual, but saw the individual in relationship to society.[25] In other words, an individual represented two subjectivities: the individual self and the individual as part of an "imagined collectivity."[26] To move from the realm of philosophy to policy, consider the example of education. John Stuart Mill, the leading New Liberal thinker, believed the state had the right to require education, but he did not believe this gave the state the right also to dictate curriculum or create a national education system, because that risked creating citizens who were no longer individuals and instead copies of each other.[27] The

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[23] Michael Freeden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
[24] Attempts to grow the state to provide some limited social services, like the 1834 New Poor Law or the 1848 Public Health Act, were "widely disliked" because they were seen as "government interference" into the life of the individual (Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, 4). For an overview of the Public Health Act and the 1842 Sanitary Report that led to it, see ———, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, chapter 3; Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830-1864* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), chapter 6. For an overview of the Poor Laws in England, see Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarities of Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[25] On New Liberalism, see Barker, *Political Ideas in Modern Britain*, 17-26; Freeden, *The New Liberalism*; Peter Weiler, *The New Liberalism: Liberal Social Theory in Great Britain 1889-1914* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1982). On Mill's theory of liberalism and its relationship to utilitarianism and the idea of society, see Charles R. Jr. McCann, *Individualism and the Social Order: The Social Element in Liberal Thought* (London: Routledge, 2004), chapter 2.
[26] Patrick Joyce, *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1. For liberalism and its relationship to the idea of society, see Anna Clark, "Wild Workhouse Girls and the Liberal Imperial State," *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 2 (2005): 389-409; Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*; McCann, *Individualism and the Social Order*; Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*.
[27] McCann, *Individualism and the Social Order*, 61-62. On Mill's view of education, see F. W. Garforth, *Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill on Education in Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); ———, *John Stuart Mill's Theory of Education* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1979); Bruce L. Kinzer,

1870 Education Act largely conformed to Mill's principle of New Liberalism. It required education to a certain point but made no provision for a state system of education.[28]

Accepting increased state intervention required moving away from individualism towards theorizing a concept of individuality.[29] The state could step in to require education, but persons still had the right to fashion an individual personal identity based around forming their own opinions and act (within the boundaries of the law) accordingly. But this intervention was still mired in class politics. Even the extension of education was less a concern about children's education per se and more a concern about the extension of political rights to the working class—a group Liberals feared would be uneducated and thus not know how to vote or, worse yet, not vote as individuals but as their employers or local politicians dictated.[30]

As an educational theorist interested in the nature of the child, Mason borrowed liberally from other educationalists and, because of the explicit nationalist dimension of her project, political philosophers. Her philosophy was an amalgam of Conservatism, Liberalism, and New Liberalism. Her emphasis on king, Church, and empire suggests a basic affinity with Conservatives, but the ways she thought about the individual and her

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"The 1870 Education Bill and the Method of J. S. Mill's Later Politics," *Albion* 29, no. 2 (1997): 223-45; Dale E. Miller, "John Stuart Mill's Civic Liberalism," *History of Political Thought* 21, no. 1 (2000): 88-113; Edwin G. West, "The Benthamites as Educational Engineers: The Reputation and the Record," *History of Political Economy* 24, no. 3 (1992): 595-621.

[28] I would argue that this view of liberalism and education had some serious consequences for the education system in England and Wales. For one, since there were so few regulations regarding either schools or curriculum, any formal schooling, whether in the home or in any of the small, private schools, was uneven in quality into the twentieth century, which continued to disadvantage children from homes without the economic means to send their children to the best schools.

[29] Freeden, *The New Liberalism*, 23.

[30] Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure 1780-1870* (London: Lawrence &Wishart, 1974), chapt. 3.

disinterest in tradition demonstrate an intellectual debt to the Liberals and New Liberals. Mason's intellectual inquiry into the nature of children as persons and her assertion "education is an atmosphere, a discipline, a life" was her own way of taking up the discussion about how, in her case, education could best provide for the development of individuality with an equal recognition of children's relationship to the community of the nation.[31] She took up the same idea (the New Liberal idea of individuality) but instead cast it in terms of personality without regard for class.

The PNEU's educational manifesto begins with the assertion that "children are born persons too."[32] Mason termed this idea a "revolutionary" assertion, but it is also an odd assertion.[33] After all, what does she mean by it? Children are obviously people, so it hardly seems a revolutionary statement. A child's personhood, or individuality, rested in part in the fact that they were "born a person with a mind as complete … as his … little body,… he always has all the mind he requires for his occasions; that is, his mind is the instrument of his education and that *his education does not produce his mind*."[34] Later in *A Philosophy of Education*, Mason elaborates further on this idea, writing:

> We must either reverence or despise children; and while we regard them as incomplete and undeveloped beings who will one day arrive at the completeness of man, rather than as weak and ignorant persons, whose ignorance we must inform and whose weakness we must support, but whose potentialities are as great as our own, we cannot do otherwise than despise children… I am considering a child as he is, and am not tracing him, either with Wordsworth, to the heights above, or with the evolutionist, to the depths below; because a person is a

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[31] Mason frequently used the phrase "education is an atmosphere, a discipline, a life" in her books on education. She provides a brief description of the phrase's meaning in the educational manifesto that precedes each book.
[32] This is the first point of the educational manifesto found at the beginning of each of Mason's books.
[33] Mason, "Children are Born Persons Draft and typescript," undated, pg. 3, CM box 6, file 41.
[34] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 36. Italics in original. This was a critique of John Locke's idea that children's minds were like blank slates waiting to be filled.

> mystery, that is, we cannot explain him or account for him, but must accept him as he is.[35]

Complicit in Mason's view of the child as a person was an understanding that children had the capability to think and form their own opinions. The problem with teaching children what to think, rather than letting them assert their own conclusions was that the former resulted in "stereotyped classes instead of individual persons."[36] Examinations under the existing educational system were problematic for a similar reason; they "imperiled that individuality which is the one incomparably precious birthright of each of us."[37] Viewed as persons with individuality, children equipped with an education that brought many ideas before them had the capacity to develop their own opinions and, thus, imagine their relationship to their community (the nation) in new ways that would strengthen the ties binding the nation together across class and imperial lines.[38]

In addition to seeing children as persons, Mason also saw them as citizens, and, as such, believed they were not the sole possession of their parents.[39] *Home Education* begins with the premise that "children are, in truth, to be regarded less as personal property than as public trusts, put into the hands of parents that they may make the very most of them for the good of society."[40] Mason built on the relationship between the family and the state articulated in New Liberalism. The middle-class family unit was the

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[35] Ibid., 238-39. The idea of a person as a mystery Mason credited to Thomas Carlyle and his 1831 essay, "Characteristics." "Children are Born Persons Draft and typescript," CM box 6, File 41, 2.
[36] Mason, "Children are Born Persons Draft and typescript," 17.
[37] Charlotte M. Mason, *Parents and Children* (1904; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 216.
[38] Mason's curriculum offered a rigorously patriotic English education. By choosing specific books and not choosing others, she herself limited the information that children encountered (as any curriculum does). The way that children interpreted what they were reading in light of their life experiences will be taken up in chapter 5.
[39] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 20.
[40] ———, *Home Education*, 2.

backbone of the state, and children had a particularly important place within it. In this family, children learned their first lessons about "responsibility and mutual service."[41] The state also had a responsibility to care for children whose parents failed in their parental responsibilities, mainly those of the lower class.[42] Where a family failed to provide a suitable family life, the state stepped in to be the family.[43] Mason saw the parents' duty to their children as a very public duty, equating the responsibility of raising children with the responsibility for caring for the nation. She made it into an aspect of good citizenship in which all citizens had to participate. This position had the added advantage of creating a place in the nation for "those unmarried and childless persons whose part in the game is the rather dreary one of 'looking on,'" people like herself.[44] Children, in her view, redeemed the nation, and, thus, their education was a crucial space in which to create good citizens. It also meant she radically threw open the doors of the home to some level of intervention regardless of class.

In order to frame children in this way, Mason had to overcome the particularly vexing problem of children's relationship to the family and nation in New Liberalism. While the early twentieth century saw a variety of reforms directed at children, most of these reforms focused on working-class children, demonstrating an inherent class bias in

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[41] Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 158.
[42] For a contemporary example of the equation between the family and the state, see Florence Davenport-Hill, *Children of the State* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889). Lydia Murdoch analyzes this same ideology in Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*.
[43] See George K. Behlmer, *Friends of the Family: The English Home and Its Guardians, 1850-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*; Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans*.
[44] Mason, *Home Education*, 6. This can clearly be read as Mason's cry against viewing herself and other women like her as "redundant women." See Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), chapter 1. See Chapter Four of this dissertation for a discussion of women and how Mason positioned them in the family, nation, and empire.

the sorts of state interference that New Liberalism deemed acceptable.[45] Because Mason's main audience was middle- and upper-class families, she had to find a way to think through these families in relationship to the nation and make her intervention acceptable to them, so she borrowed from F. D. Maurice, a Christian Socialist from the mid-nineteenth century. His statement "the family is the unit of the nation" opened Mason's second book, *Parents and Children*.[46] Maurice believed it was not just the "three R's" that formed an education but "individual consciousness of the organic life of the people as a people" (i.e. as a nation).[47] People needed to be able to appreciate their place in their present national circumstances and also see themselves as part of the nation past and the nation future. This project was not limited by class; all people, including children, in the community of the nation were required to envision themselves this way. To make intervention in the home palatable, Mason framed the PNEU's intervention as private and voluntary through a commitment to their pedagogy and practice as opposed to being imposed by the state. To some extent, this reason is why Mason eschewed state affiliation. Mason subtly critiqued the upper and middle classes and their child-rearing behaviors as being partly responsible for the national malaise and anxiety of the Edwardian era.

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[45] Michael Freeden characterizes the state's role to children under New Liberalism as "touchy" because: "The sanctity of the family unit and inviolability of the relations between its members were still jealously guarded. Any interference from the outside had to be subtle and indirect to be tolerated" (Freeden, *The New Liberalism*, 225).

[46] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 1. Christian Socialism was a critique of classical nineteenth century liberalism, but was not necessarily a coherent intellectual movement. Similar to classical Liberals, Maurice, writing in the years leading up to the 1867 Reform Act, opposed the extension of the suffrage to the working class unless they had achieved some level of education, making them knowledgeable members of the electorate. For an overview of Christian Socialism and its main adherents, see Edward Norman, *The Victorian Christian Socialists* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), especially chapter 2 on F. D. Maurice. Maurice disagreed with state action to solve social problems and instead believed local action and private philanthropy were better solutions to the social problems facing Victorian Britain.

[47] Norman, *The Victorian Christian Socialists*, 23.

Mason used a metaphor of the family as a miniature state to demonstrate how a family should function and to show the relationship between the individual and the nation. First, the family "must be Social…a nation is civilised in proportion as it is able to establish close and friendly relationships with other nations…a nation is barbarous in proportion to its isolation."[48] As an organization composed of families, supposedly from different classes and different parts of Britain and the empire, the PNEU facilitated this sort of civilizing work. This action alone was not enough; a nation was "healthy in proportion as it has its own proper outlets, its colonies and dependencies, which it is ever solicitous to include in the national life."[49] The Parents' Union School (PUS) provided the PNEU with its own "outlet," what Mason generally termed "ser[ving] neighbours."[50] By providing a curriculum for these imperial families, the PNEU practiced its responsibility of enfolding them in the national community. The family was a space to practice the relationship between the nation, empire, and the individual. As the individual built relationships with other families and neighbors, he or she became more individuated but still remained rooted in a sense of national community.

Character development went hand-in-hand with the development of individuality for Mason and the New Liberals.[51] J. S. Mill defined character by the "'habit of willing' wrested away from the determining power of hedonistic conditioning."[52] Another New Liberal thinker, T. H. Green, defined character as "'the mark of a truly free person.'"[53] In fact, individuality could be synonymous with character. Lauren Goodlad argues that for

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[48] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 5.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] A useful discussion of character can be found in Chapter Three of Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
[52] Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, 14.
[53] Ibid.

Mill, "human individuality—the diversification and strengthening of character—was the highest social good."[54] Mason's philosophy certainly had much in common with these liberal understandings of character. She believed that it was a travesty to view children as un-fully formed people without the capacity for self-development. At the same time, in her definition of character, Mason tended to a more conservative ideology. For conservatives, character was "an expression of individual will, … developed by exercising that will autonomously. … the virtues of self-reliance and self-help became the sole means to character building as well as the central components of character."[55] Mason writes a great deal about character, but the closest thing to a definition that she offers is "*character* is the result of conduct regulated by will," emphasizing its external and internal dimensions.[56] Mason believed that without the force of habit motivating actions, life would be exhausting, because every action and decision would require great intellectual labor. The tension between these two aspects of character is unresolved in Mason's work. It reflects the fact that, although Mason believed in the personhood of children, she also believed in the greatness of the nation and sought to educate children to be patriotic citizens. She saw character as an individual attribute with enormous impact on the national community, particularly in the case of the PUS children, who were isolated persons, at least nationally, with the responsibility of maintaining their individuality and nationality (or sense of home) in a place far from home, both geographically and metaphorically.[57]

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[54] Ibid., 17.
[55] Freeden, *The New Liberalism*, 172.
[56] Mason, *Home Education*, 319. Italics in the original.
[57] "It is surely nearer the mark to speak of a society which paradigmatically envisaged the individual—often an isolated individual, whether literally so, in a remote hill station, of only subjectively so,

The Symptoms of the Malady of the Nation: Experiential

While intellectuals and political philosophers debated philosophies of the individual and the state, Britain was engaged in a very real war that provided proof of why the state needed to be more involved in the life of individuals. On October 12, 1899, Britain declared war against the Boers, Dutch settlers in South Africa.[58] Britons remained confident that the "affair would be rapidly resolved" since it was simply inconceivable that a "'bunch of farmers,'" as the British referred to the Dutch settlers, could match the might of the British army.[59] How wrong they were! Although the British ultimately won the war, it was at great physical, economic, and intellectual cost. In order to turn the tide of the war, the British pursued a policy of burning Boer farms and homes and settling the people cleared from the land into what really amounted to concentration camps, where 28,000 white "women and children, died…more than twice the number of men on both sides killed in the fighting of the war."[60]

The war left a feeling of "pessimism" about the empire and its citizens.[61] On the side of empire, anxiety centered around whether or not Britain could, or even ought to, expand when it was proving so difficult to maintain the empire as it existed. This fear

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surrounded by those who seemed to have succumbed to various forms of temptation—confronting the task of maintaining his will in the face of adversity" (Collini, *Public Moralists*, 114).

[58] On the political implications of the South African War at home, see David Brooks, *The Age of Upheaval: Edwardian Politics, 1899-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), chapter 1; Ronald Hyam, "The British Empire in the Edwardian Era," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, ed. Judith M. Brown & Wm. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 47-63; David Powell, *The Edwardian Crisis: Britain 1901-1914* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 10-11.

[59] Stephen M. Miller, *Volunteers on the Veld: Britain's Citizen-Soldiers and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 46.

[60] Krebs, *Gender, Race, and the Writing of Empire*, 33. An additional 14,000 Africans, who had been cleared from the land as well, died in camps designated specifically for them. The death rate in the African camps versus the white camps was considerably higher (33).

[61] Hyam, "The British Empire in the Edwardian Era," 50.

expressed itself in a language of health, national efficiency, and physical degeneracy and resulted in a crisis of masculinity and femininity.[62] About one-third of the men attempting to enlist were rejected on the grounds of health: "physically unfit for service—too small for instance, or too slight, or with heart troubles, weak lungs, rheumatic tendencies, flat feet, or bad teeth."[63] Coupled with a declining birthrate and increasing infant mortality rate, the crisis of the nation turned into a crisis of masculinity and femininity. Men were physically weak, and women were proving inadequate to the task of raising healthy children.

The PNEU was not immune from the sense of crisis either. Surprisingly, there is no mention of the outbreak or conclusion of war in the pages of the *Parents' Review*, in the same way that there is none for the First World War. Nonetheless, a careful survey of the articles demonstrates that the PNEU was framing its educational mission in terms of the issues raised by it (empire, masculinity, and femininity) and already thinking ahead to the war's end and the larger questions of citizenship and empire that it would raise. "Health Notes," a regular column in the *Parents' Review*, characterized the war (and war more generally) as "evil," but, nonetheless, an occasion that "brought home many important lessons."[64] Not the least of which was fixing the nation's attention on "the

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[62] G. R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency: A Study in British Politics and Political Thought, 1899-1914* (London: The Ashfield Press, 1990).

[63] Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 93. "28 percent of all applicants were rejected for army service in 1900 and more than 29 percent…in 1901. An additional 15 percent of men initially accepted were discharged for health reasons within two years…" (Miller, *Volunteers on the Veld*, 164.)

[64] Dr. H. Laing Gordon, MD, "Health Notes" [regular column], *Parents Review*, 11, no. 3 (March 1900): 190. The language of war as "evil" is particularly interesting at this early date. Characterizing war in this fashion became more common in the aftermath of the First World War.

most thorough means and methods for maintaining the defence of the Empire."[65] Although the PNEU opposed war in general, their pro-empire stance allowed for the justification of war in spite of its inherent evil. At the 4th annual PNEU conference in 1900, the chairman, Dr. Schofield, called the PNEU an organization pursuing "an imperial work… the responsibility of training up Imperialists and the children of a great Empire."[66] The PNEU's answer to the crisis of empire was to frame their educational mission in terms of empire with the goal of strengthening the empire. The South African War did not push them into an anti-imperial stance but, in fact, made them even more imperially-minded. Perhaps this is unsurprising since so many "empire families" had such a large stake in the organization.

In a world bringing women more and more opportunities to work and higher status because of their work outside the home, Mason reflected the crisis of femininity and motherhood in a unique fashion. Mainly, she worked to achieve the professionalization of motherhood.[67] But the war was also helpful here: "It drives people who say they 'don't care for politics'—for a great many women most unhappily do not—to read the papers intelligently for the first time in their lives."[68] The PNEU called on women to be engaged in national and imperial life. Joining the PNEU was not just another engagement on a woman's social calendar, but an answer to the crisis of femininity and motherhood, positioning women as active participants in strengthening the nation and empire.

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Remarks by the Chairman Dr. A. Schofield, *Parents' Review* 11, no. 7 (July 1900): 409, 410.
[67] See chapter 4.
[68] "The Window into the World by 'Peter'," *L'Umile Pianta*, July 1900: 30-31.

Having taken an active interest in the nation and empire, parents, especially mothers, would be better prepared to teach their children about national and imperial life. The war became an object lesson in patriotism with many possible activities for the whole family. These activities might be as simple as "mak[ing] an album of cuttings from the illustrated papers" but were significant in that they required the intelligent, active involvement of all family members.[69] To address the crisis of masculinity in the case of boys there were even more possibilities:

> let the boys play over battles with their soldiers, and let them keep a map and alter the flags themselves. It is preparation for facing necessary horrors and the sterner side of life; altogether it is a grand and great opportunity of giving them real, living ideas of what 'patriotism' means, not lip service, but hardships and risk and the sinking of personal relationships and interests.[70]

In short, the war presented a perfect opportunity to turn a "'cry-baby' into a little Briton," so that later, if called upon to defend and protect the nation and empire, boys would understand their duty and be fit enough to carry it out.[71] Physical fitness and a willingness to sacrifice himself and personal ambition in favor of performing his duty to the nation and empire defined the manly man as opposed to the "cry baby," who was neither physically able nor mentally willing to fight for the nation.[72] The PNEU's

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] On masculinity, see Barbara J. Black, "An Empire's Great Expectations: Museums in Imperialist Boy Fiction," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 21, no. 2 (1999): 235-58; Troy Boone, *Youth of Darkest England: Working-Class Children at the Heart of Victorian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994); Nicoletta F. Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); John M. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

definition of masculinity wedded the two sides together. They provided for physical health and also emphasized intellectual ability, and they asked for both regardless of class. Working-class boys were not just cannon fodder but also required to complete their education, so they could be active participants in the building and maintenance of the empire.

The South African War was a chance for the PNEU to solidify the tie between education and the well-being of the nation and the empire. Success on this front assured them a voice in helping to define how the future nation and citizen would look. The PNEU directly addressed children as well, urging them to "exercise your courage and bravery in conquering yourselves, conquering the temper, and the sulky looks and the selfishness that always hurt mother so much, then in the future you will be able to fight and conquer other foes that you will find in the world."[73] They were encouraged to take a long view and see the issues of their childhood as directly informing the actions they would take as an adult. For the adult membership, with the class issue unresolved, the war was a means to put the "needs of the nation" first.[74]

To Play Outside: Education and Physical Well-Being

Addressing the crisis of masculinity and femininity required more than just convincing boys and girls of their future duties. They needed to be actually physically able to complete those duties. As part of the PUS curriculum, Mason incorporated a strong emphasis on physical health. Mason had long touted the physical health of the

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[73] "Aunt Mai's Budget," *Parents' Review* 11, no. 9 (September 1900): 2. "Aunt Mai's Budget" was a regular column in the *Parents' Review* written by Francis Steinthal for children. By encouraging children in this way, Steinthal reflected the anxiety of the Edwardian era.

[74] Gordon, "Health Notes," 192.

nation, albeit in the context of education. In its most extreme form, articulated in the pages of the *Parents' Review*, health was conceptualized as "the basis of character."[75] Teachers and parents were urged to teach "the elements of eugenics, so that the youth of both sexes should feel that their duty to the State is so to live that race culture and the evolution of mankind depend on their efforts."[76] Mason herself believed in a Darwinian model of hereditary and natural selection. Habits were not just learned and cultivated but "commonly inherited disposition. The man who is generous, obstinate, hot-tempered, devout, is so, on the whole, because that strain of character runs in his family."[77] In answer to the question, "Are there any means of modifying inherited dispositions?" Mason answers, "Yes; marriage, for the race; education, for the individual."[78] The answer hearkens to debates about eugenics at the time but also reflects on Mason's view of the relationship between the individual and the nation or society. A person was responsible for himself or herself and equally responsible to the nation. Education was one way to cultivate an individual's character, but he or she needed to make good choices in a marriage partner to promote a stronger, healthier, future race.[79]

Throughout her writing, Mason emphasized outdoor life. She devoted an entire chapter of *Home Education* to the "Out-of-Door Life for the Children," calling upon parents "to have even a *physical* ideal for one's child."[80] Children needed to spend a

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[75] Rev. Dr. Hunter, "The Training of the Citizen," *Parents' Review* 13, no. 7 (July 1902): 555.
[76] E. A. Smith, "Citizenship: Our Responsibility as Teachers," *Parents' Review* 22, no. 7 (July 1911): 498. Smith originally delivered this as a lecture at the House of Education for former students.
[77] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 234.
[78] Ibid.
[79] On eugenics, see Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).
[80] Mason, *Home Education*, 95. Italics in original.

minimum of "not two, but four, five, or six hours" outside "from April to October."[81] Even in the winter, "If the children are to have what is quite the best thing for them, they should be two or three hours every day in the open air…say an hour and a half in the morning and as long in the afternoon."[82] The emphasis on outdoor play by the PNEU dovetailed nicely with the debates about children's health and also put the PNEU in conversation with other educational reformers, like Margaret McMillan, who emphasized out-door education and play.[83] McMillan opened camp schools, where children slept outside and went to lessons in open-air buildings that were still near to their homes but far enough away from the city that they escaped the dangers of the poorly ventilated, over-crowded, working-class home.[84] In this educational plan, nature was the actor, and being in nature performed an educative function according to McMillan. Mason saw time outdoors in a slightly different light. She definitely afforded generous amounts of time for outdoor exploration in her curriculum. "Book" subjects occupied only the morning, leaving the afternoon free for nature walks and outdoor play. Just being in nature was not enough. It needed to be explored and named. Having done this, children could feel rooted to the land—a physical connection to the geography of home.[85] Ultimately, being outside was simply a different way of learning that contributed to

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[81] Ibid., 44.
[82] Ibid., 85.
[83] Margaret McMillan's educational program shared many similarities with Mason's, but she was much more successful in reaching the working class largely because her political beliefs left her invested in working-class education and childhood in a way that Mason was not. For more on Margaret McMillan, see Carolyn Steedman, *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).
[84] Ibid., chapter 4.
[85] In fact, all of this out-of-door time must have seemed particularly trying to the working-class mothers that Mason most wanted to reach. After all, to follow Mason's scheme absolutely required suitable clothing, access to parks (or at the least the ability to travel to some country area), time, and adult supervision. Mason assumed that the children would be accompanied by their mother or governess who, when asked, would provide the names of the various plants and animals observed and facilitate children's observations of nature (and, not to forget, provide the occasional French lesson!).

healthier, more physically fit children without over-burdening them with schoolwork, resulting in weak boys and hysterical girls.

The crisis of masculinity and femininity, viewed through education, was cast in terms of overpressure and over-education. Overpressure resulted from too much emphasis on exams, schoolwork, and school discipline, detracting from children's overall physical and mental well-being. Public interest in overpressure was highest in 1884, when news stories began circulating that children were being overburdened in state-sponsored boarding schools, resulting in serious health concerns and even death.[86] Even if the dangers of overpressure were likely exaggerated, the discourse of overpressure created the circumstances in which a discourse of over-education could flower. Over-education moved in two different, but related, directions. The first issue was that the "splendidly made, healthy, athletic young fellow" risked being "lost to the examination;" the second encompassed "the undersized, physically insignificant student" who "stands well up in the [examination] list to fall a ready victim to effects of climate and disease."[87] In case the reader missed the seriousness of the situation, one *Parents' Review* article included the example of a "schoolmaster, who proudly told of one of his boys having headed the list of navel cadets, heard within a short time, of the same boy having to leave the service on account of brain failure."[88] Public education risked a "physically inferior

[86] J. Middleton, "The Overpressure Epidemic of 1884 and the Culture of Nineteenth-Century Schooling," *History of Education* 33, no. 4 (2004): 419-435.
[87] Edith Escombe, "The Industrious Effects of Over-Education, Read at the Women's Conference of The Sanitary Congress, August 1899," *Parents' Review* 13, no. 1 (January 1902): 37.
[88] Ibid.

race of men and women."[89] Alternatively, Mason's private home education, by balancing book work and out of door play, offered a better educated, better able future citizenry.

The importance of outdoor life was one place where Mason's philosophy and its practice by governesses, mothers, and teachers across Britain and the empire matched up. Mason was an enthusiastic promoter of Robert Baden-Powell's book, *Aids to Scouting*, the fore-runner to his more famous *Scouting for Boys*. She credited *Aids to Scouting* with "set[ting] us upon a new track. Hundreds of families make joyous expeditions, far more educative than they dream, wherein scouting is the order of the day."[90] As part of her teacher's training curriculum, Mason utilized the militaristic guide *Aids to Scouting*, training her teachers to adapt its principles to their young charges. This practice, according to Baden Powell, provided the impetus for the Boy Scout movement. In a 1910 interview, when asked "How did the Boy Scouts start?", Baden Powell replied:

> Oh well! I believe it was largely due to—whom shall we say?—a Field Marshall's governess.
>
> It was this way. The Brigadier-General, as he was at that time, was riding to his homes after a field day when from the branches of a tree overhead his little son called to him: 'Father, you are shot; I am in ambush and you have passed under me without seeing me. Remember you should always look upwards as well as around you.'
>
> So the General looked upwards and saw not only his small son above him, but also, near the top of the tree, the new governess lately imported from Miss Charlotte Mason's training school at Ambleside.[91]

When Baden-Powell later heard this story from Allenby, he decided to adapt his original book to *Scouting for Boys*, beginning the Boy Scout movement.[92] In an effort to prove its

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[89] Ibid., 38.

[90] Mason, *Home Education*, 88.

[91] "The New Governess up a Tree," *Daily Sketch*, newspaper clipping dated July 12, 1910, CM box 18, file CMC 127 labeled "Parents Union Schools Scouts Correspondence, notes, etc. 1910-177."

veracity, the House of Education even tracked down the governess in question twenty-one years later.[93] The Baden-Powell's became regular visitors at the House of Education. In 1910, Jessie Mellis-Smith, a graduate of the House of Education, established the Peewit Scouts, a forerunner of the Girl Guides, which spread throughout the empire, including branches in Australia, Jamaica, Madagascar, and India.[94] *The Children's Quarterly*, a PNEU magazine devoted to children, provided a forum to track the establishment and accomplishments of individual branches. Mason could claim that her philosophy created a ready group of individuals who would not only have the bodily strength, but also the intellectual capacity, to make up the British citizenry of the future. While the organizations shared some qualities in common, the method of education was fundamentally different. The PUS relied on literature, whereas the Boy Scouts emphasized a military experience of nature. Because of this difference, each created a different sort of citizen. The Boy Scouts emphasized a citizenship based on duty; the

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[92] For a history of the Boy Scout movement, see Boone, *Youth of Darkest England*, chapter 5; Martin Dedman, "Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904-1920," *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 3 (1993): 201-23; Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scouts Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Sam Pryke, "The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement," *Social History* 23, no. 3 (1998): 309-24; Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?," *English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 934-42; Allen Warren, "Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John MacKenzie (London: Manchester University Press, 1986), 232-256. Only Macdonald's *Sons of Empire* mentions Mason, but only her extolling of Baden-Powell's original book.

[93] Her name was K. Loveday and she had been Michael Allenby's governess from September 1906 to April 1907. See letter to Miss Kitching dated May 6, 1931, CM box 18, CMC file 127.

[94] Small green notebook, CM box 18, file CMC 133. On the Girl Guides, see Kristine Alexander, "The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s," *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 1 (2009): 37-63; Tammy M. Proctor, "(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 45 (1998): 103-34; Michelle Smith, "Be(Ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, Colonial Life, and National Strength," *Limina* 12 (2006): 1-11; Anne Summers, "Scouts, Guides and Vads: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren," *English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 943-47; Richard A. Voeltz, "Adam's Rib: The Girl Guides and an Imperial Race," *San Jose Studies* 14, no. 1 (1988): 91-99; ———, "The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides During the First World War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 4 (1992): 627-38.

PUS, on the other hand, assumed the best citizens were individuals, who could form their own opinions. By offering both intellectual and physical success, Mason differentiated herself from Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the provision of education in state-run schools.

To Heal Thyself: Examination of the Nation

The experience of the South African War directed the focus of the state from the empire to the nation. The PNEU was, in name most obviously, a national organization who settled the debates about education in the larger context of the "needs of the nation."[95] The relationship between nation and empire was very complex for the PNEU. The emphasis on empire might indicate an interest in the development of British citizens, a broader identity encompassing the multitude of identities available in the British Isles and British Empire, but, instead, the goal was much more pointedly the development of *English* citizens. The goal was national; the focus was imperial. For the PNEU, one bled into the other.[96] Members could not imagine an English nation apart from a British

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[95] Gordon, "Health Notes," 192.

[96] Historians have continued to debate how influential the empire was on culture and the daily life on Britons in the empire. See, for example, Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,2006); John M. MacKenzie, ed. *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (London: Manchester University Press,1986); ———, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995). For a useful review of the recent historiography of the British Empire, see Richard Price, "One Big Thing: Britain, Its Empire, and Their Imperial Culture," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 3 (July 2006): 602-27. On the impact of the empire on education, see Stephen Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, chapter 7; J. A. Mangan, ed. *Benefits Bestowed? Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); ———, ed. *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in British Colonial Experience* (London: Routledge, 1993). On the children's literature and the British Empire, Kathryn Castle, *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); M. Daphne Kutzer, *Empire's Children:*

Empire. Because they framed much of their discussions around ideas of home, the emphasis on England made sense. Home was the nation. For families living abroad, it was crucial that their children internalized this message.

The English family living abroad faced an impossible choice: "sen[d] their children to England, or … engag[e] a resident governess, or have … to see them [the children] lose their national traditions, ideas, and language at schools of other nationalities."[97] Articulating the sentiments of the PNEU in 1902, a group of English parents in Portugal in 1933 argued that "parents should be able to get a good English education for their children without the appalling expense of sending them to England" and that the children should receive an "education … to fit them to take their place among their own people, wherever their future might lie."[98] Education was not meant to provide merely the ability to read, write, or complete sums, it was far more importantly to teach children to be part of the community of the nation. In the Edwardian era, this issue was particularly salient, but Mason was not proposing an educational system imbibed with an insular nationalism.

In her curriculum, Mason emphasized not the "three R's," but history and literature. She criticized children for being "indifferent" to their own history, for not understanding "that any day it may come to anyone to do some service of historical

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Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000); MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, chapter 8; Roderick McGillis, ed. *Voices of the Other: Children's Literature and the Postcolonial Context* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.,1999); Rashna B. Singh, *Goodly Is Our Heritage: Children's Literature, Empire, and the Certitude of Character* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004). For an alternative view of the empire's effect on the metropole, see Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back?: The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).

[97] E.M.B., "Starting a P.N.E.U. School in Portugal," *Parents Review* 44, no. 5 (May 1933): 329.

[98] Ibid., 331.

moment to the country."[99] While the study of history to inspire nationalist sentiment was the centerpiece of Mason's educational program, she differentiated between "rational patriotism" and the "jingoism of the emotional patriot."[100] Rational patriotism recognized the greatness of the English nation, while simultaneously teaching that "other peoples are as we are with a difference, that their history is as ours, with a difference, that they too have been represented by their poets and their artists, that they too have their literature and their national life."[101] Practically speaking, this meant that, although the history curriculum included a healthy dose of English history from the earliest grades, it also emphasized the history of other countries in order to discourage "a certain insular and arrogant habit of mind."[102] French history and ancient history were taught concurrently with English history from the very first form.[103] By the time children entered Form III, Mason reports in *A Philosophy of Education*, they were reading from a book of Indian history as well.[104] Very clearly the inclusion of this fact about the program in *A Philosophy of Education* was meant to suggest its inclusivity and rational patriotism, but was it really?

The placement of the history of places outside England and continental Europe, the keen emphasis on English history and English literature, and Mason's geography text books suggest something different. The inclusion of the history of India had little to do with Mason's own personal interest in India as a place and everything to do with India's position as part of the British Empire. As the jewel in the British imperial crown (at least

[99] Mason, *A Philosophy of Education*, 170.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., 178.
[102] Ibid., 175.
[103] Mason referred to each grade level as a form.
[104] Form III and IV encompassed roughly grades seven to nine.

for Mason), it deserved the most prominent attention. The rest of the empire, all the British lands in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, were relegated to the study of geography. In 1880, Mason published a series of geography books that acted as the foundational texts for the study of geography in her curriculum and that best explain how Mason herself viewed and categorized the world around her and England's place in it.[105] In the second volume, *The British Empire and the Great Divisions of the Globe*, Mason queried the reader "Are you inclined to think it is a pity we should have been thus cut off from the continent?" She answered, "It is, on the whole, a good thing for us; we Britons like to have our island home to ourselves, just as every English family likes to have a separate dwelling… Being thus divided from them [continental Europe], by the sea, we need never be disturbed by the disputes of other nations." In fact, for Mason, it was Britain's island status that "prepared the way for her to become a great nation" because it afforded Britain easy access to the seas, and thus goods and people.[106] Moving out to the empire, Mason emphasizes the differences between the places and people of the empire and England and the English people. Children might encounter India in the "dusky-faced *ayah* (nurse)" found "shivering in the graceful foreign dress she will not be persuaded to give up."[107] For those English who lived in India, Mason emphasized that they only lived there "not for pleasure, but because they have some kind of employment there."[108] India was not their home, but a place to live out of duty to the nation. Living there placed these individuals in direct danger—from the "trying" climate or "fierce tiger" who "might

[105] Mason never personally travelled outside England and continental Europe. PNEU representatives, most notably R. A. Pennethorne, travelled regularly throughout the empire evaluating the PNEU and PUS presence in it.
[106] Charlotte Mason, *The British Empire and the Great Divisions of the Globe*, 2nd revised ed., (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co, Ltd., 1926), 25-26, 27.
[107] Ibid., 130.
[108] Ibid., 136

pounce upon him" or the cobra, who "might wind about his body."[109] Considering all these dangers, why might any English choose to live there? Because "this mighty country, as large as half of Europe forms part of the British Empire! … And a very splendid empire India is."[110]

Not all of the British Empire received quite as harsh a characterization as India. Hong Kong is described as "beautiful" with "broad, well-kept, very clean streets…that show that the island is British, or at any right, is not Chinese."[111] Australia also receives positive words as its towns and people can be described as English, in their voices, faces, houses, and towns.[112] Africa fared less well because of the native tribes, "so savage in parts of Africa that they eat the flesh of men" and also because it was "less and less civilised towards the equator."[113] Mason's own descriptions of the world center England and marginalize nations and peoples from the rest of the world, except where there was greater similarity to England in terms of setting, architecture, and culture. All of this work to center England went hand-in-hand with the project of rehabilitating the empire. Devoted to England, families could venture into the empire to carry English customs and traditions to the world, playing their own personal part in the civilizing mission.

[109] Ibid., 130, 137.
[110] Ibid., 132.
[111] Ibid., 147.
[112] Ibid., 194.
[113] Ibid., 156, 162.

The Health of the Empire

For Mason and the PNEU, "imperialism [wa]s a kind of patriotism."[114] Children in PUS schools were encouraged "to think nationally" and simultaneously to "think imperially."[115] The two were viewed as mutually reinforcing ideologies. As the century progressed, the PNEU couched the emphasis on the empire in a language of internationalism, querying "is not the highest form of patriotism that which accepts the existence of the British Empire as a responsibility, prompting us by achievement and personal example to earn the friendship and respect of other countries, so that we may work with them in the creation of a better and happier world?"[116] Between 1890, when the *Parents' Review* began, and 1950, as the British Empire disintegrated after the Second World War, there is not a single article that questions the political expediency or the morality of empire.

While the empire was a given, the sort of citizen who might best befit such a national imperial state was less clear. It is clear in both Mason's own writings and the broader work put out by the PNEU that "active and efficient citizenship must be the end and crown of all … efforts to train the young for the business of life."[117] The sort of citizenship required was not based on "strength of arms" as much as "strength of mind and uprightness of character."[118] This definition of citizenship was important, because, by moving away from military service as the defining act of citizenship, the PNEU and Mason offered a more general, gender neutral definition of citizenship, creating a larger

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[114] Winifred Stevens, "Patriotism in Education," *Parents' Review* 19, no. 2 (February 1908): 142.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Brian T. Dickson, "The League of Nations and the Younger Generations. I. Some Thoughts for Parents," *Parents' Review* 40, no. 9 (September 1929): 588.
[117] G. R. Parkin, Esq., LL.D., "Citizenship," *Parents' Review* 18, no. 1 (January 1907): 26.
[118] E. A. Smith, "Citizenship: Our Responsibility as Teachers," *Parents' Review* 22, no. 7 (July 1911): 496.

body of potential citizens and widening the category to include children. Children were not merely children, but citizen-children. Mason saw a direct relationship between children's actions and their practice of citizenship and patriotism as adults, which is why Mason's writings demonstrate such a keen concern about the development of habits. Over and over again, Mason and the contributors to the *Parents' Review* reminded the reader, "In 20 years they [the children] will be England, and it is for us to help to make them what England ought to be, a much fairer and nobler nation than it is to-day."[119] In 1902, those problems included a nation potentially lacking in its commitment to empire and lacking a sense of solidarity because of class division. As the previous chapter indicates, the class issue was not one that the PNEU ever quite overcame, but the empire was an entirely different matter. The starting place of Mason's educational philosophy, the idea that "children are born persons," provided a space for her to connect her educational philosophy and practices to larger imperial concerns.

The situation in the British Empire changed dramatically from when Mason published her first educational book in 1886 until the outbreak of the Second World War, which marks a steep decline in the coverage of imperial issues in the *Parents' Review*. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the *Parents' Review* was filled with reminders to parents and teachers that they had been entrusted with "the responsibility of training up Imperialists and the children of a great empire."[120] By 1920, in the aftermath of the First World War and changing imperial politics, the conversation had changed. The empire still featured prominently in *Parents' Review* articles, but it was a different sort of

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[119] Rev. Dr. Hunter, "The Training of the Citizen," *Parents' Review* 13, no. 7 (July 1902): 554.
[120] Remarks by the Chairman Dr. A. Schofield, Report on the Proceedings of the 4th Annual Conference, *Parents' Review* 11, no. 7 (July 1900): 410.

empire. If the nineteenth century British Empire was a place characterized by "feverish lust for power and conquest" and "selfish exploitation of races less advanced than ourselves," the post-First World War empire was "peaceful" and followed a "Christian method of governing a subject people for their own good and not for private gain."[121] The change in the characterization of the empire did not change how the PNEU viewed the necessity of empire. It remained a "responsibility" for the nation to work with other countries "in the creation of a better and happier world."[122] Clearly, they believed that the British Empire should continue, but what the relationship between its inhabitants, be they English or British, Anglo-Indian or Indian, was less clear.

The Balm of Patriotism

Since its very inception, the PNEU had focused on the nation and the empire as the rationale for why the education it promoted was the best. By 1930, the position of the empire had changed, and the PNEU was left to redefine the relationship between education, nation, and empire or else admit they had been wrong. Developments in technology over the 1920s occasioned a change in the relationship of one country to another, different parts of the empire, and the citizens of one country to another. At a conference in 1930 for alumni of the House of Education, Mary Gillies described the world as a:

> 'single neighbourhood.' Messages are sent at almost lightning speed from England to Australia. If we choose, all that is spoken here might be heard at the ends of the earth,… we can travel from London to India in seven days, we may

[121] Alan Tory, "The Mandate System," *Parents' Review* 34, no. 10 (October 1923): 681.
[122] Brian T. Dickson, "The League of Nations and the Younger Generations. I. Some Thoughts for Parents," *Parents' Review* 40, no. 9. (September 1929): 588.

> speak to a friend in America, the time is rapidly approaching when we shall be able to see him by television.[123]

It was not just technology that was creating a single "neighbourhood" of the world; it was also economics that was tying the world together.[124] For Gillies though, and presumably the larger body of the PNEU, the problem was whether or not the technological changes and the economic changes had "taken place without a corresponding change in the mental and moral outlook of mankind," meaning the brotherhood of man.[125] Years before, Mason described "the brotherhood of man," and its parallel idea, "the solidarity of the race" as one of the "*motor* ideas of our age."[126] Not only did Mason think it was important, she believed society in general believed this idea to be influential in the realm of education in 1907, when she was writing *School Education*. That being said, she has surprisingly little to say about it. She merely differentiates between the two, the brotherhood of man and the solidarity of the race, in terms of their temporal locations. The brotherhood of man belonged to the "present;" and, thus, was less expansive than the solidarity of the race, which moved "our sense of the oneness of humanity … into the remotest past, making us regard with tender reverence every relic of the antiquity of our own people or of any other; and, with a sort of jubilant hope, every prognostic of science of philanthropy which appears to us to be the promise of centuries to come."[127] The vagueness in definition reflects how the word "race" could be understood at the time. It

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[123] M. Gillies, "Review of the situation generally in connection with the idea of the Solidarity of the Race," *L'Umile Pianta*, July 1930: 23-24.
[124] "Whether they will or no, whether they realise it or not, the people of one country are becomingly increasingly dependent on others, in fact the countries of the world have reached a state of inter-dependence one upon another which would have been almost inconceivable to our ancestors" (Gillies, "Review of the situation generally…." 24).
[125] Gillies, "Review of the situation generally…," 24.
[126] Mason, *School Education*, 48.
[127] Ibid.

could mean, broadly, the human race, but also, more narrowly, the white race.[128] Years later, graduates of the House of Education gathered to discuss the meaning of these two ideas for the PNEU at the 1930 conference for alumni of the House of Education where Mary Gillies spoke.

Though there were regular conferences for the alumni of the House of Education, this topic of discussion is particularly revealing both because of who was invited to speak and why this topic was chosen at this moment. First, the speakers were three women who were invited to speak on specific topics. The first, Mary Gillies, was a 1914 graduate of the House of Education, attending the school while Mason was still alive, and presumably would have personally met her. Her assigned topic was a "review of the situation generally in connection with the idea of the Solidarity of the Race." The second, E. Lowis, was a 1922 graduate of the House of Education, but it seems unlikely that she had actually met Mason since by 1922 Mason rarely appeared in person at the school.[129] Lowis had experience with the empire both before she came to school and after her graduation. At the time of her enrollment, her father was the deputy commissioner of the Andamans Islands in India, and, after graduation, Lowis lived variously in Southern Rhodesia, India, and Jamaica. She was asked to speak on "How the Idea of the Solidarity of the Race may be Fostered." The third and final speaker, E. Bicknell, was also a 1922 graduate of the House of Education. Her sister, also an alumna, lived in Natal, South Africa, so Bicknell had at least a passing experience of the

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[128] On race in Britain, see Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in the British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
[129] By the 1920s Mason was rarely seen because of her poor health.

empire through her connection with her sister. It is plausible that these women were invited to speak on this topic because of their experience in and with and the empire.

In her presentation, Gillies argued that there had been a parallel change in people's individual attitudes towards race, but her discussion is fraught with contradiction. In the past, she believed the relationships between peoples of different races were guided by an "attitude … of superiority and complete lack of understanding." As positive example of how this attitude had changed, she pointed to "Africa South of the Sahara" where it was now "impossible…for the White and the African people to separate their lives;" and India, where there was "great desire for union among the Christian Churches," which included "three-quarters of a million persons, mainly Indians."[130] This assertion was an extremely positive assessment of daily life in each of these places. It might have been impossible to "separate their lives," but Gillies never accounted for the unequal power dynamic between the two groups. Gillies concluded by encouraging the governesses and teachers in attendance to "leave our national life a stage further on the road than when we entered on our inheritance, if the Empire is to do its share in raising the common life of the nations."[131] The importance of the British Empire for maintaining the solidarity of the race and the brotherhood of man is a theme echoed in each woman's talk. Lowis criticized the British for being "appalling snobs … racially."[132] This fault she blamed on the adults and instead she set childhood as a period free from any racial prejudices. She argued, "The little white girl is often as devoted to her Ayah as our own children to their Nannie, and our pupils are on perfectly natural terms with their little

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[130] Ibid., 27, 28. In the first case, Gillies is quoting from Mr. Basil Matthews.
[131] Ibid., 29.
[132] E. Lowis, "How the Idea of the Solidarity of the Race May be Fostered," *L'Umile Pianta* July 1930: 30.

friends in the village Guide Company: if they have never been discouraged from being so, and if they have never heard us hinting at our vast superiority."[133] Put this way, childhood became a site where it was possible to transgress race, because, at least for Lowis, race was not a natural divider, but a learned divider.

The most interesting comments of all belong to Miss Bicknell. Her topic "How Far is P.N.E.U. Thought Still in Touch with the Idea of the Solidarity of the Race?" suggests a focus on race and the relationship between the British Empire and the nation, but her comments reflect a concern with class. She quickly answers yes in relationship to the solidarity of the race on the basis that the emphasis on history provides the students in the PUS with a more than adequate appreciation of the past. When she turns to consider the brotherhood of man, the answer does not seem quite as clear. The previous responders make clear that the term race was being used to refer more broadly to the human race. In defining it this broadly, the PNEU faced the incongruous position of people of a different class and non-white people. Bicknell is much less comfortable with race than the previous speaker, Lowis. Bicknell makes no comments specific to non-white people but couches her entire analysis of the PNEU's success in achieving the brotherhood of man with an examination of class differences within the boundaries of the nation. Pointing to "interest in common" as the foundation for "friendship and brotherhood," Bicknell provides a series of examples where children of different classes are brought together to foster friendship and common interests.[134] In addition to the spread of the PUS in England, by this point, the PNEU had had some success in

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[133] Ibid., 33.

[134] E. Bicknell, "How Far is P.N.E.U. Thought Still in Touch with the Idea of the Solidarity of the Race?" *L'Umile Pianta* July 1930: 35.

introducing their curriculum into public elementary schools, and Bicknell claimed that this success helped "bridge the class distinction."[135] Even more, the PUS (and PNEU) was achieving success with the children in the colonies (and we can safely assume she means white, English children) "working our programmes and so becoming firmly linked with us at home."[136]

These remarks did not pass without comment. In the January 1931 "Letter Bag" section of the *Parents' Review*, a reader wrote in responding to the articles. She pointed out a myriad of ways in which "innumerable parents and teachers…[were] carefully and laboriously consolidating the very barriers which they profess they wish to see cleared out of the way."[137] Her focus was on class, not race, but her comments are applicable to both. Based on her observations at schools and home situations, Elsie Sharp was concerned that fears over "infectious disease" would lead both parents and teachers to guard against "all real contact with his [the child's] humbler neighbours," thus leading the child to conclude that those neighbors are "unclean and untouchable" and he or she a "superior being" at the worst or "entirely detached and aloof" at the best.[138] In responding, Gillies answered, "The fact that children from every kind of home are working in the same great school should accomplish much if the children themselves are told, and told frequently, of happenings which will make them realise how wide is the scope of the school to which they belong."[139] Like many PNEU members and Mason herself, Gillies made much of the fact that children should be reminded of the many other

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[135] Ibid., 36.
[136] Ibid., 37.
[137] Letter from Elsie Sharp, "Letter Bag," *Parents' Review* 42, no. 1 (January 1931): 64. It is worth noting that Sharp herself was living in Italy at the time.
[138] Ibid., 65.
[139] Mary Gillies, letter in response to Elsie Sharp, *Parents' Review* 42, no. 1 (July 1931): 66.

children participating in the same curriculum and educational experiences. In doing so, she creates an "imagined community" for the children that was meant to cross class and geographic lines.

The "other" in late Victorian and Edwardian era imperial discourse was the colonized person often categorized as belonging to another race. Mason also used the word race, and, although she always used it in the same context, she never defined what she meant by it. Mason claims "we and the children alike live for the advancement of the race."[140] The phrase the "advancement of the race," had much in common with the idea of the "solidarity of the race." For Mason, the "other" was not defined by race but by education and development of habits. Much of Mason's educational curriculum was about the creation of habits in children—the habit of attention, the habit of neatness, the habit of listening to directions the first time they are given. Mason firmly believed that new habits could be developed in all children regardless of their previous education and upbringing. Most of *Formation of Character* is devoted to a series of case studies that explain how parents or teachers successfully changed the habits of children. Childhood is a space then that is not bound to racialized notions of people, because with education it is possible to teach new habits to any person and reverse the course of old habits. The "other" would no longer be a racialized colonial figure but someone uneducated in the duties of citizenship. Mason reflects a prescriptive, liberal view of character that "implied the limitless improvability of all human beings regardless of class, race, and, to a certain extent, sex/gender."[141]

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[140] Mason, *Parents and Children*, 260.
[141] Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State*, 24-25. Mason would have definitely included sex/gender in this list without the caveats that other liberals of her day might have offered. This

Looking at education as the characteristic necessary to defining the "other" necessarily begs the questions, what education? The problem of Mason's nationalist impulses was not missed by the PNEU, particularly in the imperial branches. By the 1920s, meeting notes reflect the concerns of alternative national identities. Having travelled around the empire visiting with local branches in 1927, Miss Pennethorne reported back to Ambleside on the situation in Australia:

> There is a strong feeling that any scheme of education from English headquarters cannot be 'Australian' enough for Australian children, and we could do much to modify this by greatly extending our published list of 'overseas' books, but I am strongly of the opinion that any 'local' headquarters would be a great mistake; it is the Union as a corporate body of culture all the world over, administered by a common centre, which is a vital force, and 'local' organisations would very soon have remarkably little connexion with the work of our founder.[142]

It is interesting here that Miss Pennethorne is so strongly against the decentralization of the PNEU and PUS. Her issue with it is the fear of a subsequent loss of the unique identity that the PUS attempted to teach children, whether anyone wanted to admit it was an English national identity that asserted England as home despite the miles that might separate a home-school room in India from Ambleside. Even the devoted students of Mason recognized the tension. In the discussion following the lectures on the meaning the solidarity of the race, students voiced their concern that books "like the English Speaking Nations, Our Sea Power, Round the Empire, foster the wrong spirit, and do not work for international understanding."[143] The concern with books was not unwarranted,

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prescriptive view was the opposite of the conservative view that offered a more descriptive view of character that "implied a comparatively limited view of individual improvement and, thus, a naturalization of relatively fixed sociopolitical hierarchies" (ibid., 25).

[142] "Miss Pennethorne's Report to the Ambleside Council-November 1927," CM box 35, file CMC 243/11. The Ambleside Council was a group established at Mason's death that oversaw all of her activities, House of Education, the PNEU, and the PUS, to insure that each was staying true to Mason's goals and aims.

[143] "Discussion following 'Solidarity of the Race,'" *L'Umile Pianta*, July 1930: 38. The journal indicates that Miss Kitching responded to this, but regrettably her response does not seem to be preserved. On

since Mason's curriculum relied entirely on children reading books and coming to their own opinions based on what was read. In fact, a speaker before a local branch of the PNEU emphasized that, in a study of children and racial prejudice, "what is read seems to have an authority much greater than what is said by the teacher in school, heard at home or seen on the screen. It seems, strangely enough, to have an authority even greater than that of first-hand experience."[144]

Summary and the Conclusion

Mason and the PNEU presented a view of the individual that simultaneously expanded and limited the scope of the individuality it attempted to mold in children. On the one hand, Mason, much earlier than many others, attempted to define "citizens of the world," children who could "think beyond the frontiers of race and class…[had] an understanding of the conditions and sympathy with the lives of other classes and peoples who compose the comity of our commonwealth and civilisation."[145] On the other hand, her curriculum and her own nationalist and imperialist sentiment militated against this. Nonetheless, Mason crafted an educational philosophy that created space for the creation of an idea of an individual that depended on education and not other categories like class, race, or sex, to define the person. By envisioning the individual primarily through the lens of education, she created the possibility to see a different relationship between the individual and the national and imperial home. What she failed to take account of was

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textbooks, see Heathorn, *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class, and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914*.

[144] Dr. George H. Green, "An Investigation of Racial Prejudice," *Parents' Review* 42, no. 6 (June 1931): 362.

[145] M. Channing Pearce, "The Education of a Citizen of the World," *Parents' Review* 38, no. 2 (February 1927): 75.

the way in which women and children living in the empire would themselves fashion this notion of the individual in a distinctly imperial setting and create their own unique understandings of home.

Chapter 4

Finding Home Away from Home:

Women, Education, and the Empire

A spurge is a British wildflower that found its way to India, and, for Margaret Sharp, became the perfect example to use in a discussion of plant evolution for the *Parents' Review*:

> "I am, I can, I ought, I will"…
>
> Once upon a time, and a far off time at that, certain Spurges (*Euphorbiaceae*) found themselves in the Tropics, long before the motto of the P.N.E.U. came into being, and yet they had certainly grasped the idea which it contains. May I explain?
>
> Well! They found they were there—"I am"—and they made up their minds that they could be there,—"I can,"—and that they ought to be there,—"I ought"—and consequently that they would adapt themselves to be there—"I will." [1]

In fact, Sharp's frame, "I am, I can, I ought, I will," also the motto of the Parents' Union School (PUS), encapsulated individuality, an idea that Mason wanted to extend to women as well. Although Sharp's focus was literally on the plant, the article can just as easily be read as a metaphor on the plight and pluck of the Englishwoman living in the empire. By 1924, the life of the Englishwoman in the empire had drastically changed. It was safer, ostensibly more modern—and with better communication and quicker transportation—not nearly so far away from England as in the nineteenth century. But one aspect of colonial living remained the same for women: life in the empire often meant choosing

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[1] Margaret Sharp, "Indian Flower Cousins," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 1 (January 1924): 19. Though not ever listed in the *L'Umile Pianta* with an address in the empire, Sharp clearly lived in India. Her article references her experiences finding the Indian plants she describes. See pgs. 20, 24, 25, 26.

between husband and child.[2] The idea of the separated empire family remained pervasive until even the twilight of the British Empire. In her 1950 guide for women moving to Africa, Emily Bradley counsels young colonial wives, "separation is the most sinister word in the colonial vocabulary, whether it is applied to father or mother or children or home or just England."[3] Bradley's reminder is twofold. First, she reminds her reader that at the heart of the empire were the individuals—men, women, and children—whose lives were structured by it; people like Coralie Le Cardew, who lived in North India with her family. For her the choice between husband or children came down to, "Someone can be found to fill a mother's place, no one to fill a wife's."[4] Second, Bradley acknowledges the many levels of separation involved in the choice to move to the empire. It was not just the individual members of a family being separated, but people being separated from homes in the empire and homes in the metropole. For most empire families, while the men were busy with the business of empire, it fell to women to negotiate the various levels of separation. Dora J. C. Crane wrote to the *Parents' Review* from her home in South Pender Island, British Columbia: "I think I can safely say that had it not been for the P.U.S. my husband and I would never have thought of settling here… I do not think in the world a more ideal spot could be found for the upbringing of

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[2] In her 1909 description of life in India, Maud Diver claimed "separation" as the "keynote of Anglo-India" (Maud Diver, *The Englishwoman in India* [Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1909], 46). Although she suggested that women could choose between staying with their husbands or returning to England with their children for school, she concludes staying with "the man" is "the lesser of two evils" (Ibid.). The rest of her description of life in India assumes a life without children present. Writing almost forty years later and for a different colonial context, Emily Bradley also assumes that women in the colonies choose their husbands over their children and thus face a life of separation. She too suggests that there is a choice, but since she also assumed that life in the colonies did not involve children, the choice was really an empty one (Emily Bradley, *Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the Wife of a Colonial Civil Servant* [London: Max Parrish, 1950], chapter 17).

[3] Bradley, *Dearest Priscilla*, 228.

[4] Coralie Le Cardew (Landowne, Garhwal, U.P), "A P.U.S. Schoolroom in North India," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6 (June 1924): 398.

children; the one and only drawback to this island has been solved by the P.U.S."[5] The PUS provided a solution to the specter of separation in the colonies. Now women living in the empire, negotiating separation and ideas of home, "found they were there…made up their minds they could be there…that they ought to be there…and consequently that they would adapt themselves to be there."[6]

Considering the pervasiveness of the discourse on separation, it is unsurprising to find an emphasis on women in the empire as wives rather than mothers in the historiography of gender and empire. Women are "incorporated wives," "married to the empire," stuck between two homes—home in the metropole and home in the empire.[7]

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[5] Dora J.C. Crane, "A P.U.S. Schoolroom in British Columbia," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6. (June 1924): 401.

[6] Sharp, "Indian Flower Cousins," 19.

[7] The idea of the incorporated wife stems from an essay collection that explored "the condition of *wifehood* in a range of settings where the social character ascribed to a woman is an intimate function of her husband's occupational identity" (Hilary Callan, "Introduction," in Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener, eds., *The Incorporated Wife* [London: Croom Helm,1984], 1). Mary A. Procida argues that in the case of Anglo-Indian women, there were many ways in which they "were incorporated wives," but that the empire also provided space for women "to become junior partners with their husbands in their work and to exercise autonomy as imperial actors" (Mary A. Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* [Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002], 43). She also assumes that these women created lives without the presence of their children. Some of the key works on women and empire that present this view include: Helen Callaway, *Gender, Culture, and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Nupur Chaudhuri, "Memsahibs and Motherhood in Nineteenth-Century Colonial India," *Victorian Studies* 31, no. 4 (Summer 1988): 517-35; Philippa Levine, ed. *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). Other key works that examine women's relationship to the empire include: Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, eds., *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Claudia Knapman, *White Women in Fiji 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire?* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986); Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Clare Midgley, ed. *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). On feminism and empire, see Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1994); Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000); Clare Midgley, *Feminism and Empire: Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1790-1865* (London: Routledge, 2007). On women's ideas of home and empire, see Alison Blunt, "'Land of Our Mothers': Home, Identity, and Nationality for Anglo-Indians in British India, 1919-1947," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 54 (2002): 49-72; ———, *Domicile and Diaspora: Anglo-Indian Woman and the Spatial Politics of Home* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); Rosemary Marangoly George, "Homes in the Empire, Empires in the Home," *Cultural Critique*, no. 26 (Winter 1993-94): 95-127; Wendy Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, 'Race' and National Identity, 1945-64* (London: Routledge 1998);

But this narrative is only one side of the story and it excludes women like Dora Crane, who chose to be both a wife and mother in the empire. Better, more efficient transportation made it easier for families to travel to and from the empire. Circumstances also changed. During the First World War, travel between the empire and metropole was simply unavailable. The change in circumstances started to change people's attitudes: colonial living no longer had to mean long periods of separation between parents and children.[8] Increasing numbers of parents chose to educate their children themselves or send their children to local schools indefinitely or at least until their children were older (usually sometime between age 10 and14).[9]

Despite the logistic possibility of keeping children, parents still had to contend with how to teach their children "place and race" purposefully.[10] Without sending them

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Angela Woollacott, "'All This Is the Empire, I Told Myself': Australian Women's Voyages 'Home' and the Articulation of Colonial Whiteness," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 4 (1997): 1003-29; ———, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Outside of the British Empire, see Julia Ann Clancy-Smith & Frances Gouda, eds., *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender, and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998); Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, *Women and the Colonial State: Essays on Gender and Modernity in the Netherlands Indies, 1900-1942* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2000); Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[8] During the First World War, families did not always have a choice about where to educate their children. This reality pushed people to consider a new pattern of family life in the empire. Once the war was over and travel available again, the idea of not sending children away seemed more possible.

[9] For more on local schooling options in the empire, see Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), chpt. 2; Dane Keith Kennedy, *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1939* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 169-72; Dane Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), chapter 6.

[10] Ann Laura Stoler uses this phrase in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* as shorthand to indicate that national identity in the colonies was not assumed. It was learned, but it was not a "straight-forward…transmission process" (Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002], 120). Stoler urges historians to think of the process of identity formation in "political terms. How do children learn which social categories are salient? How do they learn to attend to the politically relevant inclusions and exclusions that shape the imagined communities in which adults live?... How children acquire social categories, what social environmental conditions shape their choices, and how they distinguish 'we' from 'they' were questions posed by colonial policy makers in varied forms again and again" (Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 137).

back to England, how did they teach their children to be English when a non-colonial education was one of the standards of a white, English identity? The Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) and the Parents' Union School (PUS) provide a space to look at the myriad of ways that women negotiated living in the empire with being wives, mothers, and individuals. The letters and articles written by PNEU and PUS women also provide an answer to the question of how they tried to teach their children place and race in the empire and impart lessons of home.

The advent of the PUS in 1891 and the opening of the House of Education, Charlotte Mason's teacher training college, in 1894 made available a new option for these colonial families. No longer forced to choose between the role of wife or mother, separation or togetherness, women in the colonies, with the help of the programs of study provided by the PUS, could elect to educate their children in their homes and secure for themselves and their children a claim to a "proper" English identity. The House of Education produced a ready group of women able to move to the colonies and serve as the bridge between the PNEU home office in England and the PUS home-school room in India or Rhodesia or South Africa or Palestine. In responding to this need, the PNEU and PUS faced a task fraught with tension and contradiction. Mason's belief in individuality contradicts a view of women as wife or mother, rather than just seeing them as persons. To resolve this contradiction, in addition to providing for children's education, Mason also undertook the task of constructing a discourse of womanhood based on individuality and not biology. Emphasizing women's role as natural caretakers of children undercut their innate individuality. To negotiate this tension, Mason attempted to professionalize

motherhood and child-rearing. In the colonial context, these same issues were intimately tied to bigger questions of national, imperial, and racial identity.

In this chapter, I argue that Mason offered women an identity based not on a role or nature, but on personhood. This move coupled with the organized curriculum of the PUS allowed women in the colonies to face colonial life with a different set of choices available to them. This chapter explores those choices in an effort to add greater nuance to women's lives in the British Empire. Women had the choice to claim individuality ("I am"), gather the skills and resources necessary to educate their children ("I can"), participate in alternative notions of home and community ("I ought"), and finally create new lives for their empire families ("I will").

"They Found Out They Were There—I Am"

Life in the British Empire positioned women quite differently from life in the metropole. Concerns over physical degeneracy in the metropole during the Edwardian era created an emphasis on women as mothers.[11] More importantly, maternalist discourse provided feminists a ready language to justify women's full inclusion in the nation.

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[11] On motherhood and maternalism, see Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe, 1890-1970* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005); Randi Davenport, "Thomas Malthus and the Maternal Bodies Politic: Gender, Race, and Empire," *Women's History Review* 4, no. 4 (1995): 415-39; Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, ed. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 87-151; Anne Huebel, "'More Than an Individual'? The Paradoxes of Motherhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 2004); Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Jane Lewis, *The Politics of Motherhood: Child and Maternal Welfare in England, 1900-1939* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); ———, *Women in England 1870-1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books, 1984); Susan Pedersen, "Gender, Welfare and Citizenship in Britain During the Great War," *American Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (1990): 983-1006; ———, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State in Britain and France, 1914-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); ———, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London: Routledge, 1999), 236-42; Eileen Janes Yeo, "The Creation of 'Motherhood' and Women's Responses in Britain and France, 1750-1914," *Women's History Review* 8, no. 2 1999): 201-18.

Women in the empire existed outside of this discourse. Sacrificing motherhood, but not reproduction, was their offering to the nation. This sacrifice created other opportunities for them to participate more directly in national and imperial work.[12] Without children demanding their attention and with household servants to take care of domestic tasks, women were free "to participate in the work of empire."[13] If they wished, they could become their husband's helpmate in the business of the empire, travelling with him and even sometimes helping in decision-making.[14] Feminists use of maternalism to justify women's inclusion in the nation was strategic, just like the idea of women as wives in the colony provided a useful space for women to become more integrated into imperial life. In either case, in the metropole or in the empire, women's value was reduced to a role they filled, divesting them of agency and individuality to a certain extent and denying them the ability to create a complete identity.[15]

Women in the empire faced a doubly difficult paradox. A good English woman was defined as a wife and mother, particularly in the early twentieth century with the fears of degeneracy and in the interwar period because of the concerns over population losses in the First World War. In the metropole, a woman had access to both means of defining a complete woman. For women in the empire, this was impossible. Women still had to be mothers, because they were expected to bear children for the nation, but they

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[12] On sacrifice as a woman's duty to the nation, see Nicoletta F. Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), chpts. 3, 7.
[13] Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 47.
[14] Chapter 2 of Prodida's *Married to the Empire* provides a detailed description of the myriad of ways that women participated in their husband's work in India.
[15] Joan Scott usefully analyzes the ways that difference and equality feminism left women in paradoxical positions. Articulating feminist arguments in terms of inherent difference or sameness had strategic value and gave feminists a position to argue from that was connected to wider societal debates about women's role and place. See Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), chpt. 1.

could not raise them because in so doing they cheated their children of the chance to realize a fully English identity. Returning to England to tend to their children during their school years meant abandoning their husbands to the sexual temptations of "native" women. Charlotte Mason, the PUS, and the PNEU provided a means to unravel the paradox.

Mason and members of the PNEU debated the merits of women's life in the colonies. Mason, though sympathetic with the plight of families living abroad, was quite critical of the decision to choose spouse over children. By sending their children away, women gave "over their functions and authority to another, the rights of parenthood belong to that other. Who does not know of the heart-burnings that arise when Anglo-Indian parents come home, to find their children's affections given to others; their duty owing to others."[16] The problem was not merely the emotional aspect of separation. In sending children away, parents, particularly women, failed in their duty of "hold[ing] their children in trust for society."[17] In other words, they failed to be active participants in the upbringing of their children, which was tantamount to failing in their duty to the nation.

At the same time, resting on the laurels of motherhood was also problematic. Mason used a language of motherhood as natural. The preface to the fourth edition of *Home Education* describes its purpose as suggesting "*a method of education resting upon a basis of natural law*; and to touch, in this connection, upon a mother's duties to her

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[16] Charlotte M. Mason, *Parents and Children* (1904; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 11. Mason addressed these comments broadly to parents, but since in other places she recognizes women as the main care-takers of children, her critique is particularly directed at women.
[17] Ibid., 15.

children."[18] However, the purpose of the PNEU, to teach parents (particularly women) how to educate their children, undercuts this entire assertion. Mason had to tread carefully to reconcile the two positions:

> Allow me to say once more, that I venture to write upon subjects bearing on home education with the greatest deference to mothers; believing that in virtue of their peculiar insight into the dispositions of her own children, they are blest with both knowledge and power in the management of them which on-lookers can only admire from afar. At the same time, there is such a thing as a *science* of education, that does not come by intuition…[19]

Biology might have made motherhood a natural *act* for women, but the *practice* of being a mother was hardly natural. Being a mother, at least for Mason, was something that required education and deliberate thinking about how to be a mother and more importantly how to be a person. The state measured success in educating mothers with infant and child mortality statistics, which reduced the mother to her role in caring for children and erased her own individuality and personality.[20] Mason proposed a different measure. She argued that women needed to approach being a mother "as their profession—that is with the diligence, regularity, and punctuality which men bestow on their professional labours."[21]

In arguing that women should approach motherhood as a profession, Mason tapped into a discourse of professionalization that had gained currency between the years 1879 and 1911, not coincidentally the early years of the PNEU.[22] The discourse of mothers as professionals moved in two very different directions—"mothers should listen

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[18] ———, *Home Education* (1935; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), np. Italics in original.
[19] Ibid., 135. Italics in original.
[20] See Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood."
[21] Mason, *Home Education*, 2-3.
[22] Huebel, "'More Than an Individual'?", 146.

to and be guided by professionals" and "mothers *were* the professionals."[23] The second centered on the woman performing the role and invested her with the power and knowledge of the professional. The "private nature" of motherhood made a view of professional motherhood a more difficult concept to promote.[24] Mason most closely connected her own thinking about women as mothers with this concept. By creating an organization with the goal of giving women access to the professional ideal, Mason moved to create a space for women that was not dependent on their role as mothers, but their individuality and selfhood. Her strategic use of professional discourse allowed her to move beyond the category 'woman as mother' to 'woman as person.'[25]

In a 1912 letter to *The Times*, Mason diagnosed the malady of the age as the utilitarian character of education. She was similarly concerned with a utilitarian view of mothers. The ultimate dilemma facing a woman was that in her "efforts to be the ideal wife, mother, and mistress, she forgets that she is herself."[26] The crisis was that women became merely roles and not individuals. Mason condemned the ways that women "not only starved their minds, but [did] it deliberately, and with a sense of self-sacrifice which seem[ed] to supply ample justification. There [were] moreover, unfortunately, only too many people who [thought] that sort of thing so lovely that public opinion appear[ed] to

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[23] Ibid., 148. Italics in original. The first assumed a "scientific motherhood" that relied on "science and medical expertise" (———, "'More Than an Individual'?", 148). Its focus was not on the individual mother, but the job that she performed in the household. Additionally it endowed medical professionals with considerable power to 'educate' women on how to provide for the physical health of their children and assumed that mothering was not something to be left to nature or women's intuition and did not necessarily provide women with anything close to professional status. They were expected to be educated by professionals, who were men, but they themselves were not seen as professionals. The fact that Mason wrote to mothers about how to be a mother does not ally her with this group because the nature of the information she deemed necessary was not about mothering per se.

[24] Huebel, "'More Than an Individual'?", 153-54.

[25] The classic work on professionalization in Britain is Harold Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society: England since 1880* (London: Routledge, 1990). Perkin gives virtually no consideration to women in this work.

[26] "Mother Culture," *Parents' Review* 3, no. 2 (February 1892): 92-95.

justify it."[27] Mason deployed maternalist discourses to re-inscribe women as individuals and not fillers of the categories of wife and mother.

The focus on women as mothers was not just a concern in the metropole, but also reflected the close connection between imperialism, women, and motherhood in the twentieth century. Reflecting on fourteen years lived in India (between 1916 and 1930), Lady Barton believed "the average girl goes out almost entirely unprepared for the part which she is surely meant to play on India's stage…. every girl when she goes abroad whether in the professions, as a wife, or even only as visitor, must either take a part in this Empire building, or let the country down."[28] Lady Barton directly addresses the critique made of English women in India that their reliance on servants, never mind their busy social calendars, made them "spoiled and lazy."[29] But this lifestyle afforded them the time to be "Empire builders" at the expense of rearing their children. Mason wanted women to be both Empire builders and mothers. Arguing for the individuality of women made this pairing more possible because one depended upon the other. Keeping families together in the empire contributed to "the building up [of] family life…a main plank in

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[27] Ibid. However, Mason was only one voice (albeit the loudest) in the PNEU. The pages of the *Parents' Review* reveal a lively discussion within the organization about the place of women in society that began in the earliest issues of the journal and continued into the twentieth century. Some articles argued that girls have an "equal right with the boys to demand an education which shall be equipment for life, whether they must earn their own living or whether they will have others to work for them" (M. L. Hart-Davis, "Girlhood," *Parents' Review* 13, no. 2 [February 1902]: 86). Others questioned if "the liberty of women" were to expand would it bring with it a subsequent "danger to [their] womanhood…—the loss of gracious manners, of ready tact, of true sympathy" ("Mrs. Steinthal, "The Old Grace and the New Intellect," *Parents' Review* 11, no. 7 [July 1900]: 410-422). Similar concerns are expressed in Douglas M. Gane, "The Training of Women with Regard to Specialization in Men," *Parents' Review* 10, no. 12 (December 1899): 772-780; Mrs. Arthur Phillip, "Are Recent Developments in Women's Education in Favour of the Best Preparation for Wifehood and Motherhood?" *Parents' Review* 17, no. 3 (March 1906): 182-190; Mrs. Ernest Williams, "The Mother as a Trainer of Citizens," *Parents' Review* 20, no. 11 (November 1909): 801-816.

[28] Lady Barton, "English Women and Life in India," *Parents' Review* 41, no. 12 (December 1930): 792, 793.

[29] Procida, *Married to the Empire*, 81. See chapter 2 of *Married to the Empire* for the social aspect of life in India.

British thought and ideals at this time," wedding the role of mother and empire builder together in a way that was not solely dependent on infant mortality statistics.[30] It also required a professional class of women prepared to take up the project of educating children as professional educators.

Over her term as organizing secretary for the PNEU, R. A. Pennethorne travelled across the empire, visiting schools and PUS families, and observing the work of the female professional educator in the British colonies. She described women in these families as:

> setting a high family standard. A mother in Africa must either begin her children's teaching herself on a farm, or get such help as she can. Children brought up by Kaffir nurses (however loving and devoted these may be), do exhibit some marked traits which are not always desirable in after life. They can sit down quite happily and do nothing, and they have an early, and often unfortunate knowledge, of the side of life which needs presenting with the most care and reverence. The 'nursery governess' is far too often like the Greek slave in the Roman household—unable to escape—and a caretaker rather than an inspirer. Yet a country whose future bids fair to excel its past must build for than future.[31]

A woman who could both care for her children's physical needs and intellectual needs militated against the dangers of family life in the colonies. Pennethorne represents the dangers with the figures of two different women. The Kaffir, or native nurse, threatened to impart poor morals to her charges. The second, the nursery governess, who might have been white, was equally a danger to children in the empire, because she did not bring the relevant educational and intellectual attainments to inspire the intellectual capacity of her charges. The governess is doubly stuck—she is a danger to children, but also a danger to herself because of her liminal status in the household. The solution

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[30] Mrs. M. K. Connor, *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (October 1937): 593.
[31] R. A. Pennethorne, "South Africa and its Children," *Parents' Review* 40, no. 5 (May 1929): 339.

Mason offered was twofold. First, through the PUS, she provided an option to keep families together; thus, negating the necessity to choose between wife and mother. Second, by defining women as individuals, she offered women access to an identity that depended on neither their husband nor children, but entirely on their personhood. They could be complete women in the colonies in and of themselves. To aid women in developing their individuality, Mason opened and directed the House of Education.

"They Made Up Their Minds They Could Be There—I Can"

The House of Education, opened in 1894, provided a domestic entrance into an educated imperial life. Located in Ambleside, in the heart of the Lake District, the school could not have been more distant from the empire. Ambleside was famous as the home of the Clough family, Matthew Arnold, W. E. Forster (by whom Mason is buried), Harriet Martineau, William Wordsworth, and John Ruskin. In some ways, Ambleside was an out-of-the-way location for the school, but its natural beauty and scope for nature walks and nature studies made it an ideal choice for Mason. The name of the school is revealing both for what it names and what it does not. Initially, Mason wanted the school to be called the House of the Holy Spirit but was concerned that it might be "misunderstood," as only a religious school, thus undercutting its professional identity.[32] She also chose not to include school, college, or any other sort of institutional designator to the name but instead chose "house," emphasizing the home-like atmosphere of the school. Mason believed "Household life as a means of culture is much to be preferred to college life," much the same way that home schooling was preferable to boarding

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[32] Essex Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason* (1960; reprint, Petersfield: Child Light Publication, 2000), 34.

school.[33] The model of "school as home"[34] functioned primarily to teach girls a middle class sociability.[35] Imagining the House of Education as a home school brought out the connection between home and education. Its graduates did not only direct a home education, they had experienced a professional home education.

The location of the school in the English countryside, coupled with the middle class domestic ideal promoted therein, made it an ideal place for women from the empire to learn in an English setting. In January 1894, Ethel Pearson began her tenure at the House of Education. She had previously spent five terms at the Hiath College in Wellington, New Zealand. After graduation, she moved to Southern Rhodesia. Her classmate, Rose Adelaide Graves, lived with her uncle and attended school in India, where she returned after graduation. Ethel Clark, from Cambridge, joined them the next fall. Although she lived in England, after graduation she married and moved to South Africa.[36] At the House of Education, the empire girls met and mingled with local girls coming from all over Britain. For both groups, the community of the House of Education reinforced their sense of a shared national and organizational identity despite their different backgrounds. The school also served as a point of departure for girls moving out to the empire. Hilda Fanny Vince, a 1915 graduate and resident of Swindon, took a

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[33] Ibid.
[34] Gillian Sutherland, "Anne Jemima Clough and Blanche Athena Clough: Creating Educational Institutions for Women," in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*, ed. Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 102.
[35] See Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); Elizabeth Edwards, *Women in Teacher Training Colleges, 1900-1960* (London: Routledge, 2001), chpt. 2; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), chpt. 4.
[36] CM box 10, book labeled I on the outside, CMC 62

position at a school in Jamaica upon graduation.[37] The House of Education thus acted as a nexus of empire and nation.

The idea of the school as home was not without its contradictions. If the House of Education was a home, it was a home with a matriarch at its head, thus turning the domestic and gender order upside down.[38] Mason very much imagined her school, the House of Education, as a family, with herself at the head. In one of her first articles for *L'Umile Pianta*, the alumni magazine for the school, Mason wrote a letter to the student body, addressing it "My Dear Bairns," reinforcing the idea of the school as a family and grounding that family in a common culture and geography.[39] Mason occupied a powerful place in the students' minds, much as she did in the PNEU.[40] Because of ill health and lecture travels, Mason rarely appeared in person to the students, and, when she did, it warranted mention, such as on April 23, 1903, when, "Miss Mason came in for a few minutes during the evening but she was not able to stay with us."[41] Despite her relative absence from the daily working of the school, Mason still protected the business side of school and her position within it. In 1899, the following note appeared in the *L'Umile Pianta*: "She [Mason] asks me to say, with her love, that she considers that those who forego their membership with the Association in some measure lapse in their loyalty to the House of Education and its founder."[42] For students posted in the empire, it was not always so simple. Their membership in the PNEU was not the same thing as a family's

[37] CM box 10, book labeled 4 on the cover, "Student Register"
[38] See Elizabeth Edwards, "Mary Miller Allan: The Complexity of Gender Negotiations for a Woman Principle of a Teacher Training College," in *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790-1930*, ed. Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (Harlow: Longman, 2000); Edwards, *Women in Teacher Training Colleges*, chpt. 3; Vicinus, *Independent Women*, chpts. 4, 5.
[39] Charlotte Mason, *L'Umile Pianta*, January 1896: 1.
[40] See Chapter 2 for Mason's position within the organization.
[41] Student Log Book, 1899-?, book I, CM box 9, CMC 61.
[42] Emily Lanphier, *L'Umile Pianta*, January 1899: 29.

membership in the PUS, hence Mason's 1905 reminder to "all students in posts that they should not pass on P.R.S. programmes to each other. Such programmes are *only* for the use of those children whose parents have joined the P.R.S."[43] Mason kept careful balance between the home-school room, a place independent and autonomous, and the organization of the PUS and House of Education, business ventures that secured Mason's financial future.

To prepare women to take their place in homes across the empire as wives, mothers, governesses, and teachers, a full course of study at the school lasted for two years and included coursework and practical experience, working in the practicing school attached to the House of Education. When the school first opened in 1894, Mason envisioned training women for work in home-school settings, but, as the school gained prominence, its students did enter regular teaching situations. Particularly in the empire, where required certificates for teachers were less of a concern, at least in the early twentieth century, House of Education graduates accepted posts teaching in missionary schools and non-missionary schools, teaching both children from the indigenous population and white, English children. In an effort to maintain her control over the House of Education, Mason refused state certification, which made it more difficult for her students to take posts in public school rooms in England and even in the empire by the interwar period.

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[43] *L'Umile Pianta*, December 1903: 56. Italics in original. The PUS was initially called the Parents' Review School (PRS), but quickly changed to the Parents' Union School. I have used the latter throughout.

Daily life at the House of Education was well-regimented.[44] Mason claimed that this regimentation was intended to introduce the women to what it would be like to live in someone else's home. Cholomondley endorsed this view as well, arguing that their school life prepared women to "share the home life of the children with all the varied opportunities and limitations of 'other people's houses.'"[45] As a whole, the school schedule reinforced the idea that the professional identity of a woman as a governess, mother, or teacher did not depend on her innate nurturing and caretaking abilities for its justification. She was ultimately then a self-governing individual by virtue of her educational attainments and not her sex.

In addition to academics, the college hosted a vibrant intellectual community. The students regularly heard lectures on a variety of topics from health to politics. They put on plays and musical events for the community. In 1901, the critical reading club read *Kim* and *The Heart of Empire*.[46] The students participated in the life of the nation, joining Empire Day celebrations.[47] The 1909 Empire Day celebration included a reading of Rudyard Kipling's "Ballad of East and West," the singing of the National Anthem, and a reading of a poem penned by Mason.[48] Both the *Parents' Review* and the alumni magazine, *L'Umile Pianta*, demonstrate the intellectual emphasis of the school. The *Parents' Review* regularly featured updates on the examination results of the students,

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[44] Well into the twentieth century students' time was still highly regulated. A meeting between the headmistress, Miss Straubenzee, and the students in 1945 brought about the fortunate result that "Instead of being in our rooms by 9.50 pm we may now visit ones fellow students—and, incidentally, the bathrooms, until 10.30 pm and, of course, 11.00 pm on Saturday" ("Student Log Book VI," CM box 9, CMC 61).
[45] Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 70.
[46] *L'Umile Pianta*, November 1901.
[47] On Empire Day celebrations, see Ian Grosvenor, "'There's No Place Like Home': Education and the Making of National Identity," *History of Education* 28, no. 3 (1999): 235-50; John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), chpt. 9.
[48] Entry from May 24, 1909, CM box 9, CMC 61, book labeled I, student log book 1899.

suggesting their importance. One inspector commented on the December 1899 exams in Practical Teaching and History, Theory, and Methods of Teaching, "The answers showed very much interest in the science of teaching, and many of them were interesting and suggestive. I am sure the students who are leaving enter upon their new occupations thoroughly well fitted for them."[49] Articles about different places where graduates lived, new teaching techniques, and reviews of books regularly appeared in the *L'Umile Pianta*, in addition to an effort to maintain an updated address list for all graduates. What did not appear in the magazine (except very occasionally) were wedding announcements and birth notices, suggesting that, while Mason might have organized the House of Education along nineteenth century lines (the school as home), she directed its efforts along more intellectual institutional lines. What mattered most was not who was married or becoming a mother but the sorts of educational and intellectual endeavors they undertook. The House of Education promoted a division between the public and private lives of the women. Their private lives (who they married, how many children they had) did not qualify them for a professional identity; their professional accomplishments did. The school was first and foremost an intellectual community with global connections.

The address lists maintained by the *L'Umile Pianta* include women living all across the British Empire, in all different colonial contexts.[50] Some appear to have been engaged as governesses, and others married and moved to the empire with their children. As the next sections will demonstrate, these imperial connections were regularly highlighted in both magazines. By the late 1920s, the student body of the school

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[49] *Parents' Review* 10, no. 2 (February 1899): 127.

[50] The *L'Umile Pianta*, and sometimes the *Parents' Review*, provided address lists for graduates from the House of Education. The information was self-reported, so not complete. Between 1895 and 1944, I can track 182 graduates maintaining addresses in the empire. Sixty-seven of them were married.

included even non-white students. The first Indian student joined the student body in 1929, although her stay was short because "she found the intense cold too trying."[51] The efforts at connecting the home school in Ambleside with the home-school rooms scattered across the empire is one of the enduring legacies of Mason and the House of Education. Having decided a professional identity was possible through educational attainment ("I can"), graduates of the House of Education set out to create lives of new possibility in the empire, where their immersion in Mason's educational philosophy uniquely prepared them to contribute to debates surrounding children and home in the empire.

"They Ought To be There—I Ought"

On July 3, 1937, men and women gathered at the Overseas House in London for a one-day conference sponsored by the PNEU and Overseas League on the "Problems of the Family Separated by the High Seas."[52] The common thread running through the various presentations was a concern with separating families in light of the fact that "the family is the unit of the society."[53] Given a conference space, where conversation might have made anything possible, the attendees and speakers accepted the reality of separation and focused on the issue of finding an acceptable 'home away from home' for

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[51] "Miss Parish's Report on the House of Education, June 1929," CM box 35, file CMC 243/14.
[52] The first advertisement for the conference appeared in the *Parents' Review*, May 1937, 342. In June 1937 a longer invitation appeared. After the conference a long account of the conference appeared in the *Parents' Review*, October 1937, 583-614.
[53] A. T. Hickson, "The Problem of Families Separated by the High Seas," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (September 1937): 589. Mason also asserted this in her writing and first encountered the idea through the work of F. D. Maurice.

children—what one speaker called "one that really *is* a home."[54] The space given to this conference suggests the strong influence of separation as an inevitable feature of family life in the colonies. Nonetheless, the *Parents' Review* and the *L'Umile Pianta* also offered competing definitions of home and family life that increasingly minimized and in some cases erased the need for any period of separation and expanded the definition of separation to include separation from home (i.e. England). At stake were not just the emotions involved in separating mothers and fathers and children but the identity that each would adopt. Writing in 1928, Mrs. J. H. Sharp noted:

> It is not without considerable difficulty that some of our fellow-countrymen living abroad manage to maintain their nationality. Some are so utterly isolated from everything that serves to remind them of their home; for their business may necessitate their living in some out of the way place where they never see another Englishman from year's end to year's end. Yet so tenacious are they of their British citizenship that we sometimes come across men and women of the second and third generation living abroad who have never seen the British Isles, and being perhaps of mixed blood, cannot speak English without a strong foreign accent, and are yet extremely annoyed if it be suggested that they are anything but English.[55]

Sharp's selection of people experiencing this difficulty is curious in that distance creates the difficulty in maintaining nationality, not race or language (though both clearly matter also). Additionally, Sharp makes a distinction between being British and being English. The issue is not being British, a broader identity open to more people, but being English, a much more localized identity.[56] Separation from England was equally as problematic as separation from children, because it emphasized separation as not just emotionally

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[54] Mrs. Alan Brown, "Choosing a Home School," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (September 1937): 596. Italics in original.

[55] Mrs. J. H. Sharp, "The English Abroad," *Parents' Review* 39, no. 7 (July 1928): 461.

[56] On Englishness, for example, see Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and Locations of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, eds., *Englishness: Politics and Culture 1880-1920* (London: Croom Helm,1986); Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

fraught, but dangerous from the position of identity. For families living abroad this issue was really the fundamental one. How could children be expected to be English if they never lived in or saw England? How could women create homes in the empire that were still English? Place mattered a great deal. One of the ways that the PNEU functioned was to tie together a disparate group of people, scattered across various colonial geographies, by inviting their participation in a "carefully selected [educational] programme … to secure 'a common standard of attainment, so that the home-taught child shall be equal to the rest'… giving their children a thorough and up-to-date educational grounding."[57]

Even for parents who agreed in principle that they could raise and educate English children in the colonies, the question remained who could direct the home-school room? For them to argue that it was possible to raise an "English" child in India or South Africa required a deliberate attention to the curriculum, methods, and education of their children that was not as readily required in England itself. A poorly-trained governess was hardly suited for the task of, not only caring for children in the colonial context, but teaching a child to be English. The over-reliance on a native nurse, the *ayah* or *amah*, risked "an inevitable harvest of preventable illnesses, bad habits, and undisciplined characters."[58] The women trained at the House of Education were ideal candidates to be mothers in the empire or join these households as governesses. The PUS was ultimately the first organized home-school curriculum, where families were sent books, time-tables, and exam questions and did not have to invent the curriculum themselves. Despite its unique

[57] Mrs. Kirwain, "An Educational Union," *Parents' Review* 21, no. 4 (April 1910): 309.
[58] Mrs. G. E. Mole (member of the PNEU in Moukden, Manchuria), "Life for Children in the East," *Parents' Review* 33, no. 4 (April 1922): 259.

ability to meet the needs of the colonial family, word still needed to spread in the colonies.

As early as 1906, Mason's books had travelled to the empire and were available in some number there.[59] News about the PNEU and PUS spread more importantly through informal networks of women. In June 1917, in Lansdowne, Ootacamund, India, Jessie Tasker, Katharine Loveday, and Evelyn Bruce Low sent an invitation to approximately sixty people, all with interest in the education of children (presumably people who had children) to learn more about the PNEU. The three women leading the meeting had attended the House of Education but did not meet until they came to India, where their common education experiences and their membership in the PNEU provided a natural point of connection.[60] Each had very different levels of experience with education and connection to the PNEU. Katharine Loveday was unmarried and had taught for twelve years "in private families, on the lines of the Parents' Union School."[61] Evelyn Bruce Low, also unmarried and the most recent graduate, "had considerably less experience, but … been more recently in touch with headquarters." Jessie Tasker had spent "two and half years in a private post" before joining the staff at the House of Education. Because of her time as a faculty member at the House of Education, she claimed a "closer intimacy with Miss Mason."[62] At the meeting, two papers were

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[59] "…I saw an advertisement in the Bombay paper, of the sale of Miss Mason's books by a Parsee bookseller well-known there. They were specially advertised as *Home Education* series; it is the first advertisement of them I have seen in this country. I also saw *Home Education* for sale in Madras" (letter to the editor from E. H., *Parents' Review* 17, no. 2 [February 1906]: 154).
[60] Katharine Loveday graduated the earliest, completing her studies in 1905, Jessie Tasker completed her studies in 1909, and Evelyn Bruce Low finished in 1914. All three completed the full two-year course of study.
[61] Katharine Loveday was the governess made famous in Baden-Powell's story of the formation of the Boy Scouts. See chapter 3.
[62] Mrs. Tasker, "The P.N.E.U. in India," *Parents' Review* 28, no. 9 (November 1917): 667-668.

presented; one on the "Principles and Objects of the P.N.E.U." by Loveday and the second on the "Practical Carrying Out of the P.N.E.U. Method" by Bruce Low. In addition to their speeches, they had various pamphlets on the PNEU and PUS, Mason's books, copies of the *Parents' Review*, and copies of school work completed by the two Tasker children.[63] The meeting encompassed both practical examples of PUS work and also an introduction to Mason's educational philosophy. To ensure its success, they also invited, and secured a promise to attend, from Lady Pentland (Marjorie Adeline), herself a member of the PNEU and the wife of the governor of Madras.[64] She was the daughter of John Campbell and Ishbel Maria Gordon (Lord and Lady Aberdeen), prominent members of the PNEU.[65] By garnering the attendance of the governor's wife, particularly a woman whose own life was so tied into the PUS and PNEU, the women were able to give more legitimacy to their claim that "the Parents' Union is no fad or craze, not an institution of mushroom growth—not even the passing phase of a decade. It is an embodiment of the best modern educational thought…"[66]

To sell the advantages of the PUS, they focused on three main areas: the development of habits unique to the colonial setting, the avoidance of separation, and the usefulness of an organized curriculum. In setting out the unique colonial conditions, Loveday noted:

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[63] Letter from J. H. Tasker," *L'Umile Pianta*, October 1917: 15.
[64] Maurice Headlam, 'Sinclair, John, first Baron Pentland (1860–1925)', rev. Marc Brodie, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2007 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/view/article/36109, accessed 17 Feb 2009].
[65] G. F. Barbour, and Matthew Urie Baird, 'Gordon, John Campbell, first marquess of Aberdeen and Temair (1847–1934)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.floyd.lib.umn.edu/view/article/33464, accessed 17 Feb 2009].
[66] Mrs. Tasker, "The P.N.E.U. in India," 668.

> the whole system of Indian life and climate p[re]sent additional difficulties, where discipline is felt so much less in everyday life, and one is so apt to let things slide. It is so much easier to put off troubling the children about this and that—why not let them have a good time now while they are small, the time will come when they must go home to school! But is not this a very short-sighted policy? And are the children themselves really any happier for it? Does not too much indulgence and letting them go their own way tend to breed discontent? How often do we hear: "I want," "I don't want," "I like," "I don't like." Are we not storing up trouble both for them and for ourselves? Would it not be better to bring them up in the right way from the very outset? But *how?* What is *the best way?* We want some definite principles to work upon.[67]

It is worth noting that Loveday connects knowledge that children will be sent away with a tendency to indulge their whims. Parents fail in their duty to the nation by indulging them and raising them without any sense of "I ought." The parents themselves exhibit a tendency to let what they "ought" to be doing (in terms of their children) slide and leave it to someone else. She sees the cycle of colonial childhood (being sent away) as being equally problematic to that of the climate, but something that can be overcome.[68] Tasker, as a woman with children, whom she presumably decided to keep with her and her husband rather than sending them to boarding school in England, also noted that the PUS is especially valuable to the parents of children six and older "whereby the educational problem for their children out here may be solved, otherwise than by sending them home to school at a very tender age."[69] In her presentation on the PUS, Bruce Low noted that parents complained that "one of the greatest disadvantages of home teaching is, that they have no means of ascertaining whether their children are as advanced as they ought to be.

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[67] K. Loveday, "Principles and Objects of the P.N.E.U.," *Parents' Review* 28, no. 9 (November 1917): 669. Italics in original.

[68] Families in India regularly complained about the difficulties created by the climate. Even PUS families found the climate difficult to contend with: "The climate is against the children's health, and out door nature work is nearly impossible" (Miss Rhode, "A P.N.E.U. Meeting in Kodakonal," 302). For more on the dangers of the Indian climate to children, see Buettner, *Empire Families*, 29-45.

[69] Mrs. Tasker, "The P.N.E.U. in India," 672. Interestingly, she also points out that she does "not of course refer to difficulties of climate."

By this method [the PUS] the difficulty is overcome."[70] At least according to these women, the PUS filled the needs of children living in the empire. These children needed intact families, a method of education that created a common standard for children to be measured against, and parents, particularly mothers, actively fulfilling their duty to the nation by raising children of good character.

Despite the interest the meeting created, it still left certain difficulties unsolved (aside from the climate!). First and foremost, while there was interest in starting a branch in Madras, no one was "permanent enough in one place to start a branch."[71] Although the three women agreed that the "place and the time are just ready for a P.U. school," due to the First World War, there was not safe enough travel for any Ambleside graduates to come to India fully dedicated to starting a school.[72] So instead they settled for sending a notice to the local newspaper, the *Madras Mail*, about the meeting, "giving all our names and addresses."[73] Thus, the local network spread as well. Part of what these women asserted in meeting was a belief that children could be physically present in the empire without irrevocable damage to their bodies and minds. More importantly, women ought to be there on the metaphorical front of civic duty and active citizenship.

This pattern of connection was repeated across the empire. As women with connections to the PNEU and the House of Education found themselves living in the empire, they spread the word about the organization. Gladys Frances Wood, a 1914 graduate of the House of Education, who lived in Hong Kong, wrote back to the House of

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[70] Miss Bruce Low, "Practical Carrying Out of the P.N.E.U. Method," 675.
[71] Letter from J. H. Tasker," *L'Umile Pianta*, October 1917: 16.
[72] Ibid., 17.
[73] Ibid., 16.

Education that she had met "several" women "keen to know more about the P.N.E.U."[74] In April 1920, when Herbert Samuel was appointed High Commissioner in Palestine, he moved with his wife and daughter, Nancy. Lady Samuel started a PNEU branch in Palestine, utilized the PUS curriculum for her daughter, employed a governess from the House of Education, and even sponsored the creation of a PNEU school in Jerusalem. The interest in the PNEU coincided with her presence there and, in 1922, perhaps concurrent with Nancy's completion of her secondary education, the school closed as well.[75]

"They Could Adapt Themselves To Be There—I Will"

The availability and knowledge of the PUS in the colonies coincided with changes in family life in the empire. In 1919, with travel still hampered by the First World War, Miss Rhode, a 1912 graduate of the House of Education, admitted "the present time seems specially to demand the attention of mothers in India to the subject of education. Children who in ordinary times would have been sent home and their education left more or less to those at home are now forced to stay out here."[76] Aside from circumstances, some women simply disagreed with the practice of dividing their families. Mrs. Summerhayes first encountered the PNEU through a friend who was using the PUS in the education of her four children. In preparation for a life lived abroad, Mrs. Summerhayes joined the PNEU and educated her children herself along PUS lines. She first lived in

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[74] Letter from Gladys Frances Wood, *L'Umile Pianta*, June 1922: 25.
[75] *Parents' Review* 33, no. 10 (October 1922): 760 reports on the opening of the school in Jerusalem. Its closing is mentioned in "Remarks from Jerusalem Branch," *Parents' Review* 34, no. 8 (August 1923): 557-559.
[76] Miss Rhode, "A P.N.E.U. Meeting in Kodaikonal, India," 299.

Egypt where schools for her children were available, but, recognizing the likelihood of sudden changes in her husband's post, she elected "to be independent of schools."[77] With no previous teaching experience or training, Summerhayes had to learn quickly how to balance time in teaching. She and her son found the first term to be a bit challenging and "only accomplished about half the programme."[78] They quickly sorted out how to keep up with the work and followed the curriculum from then on. When her husband was posted to Hamadan, Persia, Summerhayes prepared the three children for the move, grateful that they "had decided on home lessons and were in no way obliged to leave the eldest boy at school in England."[79] Although the eldest Summerhayes child was eventually sent back to England for preparatory school at age nine and a half, the simple act of keeping him with the family for a longer period of time represented a shift in possibilities for families living abroad and in thinking about identity and ideas of home. Armed with an education and the curricular support of the PUS, the colonies became a place of new opportunities for women. No longer in the position of being the silent partner in empire building, the mothers and governesses of the PNEU claimed a position as individuals capable of teaching their children place and race. In essence, they did adapt themselves to be there in much more permanent ways ("I will"). What they perhaps did not account for were the ways that this shift would alter their notion of home.

When Jessie Tasker, Evelyn Bruce Low, and Katharine Loveday presided over their informational meeting on the PUS and PNEU in India, they utilized a language of

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[77] Mrs. Summerhayes, "A P.N.E.U. Home Overseas," *Parents' Review* 44, no. 3 (March 1933): 201. From her article, it is unclear what exactly her husband did, but the family moved often throughout the British mandates in the Middle East.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Mrs. Summerhayes, "A P.N.E.U. Home Overseas," 201. While in Persia, she introduced another neighbor to the PNEU and that woman's daughter joined the Summerhayes children in their lessons.

home. Home for them meant England. Hence, they framed their discussion about the problems of sending children "home to school."[80] Another subtle and paradoxical idea of home was also being expressed. The idea of not separating families suggested at the very least the possibility of finding home in the empire by creating more permanent connections with the place of residence. Even in India, which unlike Australia or New Zealand was never intended as a settler colony, keeping families intact severed some of the residual connection to England in a very real way, because women were no longer mothers in the metropole and wives in the colonies. Now women were fully individuated persons creating home in the empire. It is worth considering how this new circumstance further complicated women's sense of national and imperial identity.[81] In the case of their children, it certainly had a huge impact.

During the interwar years, the British Empire was a confusing array of self-governing dominions (places like Australia, New Zealand, or Canada), dependent colonies (India for example), and mandated protectorates (Palestine for one). Rising nationalism and desire for independence across the British Empire forced the British to rethink the future of the empire. The self-governing colonies were increasingly independent, and the dependent colonies were promised self-government in the future (admittedly so far in the future it was a rather empty promise). The expansion of local identities in the British Commonwealth had consequences for the effectiveness of the PUS and its teachers. In an effort to protect the curriculum of the House of Education and to protect her own position as the head of the school, Mason did not pursue state

[80] Mrs. Tasker, "The P.N.E.U. in India," 672.
[81] For more on the relationship between national and imperial identities, see Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London*, chapter 5.

recognition of it. Thus the women trained at her school did not have a teaching certificate officially recognized in England. The lack of a teaching certificate proved problematic in the empire as well. By 1928, Miss Pennethorne pointed out that the:

> days when teachers can be easily 'placed' from England are gone for ever overseas… For all real teaching work a degree of diploma is essential-in N.S.W. [New South Wales] all teachers have to take the local qualification, whatever they may possess before, and in S. Africa the Government prefers the home-trained candidate, and only a few Church Schools can employ a non-bilingual staff. These conditions must be realised at home, as it is only when these teachers are converted to P.N.E.U. thought that there is any hope of getting our work done anywhere.[82]

In fact, the PNEU was never quite able to accomplish convincing dominion governments to ignore their lack of certificates, but their failure reflected their educational goals. As the empire itself changed and colonies developed local identities as Australians or South Africans first and British second, the rigorous English education promoted by the PNEU was out of place in these settings. They wanted teachers and children to be learning a local identity first and a wider imperial identity second. More importantly, they wanted to dictate the local qualifications for teaching and standards of education. It even furthered consolidated a definition of home that sublimated Englishness to Australian or South African. While the educational methods of the PNEU never gained support in the new educational institutions in the colonies, they continued to be influential in home-school classrooms across the empire until the empire's end.

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[82] "Miss Pennethorne's Report on her Visits to New Zealand, Queensland, Western Australia and Ceylon, June 1928," in "Minutes of the Ambleside Council, 4th January 1928," CM box 35, CMC 243/12. Underlining in the original. A few years later, Clara Monro, working in East Africa, wrote "A few years ago I was able to interest the then Director of Education in P.N.E.U. methods and it was seriously considered whether these methods should be adopted for the teaching of English children in the territory by correspondence. But the plan fell through when it was learnt how the P.N.E.U. was not fully recognised by the English Board of Education and now the work has been entrusted to other methods carried out by 'registered' teachers and the chance is lost!" (Letter from Clara C. Monro, dated April 4, 1934, *L'Umile Pianta*, July 1934: 61).

Summary and Conclusion

Women in the empire faced a life of unique challenges. Aside from the difficulties of living without the amenities, technologies, and practices they had been used to in England, these women faced the additional burden of constructing and maintaining an identity for themselves and their children. The PUS and PNEU offered a philosophy of parenting and individuality that resolved, or at least softened, the contradictions of identity in the empire. In line with contemporary discussions of empire life, the PUS offered women a way to be wives and mothers in the colonial context. Charlotte Mason also looked to define women beyond these roles, as individuals first, and wives and mothers second. In its colonial incarnation, the PNEU offered women the chance to affirm their English identity while simultaneously creating homes in the empire. The community of the PNEU became a gathering point for recognizing a common English identity. Paradoxically, the efforts to see themselves more at home in the empire undercut a strict English identity. The shift in how women thought of home was brought to its fullest flowering in their children.

Chapter 5

Creating Community through Schoolwork:

Lessons on Home for/from the "Colonial" Children

> Dear Children,
> Will you help to get an Ambulance for our brave soldiers to be presented by the children of the British Empire and to be called the Children's Ambulance. Don't you think it is a good idea?... Children cannot do much to help in any other way, but we all want to do something. …
> Each Ambulance is to have on it, The Children's Ambulance, and the name of the country it comes from. The children of Rhodesia have promised to provide one Ambulance. Would it not be nice if the children of the Parents' Union School provided another?[1]

The Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) published the *Children's Quarterly* in an effort to cultivate a feeling of unity between the children of the Parents' Union School (PUS).[2] The magazine included examples of school work—for example a particularly beautiful nature study or written narration—scouting news, religious writings, and, with the outbreak of the First World War, articles explaining how the PUS children could participate in the war effort. The letter above, requesting donations for an ambulance, says much about how the PUS and PNEU viewed the children influenced by both organizations. There is no parallel appeal in the magazine asking children in the metropole to contribute to the purchase of an ambulance from "England;" the appeal is specifically addressed to the "children of the British Empire." Perhaps the organizer believed that children in the metropole had more opportunity to participate in the war effort, whereas children in the empire, because of geographic distance, would have less

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[1] "Children's Ambulance Fund: An Appeal to the Children of the British Empire," *Children's Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (1 July 1915): 42-43.
[2] The *Children's Quarterly* was inconsistently published between the early 1900s and 1917, when its publication ceased due to low subscription rates.

opportunity. The singling out of this group of children reflects a larger anxiety about them that pervades the first half of the twentieth century; special attention had to be paid to insure that these children were invested in the nation. Context and timing made this appeal relevant. Most obviously, as an appeal during a time of war, it was an attempt to involve the nation's children in the war effort. It also reflected larger anxieties about the relationship between white English children living in the British Empire and their national and racial identity that existed independent of the war.

The PUS children have a particularly special place in the ambulance appeal. Although the children from Rhodesia as a group pledged their own ambulance, with the name "The Children's Ambulance-Rhodesia" somehow attached to it, the appeal lumps the children of the PUS together, despite the fact that PUS students lived all across the British Empire in vastly different imperial contexts. By recognizing the PUS children as one group, this particular appeal erased the alternative colonial and national identities available to these children. Addressing the ambulance appeal at the level of organization, and not at the level of geography, fit neatly within the larger goals of the PUS itself between the years 1900 and 1950: to teach children to be English. The PUS, in much the same way as the ambulance appeal, asked the children to identify themselves not as colonial children but as a community tied together by a shared educational experience that emphasized their English identity. Participation in the PUS provided one source of community for the children, while their daily lives experienced in homes across the empire provided another.

The children themselves articulated alternative, sometimes contradictory, identities and notions of home in their school work and letters. Despite a rigorously

English curriculum, their school work and letters rarely identified England as home. Instead, they identified the place of residence, whether India, Hong Kong, or Australia, as home. Their experience was further complicated, since the children experienced India, Hong Kong, or Australia through a façade of Englishness.

For families living in the British Empire, like those addressed in the appeal for an ambulance, the education of their children was not merely teaching them to read and write. Thanks in large part to the work of historians of gender and empire, it has become clear that markers of racial and national belonging in the colonies "were measured less by what people did in public than by how they conducted their private lives."[3] The decisions people made concerning how to raise and educate their children greatly influenced how the larger European community in the colony and metropole perceived their children. Anthropologist and historian Ann Laura Stoler argues that concern with child rearing in the colonies centered on the "*learning* of place and race."[4] In the British Empire, learning "place and race" usually meant that children around the age of six were sent back to England for their schooling. Children who did not return to England for school faced a future of uncertain racial identity: "Leaving India for a metropolitan education became a rite of passage that positioned an individual within the transient, sojourner, better-off community marked as 'European,' whereas schooling in the subcontinent indicated a domiciled, poorer, and racially ambiguous one." [5] After all, how could individuals learn their 'place and race' if they never returned to the place and race to

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[3] Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 6.
[4] Ibid., 112. Italics in original.
[5] Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 80.

which they belonged? Stoler's framing of place and race fits neatly with the goals of the PUS. The PUS taught history, literature, and citizenship as a means to an education, but, even more importantly, as a means to teaching place and race. Bringing in the voices of children themselves adds a third category to place and race, that of belonging. It is clear that these children created an identity that was unevenly English, because no amount of academic instruction could overcome the dissonance inherent in belonging to one physical space, while identifying with a distant place experienced through books, newspapers, and the memories of their parents.

In this chapter, I examine debates within the PUS about finding appropriate homes in the metropole for children, the nature of the home-school room in the empire, and the ways children reflected on and created their own ideas of home and belonging through their schoolwork and letters. I argue that these children were not passive recipients of these lessons, but actively participated in creating a new identity that recognized multiple, sometimes contradictory, ideas of "place and race."

Finding a "Home" in the Metropole

The relative advantages and disadvantages of sending children back to England for school were widely debated in the PNEU beginning in the Edwardian era but took on renewed vigor in the 1920s and 1930s for two reasons. First, increased difficulties of sending children back to England during the First World War forced parents to make alternative educational arrangements. Having successfully weathered that experience and finding potential in the alternatives, criticisms of the educational opportunities in metropole became more pressing. A shift in imperial policies brought about the second.

With the possibility of colonies receiving independence in the future, the PNEU perceived a shift in focus from institutions benefitting the English population to institutions directed at the non-white population. The tendency to take interest in the "African problem" relegated "to a secondary place the training of the European child, who,…will ultimately be responsible for the permanent development of the colony."[6] The re-focusing on the English child in the empire represented one last grasp at holding onto empire in the face of increasing anti-imperial sentiment both at home and abroad. The renewed emphasis on "home life" in the empire reflected the anxiety of white settlers in the settler colonies, where much was at stake in maintaining their position in the colony.

The 1937 conference, "The Problems of the Family Separated by the High Seas," framed the problem for families living in the empire around the issue of home in an effort to bring the English child back to the forefront. Families living in the empire faced a paradox in the meaning and location of home, because the definition of home was twofold. Home referred to the domestic unit of mother, father, and children, but it also referred to the nation. In the empire, these two definitions worked in opposition to one another. Grounding children in the national home, England, required breaking up the domestic unit; grounding children in the domestic unit disrupted their position in the national home. As one of the sponsoring organizations, the PNEU communicated its leadership and influence in matters of education and empire. Not only did the *Parents' Review* publish the conference proceedings, the journal also dedicated space to letters and articles in response to it.

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[6] "An Editorial," *The East African Standard*, June 14, 1924, quoted in *Parents' Review* 34, no. 11 (November 1924): 820.

The most common arrangement for British families living abroad, especially those in non-settler colonies, was that children were sent back to boarding schools in England and then, during school holidays, the children would live with either local family members or in temporary homes referred to as school or holiday homes.[7] The quest for an appropriate boarding school or holiday home presented numerous challenges, particularly in the case of the holiday home, because these were largely unregulated spaces. Technically, holiday homes taking more than forty children had to register with the Board of Health, but, since most were smaller than this size, they remained outside the state's reach. In England, individuals would take in child boarders in order to make additional money. With little oversight or evaluation, except word of mouth, the quality was uneven and open to question, particularly for the family with limited economic means, who consequently had fewer choices.[8] Rudyard Kipling lived in one such house run by a woman who routinely beat him (as did her son) and rationed food to such an extent that Kipling resorted to stealing food. To say the place was bleak would be an understatement.[9]

Both boarding schools and holiday/school homes presented challenges to a notion of home, and these places formed the focus of the conference. The headmaster-designate of Cheltenham opened the conference by urging parents of the necessity to find both a

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[7] A holiday home was a place for children to live during school holidays or if there was no family for them to live with during the school year. For more on holiday homes, see Buettner, *Empire Families*, chapter 4.

[8] Overall, the conference speakers agreed that it was difficult to find a acceptable holiday home. In the March 1938 *Parents' Review* (vol. 49, no. 4, p. 205-206), Margaret Saunders, from another organization dedicated to women in the empire, wrote in disputing this. She claimed to know of many quality homes and families ready to take in children from the empire.

[9] See Rudyard Kipling, "Something of Myself," in *Rudyard Kipling: Something of Myself and Other Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Thomas Pinney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 3-134. *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, a short story by Kipling, about two children sent back to a holiday home in England from India is often taken to be an autobiographical sketch about his experiences as a child being sent back to England.

quality school and temporary home in order to balance the child's experiences: "Just as the school ought to be the finest introduction to institutions, social life, and citizenship, so the other half of the boy's make-up—relations with individuals, freedom and spontaneity which gave a just balance to discipline, forbearance and drudgery—should be provided in the holidays."[10] He also believed that, after a term of life in a homosocial environment, it was important for boys to have some "feminine company…particularly the company of small girls and even babies."[11] A holiday home thus needed to create a duplicate of the home that had been left behind. In light of the emphasis in the PNEU of the "family as the unit of the nation," it is unsurprising that this recreation of a domestic sphere was viewed as so important.[12] Boarding schools could not take the place of a family, because their institutional prerogatives and the reality of an all-male or all-female community threatened to leave children with no model of a "proper" family, "containing father, mother, boys and girls, and the various individual interests interact on one another and co-operate for the good of all."[13]

The characteristics of a quality holiday home included: no more than ten children, a religious atmosphere, good food, a rural setting, easy access to good schools, and, even better, a mother prepared to home school the children in her care and consistency (a place that children could stay year round).[14] Together, all of these worked

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[10] Mr. A. G. Pite, "Overseas," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (October 1937): 583-84.
[11] Ibid., 584.
[12] Mason discusses this in detail in the first chapter of *Parents and Children*. The conference made this link explicit. See, for example, A. T. Hickson's comments: "I believe that a community that does not recognise that the family is the unit of society, not the individual, or the state, will perish, and it is not a question of lip service that is necessary, but a constant watchfulness and a reorientation of many of our views" (A. T. Hickson, "The Problem of Families Separated by the High Seas," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 [October 1937]: 589).
[13] Ibid., 590.
[14] Mrs. Alan Brown, *Parents' Review* 48, no. 5 (May 1937): 335-341.

to create a sense of "continuity…stability…security…belonging" in the child.[15] The sense of belonging extended beyond the house and its members to the "whole community."[16] The holiday home taught these empire children an important lesson in belonging. Though not blood relations, the bonds of Englishness knit them together in a larger national family—a desirable lesson, but considering the near impossibility of finding a home that fulfilled all these characteristics, one with diminished impact.

Much of the discussion centered around boys and their experience of separation as harder than girls' experience of separation. While "a girl of any age" could be "kissed and petted, … a boy over nine or ten is considered too old to be kissed by anyone but his mother. Being away from his mother, he loses all this side of his life, and it is a hard struggle for the little fellow to get along without it."[17] In case the gravity of the situation was missed, this woman made reference to "terrible stories in papers of boys of fourteen and fifteen found 'Hanging in a Stable'… and 'Found Dead in a Wood,'" implying that the loss of a home resulted in morose boys, prone to suicide—hardly the best, most fit future empire builders. Separated families potentially caused "great harm…to British life here and overseas."[18] In essence, the holiday or school home had to be "one that is *really* a home" or the unit of the nation, the family, might break down, taking the nation and empire with it.[19]

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[15] Ibid., 336.
[16] Ibid., 337.
[17] "The Separated Family (A Letter from India)," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 10 (November 1937): 681.
[18] Mrs. M. K. Connor, *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (October 1937): 593.
[19] Mrs. Alan Brown, "Choosing a Home School," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (October 1937): 596. Italics in original. In May 1937, Mrs. Alan Brown submitted an article to *Parents' Review* on the same topic. See *Parents' Review* 48, no. 5 (May 1937): 335-341. A "real home" also required the trappings of domesticity. One woman described the home she had found for her son and daughter as a place where a motherly substitute "tucks them up in bed every night, and kisses them good night, hangs up their stockings every Christmas, keeps them happy and amused, and fills their days with occupations and amusements, mostly

At the conference, the PNEU was quick to claim success in meeting the needs of empire families. They positioned themselves as the experts in the field. By enabling home schooling, the PUS offered an alternative to the need for separation and in her remarks, Miss Pennethorne urged the Overseas League to "ask freely for such help and advice which her Society [the PNEU] would always be willing to give."[20] They rooted their claim of expertise (as they always had) in the emergent field of child psychology.

Child psychology developed as a field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in tandem with scientific thinking and changes in education. From a practical standpoint, the educational changes culminating in the Revised Code and 1870 Education Act required a way of measuring academic success. The emphasis on testing, most evident in the Revised Code, required a scientific means of separating the "normal" child from the "subnormal" child.[21] One of the concerns of Mason and her Edwardian education counterparts was the development of character in children. Building on the work of Charles Darwin, Francis Galton asserted that character was an inherited trait, not something that could be taught to children. For teachers tasked with nurturing character in children this hypothesis was hardly helpful.[22] By the First World War, British psychologists had instead come to an understanding of character that balanced intelligence and the will, leaving more possibility for the teacher to successfully encourage character development but still weighted out on the side of nature over

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outdoors. She sympathises with them, and they confide in her and talk to her on all subjects. The boy discusses sex questions with her without any embarrassment and is only deeply interested in learning all about it" ("'The Separated Family' [A Letter from India]," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 10 [November 1937]: 681-82).

[20] Miss Pennethorne, *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (October 1937): 594.

[21] Gillian Sutherland, *Ability, Merit, and Measurement: Mental Testing and English Education, 1880-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

[22] Nathan Roberts, "Character in the Mind: Citizenship, Education and Psychology in Britain, 1880-1914," *History of Education* 33, no. 2 (2004): 181-82.

nurture.[23] The solution was partially in an insistence that heredity could be overemphasized, but arose even more so from changes in British psychology, where the influence of anthropology moved the field "beyond the individual to the social" and "demonstrate[d] the importance of culture."[24] By the interwar period, this line of thought had been brought to its conclusion in ideas of children's mental development as irreparably affected by circumstances and culture.[25] If children were products of their environment and not biology, then their education in the very earliest years was of the utmost importance.[26] In order to become persons of good character (and ultimately citizens), children needed to develop habits of attention and discipline at a very young age. As children aged, habits became more permanent and more difficult to change. Not only was it crucial for parents to play an active part in their child's education in the early years when habits were being formed but also in the early adolescent years "when influences for good and evil might affect their [children's] character for their entire lives."[27] Mason latched onto child psychology as providing scientific 'evidence' for why her educational philosophy was better than others. For families in the empire, the interwar belief in the influence of nurture over nature must have seemed particularly worrisome.

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[23] Ibid.: 185.
[24] Mathew Thomson, "'Savage Civilisation': Race, Culture and Mind in Britain, 1898-1939," in *Race, Science and Medicine, 1700-1960*, ed. Waltraub Ernst and Bernard Harris (London: Routledge, 1999), 241.
[25] See Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England 1869-1939* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985); Denise Riley, *War in the Nursery: Theories of Child and Mother* (London: Virago, 1983).
[26] "Home *as* schooling was here a corollary for conceiving the infant as immediately social" (Riley, *War in the Nursery*, 57).
[27] Marchioness of Townshend, "Problems of Parents Abroad," *Parents' Review* 48, no. 9 (October 1937): 586.

The alternative to separation offered by the PUS created its own paradox. If circumstances and culture were the determining factor in the character development, then life in the colonies was potentially quite dangerous. It allowed for spaces where different definitions of home worked simultaneously and where different standards of behavior and character might exist side by side. Parents of PUS children living abroad clearly differentiated between their national home versus their home in the colonies, but their children did not necessarily understand home in the same way. Despite its assertion of providing an education rooted in Englishness, the placement of that education in geographic locales far from England provided the potential for children to develop alternative identities and a different sense of home.

The Home-School Room

Scattered throughout the pages of the *Parents' Review*, PUS papers, and Mason's biography, there are many references to "many children" overseas "working with their parents."[28] Each term, the families overseas received a packet with books and reading schedules.[29] For example, a twelve-year-old child in the early twentieth century might be

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[28] Essex Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason* (1960; reprint, Petersfield: Child Light Publication, 2000), 93. See also Cholmondley, *The Story of Charlotte Mason*, 62. "She [Mason] has gone to her reward, and if the blessed in heaven know what is passing on earth, no small part of that reward will be the realisation of the happiness her great work brings daily to thousands of homes throughout the vastest Empire in the World" (Coralie Le Cardew [Landowne, Garhwal, U.P.], "A P.U.S. Schoolroom in North India," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6 [June 1924]: 399). Since registration records have not survived, there is no way to know exactly how many children were enrolled in the PUS at any one time.

[29] See Appendix 2 for a sample term's reading lists for all grade levels.

enrolled in Form III, which included children between the ages twelve and fifteen.[30]

The Form III subjects included:

> Bible Lessons and Recitations (Poetry and Bible passages); English Grammar, French, German, and Latin; Italian (optional); English, French, and Ancient History (Plutarch's *Lives*); Singing (French, English, and German Songs); Writing, Dictation, Drill, Drawing in Brush and Charcoal; Natural History, Botany, Physiology, Geography; Arithmetic; Geometry, and Reading.[31]

Despite the breadth of subjects covered (with the aid of thirty-five books!), Mason designed the entire curriculum to be covered in six-day weeks, of three-and-one-half-hours per day, with a half an hour of that time set aside for "drill and games" and "no preparation or home work in any of the classes."[32]

At the end of the term, students took a series of written exams that asked them broad questions to be answered based on the reading completed over the term.[33] For example, in English history, students chose from amongst the following questions:

1. What do you know of the Anti-Corn Law League, and what have you heard or read about a similar agitation in this country to-day?
2. What reasons induced each of the five countries engaged to enter on the Crimean War? Give some account of the war.
3. "It was felt by all.. . that the government of India… could not be left in the hands of the East India Company." Why? Give some account of the events which led up to this.[34]

The combination of questions about history with current events was common across subjects. The same term's exam, in the geography portion, asked "Describe, with a map,

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[30] This sample program is taken from the book *School Education*, but is undated. The book was published in 1907, so presumably the program was used sometime between 1900 and 1906 to make the publication of the book.
[31] Charlotte M. Mason, *School Education* (1907; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 286.
[32] Ibid. See Appendix 1 for a sample timetable.
[33] See Appendix 3 for a complete end of term exam for each grade level.
[34] Mason, *School Education*, 309.

a visit to the West Indies. What recent event in these islands do you know of?"[35] The questions themselves are interesting in the way that they reflect overlapping identities. The first question on the Anti-Corn Law League situates itself within the domestic sphere and assumes that a child sitting in a home-school room in Rhodesia will make that same leap and understand "this country" as England. It asks the child to adopt an English-centered identity. In the second question, the child is asked to identify five separate countries (one of them being Britain) and their relationships to a larger international event. While the question makes no mention of Britain specifically, by framing itself within an international context, it implicitly asks the child to identify not just as English, but as British. The final question asks children to consider a more imperial identity. Since the question does not specify who composes the "all," it asks the child to think (or at least allows them the possibility to think), not only in terms of the British in India, but also of the Indians as well. The readings that the children had done to answer these questions were rigorously English. The questions themselves recognize the many levels of identity in a nation with a large empire.

The exams themselves were a family affair, requiring the involvement of the student and both parents. Young children would dictate their answers and their parents would write them down. The directions for administering the exams provided specific tasks for both fathers and mothers. Fathers were tasked with hearing recitations in English and marking them from one to five.[36] Both mother and father presided over the remaining oral parts of the exam. Mothers had the responsibility of copying down dictated narratives for the youngest child. Mothers also heard French recitations and

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[35] Ibid., 310.
[36] "PR School-Examination Regulations," CM box 23, file 157.

oversaw any written exams and the preliminary exam that determined a child's initial grade level placement. While there is no way to know if these directions were followed, the emphasis on the involvement of both parents meshes neatly with the PNEU's view of the family. In March, June, and November, the end-of-term exams were sent out. Once complete, the exams were sent back to the House of Education, where Mason claimed to read each exam. Exams received the following marks: excellent or very good (both considered above average), good (average), and fairly good, fair, or poor (all considered below average).[37] Reports on the quality of the exams in the *Parents' Review* regularly noted the high marks in subjects like history and literature, but more technical subjects, like math and foreign languages, usually received lower marks. In some ways, the quality of the education depended on the knowledge base of the person directing the curriculum. Penelope Lively, a PUS student in the 1930s and 40s, remembered arithmetic as a "tricky area," because "sooner or later we reached the summit of Lucy's [her nanny's] education in basic mathematics."[38] The system was not without its imperfections—when mail was slow, books or exams might not arrive—people often followed the curriculum piecemeal depending on the expertise of the governess or parents.

The surviving exams (and letters for that matter) are mostly from girls. The common practice within the PUS was to keep boys in the empire until they were between the age of ten and thirteen and then send them to English boarding schools. Where financial resources were limited, boys were sent to England for school first, and girls

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[37] "Examination Regulations," CM box 16, file CMC 112.
[38] Penelope Lively, *Oleander, Jacaranda: A Childhood Perceived* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1994), 73. Lively's nanny had not been trained at the House of Education, but in her role as nanny she directed the PUS curriculum.

were only sent back if enough money was left. The problem of "Arthur's Education Fund," as Virginia Woolf called it, had a colonial dimension as well.[39] Without complete enrollment records, it is impossible to get a sense of the ratio of boys to girls in the PUS. The predominance of girls' exams and letters suggests that it was weighted to girls. The PUS provided girls a more formal education for a longer period of time. By the time they returned to England for school, it was to attend a teacher's training college like the House of Education. Considering their success in getting into institutions for higher education, their education, even in the colonies, had similar breadth and depth to their brother's. Lengthening girls' formal education in the colonies had the added benefit of preparing girls to be the next generation of mothers in the empire.

Across the descriptions of the home-school room sent in by women living all over the British Empire between the years 1900 and 1950, the most common advantage given by the women in participating is the way it made them feel their "little schoolroom was truly part of the whole Union School and that the interest of the Director and her staff for our children was just as real as if we had all been under one roof."[40] Connections among families living near each other who worked together on the curriculum fed this sentiment on a more personal level. Amy Bracken, living in Coorg, India, brought her daughter to the home of Jessie Tasker for painting lessons. The connection between these two

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[39] Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas* (Orlando: Harcourt, 1966), 7-8.
[40] Melita Spraggs, "School Room Among the Date Palms: The Wide Horizon," *Parents' Review* 60, no. 2 (February 1949): 45. Usually mothers sent these letters. By the 1920s, 30s, and 40s, governesses were much less common in the PUS. House of Education graduates taught at schools in the empire or mothers directed the PUS curriculum in their homes.

families, with similarly aged children, "brought it all home to Joan [Bracken]—and she feels it is a 'real' school now."[41] Another woman went further:

> But I do want to make sure of telling you is that we feel, as part of the P.U.S., that we do not work alone,—we are a cog in a great wheel. Thousands of other children, all over the world, are thinking the same thoughts, and reading the same books as we, day by day. It does away with any feeling of loneliness, and gives an impulse and a zest to our work that would otherwise be unattainable. We mothers can never be grateful enough to the P.N.E.U. for gathering us—solitary and scattered links—into the far-flung chain of Empire, and making us realize that we are not mere individuals struggling with circumstances, but are really helping to build, in our small way, that Imperial 'city never made with hands, which Love of England prompted and made good.'[42]

This mother's comments move quickly from child to parent, demonstrating how the PUS and PNEU provided a sense of belonging for both. These comments are particularly honest to the extent that they demonstrate the difficulty in living in the empire for women and children. Presumably, Constance Fripp (the writer) had been born and raised in England and now found herself in a place that was clearly not home, but that also left her feeling disconnected from her "home." The PUS brought some resolution to the sense of dissonance.

The physical space set aside as the home-school room in the colonies emphasized the differences between the child in the colonies and the child in the metropole, but also between children in different colonial contexts. In Southern Rhodesia, the Fripp family took their lessons on "a wide verandah which runs around three sides of the house. 'Around it daily moving with the sun, with unabated hope from nine to one,' we pursue the fleeting and elusive vision of a breeze."[43] For the Donald family, travelling in

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[41] Amy Bracken, "A P.U.S. Schoolroom in South India," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6 (June 1924): 403.

[42] Letter from Constance E. Fripp, Essexvale, S. Rhodesia, "A P.U.S. School-Room in Southern Rhodesia," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6 (June 1924): 386.

[43] Ibid., 382.

Punjab, India, lessons were "split up. A little perhaps done before breakfast, a little after, books taken along in the car, and perhaps lessons continued in a rest on the roadside before a picnic lunch—great fun, really, and it's wonderful how it all can be fitted in when it comes to the point, even when staying with friends."[44] The Alston girls, living on a fruit farm in South Africa, did "most of their work out of doors."[45] On the one hand, these letters reinforced the notion that all participants in the PUS were part of a common community doing the same activities. On the other hand, the rich description emphasized their differences. Unlike the new secondary schools in England or even the traditional public schools, the home-school rooms in the empire were not places where children sat in desks and followed a regimented schedule.[46] The home-school room in the metropole was more akin to a nursery, also vastly different from the home-school room in the empire. These articles must have been read with voyeuristic interest, a chance to see how those far from England lived. From the perspective of the home office of the PUS and PNEU, these letters demonstrated the efforts that people abroad made to show their belonging in the nation to a domestic audience. The letters acted to assuage any domestic anxiety about English people living in the empire and how they maintained their place in the nation and their connection to the proper national "home." Clearly the families living in the empire viewed themselves as having an equal space in the nation and their participation in the PUS provided them reassurance on this front. For them, the value in the PUS was not only in the breadth of its curriculum and its practicality in terms of not

[44] M. Donald (Dharmsala Cantt, Punjab), "A Travelling P.U.S. School Room in India," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6 (June 1924): 391.
[45] Madeline Alston (Seven River, Stellenbosch, C. P.), "A P.U.S. Schoolroom on a Fruit Farm in South Africa," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 6 (June 1924): 393.
[46] On the organization and architecture of schools and classrooms in England at the time, see Malcolm Seaborne and Roy Lowe, *The English School Its Architecture and Organization, Volume II 1870-1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).

being tied to one geographic location, but in the way it worked to enfold families across the globe into a common community.

This notion of a common community was complicated by two of the educational hallmarks of the PNEU and PUS. The statements, "education is the science of relations" and "education is an atmosphere, a discipline, a life," represented the educational heart of the organizations. As Mason explained, seeing education as a science of relations was not meant:

> in the Herbartian sense that things or thoughts are related to each other and that teachers must be careful to pack the right things, in together, so that, having got into the pupil's brain, each may fasten on its kind, and together, make a strong clique or apperception mass.
>
> What concerns us personally is the fact that we have relations with that there is in the present and with what there has been in the past, with what is above us, and about us; and that fullness of living and serviceableness depend for each of us upon how far we apprehend these relationships and how many of them we lay hold of. Every child is heir to enormous patrimony. The question is, what are the formalities necessary to put him in possession of that which is his?[47]

The first part must have come as a relief to parents trying to direct the PUS curriculum, particularly in light of the breadth of that curriculum. Mason's critique centers around the nature of children as persons. For Mason, a good education needed to provide children the space to create relationships between ideas and people and places, without having some external order imposed. But to say that education was learning about the relations between the individual and the past and present and their immediate life circumstances had unique connotations in the colonial context, where a child's primary relations were not with England and perhaps not even with English people. Practically speaking, the colonial life, in offering a different set of relations to examine, potentially made some parts of the curriculum more relevant. The Fripp family in Southern

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[47] Mason, *School Education*, 217-18.

Rhodesia found, “All the materials for close correlation of lessons with daily life lie close to our hand, in such a life as this. We realise with a thrill that we too live a steppe life, or at least a savannah life; our climate, our vegetation, our native race, are all typical of it… Rhodesia (a ‘little’ county, for all its wide spaces) becomes linked up with the great world outside, no longer an isolated unit,—and we are part of all that we have met.”[48] The physical setting in Southern Rhodesia more closely resembled some of the geography they studied than had they been in England.

The thought “education is an atmosphere” expresses a parallel and complementary idea. Atmosphere is something both literal and figurative. It is both the literal environment but also “the ideas which rule their [parents’ and children’s] own lives.”[49] In a colonial setting, this idea also raised unique issues. Practically, it created a difficulty in some of the subjects of study. The Sandford family, living in Abyssinia in the 1930s, found nature study to be difficult, because the flora and fauna available in Abyssinia were quite different from that of England, the topic of the books assigned.[50] More seriously (at least from the perspective of parents) the environment and the relations of children in the colony left unsolved “the problem of how to safeguard the children from the wrong [contact with the ‘native’] without destroying the friendliness of the children only too willing to accept the black man as a playmate, a brother albeit at a different moral development from their own.”[51] Limiting the child’s interaction with the

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[48] Constance E. Fripp, “A P.U.S. School Room in Southern Rhodesia,” 382, 383.
[49] Charlotte M. Mason, *Parents and Children* (1904; reprint, Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1989), 247.
[50] Mrs. Sandford, “A P.U.S. Schoolroom in Abyssinia,” *Parents’ Review* 47, no. 1 (January 1936): 8.
[51] M. Hope Wiseman, “Environment—South Africa,” *L’Umile Pianta*, September 1929: 11. The article itself is dated 1905.

children, servants, or care-takers of a different race was not enough. Children always needed to be in:

> sight of grown-ups…they miss the calming of spirit and nerve that come of being 'alone.' Children the world over who are given very little freedom develop a warped and queer moral sense. They feel very little of the sense of 'ought' towards law and authority. For these children the responsibility seems to rest with the grown-ups—they are there to watch and prevent wrong. Environment may be different but human nature is the same; and independent action which is the craving of every human being seems to develop so much better in lands where opportunities abound for exercise of freedom of choice when 'the grown-up is not for ever on the watch.'[52]

In the colonial setting, the limited scope for free play made it harder for children to develop a sense of individuality. The dangers of the landscape created hidden dangers for the creation of individuated free citizens. As it turned out, it was challenging to put into practice the belief in education as an atmosphere and a science of relations in the colonies. The contradiction between the imagined home and the actual, physical home appeared in the voices of the children of the PUS.

Children "Test" their Knowledge of Nations, Citizenship, and Empire

In the 1930s, Penelope Lively was living in Egypt with her parents. Her father worked for the National Bank of Egypt, and, like many families living abroad, he employed a nanny to care for his daughter. Lively's nanny, Lucy, oversaw her education following the curriculum of the PUS. In her autobiography *Oleander, Jacaranda*, Lively recounts that one of the challenges of her childhood "was growing up in accordance with the teachings of one culture but surrounded by all the signals of another. Egypt was my

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[52] Ibid., 12-13

home, and all that I knew…"[53] England, for Lively, was "as a place a long way from home which was nothing much to do with me."[54] Lively felt no connection with England, but her connection to Egypt was mediated through a heavy veneer of Englishness, especially in the person of her deeply patriotic nanny, Lucy.[55] Even a childhood feeling of belonging in Egypt was at best a mirage. The Egypt she felt a sense of belonging to was a British-Egypt. She experienced the sense of divided identity that came with an imperial childhood and the concurrent loss in feeling a sense of belonging.

Living in the empire was one way to create relationships with it, but the PUS exams provided another outlet for children to think through and about the empire. The exams that have survived are undated, and only in some cases are the students' names available. Thus, it is virtually impossible to know where these children lived. Since they are exams, based on a common set of texts, the answers might be more indicative of what students believed would result in an acceptable score and not what they actually believed based on their experiences, relationships, and reading. Additionally, the exams that have survived were kept by the PUS to serve as examples. Thus, they are almost exclusively done by adolescents, because, as students farther along in the program, their work likely made a better example for a whole host of reasons, including that they were more legible, their answers tended to be complete, and, as older students who had been in the PUS for a longer time, their work better represented a culmination of PUS efforts.[56] The exams,

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[53] Lively, *Oleander, Jacaranda*, 12-13.
[54] Ibid., 13.
[55] Ibid., 19.
[56] Only a very few exams survive in their complete form. These include the exams of Betty H. Coates, who was seven and a half, and Nancy Samuel, who was just two months shy of her sixteenth birthday. Both exams can be found in CM box 23, file 161.

nonetheless, represent a moment in which these individuals demonstrated their view of the world, mediated through the readings, the exam setting, and their experiences.[57]

The curriculum of the PUS emphasized inspiring children with exciting stories about historical figures and places. The surviving exams certainly demonstrate the PUS's success on this front. Many of the exams focus almost exclusively on individuals who were influential in a particular situation. Asked to, "show the gradual expansion of England in the 18th century," Margaret Cuninghame, age eighteen, focused on Lord Clive's efforts in securing India for the British.[58] E. Ursula Hills also focused on Clive, but also included Pitt and his efforts in North America against the French and Captain Cook and his voyages of exploration in the South Pacific.[59] By emphasizing the role of an individual in securing the empire for the British, both Cuninghame and Hills demonstrate a lack of nuanced understanding of the expansion of the empire and the international politics and power dynamics at work in the British Empire. They see the empire as something domestically created by the "genius of our great statesmen and generals and the pluck and perseverance of our forefathers."[60] In their answers, history was made by "great men."

The surviving exams also demonstrate a marked interest in current events, particularly labor issues and trade unionism. The form IV exam asked, "what are Trade Unions? What are their advantages and disadvantages?" The two sample answers for this question both agree that the advantages of trade unions include providing for workers

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[57] In citing the exams, I have chose to maintain the answers exactly as the children gave them, including any grammar or spelling mistakes.
[58] Margaret Helen Erskine Cuninghame (Nello), age 18, form VI, Fife, CM box 23, file 161.
[59] E. Ursula Hills, form V, CM, box 23, file 161.
[60] Ibid

when they are injured, ill, or unemployed, and making working men "freer…because when he is out of work he need not take the first offer which he gets if the wages are low, but can wait until he gets a better offer."[61] On the other side, both respondents saw the disadvantages of trade unions in how they discouraged individual thought and action. One thirteen-year-old student focused on the men joining the unions, who might "become violent and force other men to join the Union and to consent to there [sic] views."[62] Another thirteen year old took the side of the employer and argued that trade unions "may compel an employer to give such high wages that he ruins himself and the business has to be given up."[63] Writing on a similar question about work, Eleanor Hughes cautioned the working man against "striking and speaking from a cart in a public square. This rouses love for gain but nothing else. Rather it is found by steady work—dull work, perhaps—but work all the same."[64] These answers show these three children wrestling with what the nation-state's responsibilities to its citizens include and how individuals of different class background fit within the nation. Their answers do not just highlight what they learned in the term; instead, they highlight a practical citizenship. Being a good citizen meant being knowledgeable and thoughtful, and the exams provided a space to practice this habit.

During the 1921-22 school year, Nancy Samuel took exams in 11 subject areas: composition, English grammar, literature, history, every-day morals and economics, geography, art studies, arithmetic, algebra, Latin, and drawing. Not surprising,

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[61] E. P. age 13, Form IV, exam, CM box 23, file 161. See also D. H., age 13, Form IV, CM box 23, file 161.
[62] I have maintained E.P.'s spelling and word choice throughout. E. P., age 13, Form IV, CM box 23, file 16.
[63] D. H., age 13, form IV, CM box 23, file 161.
[64] Eleanor P. Hughes, Form VI, CM box 23, file 161.

considering her family's connection to the British Empire (her father was the high commissioner in Palestine), her most complete essay comes from her history exam, where she was asked to "write an essay on the British Empire in the 19th Century."[65] Her answer extends to three pages, a full page longer than the other surviving examples. She organizes her answer around the international race for colonies, beginning with France and Great Britain in Egypt, then turning to the British in India, Russian imperial ambitions in the East, and concluding with some comments on the British and Germans in Africa. While she finds the British to be largely successful in their management of Egypt in the nineteenth century, she characterizes India as the "most important and hard to manage of all our colonies," because "the large majority of Indians [are] illiterate" and "have no wish to learn. How, therefore, can they become a self governing people."[66] In Africa, she concludes there have been "very few disturbances" because the colonies there had "been acquired by peaceful colonisation and governed in the interests of the natives."[67] In comparison with the Germans in Africa, who ruled by "force and suppression; any native rising is punished with the greatest cruelty and vigilance, and everywhere the native is treated as an unfortunate accessory to the newly acquired territory."[68] She concludes, "In all our colonies and protectorates, we may say, with truth, that we govern in the interests and for the well-being of the inhabitants."[69] In and of itself, this answer is typical of justifications of imperialism particularly in the inter-war

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[65] Nancy Samuel, age 15, class V, examination 91, CM box 23, file 161.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Nancy Samuel, History Exam, CM box 23, file 161. Perhaps if the question had asked about the twentieth century, she might have included Palestine, but in this answer she makes no mention of the colonial mandate in which she lives.

period when Samuel completed the exam.[70] Her answer, like the previous two that focused on the working-class and trade unionism, also demonstrates a persistent conservatism. Samuel claims that the British got their empire by accident, not through a policy of deliberate conquest, and that they rule in the best interests of the colonized people. Eleanor Hughes paints trade unions as inherently bad and argues that workers should be content with their position.

In the same year, Eleanor Hughes answered the same question as Nancy Samuel. Her answer lacks all of the detail of Samuel's. She makes no mention of specific places or the international context of colonialism in the nineteenth century. She concludes:

> the British Empire went on its way steadily, slowly, but surely. It was not a rapid progress by conquest, invasion, or bullying and worrying smaller kingdoms. But it was a quiet growth in the right direction-a watchful course, and one carried out by clever brains. So the 19th century saw a light-nation pursue its right-minded, historic path in the world-would that the 20th century might have the same said of it! It is to the England of today we look for the answers.[71]

Judging by the standards previously described for how exams were scored, it seems unlikely Hughes's answer would have resulted in a good score, while Samuel's almost certainly would have met with a much better result. Despite the differences in the merits of the answers, both demonstrate the impact of place. Samuel, who lives a life that brings her into contact with the empire, has clearly built a relationship with the empire. The empire in Hughes's answer is vague, but she concludes with a comment about England, her frame of influence. Neither answer gives any direct indication of how these children viewed their place in the empire, but Samuel certainly seems more comfortable and better

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[70] Ronald Hyam, "Bureaucracy and 'Trusteeship' in the Colonial Empire," in *The Twentieth Century*, ed. Judith M. Brown & Wm. Roger Louis, *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 255-79.
[71] Eleanor P. Hughes, exam, CM box 23, file 161.

versed on the empire than does Hughes, a child likely living domestically, with no real connection to the empire.

In the same year, thirteen-year-old Doris Braint, a student at the Painswick Girls School (a PNEU school) in Gloucestershire, was asked "What duties has a British Citizen towards the Empire? What is the value of common citizenship?" For such a large question, her answer was relatively brief:

> In the case of many countries the inhabitants have only to consider their duties towards each other within the great association which we call the State. In the United Kingdom the people have civic duties, and besides being British citizens, are citizens of the British Empire. Hence the Englishman must learn these in addition to the duties which belong to him in his simpler capacity of a citizen of the United Kingdom. As long as the connection between England and say Tasmania is maintained every Tasmanian is also a British Citizen and therefore the whole force of the Empire would be exerted to enforce the claims of any injured Tasmanian.[72]

The questions itself asks the student to position himself or herself in relationship to the British Empire. Her assertion, as a child living in the metropole, that all British citizens are citizens of the British Empire indicates the success of the PUS in teaching the importance of the empire to the nation. She also provides a hierarchy of levels of citizenship, where being a UK citizen is "simpler" than being a citizen of the British Empire. More is required of the imperial citizen, though Braint provides no example of what the additional "duties" to the empire might be, particularly for women who would be excluded from defending the empire (the one act that she does mention). Her example of Tasmania is a curious choice as well. Tasmania was a penal colony, known for its harsh treatment of convicts and the brutal extermination of the aboriginal people in the

[72] Doris Braint, Citizenship Exam, CM box 23, file 161.

nineteenth century.[73] By 1922, though, it would hardly seem the first colony to come to mind. It was neither a recent colonial acquisition, like the Middle East colonies Britain received out of the WWI dismantling of the Ottoman Empire, nor was it the most newsworthy, as Ireland surely would have been. There are three possible reasons for her choice. First, she might have had some relationship to Tasmania through a family member or friend who had moved there. Second, as a small and relatively unimportant part of the Commonwealth, the choice might have been rhetorical—a citizen of the British Empire owes duty to all parts of the empire even the smallest and most inconsequential. Third is the question of race and identity. The Tasmanians were white; their ancestors were English convicts and settlers. They were not Muslim or darker-skinned, like Britain's newest colonial subjects in the Middle East, and they were not Catholic, like the Irish fighting for their independence. In any case, much like Hughes, Braint's more provincial English identity limits the extent to which she can envision her relationship with different people in the empire. Every Indian or African was not British in the same way every Tasmanian was. She sees the empire as something far away from her daily life in England, unlike Samuel who views the world through a more international lens.

Many of the other surviving exams make regular mention of Ireland and are quite critical of the situation in Ireland in the early-1920s. In 1922, civil war erupted in Ireland over the proposed terms of a recent treaty with Britain that would have granted Ireland independence, while giving Northern Ireland the option to opt-out and maintain affiliation with United Kingdom. The treaty and subsequent civil war were the

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[73] See Benjamin Madley, "From Terror to Genocide: Britain's Tasmanian Penal Colony and Australia's History Wars," *Journal of British Studies* 47, no. 1 (2008): 77-106.

culmination of years of debate over Home Rule in Ireland.[74] Margaret Cuninghame concluded her essay on England's expansion in the 18th century, "…but India up till the present has been useful, now it is becoming more bother than it is worth, it is just a second Ireland."[75] Students in form VI were also asked to "Write a letter in the manner of Gray on any modern topic." Fourteen-year-old Elisabeth Bagley concluded that it would not be wise to allow Ireland to be split apart, to "forsake the loyal Irish in their moment of distress," because "before long the country would become a nest of aliens which would endanger the security and peace of the mother-land."[76] Marjorie Howard similarly concluded "surely the government will not stand by and its servants murdered and the one loyal province oppressed. … It is so obvious that our interests and those of Ireland co-incide, that even to contemplate a separation is to … incredible."[77] In both Howard and Bagley's answers, they feel great sympathy for the Protestants in Ireland. Like Braint and her example of the Tasmanians, Howard and Bagley direct their sympathies toward the group depicted as threatened by the "other," in this case, religion not race defined the "other."

Hermione Anna Cassel, age eleven, chose to answer the question, "what is meant by being a good citizen?" She concluded that a good citizen must "help not only his home but his country. And to help his country he must be courteous to foreigners so that when the foreigner goes back to his own country he may say 'What nice people those

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[74] On the Home Rule debates, see Paul Bew, *Ideology and the Irish Question: Ulster Unionism and Irish Nationalism, 1912-1916* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); D. G. Boyce, ed. *The Revolution in Ireland, 1879-1923* (Houndsmill: Macmillan 1988).
[75] Margaret (Nello) Helen Erskine Cuninghame, CM box 23, file 161.
[76] Elisabeth Bagley, age 14, form VI, CM box 23, file 161.
[77] Marjorie Howard, age 17, form VI, CM box 23, file 161.

English, Australian or Canadian people are.'"[78] She enfolds into a common citizenship the English, Australian, and Canadians—a grouping held together in part by their race and their ability to self-govern. Australia and Canada had been granted dominion status by this point and functioned as largely autonomous places. They *chose* to maintain a connection to the UK.

Taken together, all of the exams show the PUS children creating a vision of the nation and its relationship to the empire. They include some people and places and exclude others. Within this matrix of inclusion and exclusion, it is not clear where the colonial child fit. The children living in the empire offered their own understandings of their place in the letters they wrote. These exams with their focus in the metropole and on people of the most similar identity, either racially or through religion, give proof to the fact that living in the empire complicated a child's identity and sense of belonging, as the next section will show.

Lessons on Home and Belonging through Children's Letters

In 1912, in addition to the regular annual conference of the PNEU, organizers planned the first of at least three Children's Gathering.[79] Children able to travel to Winchester were invited to attend the conference where they would take lessons together, tour the local sites, and participate in a history pageant, where children dressed in costumes representing different ages of British history.[80] The gathering was meant to create a stronger sense of community amongst the PUS students, but it was also a

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[78] Hermione Anna Cassel, age 11, form IIA, CM box 23, file 161.
[79] They were held again in 1920 and 1924.
[80] See CM box 23 and 24 for pictures of the pageant.

showcase for the organization's accomplishments. Student work was displayed, and the local community was invited to observe the lessons. Additionally, the Children's Gathering served a much larger purpose for the children abroad participating in the PUS. Obviously their attendance would be impossible unless they happened to be in England on some sort of furlough. To garner their involvement, Henrietta Franklin sent letters to families living all over the empire, asking children to send photographs of themselves, a letter, and a piece of paper with "Greetings from Owalion, Central India" or wherever they might be living. She planned to hang the letters, pictures, and greetings on a screen in the gathering hall. Franklin intended the colonial children to be "represented while the Gathering is taking place. I am so anxious to bring the home children and the colonial children into touch with each other, and I also want them to understand that the P.U.S. work is being carried out not only in England but in practically every English speaking part of the world."[81] Franklin framed this project in terms of benefits for both the home children and colonial children who would each see the PUS as an organization bringing the empire and metropole together. She does it by emphasizing the distance separating the English child living abroad, the "colonial child," as opposed to the "home child" living in the metropole. Her terminology positions English children living in the empire as distant and even outside the national home. In the report after the gathering, its purpose was framed more narrowly in terms of the colonial children: "The Parents' Union School now numbered some 1,500 children working all over the English-speaking world, and such a gathering as this would help the children to realize the abstract idea of

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[81] Letter dated January 26, 1912 to Mrs. Knox from Henrietta Franklin, CM box 23, file 158 labeled "P.N.E.U. Children's Gathering 1912 Winchester. Correspondence, etc." Although the letter is unsigned the other correspondence in the file is from Henrietta Franklin.

their membership of this large school."[82] Although the letters have not survived in their original form, some were reprinted in the pages of the *Parents' Review*. Letters arrived from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Ceylon, and in them children offered their own descriptions about the places they lived.

Eleanor Barton from Fareham, New Zealand, sent a picture of a "little native berry which grows in the bush," and her sister, Aline, offered a drawing of "one of our prettiest native birds sitting on the branch of a Kowhai tree."[83] Annette Baron sent a picture of two birds, explaining that "Maoris wear them in their hats."[84] The PUS's emphasis on nature studies would have made their unusual offerings a coup for the Barton sisters. Invariably, the experiences that the children highlighted were adventurous stories of travel and dangerous encounters with exotic and unusual animals.[85] The Kennion children, Iris and Wilfred, sent detailed descriptions of their family's travels in India. Wilfrid got to make a fire at a picnic, which quickly got out of control. Fortunately, everyone "got stones and threw them on it, and at last we got a can of water and poured water on it and stopped it."[86] Based on their descriptions, the Kennion siblings spent their days outside playing and exploring with only their governess, Miss Denny, for company. Fred Price, living in Kingston, Ontario, focused on the unusual animals in the forests, including black bears and moose. Price is also one of the few children to make any mention of the native populations. In fact, he counts it as something of an achievement that he has lived in an area with "lots of Indians" and

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[82] "Report on the Children's Gathering at Winchester," *Parents' Review* 23, no. 7 (July 1912): 484.
[83] Letter from Eleanor Barton and Aline Barton, March 13, 1912, ibid., 542.
[84] Letter from Annette Barton, ibid.
[85] Letter from Nancy Irvine, March 26, 1912, ibid., 547.
[86] Letter from Wilfrid Kennion, March 25, 1912, ibid., 544.

wonders if the home children have "ever seen one."[87] Nancy Irvine, only eight years old, reported in her letter how a bush fire gave her the responsibility of "driv[ing] the animals away, but they got so frightened they ran round and round. At last I got them out [of the barn]…"[88] Some of the children had been abroad for a long time, and others had travelled extensively. Phoebe Barker from Amritsar, Punjab, had been in India for two and a half years. Robert C. Robb had had a busy year traveling through Europe and Russia before settling in Canada for a year and finally arriving in Korea. He noted the "many Koreans, Chinese, and many Japanese, but very few English-speaking people" where he lived with his family, and he lamented that he could not talk to the Koreans, but not because his family forbade it, but, because he had "forgotten Korean while I was away."[89]

The casual observances of the children are quaint, but they also illustrate the complexity of their understanding of home and belonging. In her letter, Phoebe Barker said, "I would much rather live in India than in England" despite having opened her letter by expressing her regret that they would not be "coming home this year, as I should so much have liked to join you at Winchester."[90] Although she gives lip service to England as home, she demonstrates a deeper connection to India. Her wish to be in England is not reflective of a desire literally to live in England but her desire to participate in the fun of the conference. Beatrice Irvine, from Melbourne, demonstrated her distance from England through her lack of knowledge. She asked, "Are English sparrow's eggs blue? The sparrows' eggs here are creamy, speckled with brown, but Wordsworth's poem, 'The

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[87] Letter from Fred Price, February 12, 1912, ibid., 546. Price attended a school taught along PNEU lines.
[88] Letter from Nancy Irvine, March 26, 1912, ibid., 547.
[89] Letter from Robert C. Robb, March 29, 1912, ibid., 545.
[90] Letter from Phoebe Barker, March 19, 1912, ibid., 545.

Sparrow's Nest,' begins:—'Behold within the leafy shade/Those bright blue eggs together laid.' Mother thinks that it might be a hedge sparrows' eggs."[91] In fact, the details that the children provided about their lives in some ways only served to emphasize the difference in their lives from that of the home child. They might have all been doing nature studies, but for the colonial child the plants were vastly different. Undoubtedly children in the English countryside could have provided their own stories about finding a garden snake, but they lacked the dangerous punch of finding and killing a poisonous snake with a hockey stick as the Kennion children had.[92] Even the physical arrangement of the letters, hanging on the wall of Winchester Cathedral, acted to emphasize the distance between the English geography of the home child and the colonial geography of the colonial child. While many expressed the wish that they might attend the conference, none expressed any longing for England as home. They, in fact, seemed to be at home in the empire.

At the next gathering, in Whitby in 1920, one home child gave voice to the distance between the two groups of children represented in the PUS. Eva Lawrie, a fourteen-year-old girl attending a PUS school in Edinburgh, wrote about the conference, "It was so nice hearing about our schoolfellows abroad, from all parts of the world. I think it gave us a good idea of how the P.U.S. is all over the world, not just in our own little country."[93] The conference organizers must have been thrilled by Lawrie's letter, suggesting as it does the success of their goal of bringing the two groups of children together. The letter also points to a sense of disconnect. The PUS children abroad in the

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[91] Letter from Beatrice Irvine, March 25, 1912, ibid., 547.
[92] Letter from Wilfrid Kennion, no date, ibid., 544.
[93] Letter from Eva Lawrie, *Parents' Review* 31, no. 8 (August 1920): 623.

empire were technically part of the country. The actual distance separating the metropole from the colonies created a divide between the children in the two areas. The children in the metropole had to be reminded that the children in the empire were English, and the children in the empire needed to be reminded that they belonged in and with England.

Much like the letters from 1912, the letters from children in 1920 present no longing for England and instead firmly identify with where they are living. For whatever reason, this particular group of letters is more attentive to the native people of a given area than the letters from 1912, which hardly mention any people besides siblings or parents. The descriptions make the people part of the landscape and not individuals with whom they are interacting. Nine year old Monica Carmichael, living in South Africa, wrote about a church service where "the people are all black. They even bring their babies…"[94] Dare Elliott, living in China, focused on "the poorer Chinese" who "plough the rice fields with water buffalo."[95] Jane Eliza Hasted, age ten and a half, from Ootacamund, South India, sent a fairly lengthy letter that ended: "I love the dear little brown babies. Are any of you Girl Guides? I am one."[96] Her "dear little brown babies" are just an aside that get no more description or comment but fit after her description of her lessons and before the Girl Guides. They felt a sense of belonging where they were, but it was always a mediated space. Jane Eliza Hasted might have lived in India, but she

[94] Letter from Monica Carmichael, March 13, 1920, *Parents' Review* 31, no. 7 (July 1920), 506.
[95] Letter from Dare Elliott, March 11, 1920, ibid., 508.
[96] Letter from Jane Eliza Hasted, n.d., ibid., 510. The Girl Guides were the PNEU equivalent of the Girl Scouts.

did not live the life of an Indian in India; she lived the life of an Anglo-Indian.[97] Perhaps post-independence India would not have been a place that she had any sense of belonging in either. Dare Elliott, age twelve and a half, wrote, "England must be a very nice place, but we all like China best."[98] Presumably the "we" referred to his younger brother and sister who also sent letters to the gathering from Chengtu, West China. Little Jane Eliza wrote that she was "sad and very home sick for Madras, which I love more than anything."[99] Despite the fact that all of these children lived in places that were not supposed to be "home" to some extent, they clearly felt at home. The PUS lessons, coupled with their experience growing up in a place other than England, helped the children articulate a sense of Britishness that was more cosmopolitan in spirit and less provincial.

The 1924 children's gathering coincided with the Wembley Empire Conference.[100] Under the direction of House of Education students and PNEU and PUS members from around the world, four hundred twenty children gathered to tour the exhibits. Henrietta Franklin reminded the children that their previous term's work had prepared them "as citizens to know about other people and their ways, and at this exhibition there were great opportunities for learning so that we might learn from other people and perhaps help them too."[101] Again the colonial children were invited to send letters, and the home children were once again reminded that they were "part of a great

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[97] By the 1920s, the term Anglo-Indian referred to English people living in India and did not reflect their racial heritage.
[98] Letter from Dare Elliott, March 11, 1920, *Parents' Review* 31, no. 7 (July 1920): 508.
[99] Letter from Jane Eliza Hasted, n.d., ibid., 510.
[100] On the Wembley Empire Conference, see Daniel Mark Stephen, "'The White Man's Grave': British West Africa and the British Empire Exhibition of 1924-1925," *Journal of British Studies* 48, no. 1 (2009): 102-28.
[101] "The Children's Gathering at Wembley," *Parents' Review* 35, no. 8 (August 1924): 565.

community."[102] Christine Tomlin, age fourteen and in the fourth form, commented that the speeches at the gathering, "bringing home to us that we are children, not only of our parents, but of the nation…"[103] For the PUS children in England, participation in these conferences successfully allowed them to practice recognizing their place in relationship to the nation and empire. The curriculum itself not only inculcated a sense of Englishness, the practices that went along with it nurtured that identity as well. For children living in the empire, these practices were too distant. The Barton girls, residing in New Zealand during the 1912 Gathering, reported, "learning the hymns so that we can sing them at the time of the Gathering."[104] This act was intended to solidify their connection with the conference, but even in this distance mediated against their full participation and sense of belonging, since as Aline Barton noted, "But when you are singing them we shall be asleep."[105]

Summary and Conclusion

Despite the focus on children in the empire whose identity might more appropriately be termed British, Mason and the PUS focused on inculcating a sense of Englishness in these children. Their definition of Englishness was tinged with a spirit of internationalism. In 1927, the *Parents' Review* included an article defining a new sort of citizen. The author claimed the political situation of the late 1920s demanded "men who can think beyond the frontiers of race and class, who have an understanding of the conditions and sympathy with the lives of other classes and peoples who compose the

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[102] Meriel Kempson, age 16, form V, "Impressions," ibid., 566.
[103] Christine Tomlin, age fourteen, form IV, ibid., 567.
[104] Letter from Aline Barton, March 13, 1912, *Parents' Review* 23, no. 7 (July 1912): 542.
[105] Ibid.

comity of our commonwealth."[106] This new idea of a "citizen of the world" could not be created out of adults, who had already been polluted by an education system that worked to create a different sort of citizen, but had to be created in children through a new educational system. The implication of the article's inclusion was that the PUS provided a new education for a new citizen. The idea that citizenship was not natural, but something you could be educated into, had the potential to expand who could and could not be a citizen. At least for children raised in the empire, this articulation of citizenship not only made them citizens, but made them model citizens, citizens at the center of the nation. Almost thirty years before, Elsie Kitching, an early student of Mason's and the director of the Parents' Union School in the late 1920s, queried "Is the day arriving when our Society will be not only national but international, a bond of peace, progress, and goodwill between the nations? Our cause has adherents in almost every region of the known world, from Constantinople to Fiji, from Ceylon to Japan, and we believe there is more in store for us. Such as these are the signs of hope and promise that come in our way."[107]

Despite the strong assertion of an expansive definition of citizenship through the PUS, the definition of the community became increasingly smaller. In 1922, a group of men and women gathered together in Melbourne, Australia, to discuss a report on the teaching of English literature in England. With a self-congratulatory pat on the back, they claimed that the report really demonstrated the success of the educational philosophy of their founder, Charlotte Mason—a philosophy that she had introduced over twenty

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[106] M. Channing Pearce, "The Education of a Citizen of the World," *Parents' Review* 38, no. 2 (February 1927): 75.
[107] Elsie Kitching, "The History of Aims of the P.N.E.U.," *Parents' Review* 10, no. 7 (July 1899): 433.

years before. They concluded "it was peculiarly appropriate that it [the report] should be discussed publicly in Melbourne for the first time at a P.N.E.U. [Parents' National Educational Union] Meeting. There were many disintegrating forces at work in the Empire, but none so consolidating as the study of English literature by all its members."[108] The disintegration of the empire bemoaned by that gathering in Australia affected even the PUS. In her report to the Ambleside Council (the body that oversaw the PNEU and PUS after Mason's death) concerning her tour of the empire, Miss Pennethorne reported "there is a strong feeling that any scheme of education from English headquarters cannot be 'Australian' enough for Australian children…I am strongly of the opinion that any 'local' headquarters overseas would be a great mistake; it is the Union as a corporate body of culture all the world over,…which is a vital force."[109] In the end, the implicit nationalism of the PUS could not be reconciled with a new vision of a more international citizen.

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[108] "P.N.E.U. Notes," *Parents' Review* 33, no. 8 (August 1922): 613.
[109] "Miss Pennethorne's Report to the Ambleside Council-November 1927," CM box 35, file 243/11.

Conclusion

Savages or Citizens?

> Yet there are many who decry civilisation and yearn for simplicity, who would have the child be 'God's fool.' But by civilisation we do not mean the mere increase of luxuries and, the use of soap, nor the spread of learning; it is the conception of the 'civil idea,' of the solidarity of the race, of men's possibilities and rights, of the choosing the higher and leaving the lower, of doing, learning all that may lead towards 'the one far-off Divine event.'[1]
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> R. Amy Pennethorne, 1898

Of all the individuals associated with the administration of the Parents' Union School (PUS), R. Amy Pennethorne traveled the most widely and had the most opportunity to observe the PUS children in the empire. She had been one of the earliest students at the House of Education, had known Charlotte Mason personally, and also lived through the dramatic challenges and changes of the Edwardian era and the First World War. Before any of these events, Pennethorne penned an article for the *L'Umile Pianta* entitled "The Child as a Barbarian." In the article, Pennethorne compares children to the "ideal savage of to-day."[2] The article owes much to the evolutionary thinking of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, pointing to the moment when children "begin to create" as the instant when the "triumphant march of civilization" continues onward.[3] At its heart, the article is positing an answer to when children cease to be savages and become civilized. Her definition of what defines civilization has everything to do with children taking their place in the nation, seeing themselves as a part of a larger community. For children not to understand their place in the community of English people was the definition of savage. As an educational organization, the Parents' Union

[1] R. Amy Pennethorne, "The Child as a Barbarian," *L'Umile Pianta* (June 1898): 13
[2] Ibid., 11.
[3] Ibid., 13.

School worked to move children from a savage state to a state of citizenship, where they could be fully recognized as civilized, but this project was always torn by contradiction. On the one hand, it very obviously claimed to teach Englishness. On the other hand, it promoted teaching methods and a view of children as persons with individuality that seemed to allow children to create their own conclusions about home and community in the nation and empire. In some ways, these two views were always at odds with one another but in ways that provide the historian incredible opportunities to think through the nation and empire.

In constructing her educational philosophy, Charlotte Mason drew on new theories of the child, learning, and brain physiology arising from the disciplines of psychology and biology and the educational ideas of Locke, Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Spencer. With these other educationalists, she shared an interest in thinking about the relationship between the home and education. Learning was not just something that happened in school but something that needed to be actively encouraged at a very young age. Mason believed this was important because she understood the purpose of education to be the development of citizens. The education reformers mentioned above also would have agreed that education served a longer goal—creating citizens, fitting boys to become gentlemen, learning the skills to become a worker in a trade—but Mason differed from them in that she viewed children differently. They were not future citizens, they were immediately citizens, because they were individuals. Because she viewed children as individuals first, a child-centered curriculum was anathema to her. A curriculum tied to skills or to class was also a problem, because it failed to meet the needs of citizens who would be voting, working for the state, or even

holding office. Even if the only issue was one of utility, Mason still believed that all children deserve a liberal education, because they are persons. Furthermore, as persons, all children were part of the nation and actively involved in shaping what the nation looked like. The PNEU did not provide rigid class-based education. It provided a more rigid national education.

Like many of the educational reformers to whom Mason responded, her educational philosophy was also tied up in ideas of women's place in the nation. She looked to women as serving a unique role in educating children, not because of any innate nurturing or teaching ability, but because they were professionals trained and intellectually engaged in the project of educating children. Mason recognized two realities—in the private sphere, women were responsible for caring for children and, in the public sphere, women were swelling the ranks of teachers. Mason's call was for both groups of women to see their actions in educating children, whether in the home or in a classroom as a professional endeavor. For this reason, she opened the House of Education and ran a correspondence course for mothers.[4] Not only did this emphasize

[4] The Mother's Education Course lasted three years and was a home study focused on series of readings and questions. Women read texts and narrated, or told back, what they had read. There were quarterly examinations that were sent in to be scored. The subjects studied were divinity, physiology and health, nature lore and the elements of science, and principles of education. Readings for the course included not works by Mason, but theological works, the writings of Rousseau and Froebel, and science texts. The purpose of the course was to emphasize the deliberate and scientific manner with which women were to approach motherhood. There is a sense in which participation in this course was what made the task of motherhood worthwhile and fulfilling. It is interesting though that the course material was not necessarily about motherhood per se. There was no practical information about care of children or care of the home. The subjects were purely intellectual and aimed at cultivating a "higher education" of women, in turn equipping them to be better mothers. The main emphasis was on individual achievement for its own sake. Sadly, there is little that survives documenting the experiences of women in the Mother's Educational Course. The program was plagued by a common problem—time (or lack there of)! Mrs. Wolrych Whitmore started the course in September 1891. Her exam marks were consistently very good or excellent. At her midsummer exams in 1893, the following comment was noted: "thoughtful excellent work, but possibly not showing quite the same thorough study of the several subjects as with the last set of

the professional nature of women's undertakings, it also suggested education was a science (a belief she shared in common with Spencer).

Mason's educational goals were not limited by the geographical boundaries of the nation. Her ideas spread all over the British Empire. One of the contributions of this dissertation is adding to the history of children in the British Empire, those who lived in and were educated in the empire. They are important to include, because foregrounding this group of voices values a different set of stories that have been largely ignored. Even more so, focusing on this group of children also opens up new ways of thinking about women in the empire. Through their membership in the Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU) and their participation in the PUS, this dissertation has demonstrated that these women created homes in the empire rooted in their own individuality that allowed them to escape the imperial bind of needing to choose between wife and mother.

At its formation, the PNEU hardly appeared to be imperial organization, but it became one because of the anxiety surrounding class relationships in the metropole. One of the failures of Charlotte Mason was in transplanting her educational philosophy to the working class. The class anxiety was quickly subsumed by questions of race and national identity—an area that the PNEU was much more competently situated to address. The program of the PNEU and PUS not only uniquely met the needs of families living in the empire, it also provided them a venue in which they could claim success. Ignoring the imperial dimension of the PNEU and PUS is to miss their most important legacy. In

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examination papers. This possible difference is no doubt due to the fact that it is not easy for the lady head of a house to find time for private study in the summer" (Ledger labeled Mother's Education Course PNEU Reading Course Sept. 1891-1914, Reading Course, April 1926-1931, CM box 22, CMC 143).

tying the PNEU and PUS to the empire, this dissertation provides a case study to consider the relationship between class and empire.

Most importantly of all, because of the unique sources left behind, this dissertation has demonstrated how children thought about questions of home, belonging, and identity between 1900 and 1940. The PUS children created their own sense of home in the empire. They did not identify England as home. Rather, they felt a greater sense of belonging to wherever in the empire they might have been living. They created an identity for themselves that was British at most, but certainly not English. Rather, the identities they created for themselves emphasized something more international. They articulated citizenship in one place with a sense of belonging in another. Their letters and school work evidence the multitude of identities that the children simultaneously held. These sources are important for two reasons. First, it shows the children as active participants in creating and understanding their own identity. If historians are going to take seriously the idea that children are important historical subjects, they also have to be viewed as individuals with agency, who actively participated in shaping the histories they inhabited. Second, this dissertation has shown the separation between prescription and experience for children living in the empire. At the level of prescription, the richness of their lives and experiences gets lost.

Particularly for children living in the interwar empire, questions of identity were especially pertinent. Changes within the British Empire and the emphasis globally on internationalism made the inculcation of national identity in children all the more challenging. The contradictions of being English and living in India or Iran became more apparent when the end of empire seemed more eminent. Children were better able to

adapt to these changes because of their more fluid sense of matters of home and identity. Their parents, on the other hand, remained incredibly concerned that their children participate in and understand their place in a uniquely English national community, which explains why, even as late as the 1930s, the PNEU was still participating in conferences about separation as the dominant experience in colonial life.

By the interwar period in the metropole, debates about the place of empire in education were waning. The focus was not on how to educate the English schoolchild on the merits of empire but how to educate the colonized person. Families living in the empire did not have this advantage. The empire was not "way out there;" it was literally in their backyard. For these families, the relationship between empire and education did not change as overtly. The rigorously English curriculum that Mason promoted exactly served the needs of these families. What changed for these families was what was possible in terms of their education arrangements. They could keep their children in the empire and still teach them "place and race," which was possible because of Mason's assertion of the individuality of women and children. Mason created a space for both women and children living in the empire to make homes in the empire by creating new understandings of their place vis-à-vis the nation and empire.

Finally, this dissertation has shown that Mason was much more complicated than just a religiously conservative home-school director. Despite talking about ideas of home and education, Mason did not intend that women should stay in the home and did not see the home just as an isolated space from the 'world out there.' Home functioned on a number of levels. Home was equally the dwelling space of family as well as the nation. Recognizing Mason's place in historical context is important for thinking about the place

of her educational philosophy and practice in classrooms and home-school rooms today. She was engaged and animated by the Edwardian identity crisis, and to parse that part of her away is a travesty and allows for unfortunate limits being placed on her thinking. Seen in the fullness of who she was and what she did, Mason is not only an important educationalist but also an important individual providing answers to some of the most challenging questions of her day. What did it mean to be English? How did children fit into the nation?

Mary Lennox, the main character from Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* who opened this dissertation, was by all accounts a savage of sorts. In the narrative, India had stripped her of the civilized nature of the English. Over the course of the story, she learns the civilizing impulses of the English. At the book's conclusion, when Mary (and the garden she has so carefully tended) heals the relationship between her uncle and his son, Collin, we see the civilizing impulse brought to its fullest realization. Mason would have enjoyed the story but disagreed with Burnett's depiction of Mary. For Mason, the answer to the question "savages or citizens?" is resoundingly clear. Children, regardless of geographic place were citizens. What is less clear is if Mason really understood how her idea of children as citizens would be put to work in the colonial context.

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Appendix 1

Parents' Union School Time Table from 1908[1]

Table 1. Parents' Union School Form I Time Table

	Mon.	**Tue.**	**Wed.**	**Thu.**	**Fri.**	**Sat.**
9:00–9:20	Old Testament	New Testament	Writing	Old Testament	New Testament	Week's Work
9:20–9:40	Printing	Drawing	Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading
9:40–9:50	Repetition Poem	Repetition Parable	Continue Reading	Continue Reading	Repetition Hymn	Continue Reading
9:50–10:00	French	Picture Talk	French	French	Natural Hist.	Object Lesson
10:00–10:20	Number	Handi-crafts	Number	Handi-crafts	Number	Number
10:20–10:35 **10:35–10:50**	Drill or Dancing	Sol-fa Play	Drill or Dancing	French Song Play	Drill or Dancing	Sol-fa Play
10:50–11:20	Reading	Number	Handi-crafts	Writing and Brush-Drawing	Handi-crafts	Printing and Brush-Drawing
11:20–11:30	Natural Hist.	Reading	Geography	Number	Geography	Natural Hist.

[1] From *Parents' Review* 19 (1908), quoted on http://www.amblesideonline.org/PR/PR19p899Timetables.shtml (accessed July 7, 2009).

Table 2. Parents' Union School Form II Time Table

	Mon.	**Tue.**	**Wed.**	**Thu.**	**Fri.**	**Sat.**
9:00–9:20	Old Testament	New Testament	Natural Hist.	Old Testament	New Testament	Week's Work
9:20–9:50	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	English Hist.	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Arithmetic
9:50–10:20	Dictation	Natural Hist.	Dictation	Grammar	Plutarch's Lives	Latin
10:20–10:50	Drill 10 m. Play	German Song 10 m. Play	Drill 10 m. Play	French Song 10 m. Play	Drill 10 m. Play	Sol-fa 10 m. Play
10:50–11:00	Repetition Poem	Repetition Bible	Repetition Poem	Repetition Poem	Dictation	Repetition Week's Work
11:00–11:20	Geo-graphy	English Hist.	Geo-graphy	French Hist.	Grammar	Nature Lore
11:20–11:30	Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing	Dictation
11:30–12:00	French	Latin	French	Reading	German	French

Table 3. Parents' Union School Form III Time Table

	Mon.	**Tue.**	**Wed.**	**Thu.**	**Fri.**	**Sat.**
9:00–9:20	Old Testament	New Testament	Natural Hist.	Old Testament	New Testament	Physical Geo-graphy
9:20–9:50	Arithmetic	German	Arithmetic	Eng. Grammar	Euclid	Arithmetic
9:50–10:20	Dictation	Comp.	Dictation	Reading	Greek or Roman Lives	Latin
10:20–10:50	Drill 10 m. Play	German Song 10 m. Play	Drill 10 m. Play	French Song 10 m. Play	Drill 10 m. Play	Sol-fa 10 m. Play
10:50–11:00	Repetition Poem	Repetition Bible (O.T.)	Repetition Euclid	Repetition Poem	Repetition Bible (N.T.)	Repetition Week's Work
11:00–11:20	Geo-graphy	English Hist.	Latin	English Hist.	Eng. Grammar	Botany
11:20–11:30	Arithmetic (Mental)	Arithmetic (Mental)	Map Questions	Arithmetic (Mental)	Writing	Euclid
11:30–12:15	French	Latin	Italian	French	German	Italian
12:15–1:00	Botany	Geology	French Hist.	Phys-iology	Geo-graphy	Eng. Grammar

Table 4. Parents' Union School Form IV Time Table

	Mon.	**Tue.**	**Wed.**	**Thu.**	**Fri.**	**Sat.**
9:00–9:30	Old Testament	New Testament	Latin	Old Testament	New Testament	Physical Geo-graphy
9:30–10:00	Arithmetic	Euclid	French	Arithmetic	Euclid	Algebra
10:00–10:40	Geology	Comp.	Literature	Astron.	Everyday Morals	Latin
10:40–11:00	Drill Singing	Drill Singing	Drill Singing	Drill Singing	Drill Singing	Drill Singing
11:00–11:45	Literature	English Hist.	Geo-graphy	English Hist.	Grammar	Botany
11:45–12:15	Botany	Algebra	European Hist.	Everyday Morals	Geo-graphy	Grammar
12:15–1:00	French	German	Italian	French	German	Italian

Appendix 2

Sample Parents' Union School Program

Program 92 for January to March 1922 (May to July 1922 in the Dominions)

Form I (approximately 1st-3rd grades)[1]
Bible Lessons:
In all cases the Bible text must be read and narrated first.
A & B *The Bible for the Young*, by Dr. Paterson Smyth (P.N.E.U. Office, 1/6) each: (a) *Exodus*, Lessons 8-10, (b) *St. Matthew's Gospel*, Lessons 8-15. Teacher to prepare beforehand; in teaching, *read the Bible passages ONCE and get the children to narrate*; add such comments (see Paterson Smyth) as will bring the passages home to the children. Children might use *Bible Atlas* (S.P.C.K.,1/-), *The Children's Book of Prayers*, by S.B. Macy (Longmans, 9d.).
Sunday reading (optional):
A *St. George of England*, by B. Hood (Harrap, 2/6). *The Book of a Chinese Baby*, by M. Entwhistle (U.C.M.E., 1/6).
B Mrs. Gatty's *Parables from Nature* (Dent, 2/6), or, *The Child's Book of Saints* (Dent, 2/6), may be used.
A & B *Sidelights on the Bible*, by Mrs. Brightwen (R.T.S., 3/-). *The Wonderful Prayer*, by G. Hollis (S.P.C.R., 2/6).

Writing:
A *A New Handwriting*,* by M.M. Bridges (P.N.E.U. Office, 5d. each card; instructions 6d.): card 2, lines 1 and 2; card 3, line 5. Two letters to be mastered each lesson. Teacher study instructions. Transcribe from reading books, and write words and short sentences from dictation.
B *A "New Handwriting,"* card 3, lines 3 and 4; one letter to be mastered each lesson, teacher study instructions. To be able to write, or print, letters and words from dictation as well as from copy (see Home Education, page 234).
Beginners--Left-hand half of card 4 of *The "New Handwriting"*.

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[1]http://www.amblesideonline.org/Programme92I.shtmlhttp://www.amblesideonline.org/Programme92I.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009). The following guidelines were provided at the end of each program: "All children should spend two years in Form IA. In the second year they should read their own books and sometimes write narration. Classes in the second year of IA might be called 'Upper IA.' N.B. 1.--In home schoolrooms where there are children in A as well as in B, both forms may work together, doing the work of A or B as they are able. N.B. 2.--Each child in A should have a copy of all books, etc., marked * and a set of the Pictures and materials. One copy of the other books is sufficient. The books from 'Recitation' onwards are advisable but optional."

Tales:
A *Pilgrim's Progress** (RTS, 9d, or, better 3/-), Part I., from "the Pillar of Salt" to end of Part I. *Tales of Troy and Greece*,* by Andrew Lang (Longmans, 4/-), pp. 145-191.
B Three Fairy Tales. Andersen's *Fairy Tales* or Grimm's *Fairy Tales* (both, Oxford Press 2/-, or Dent, 2/6), may be used. Three fables, *Aesop's Fables* (Murray, 2/-).

English History:
A *Our Island Story*,* by E. H. Marshall (Jack, 10/6), pp. 1-57. Mrs. Frewen Lord's *Tales from S. Paul's** (Sampson Low, 1/6), pp. 76-105.
B *Our Island Story*, pp. 1-57. [A second lesson to be taken on Saturday, 9-20 -- 9-40, otherwise pages read with omissions.]

Geography:
A *Ambleside Geography Book*, Book I.* (2/6), pp. 86-106, Book II.* (3/-), pp. 164-200: six map questions before reading letterpress, then reading and narration; no additional matter should be introduced. Philip's *Atlas of Comparative Geography** (8/-). Children to be able to tell about six places father and mother have visited. Pace and make plans of distances on each of 4 roads, for 2, 4, 5, 6 minutes, and say in each case in which direction you walk. Suitable tests under *Scouting* (see *Parents' Review*, June, 1920).
B *Ambleside Geography Book*, Book I., pages 12-25. *The World at Home* (Nelson, 5/-), pp. 142-190 (out of print), or, *Little Folk in Many Lands* (Blackie, 2/2), pp. 81-128. Make, in tray of sand, valleys, rivers, hills, villages.

Natural History (including work for the holidays):
A & B Keep a Nature Note-Book (PNEU Office, 7d., and see Home Education). Find and describe (a) six twigs of trees; watch, if possible, and describe (b) ten birds, (c) five other animals. [*The Changing Year*, by F.M. Haines(Wadsworth, 3/-), or, *Countryside Rambles*, by W.S. Furneaux (Philip, 2/6): January to March. Furneaux's *A Nature Study Guide* (Longmans, 6/6), may be used for special studies and for reference]. See also Scouting Tests in Nature Lore: *Parents' Review*, June, 1920.
A *Birdland Stories*, by O. Pike (RTS, 6/-), pp. 18-44, or, *Birds of the Air** ("Eyes and No Eyes Series," Cassell, 1/3), pp. 38-79. *Tommy Smith's Animals*,* by E. Selons (Methuen, 2/9), pp. 1-73, or, *Animal Life in the New World*,* by M. Duncan (Oxford Press, 1/6), pp. 1-40.
B *Plant Life in Field and Garden*,* pp. 1-26; 66-80, by, Mrs. Fisher ("Eyes and No Eyes Series," Cassell, 1/3). *Tommy Smith Again at the Zoo*, pp. 129-180 (Methuen, 2/9), or, *Animal Friends*, by M. Duncan (Oxford Press, 1/6), pp. 1-39.

Picture Study (see Home Education for directions):
A & B Study reproductions of six pictures by Jan Steen and Gerhard Douw (PNEU Office, 2/- the set): teacher see notes in the January No., 1922, of the *Parents' Review*.

Sums:
Teachers should use *The Teaching of Mathematics to Young Children*, by I. Stephens (PNEU Office 6d.).

A Pendlebury's *New Concrete Arithmetic* (Bell), Year II.,* (5d.), Term II., or, *A New Junior Arithmetic*, by Bompas Smith (Methuen 4/-), pp. 1-7. Tables up to twelve times twelve (five minutes' exercise in every lesson). Tables to be worked out in money thus: 9 x 7 = 63. 63 pence = 5s. 3d.

B Pendlebury, Year I.,* Term I., to be worked with dominoes, beans, etc. Rapid mental work.

French:
A *Illustrated French Primer*,* by H. Bue (Hachette & Co., 2/6), pp. 77-87; 89-99, inclusive. Children to narrate *French Fables in Action*, by V. Partington, (Dent 2/-), pp. 8-14.
B *Illustrated French Primer*,* by Henry Bue (Hatchette & Co., 2/6), pp. 80-86; 116-118, inclusive. Words to be taught orally with pictures. Children to narrate *The Children's Entente Cordial*, by L.M. Oyler (Jack, 1/6), Nos. 6-10.; Very inaccurate yet very useful.

Brushdrawing:
A & B Six twigs of trees (from memory); six animals that you have been able to watch; and pictures of people read about in your *Tales*, in brushwork. Children should draw occasionally with brush or chalk from memory. *Pencils should not be much used*. For chalk drawing, milled blackboards (PNEU Office, 2/- each) may be used. Paintbox with specially chosen colours and brush (PNEU Office, 8/-). *What to Draw and How to Draw It* (Skeffington & Son, 8/6).

Recitations:
A & B To recite a poem (each child may choose a different one), to learn twohymns, Psalm 84, and two suitable passages of 6 verses each from (a) Exodus, chapter 13, (b) *St. Matthew*, chapter 16. *The Golden Staircase*, (B) Vol. I., (A) Vol. II. (Nelson, 4d. each). *The Fairy Green*, by R. Fyleman (Methuen, 1/6).

Reading:
A Poetry and books used for History, Geography, and Tales.
B Reading taught as in *Home Education*, using *The Children's Letter Box** (2/6) together with *Dickory Dickory Dock: The Children's Reading Box** (3/6), both prepared by Miss E. Tetley (Jackson & Son), or, *The Happy Reader*, Part I. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 8d.), or, Children who can read may use *The Happy Reader*, Part II., by E.L. Young (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1/-), taught according to directions in preface, or, *The Little Brown Girl* (Oxford Press, 6d.).

Music:
A & B *Child Pianist* (Curwen & Son, 8/-), continue *Teacher's Guide* (revised edition, 7/6).

Musical Appreciation:
Programme of Schumann's music (to be heard), *Parents' Review*, January, 1922.

Singing:
A & B Two French songs, *French Songs*, by Violet Partington (Dent, 9d.), or, *French Rounds and Nursery Rhymes* (Augener, 6/-).
A *Ten Minutes' Lessons in Sight-Singing* (Curwen & Son, 2/6), lessons 16-19. Two English songs: *The National Song Book*, edited by C. V. Stanford (Boosey & Co., words and voice parts 1/0 each, complete with music 6/-).
B *The Joyous Book of Singing Games*, by John Hornby (Arnold, 4/-), or, *Songtime*, edited by Percy Dearmer (Curwen, 4/6).

Drill:
A & B *The Joyous Book of Singing Games* (see above), *or*, *Rhythmic Games and Dances*, by Florence Hewitt (Longmans, 8/6). *Syllabus of Physical Exercises* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1/6), Tables 5-9. Teacher see pages 161-168. Skipping. *British Marches for Schools*, by Martin Shaw (Evans, 4/0). Students take House of Education Drills.

Work:
A & B Help in house or garden. *The Little Girl's Gardening Book* (Mills & Boon, 2/6). *Little Girl's Sewing Book*; *The Little Girl's Knitting Book* (R.T.S., 2/6 each), or *Needlecraft in the School*, by M. Swanson (Longmans, 7/6): teacher read letterpress with discretion. Teachers will find suggestive *What shall we make?* by M. La Trobe Foster (C.M.S., 1/-)/
A *Paper Modelling*, by M. Swannell (Philip & Son, 3/6), Series II., 16-21.
B *Paper Folding*, by H. G. Paterson (P.N.E.U. Office 2/6), (materials 8d.), models 9-16, and two other original models on the same lines.

Form II (approximately 4th-6th grade)[2]
Bible Lessons:
In all cases the Bible text must be read and narrated first.
A & B *The Bible for the Young* (P.N.E.U. O ffice, 1/6 each): (a) *Exodus*, Lessons 8-16, by Dr. Paterson Smyth; (b) *St. Matthew's Gospel*, Lessons 8-15. Teacher to prepare beforehand and to use Bible passages in teaching, and to add such comments (from Paterson Smyth, say,) as will bring the passage home to the children. Children may use (c) S.P.C.K. *Bible Atlas* (1/-).
Sunday Reading (optional): *How to Use the Prayer Book*, by Mrs. Romanes (Longmans, 2/-). *The Northumbrian Saints*, by E. N. Grierson (Mowbray, 2/6). *The Children's Year* (Church Seasons), by the Rev. G. R. Oakley (S.P.C.K., 3/6). *Sidelights on the Bible*, by Mrs. Brightwen (R.T.S., 3/-). (a) *Helps to the Study of the Bible* (Oxford Press, 2/-). *Wigwam Stories told by American Indians* (Ginn, 4/9), Part I. *Lion-hearted* (Bishop Hannington), by Canon Dawson (Seelay, 3/6).
For private daily Bible reading children, *Daily Readings from the Old Testament*, by H. Franklin and L. Montagu (Williams & Norgate, 2/6). For New Testament, a Gospel in suitable portioins. *A Boy's Book of Prayer*, by A. Devine (Methuan, 2/-).

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[2] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Programme92II.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009).

Practical Geometry:
A *Lessons in Experimental and Practical Geometry*,* by Hall and Stevens (Macmillan, 2/-), pp. 55-68. *The School Set of Mathematical Instruments* (Macmillan, 2/-).

Latin:
A *Young Beginners' First Latin Book** (Murray, 2/6), pp. 1-4, 17-19; with corresponding exercises, questions, and vocabularies.

French:
A Siepmann's *Primary French Course*,* Part 1. (Macmillan, 3/-),
Lessons 16-18 inclusive, with grammar and exercises.
B Siepmann's *Primary French Course*,* Part 1. (Macmillan, 3/-), Lessons 7-9 inclusive, with grammar and exercises.
A & B *French Songs*, by Violet Partington (Dent, 9d.). Teacher study Siepmann's preface and phonetic exercises. Teacher read Lesson aloud, translating with the children's help, and children afterwards narrating in French.

Drawing:
A & B Six (a) twigs of trees, (b) studies of animals, that you have been able to watch, (c) children at play, in brushdrawing. Original brushdrawings from scenes in books set for reading. Paint-box with specially chosen brush and colours (P.N.E.U. Office, 3/-)*: pencil must not be used. *What to Draw and How to Draw It* (Skeffington & Son, 3/6).

Recitations:
A & B Psalm 78, verses 12-35, and two suitable passages of about twelve verses each from (a) *Exodus*, (b) *St. Matthew's Gospel*. Two Easter hymns. A scene from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, or, forty lines from Longfellow.

Reading (includes holiday and evening reading):
A & B Books set for Geography, History, Recitations should afford exercise in careful reading. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar** (Blackie; Plaintext Edition, 7d.). *The Little Duke*, by Charlotte Yonge (Macmillan, 3/-). *Wigwam Stories*, Part I.
A Bulfinch's *Age of Fable** (Dent, 2/6), pp. 186-215. Malory's *The Coming of Arthur* (Blackie, 1/-). *Puck of Pook's Hill*, by R. Kipling (Macmillan, 6/-). Longfellow's *Saga of King Olaf* (any edition, or Blackie, 4d.).
B *The Heroes of Asgard** (Macmillan, 5/-), pp. 268-313. *The Adventures of Beowulf* (Marshall, 1/9). Longfellow's *The Discoverer of the North Cape* (any edition of Longfellow's poems).

Music:
Continue *Child Pianist* (Curwen & Son); teacher using the *Teacher's Guide* (revised edition, 7/6).

Muscial Appreciation:
Programme of Music (Schumann) to be heard: *Parents' Review*, January, 1922. *The Book of the Great Musicians*, by P. Scholes (Oxford Press, 4/6), may be used.

Singing:
Two English songs from *The National Song Book*, edited by C. V. Stanford (Boosey & Co., words and voice parts 1/9 each,* complete with music, 6/-). Two French songs. *A Book of French Songs* (treble only, Blackie, 7d. each), may be used. *Fifty Steps in Sight-Singing*, by Arthur Somervell, steps 17, 18, inclusive (Curwen & Son, 2/6). Teacher use also *Ten Minutes' Lessons in Sight-Singing*, lessons 35-37 (Curwen, 2/6).

Drill:
Syllabus of Physical Exercises (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1/6), tables 41-44. *Ball Games and Breathing Exercises*, by Alice R. James (Longmanns, 1/9). *Music for use in Mrs. Wordsworth's Classes* (P.N.E.U. Office, 3/6), may be used. *Peasant Dances and Songs of Many Lands*, by Mrs. Kimmins (Evans, 7/6). Skipping. Ex-Students take House of Education Drills. Teacher would find useful *How to Teach School Dances* (Evans, 4/6).

Work:
Help in house or garden. *Simple Repousse' Work*, by E. J. Bradford (Charles, 1/9). *The Little Girl's* (a) *Sewing Book*, (b) *Knitting Book* (R.T.S., 2/6 each), or, *Needlecraft in the School*, by M. Swanson (Longmans, 7/6); teacher read letterpress with discretion. Children make a garment (see the needs of the "Save the Children Fund," address: 29 Golden Square, Regent Street, W. 1.) Boys and girls mend clothes from the wash each week: *First Lessons in Darning and Mending* (P.N.E.U. Office, 2d.), may be used. See also tests under *Scouting* (*Parents' Review*, 1920). Teacher would find useful *What shall we make?* By M. La Trobe Foster (C.M.S., 1/-).

<u>Form III (approximately 7th-8th grades)</u>[3]
Bible Lessons:
In all cases the Bible text must be read and narrated first.
Old Testament History, * by T.M. Hardwick and E. Costley-White (Murray, 8/8), Vol, III., pp. 55-116. (a) S.P.C.K. *Bible Atlas** (1/-). (b) *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by S. R. Macphail (Clark, 1/-). (c) *Helps to the Study of the Bible* (Oxford Press, 2/-). (d) *The Saviour of the World*, Vol. V. (P.N.E.U. Office, 8/-), pp. 68-122. (e) *The Acts*, * by E.M. Knox, pp. 191-266 (Macmillan, 8/6). (f) (optional) *The Prayer Book in the Church*, by the Rev. W. H. Campbell (Longmans, 8/8). with lesson on Easter.
For Sunday Reading (optional):
(a) *The Romance of the Bible*, by G. Hellis (Well, Gardner, Burton, 5/-), pp. 1-82. *Attila and His Conquerors*, by Mrs. R. Charles (S.P.C.K., 2/8), *or*, *Origen and His Times: a Tale of the Third Century* (S.P.C.K. 8/6). *An English Church History for Children*, Vol. I. by M. Shipley (Methuen, 4/6), pp. 1-87.

[3] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Programme92III.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009).

For private daily Bible reading, children may use *Daily Readings from the Old Testament*, by H. Franklin and L. Mantagu (Williams & Norgate, 2/6). For New Testament: a Gospel in suitable portions. (b) *A Boy's Book of Prayer*, by A. Devine (Methuen, 2/-).

Writing:
Choose and transcribe passages from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, and the other books set, in *A New Handwriting for Teachers*, by M.M . Bridges (P.N.E.U. Office, 5d, a card); work from card 6.

Dictation (*A New Handwriting* to be used):
Two or three pages or a passage to be prepared first from a newspaper, or , from the prose and poetry set for reading; a paragraph to be then dictated.

Composition:
Read on Tuesdays some subject in "Literature," or, on the news of the week, or, on some historical or allegorical subject, etc. Write on Thursdays an essay on the subject. Narrative poems on events that have struck you.

English Grammar:
Parse and analyse from books read, making progress each term. Meiklejohn's *A New Grammar of the English Tongue** (4/-)., pp. 23-45, or, Morris's *English Grammar** (Macmillan, 1/9), pp. 78-87; 96, 97; 109-125.

Literature (including holiday and evening reading):
The History of English Literature for Boys and Girls,* by H. E. Marshall (Jack, 10/6), pp. 1-90. (a) Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar** (Blackie, Plaintext, 7d). (b) *Sigurd the Volsung** by W. Morris (Longmans, 2/-). (c) Malory's *The Knights of the Round Table** (Blackie,1/-) *Poems of To-day** (Sidgwick & Jackson, 8/6): know the poems of six poets.

English History:
Arnold Forster's *A History of England** (Cassell, 8/6), pages 1-65 (B.C. 55-901). Make a chart of the period studies (B.C. 55-901). (see reprint from *P.R.*, July, 1910, 8d.). Read the daily news and keep a calendar of events.

French and General History:
Craighton's *First History of France** (Longmans, 5/-), pp. 1-26 (B.C. 55-901). *The British Museum for Children*,* by Frances Epps (P.N.E.U. Office, 8/9), chapter 10. Teacher study preface. Keep a Book of Centuries* (P.N.E.U. Office, 8/-), putting in illustrations from all the history studies. *The Great War*, 1914-1918, by C.R.L. Fletcher (Murray, 6/-), pp. 120-153 (optional)

Citizenship:
Ourselves,* Book I. (Kegan Paul, 4/6), pp. 168?-186. North's *Plutarch's Lives: Julius*

*Caesar** (Blackie, 1/-). *A Pronouncing Dictionary of Mythology and Antiquities* (Walker, 1/6). *Social and Industrial Life*,* by St. Loe Strachey (Macmillan, 2/6), pp, 106-146.

Geography:
The Ambleside Geography Books, Book IV.* (4/-), pp. 249-278; 284-308. *Fighting for Sea Power in the Days of Sail*,* by H.W. Household (Macmillan, 2/-), pp. 108-145. *Letters from High Latitudes*, by Lord Dufferin (Blackie, 1/-).

Know something about foreign places coming into notice in the current newspapers. Ten minutes' exercises on the map of the world every week. Phillip's *Atlas of Comparative Geography* (new edition, 8/-), may be used. See also tests under P.U.S. "*Scouting*."

Map questions to be answered from map and names put into blank map (from memory) before each lesson. Children to make maps of new boundaries from memory. Teacher to use *The Treaty Settlement of Europe*, by H.J. Fleure (Oxford Press, 2/6). Teacher may find usefully *Out-door Geography*, by H. Hatch (Blackie, 8/-).

Natural History and Botany:
The Study of Plant Life,* by H.O. Stopes (Blackie, 6/-), pp. 141-168. Ruskin's *Ethics of the Dust** (Dent, 2/6), Lectures 8-10 inclusive.
Keep a Nature Note-Book (P.N.E.U. Office, plain 4/-, or interleaved 3/-), with flower and bird lists, and make daily notes. For out-of-door work choose some special study: leaf-buds, cotyledons, etc. *The Changing Year*, by F.M. Haines (Wadsworth, 8/-), or *Countryside Rambles*, by W. S. Furneaux (Phillip, 2/6): January to March. Furneaux's *A Nature Study Guide* (Longmans, 6/6).

General Science:
*Architecture** (Jack,3/5), pp. 65-86. Geikie's Physical Geography* (Macmillan, 1/9), pp. 91-186.

Arithmetic:
Pendlebury's *New Shilling Arithmetic**, pp. 72-84 (Bell, 2/8). Revise back work; examples may be taken from Pandlebury's *New Concrete Arithmetic*, Book V. (Bell, 5d.). Important to be read in leisure time, *Number Stories of Long Ago*, by D.E. Smith (Ginn, 8/8)

Geometry:
A School Geometry,* by H. Hall and F. Stevens (Macmillan, Parts i.-iv., 8/6), pp. 42-51, 56-59, 62, 64. *The School Set of Mathematical Instruments* (Macmillan, 2/-).

German:
Siepmann's *Primary German Course*,* by C. Siepmann (Macmillan, 5/-), Lessons 7-9 inclusive. Teacher study preface, using the lessons (with narration), exercises, grammar, stories, poems, etc. as suggested.

Or preferably Italian:
Perini's *Italian Conversation Grammar** (Hachette, 6/6), Exercises 6-10.

Latin:
Second Latin Course, by Scott and Jones (Blackie,?/6), pp. 40-62, or, better, Dr. Smith's *First Latin Course* (Murray, 4/-). pp. 1-18.

French:
Primary French Course,* Part II., by O. Siepmann (Macmillan, 8/-), Lessons 13-15 inclusive, with grammar and exercises. Teacher study preface. Read and narrate *Les Deux Bossus* (Blackie, 1/-); parse two pages.
Read several poems and learn one from *Longer Poems for Recitation* (Blackie, 6d.)

Drawing:
The Fesole Club Papers, * by W. G. Collingwood (out of print), Choose special studies. Illustrations of scenes from Literature. Study, describe (and draw from memory details of) six reproductions of pictures by Jan Seen and Gerar Dou (P.N.E.U. Office, 2/- the set). See the special notes in the *Parents' Review*, January, 1922. Paintbox specially chosen paints and brush (P.N.E.U. Office, 5/-).

Recitations:
Learn two suitable passages of about 20 verses each from chapters in Bible Lessons. Two Easter hymns, a Psalm of David. Two modern poems, or, a scene from *Julius Caesar*, or 50 lines from *Sigurd the Volsung*, or Macaulay's *Battle of Lake Regillus* (Blackie, 4d.).

Reading (including holiday and evening reading):
Books set under Literature, History, Geography, Recitations, should afford exercises in careful reading and in composition. Poetry should be read daily. Bulfinch's *Age of Fable** (Dent. 2/6), pp. 216-248.

Music Appreciation:
See Programme of Music (Schumann), *Parents' Review*, January, 1922: *Our Work*. *The Listener's Guide to Music*, by P. Scholes (Oxford Press, 4/-), may be used.

Singing:
Three French songs, *French Song, with Music* (Blackie, 7d.). Three German songs, *Deutscher Liedergarten* (Curwen & Son, 2/6, or without accompaniments, 6d.). Three English songs, from *The National Song Book*, edited by C. V. Stanford (Boosey & Co., words and voice parts 1/9 each,* complete with music 6/-). *Ten Minutes' Lessons in Sight-Singing* (Curwen, 2/6). *Fifty Steps in Sight-Singing*, by Arthur Somervell, steps 21-26 (Curwen & Son, 2/6).

Drill, etc. (Choose new work):
Ball Games and Breathing Exercises, by Alice R. James (Longmans, 1/9). For Drill

Music, *Music for use in the Mrs. Wordsworth's Classes* (P.N.E.U. Office, 8/6), may be used. *Peasant Dances and Songs of Many Lands* (Evans, 7/6). The Board of Education's *Syllabus of Physical Exercises* (Eyre & Spottiswood, 1/-), tables 69-72. Ex-students, House of Education Drills. *How to Teach Dances* (Evans, 4/6). Hockey.

Work:
Do some definite house or garden work. *Simple Repousse Work*, by E.J. Bradford (Charles, 1/9). *Simple Garments for Children*, by Synge (Longmans, 6/-), or, *Needlecraft in the School*, by M. Swanson (Longmans, 7/6): design and make a garment. Darn and mend garments from the wash each week: *First Lessons in Darning and Mending* (P.N.E.U. Office, 2d.), may be used. Teacher will find usefully *What shall we make?* By M. LeTrobe Foster (C.M.S., 1/-). Cooking: *Tried Favourites Cookery Book* (Marshall, 2/6). See also (unless working as Guides) tests under P.U.S. *Scouting* (*Parents' Review*, May, 1920): all girls should take the First Aid (No. 10) and Housecraft (No. 7) Tests. Make a garment for the "Save the Children Fund"; for particulars apply to 29 Golden Square, Regent Street, W.1.

Form IV (approximately 8th-9th grades)[4]
Bible Lessons:
In all cases the Bible text (as given in book used) must be read and narrated first.
Old Testament History,* by T. M. Hardwick and E. Costley-White (Murray, 9/6), Vol. III., pp.55-115. (a) S.P.C.K. *Bible Atlas** (1/-), (b) *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by S. R. Macpheil (Clark, 1/-), (c) *The Universal Bible Dictionary* (R.T.S., 7/6), may be used for all names of persons and places, (d) *The Saviour of the World*, Vol. V. (P.N.E.U. Office, 3/-), pp. 68-122. (e) *The Acts*,* by E. M. Knox, pp.191-266 (Macmillan, 3/6), (f) *The Prayer Book of the Church*, by the Rev. W. H. Campbell (Longmans, 8/-), with lesson on Easter.
For Sunday reading (optional):
The Quest of Nations, by T. E. W. Lamb (U.C.M.E., 2/6), pp.1-60. *The Story of S. Paul's Life and Letters*, by J. Paterson Smyth (Sampson Low, 5/-), pp. 1-75. *The Fall of Constantinople*, by J. H. Neale (Dant, 2/6).
For private daily Bible reading, *Daily Readings from the Old Testament*, by H. Franklin and L. Montagu (Williams & Norgate, 2/6). For New Testament, a Gospel in suitable portions. (b) *A Boy's Book of Prayer*, by A. Devine (Methuen, 2/-).

Writing:
Choose and transcribe passages from Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.*, and the other books set, in *A New Handwriting for Teachers*, by M. M. Bridges (P.N.E.U. Office, 6d. a card) ; work from card 8.

Dictation (*A New Handwriting* to be used):
Two or three pages or a passage to be prepared first from a newspaper; or, from the prose

[4] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Programme92IV.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009).

and poetry set for reading; a paragraph to be then dictated or to be occasionally written from memory.

Composition:
Read on Tuesdays some subject in "Literature," or, on the news of the week, or, on some historical or allegorical subject, etc. Write on Thursdays a *résumé*.
Verses (note metre of poems set for this term), on current events and on characters in the term's reading , upon historical characters, or, on spring scenes.

English Grammar:
Parse and analyse from books read, making progress each term. Meiklejohn's *A New Grammar of the English Tongue** (4/-), pp. 105-116 ; 122-181.

Literature (including holiday and evening reading):
The History of English Literature for Boys and Girls,* by H. E. Marshall (Jack, 10/8), pp. 191-258. (a) Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.** (Blackie, Plaintext, 7d.). Scott's *The Monastery** (Collins, 2/6). Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More** (Dent, 2/6). Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship**: *Luther and Knox* (any edition, or Oxford Press, 8/5). Palgrave's *Golden Treasury** (Oxford Press, 2/2). *Poems of To-Day** (Sidgwick & Jackson, 8/8).

English History:
Make a chart of the period studied (1485-1558), (see reprint from P.R., July, 1910, 3d.). Read the daily news and keep a calendar of events. Gardiner's *History of England** (Longmans, 6/8), Vol. II., pp. 868-427 (1509-1558). *A History of Everday Things in England*, by H. & C. Quennell (Batsford, 8/-), Part IV., may be used for the period.

General History:
Medieval and Modern Times,* by T. R. Robinson (Ginn & Co., 13/6), pp. 269-880 (1485-1558). *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World*,* by J. H. Breasted (gin, 10/6), pp. 1-73 (omit questions). Continue a Book of Centuries* (P.N.E.U. Office, 8/-), putting in illustrations from all history studied. *The Story of the Great War*, by D. A. Mackenzie (Blackie, 6/-), pp. 55-107 (optional).

Citizenship:
Ourselves,* Book I. (Kegan Paul, 4/6), pp. 168-186. North's *Plutarch's Lives*, edited by P. Giels (University Press, 8/6): *Agis and Cleomenes. A Pronouncing Dictionary of Mythology of Antiquities** (Walk, 1/6). *Citizenship*, * by E. R. Worts (Hodder & Stoughton, 4/6), pp.1-47 (narration instead of questions).

Geography:
The Ambleside Geography Books, Book V. * (5/), pp. 268-325. *Our Guardian Fleets in 1805*,* by H. W. Household (Macmillan, 8/-), pp. 1-80. *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, by Mrs. Bishop (Murray, 6/-), (optional).
Know something about foreign places coming into notice in the current newspapers. Ten

minutes exercise on the map of the world every week. Philip's *Atlas of Comparative Geography* (new edition, 3/-), may be used. See also tests under "*Scouting*." Teacher to use *The Treaty Settlement of Europe*, by H. T. Fleure (for new frontiers), (Oxford Press, 2/6). Map questions to be answered from map and names put into blank map (from memory) before each lesson. Teacher may find useful *Out-Door Geography*, by H. Hatch (Blackie, 8/-).

Natural History and Botany:
Winners in Life's Race,* by Mrs. Fisher (Macmillan, 6/-), pp. 279-314. *Elementary Studies in Plant Life*,* by F. E. Fritsch (Bell, 8/6), pp. 42-74. Keep a Nature Note-Book (P.N.E.U. Office, plain, 4/6, or interleaved, 8/-), with flower and bird lists, and make daily notes. For out-door work take some special study, leaf-buds, cotyledons, etc. *The Changing Year*, by F. M. Haines (Wadsworth, 8/-), or, *Countryside Rambles*, by W. S. Furneaux (Philip, 2/6) : January to March. Furneaux's *A Nature Study Guide* (Longmans, 6/6).

General Science:
First Year of Scientific Knowledge,* by Paul Bert (Reife, 8/-), pp. 192-284. Some Wonders of Matter,* by Bishop Mercer (S.P.C.K., 5/-), pp. 1-88.

Hygiene and Physiology, Domestic Economy:
A Health Render,* by W. H. Abrahall (Cassell, 3/-), pp. 1-54.

Arithmetic:
Pendlebury's *New Shilling Arithmetic*,* pp. 118-124 (Bell, 2/3). Revise back work ; examples may be taken from Pendlebury's *New Concrete Arithmetic*, Book V. (Bell, 5d.). Important: to be read in leisure time, *Number Stories of Long Ago*, by D. E. Smith (Binn, 3/3).

Geometry:
A School Geometry,* by H. Hall and F. Stevens (Macmillan, Parts i.-iv., 3/6), pp. 77-83 ; 86-98. Revise theorems 1-12, doing more exercises.
The School Set of Mathematical Instruments (Macmillan, 2/-).

Algebra:
A School Algebra,* by H. S. S. Hall, Part I. (Macmillan, 3/6), pp. 77-82 ; 90-92; 95-100.

German:
Siepmann's *Primary German Course*,* by O. Siepmann (Macmillan, 5/-), Lessons 22-25 inclusive. Teacher study preface, using the lessons (with narration), exercises, grammar, stories, poems, etc., as suggested.

or, preferably, Italian:
Perini's *Italian Conversation Grammar** (Hachette, 6/6), Exercises 6-10.

Latin:
Limen,* Part I. (Murray, 2/6), pages 142-172 and revise grammar, 118-141.

French:
Primary French Course,* Part II., by O. Siepmann (Macmillan, 3/-), Lessons 23-26 inclusive, with grammar and exercises. Teacher study preface. Read and narrate Le Serf (Souvestre), (Blackie, 1/-). Read several poems and learn one from *Longer Poems for Recitation* (Blackie, 6d.).

Drawing:
The Fésole Club Papers,* by W. G. Collingwood (Holmes, Ulverston, 4/6), (out of print). Illustrations of scenes from Literature. Study, describe (and draw from memory details of) six reproductions* of pictures by Jan Steen and Gerard Don (P.N.E.U. Office4, 2/- the set). See the special notes in the *Parents' Review*, January, 1922. Paintbox with specially chosen paints and brush (P.N.E.U. Office, 5/-).

Recitations:
Learn two suitable passages of 20 verses each from chapters in Bible Lessons. Two Easter hymns. Psalms 145, 146. Two poems, or, a scene from *Henry VIII*.

Reading (including holiday and evening reading):
Books set under Literature, History, Geography, Recitations should afford exercise in careful reading and in composition. Poetry should be read daily. *The Odysseys of Homer*, Chapman's Translation (Simpkin Marshall, 8/6), Books 1-4 inclusive.

Musical Appreciation:
See Programme of Music (Schumann), *Parents' Review*, January, 1922: *Our Work. The Listener's Guide to Music*, by P. Scholes (Oxford Press, 4/-), may be used.

Singing. See Programme of Music:
Three French songs, *French Songs with Music* (Blackie, 7d.). Three German songs, *Deutscher Liedergarten* (Curwen & Son, 2/6, or, without accompaniments, 6d.). Three English songs, from *The National Song Book*, edited by O. V. Stanford (Boosey & Co., words and voice parts 1/9 each,* complete with music 6/-). *Ten Minutes' Lessons in Sight-Singing* (Curwen, 2/6). *Fifty Steps in Sight-Singing*, by Arthur Somervell, steps 21-26 (Curwen & Son, 2/6).

Drill, etc. (choose new work.):
Ball Games and Breathing Exercises, by Alice R. James (Longmans, 1/9). For Drill Music, *Music for use in Mrs. Wordsworth's Classes* (P.N.E.U. Office, 8/6), may be used. *Peasant Dances and Songs in Many Lands* (Evans, 7/6). The Board of Education's *Syllabus of Physical Exercises* (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1/-), tables 65-68. Ex-Students, House of Education Drills. *How to Teach Dances* (Evans, 4/6). Hockey.

Work:
Do some definite house or garden work. *Simple Répoussé Work*, by E. J. Bradford (Charles, 1/9). *Simple Garments for Children*, by Synge (Longmans, 7/6), or, *Needlecraft in the School*, by M. Swanson (Longmans, 7/6) : design and make a garment. Darn and mend garments from the wash each week; *First Lessons in Darning and Mending* (P.N.E.U. Office, 2d.), may be used. Teacher will find useful *What shall we make?* by M. La Trobe Foster (C.M.S., 1/-). *Cooking: Tried Favourites Cookery Book* (Marshall, 2/6). See also (unless working as Guides) tests under *Scouting* (*Parents' Review*, May, 1920) : all girls should take the First Aid (No. 10) and Housecraft (No. 7) Tests. Make a garment for the "Save the Children Fund" ; for particulars apply to 29 Golden Square, Regent Street, W. 1.

Appendix 3

Sample End-of-Term Exam from the Parents' Union School

Program 92 for January to March 1922 (May to July 1922 in the Dominions)

Form I (approximately 1st-3rd grades)[1]
Bible Lessons:
(A & B) I. 1. Tell about the crossing of the Red Sea, *or*, how the Israelites were fed in the Wilderness.
2. Tell how Moses broke the tables of stone, *or*, how the Israelites worked for the tabernacle.
II. 1. Tell how Jesus walked through the cornfields on the Sabbath day, *or*, about the man with the withered hand.
2. Tell about the feeding of the four thousand, *or*, about the Canaanite woman.

Writing:
A. Write a line of poetry from memory.
B. The catkins rain a shower of gold.

Tales:
A. 1. Tell how Christian fared in Doubting Castle, *or*, how Hopeful and Christian came through the waters at last.
2. Tell how Ulysses came to his country disguised as a beggar, or, how Telemachus came to the swineherd's hut.
B. 1. Tell a short fairy story, or, one of Aesop's Fables.

English History:
A. 1. Tell how the Romans came to Britain.
2. Tell about Vortigern and King Constans.
3. Tell about Nelson at sea.
B. 1. Tell about Boadicea, or, about St. Alban.
2. Tell a story about Merlin and Arthur, or, about Rowena,
or, A&B 2. Tell about the wedding of Princess Mary.

Geography:
A. 1. Draw a map of an imaginary country and put in some things that a map usually shows. Give your country a name.
2. Where does a river generally begin, and how does it find its way to the sea?

[1] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Exam92I.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009).

3. What do you know about Colombus? Tell six things about Canada.
B. 1. What do you know about Galileo and his great discovery? How do we get day and night?
2. Tell how people cross the Andes and about the Steppos,
or, 2. Tell what you know about Tibet and about the Land of the Nile.

Natural History.
A&B- 1. Describe three kinds of tree-buds and two catkins you have seen.
A 2. Tell about the "small green ball in the hedge-row,"
or, 2. Tell about the birds you have fed this winter, and about two birds of prey.
3. What did the Rook tell "Tommy Smith"? What have you noticed yourself about a rook?
or, 3. Describe two animals you would find in a South American forest.
B 2. Tell how a seed grows How do its leaves work for the plant?
3. Tell how Mr. Sea-Bear talked with "Tommy Smith,"
or, 3. Tell about three kinds of dog you have watched or read about.

Sums. (All work should be shown)
A. 1. A man sold 400 oranges at 2 a penny. How much did he get for them?
2. One boy jumps 4'6", another 5'9 1/2", a third 6' 3 1/2". How far did they jump altogether?
3. Four boys buy a tricycle for 39/8, and all pay the same sum. How much does each pay?
or, 1. £350 - (£154 + £188) =
2. Would it be cheaper to buy 13 balls at 15d. each or 29 at 6d. each?
3. How many years ago was the year 900? If a man born in 900 lived 70 years, how many years is it since he died?
B. 1. What will 12 dolls cost at 1 1/2d. each?
2. How many 3 inch pieces of string fit in 2 feet?
3. How many letters weighing 4oz. will weigh 1 lb.?

Picture Study.
A&B Describe Jan Steen's "The Pedlar."

French.
A. 1.* Tell, in French, about the pictures on pages 76 and 80.
2.* Recite some French verses, *or*, a scene from a French Fable.
B. 1.* Say something, in French, about the pictures on pages 84 & 35.
2. Recite "Skating" or, *La Fin Du Conte*.

Brushdrawing.
1. A picture (with name) of a story you have heard.
2. An ash or some other twig.
3. A Prince on an elephant.

Recitations. *

Father to choose a hymn, a poem, a Psalm, and two passages from the Bible Lessons.

Reading. *

Father to choose unseen passage.

Music.

I. Tell about some composition by Schumann you have heard.

* Examine in work done and report progress.

Singing. *

Father to choose an English and a French song, and I. A. two tonic sol-fa exercises.

Drill. *

Drill before parents.

Work. *

Outside friend to examine, but list of handicrafts completed to appear on Report Form.

Form II (approximately 4ht-6th grades[2]

Bible Lessons.

I. A & B 1. Describe the events of the night when Israel came out of Egypt.

2. Give an account of the occasions when Moses met with God on Mount Sinai.

3. Describe the institution of the Passover and its meaning.

II. A & B 1. What question did St. John (in prison) send messengers to ask our Lord, and what answer did he get? Tell the whole story.

2. (a), "What lack I yet?" (b), "Lo, we have left all." What answers did our Lord give to (a), the young ruler,

(b), St. Peter, and what lessons may we learn?

A 3. Give and explain briefly four of the parables of the Kingdom.

Writing.

Write (A), 4, (B), 2 lines of poetry from memory.

Composition.

A & B 1. Describe a scene in *Julius Caesar* in which Mark Antony appears.

2. An account of "The Wedding of a Princess," or, the Burial of Sir E. Shackleton.

3. Tell a story in prose or verse about one of the following:--King Arthur, Svartheim, Achilles, Beowulf, King Olaf.

[2] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Exam92II.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009).

English Grammar.

A wind *came up out of* the sea,
And *said*, "Oh mists, *make room for* me."
It hailed the ships and cried, "*Sail on*,
Ye *mariners*, the night is gone."

A 1. Analyse, parsing words in italics.

B 2. Pick out Subjects and Predicates, and say what part of speech each word is in line 1.

A 3. Make sentences to show the use of each kind of adverb.

2. Use the following words, each as two different parts of speech,--above, after, before, but, as.

B 2. Use, in sentences, the word,--in, on, with, at, against, and say what parts of speech they join.

English History.

A & B 1. Give some account of the landing and the doings of Julius Caesar in Britain.

2. "Then Augustine came before King Ethelbert." Tell the whole story.

3. How did St. Swithin educate King Alfred? What did Alfred do for England besides fight her battles?

A 4. What do Caesar and Tacitus tell us of the early Britons?

French History.

A & B 1. What do you know of (a), Vercingetorix, (b), St. Martin of Tours, (c), Attila?

2. Give an account of Charles the Great and his government.

A 3. What do you know of the Feudal system in France?

General History.

A 1. What do you know of the ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia? Write in detail about Babylon, Ashurbanipal.

2. What did a great scholar discover at Bebistan, and what was the result?

Citizenship.

A 1. How did Caesar inspire his soldiers with valour? Give two instances.

2. Describe the crossing of the Rhine by Caesar.

3. What is the work of the Home Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, a County Council?

B 1. Why did Fabius refuse to wear a laurel wreath and come home in triumph? Tell the whole story.

Geography.

A 1. Describe the Fen Counties.

2. Give a map of Lincolnshire, putting in the chief towns and physical features.

3. What do you know of Cambridge?

4. By what routes could you travel from Australia to England? Give a rough sketch

map. What do you know about Queensland?

5. Give an account of Henry the Navigator.

B 1. Describe a visit to the Lake District. What mountains and lakes could you see?

2. What do you know about "the Border"?

3. Tell the story of a piece of coal.

4. Describe a visit to an ostrich farm.

5. Write what you can about Drake and his "Golden Hind."

Natural History.

A 1. Describe, with drawing if possible, a cockroach, a grasshopper, a caddis fly, a dragon fly.

2. How are mountains formed? What is a volcano? Give a diagram.

A & B Describe, with drawings, the twigs and buds of the oak, sycamore, beech, willow, hazel.

B 1. What do you know about thread-slime, the bolt flower, flint shells built by slime animals?

or, 1. What account did Mr. Pachytylus Migratorius (Plague Locust) give of himself?

2. What is to be found in the depths of the sea? What is an iceberg? Draw one.

Picture Study.

Describe--

A Gerard Dou's "The Grocer's Shop."

B Jan Steen's "The Painter and His Wife."

Arithmetic.

A 1. Find the H.C.F. of 1788, 3718, 1887, and the L.C.M. of 15, 45, 125, 225.

2. Find the cost of 3 cwt, 2 qr. 21 lb. at £3:12:8 per cwt.

3. Find the simple interest on £450 for 150 days at 8%.

B 1. How far would a train go in 15 hours at the rate of 48 km. an hour? How many metres a minute does this train travel?

2. Some tea cost £4:9:0 per cwt. Give the price per lb.

3. Measure your pace and find the length and width of a room or passage (take measurements in "break").

Practical Geometry.

A 1. Construct an equilateral triangle on a base of 7 cm. and circumscribe a circle about it.

2. If a man whose height is 6 feet, stands 12 feet from a certain lamp-post, he finds that his shadow cast by the light is 12 feet in length. How high is the light above the ground?

Latin.

1. In what cases are the following,--*insulae, coronam, filia, servi, puerum*?

2. Translate into Latin,--we may be, they might be, he has been, I should have been, he will be.

French.

A 1. Describe, in French, picture 17.

2. Use, in sentences, as direct and indirect object,--*me, le, te, nous, vous*.

3. Use, in sentences, the First Person Plural of the Imperfect Indicative and Preterite of,--*finir, vendre, choisir, repondre*.

B 1. Describe, in French, picture 7.

2. Make sentences using the French for,--first, 100, 17, March 27th, half-past two.

Drawing.

1. An illustration (with name) from *Julius Caesar*.

2. A design for a book cover in twigs.

3. A royal procession in India or England.

Musical Appreciation.

1. How many kinds of Children's Music are there? Give examples of each type. In what category would you place Schumann's "Scenes of Childhood," and why?

2. Write a few lines on any *five* of the following,--Clara Wieck; "Traumerei"; the "Lied" or art-song; Florestan; G.A.D.E.; Jean Paul Richter; Schumann's use of the "Marseillaise."

Recitations. *

Father to choose a humn, a poem, or a scene from Shakespeare, and two passages from the Bible Lessons.

Reading. *

Father to choose an unseen passsage, giving marks for enunciation.

Music. *

Examine in work done and report upon stage reached.

Singing. *

Father to choose an English and a French, and a German song, two tonic sol-fa exercises.

Drill. *

Drill, before parents.

Work. *

Outside friend to examine, but list of handicrafts completed to appear on Report Form.

Form III (approximately 7th-8th grades)[3]

Bible Lessons.

I. 1. "He loved him as he loved his own soul." Give an account of this friendship.

2. What happened at Adullam, Engedi, Gilboa, Ziklag? Tell the whole story in two cases.

II. 1. Describe the journey of St. Paul to Antioch and his first sermon there. What was the result of his preaching?

2. What do you know of (a), the healing of the lame man, (b), the call of Timothy, (c), St James?

3. "The people sat in darkness." "I am the Light of the world." Show the full meaning of these statements.

Writing.

Write ten lines of poetry from memory.

Dictation. (unprepared)

The Knights of the Round Table, page 50, "So as . . . . world."

Composition.

Write an account for your School Magazine on,--

1. "And so the Princess was happily married" *or*, "And the Prince called for three cheers for the Begum of Bhopal."

2. Write some verses on one of the following.--Sir Galahad, Ulysses, Sigurd, The Coming of the Swallows, Shackleton's Grave.

English Grammar.

1. Analyse parsing the words in italics,--

"I wander'd *lonely as* a cloud
That floats *on high o'er* vales and hills,
When all *at once* I *saw* a crowd,
A *host* of golden daffodils."

2. Give, in sentences, four examples each of transitive and intransitive verbs.

3. Give, in sentences, examples of four kinds of (a), pronouns, and, (b), adjectives or,
3. What do you know of the original meaning of the verbs,--can, shall, will, may, must, ought?

4. Into what classes are adverbs divided? Give examples of each.

Literature.

1. Give some account of (a), The "Father of English Song" or (b), The "Father of English History."

2. Write, as you would set, a scene from *Julius Caesar*, in which Caesar and Casca

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[3] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Exam92III.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009).

appear.

3. Write, as far as you can in the style of Malory, of "how Sir Lancelot and Sir Lionel departed for to seek adventures."

4. What do you know of the Mabinogion?

English History.

1. What do you know about Roman Camps and Roman Roads in Britain? Mention any you have seen.

2. Why are English people described as Anglo-Saxons? Give some account of the history contained in this term. What traces of it have we still?

3. Descrive the conversion of Mercia.

French and General History.

1. Write an account of (a), Clovis, (b), the government of Charlemagne.

2. Describe the coming of the Northmen.

Citizenship.

1. (a), "Veni, vidi, vici," (b), "To cross the Rubicon." What events in Julius Caesar's life gave rise to these popular sayings? Describe Caesar's great victory at Alesia.

2. Show that we are all paid labourers. What do you understand by Integrity? In what various ways should integrity be shown?

3. What duties has a British citizen toward the Empire? What is the value of the common citizenship?

Geography.

1. Give a map of Scandinavia, putting in the chief physical features, and write a short account of the scenery. Between what parallels do Norway and Sweden lie?

2. Write "A Letter From High Latitudes" about Iceland.

3. Give an account of one of the "Famous corsairs of France."

Natural History.

1. What plants would you expect to find in a hedge, in a ditch, and on a moorland? Describe fully one of each.

2. Describe, with diagrams, six kinds of leaf-buds, or cotyledons, that you have examined.

3. What part history is contained in a piece of tourmaline and a piece of marble?

General Science.

1. What is a glacier and how is it formed? Give a diagram. Describe some of the motions of the sea.

2. How would you recognize a Norman building? Can you describe one?

Picture Talk.

Describe Jan Steen's "An Old Woman Reading".

Aritmetic.

1. Reduce 1.175 and 4.16 to vulgar fractions in lowest terms.
2. Express 7 8/16 and 7 5/18 as decimals and subtract one result from the other.
3. Find the cost of papering the walls of a room 15 ft. by 13ft. and 9 ft high; paper 21 inches wide at 2/- for 12 yards.

Geometry.

1. The three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles.
2. If the bisector of the vertical angle of a triangle is at right angles to the base, the triangle is isosceles.
3. If the opposite sides of a quadrillateral are equal, the figure is a parallelogram.

German.

1. Describe, in German, the picture to Lesson 8.
2. Make sentences using the Imperfect Indicative of,--*fragen, antworten, strecken, sein, offnen*.
3. Make sentences using the prepositions *an, anf, in, unter, vor*.

or, Italian.

1. Make sentences, In Italian, using,--Is there? There is not. I had been. We were. He shall be. There will be.
2. Use, in sentences, the Italian for,--one, first, fifth, six, five.
3. Conjugate to the Imperfect Indicative and Past Definitive and Subjunctive Present of *comprare*.

Latin.

1. Rewrite with *dicit*: - Section 90, 1-14.
2. Answer, in Latin, the questions, section 88, page 41, or, 1. Use, in sentences, the Latin for, - of a good lord, small tables, O good boys, to great kingdoms, to a famous sailor.
2. Use, in sentence, the genitive and detive singular of,--*judex, aetas, miles, trabs, hiems, dux*.

French.

1. Describe, in French, a visit to Versailles, or, an incident from *Les Ailes de Courage*.
2. Use, in sentences, the comparative and superlative of,--*jeune, bon, bien, petit, peu*.
3. Make sentences, using the French for,--I believe. Do you not believe? They do not believe. Would you believe? Does he believe?

Drawing.

1. An illustration (with name) from *Julius Caesar*.
2. A memory sketch from one of the pictures you have studied.
3. A design in twigs for a frame.

Musical Appreciation.

1. How many kinds of Children's Music are there? Give examples of each type. In what category would you place Schumann's "Scenes of Childhood" and why?

3. Write a few lines on any *five* of the following,--Clara Wieck, "Trazmeret"; the "Lied" or art-song; Florestan; G.A.D.E.; Jean Paul Richter; Schumann's use of the "Marseillaise".

Recitations. *

Father to choose two Bible passages of ten verses each, a poem and a scene from *Shakespeare*.

Reading. *

Father to choose a poem and a leading article from a newspaper.

Music. *

Examine in work done.

Singing. *

Father to choose an English, a French and a German song, and three exercises.

Drill. *

Report progress.

Work. *

Outside friend to examine. List of work completed to appear in *Parents' Report*.

Form IV (approximately 8th-9th grades)[4]

Bible Lessons.

1. Describe David's success and his trials at the Court of Saul.
2. What do you know of David as an outlaw?
3. Give an account of St. Paul's great sermon at Antioch.
4. "The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men." Where and by whom was this said? What ancient story is referred to?
5. Write an essay on, --"If any thirst, come unto Me and drink."

Writing.

Write ten lines of poetry from memory.

Dictation (unprepared).

A *History of English Literature*, page 56, "From the ruin'd shrine . . . . lake."

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[4] http://www.amblesideonline.org/Exam92IV.shtml (accessed July 11, 2009). Ambleside Online does not provide a complete example of the Form IV exam. This is all that is available

Composition.

1. Lines, in blank verse, that must scan on one of the following, --Scylla and Charybdis, The White Lady of Avenal, The Prince of Wales in India.

2. An essay, in the style of Carlyle, on some heroic personage of today.

English Grammar.

1. Analyze, parsing words in italics--

"O blithe new-comer! I *have heard*,
I hear *thee* and rejoice:
O Cuckoo! *shall* I *call thee bird*
Or but a wandering voice?"

2. What are the uses of (a), the adjectival, (b), the noun sentence? Give six examples of each.

3. What are co-ordinate sentences? Give examples.

Literature.

1. What were the "Moralities"? Give an account of *Everyman*.

2. "Erasmus is gone." Give some account of his visit to Chelsea. What does Erasmus say of Luther?

3. Write the christening scene in *Henry VIII*, or any other you prefer.

English History.

1. Describe the career of Wolsey, his peace policy, his attitude towards the Renaissance, his power as legate, and his fall.

2. What do you know of Wareham, Cranmer, Fisher, Ridley, Latimer? Sketch portraits of three of these men if you can.

General History.

1. Describe the condition of Germany when Charles V. became Emperor.

2. Give a sketch of Luther's career and of the Diet at Worms.

3. Show that "the Nile is a vast historical volume."

4. Sketch the history of civilization in the Pyramid Age.

Citizenship.

1. What have you to say about drifters and dawdlers, small thefts, bargains, borrowed property? Discuss "we are all born equal."

2. How and why did Agis set about the reformation of the City of Sparta?

3. What are the powers and what the limitations of the House of Commons? What qualities should we look for in a Member?

Geography.

1. Name and describe three groups of the islands of Polynesia.

2. What causes affect climate?

3. Give some account of New Zealand with map.

4. What do you know of (a), Nelson's favorite studies, (b), his manner of life on board ship. With what parts of the world was he familiar?

Natural History.

1. What methods of leaf-protection are employed by herbs and trees?

2. Write notes, with drawings, on the special studies you have made this term.

3. What do you know of the Herbivora? What animals does this class include? Give a life sketch of one of them.

General Science.

1. Most substances can assume the three forms of matter in succession. Give and describe examples.

2. Describe a thermometer and account for its changes.

3. What is light? What do we see? How does sight give us knowledge?

Hygiene and Physiology.

1. Describe and illustrate the processes of digestion.

Picture Talk.

Describe, with a rough sketch of the composition, "Grace before Meat," by Jan Steen.

Arithmetic.

1. In selling a house, a man made a profit of £80; if this porfit is 8% of the cost of the house, what was the cost?

2. A grocer buys 8 cwt. Of coffee at £15 a cwt. and sells it at 3*f*- a lb. Find his profit.

3. I mix 4 cwt. Of tea which cost £14 with 1 cwt; at £11 : 4 : 0 per cwt,; at what price must I sell it per lb. To gain 6d. on each lb. sold.

Geometry.

1. Through a given point to draw a straight line parallel to a given straight line.

2. To construct a square on a given side.

3. Show that every point which is equidistant from A and B lies on the straight line bisecting AB at right angles.

Algebra.

1. Divide 92 into two parts so that one-third of one part may exceed one-seventh of the other part by 4.

2. Divide £650 between two persons so that one may have £20 more than half what the other has.

3. Plot the point (0.0), (8.0), (8.6), and show how many units of area the triangle contains.

German.

1. Recite, in German, *Der Listige Reisende*.

2. Give the Third Person Singular Present, Imperfect and Perfect Indicative of,--*sprechen, finden, bitten, kommen, rufen, geben.*

3. Make sentences using the following prepositions,--*wuhrend, diesseit, durch, uber, um, hinter*.

Italian.

1. Conjugate the Past Definite, Future and Conditional, of the verb *essere*.

2. Give the Italian for sentences 1-10, Exercise 7.

3. Give the Italian for,--Is there? There are not. There have been and there will be.

Latin.

1. Translate into English and retranslate into Latin, page 168, "*Unam rem . . . auget*?"

2. Give the comparative and superlative of,--*audax, prudeus, tener, niger, facilis*.

3. Translate into Latin,--To err is human. We ought to speak the truth. Singing is pleasant.

French.

1. Describe, in French, "Un Naufrage," *or*, write an incident from *Le Serf*.

2. Translate into French, page 172, I., 1-15.

Drawing.

1. Draw an original illustration from *The Monastery*.

2. Draw a design in catkins for a March calendar.

3. Draw a study of an interior.