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Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History

National, Colonial and Global Perspectives

Edited by
STEPHANIE OLSEN

Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History

Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions

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Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History

National, Colonial and Global Perspectives

Edited by

Stephanie Olsen
Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin

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Contributors

Kristine Alexander is Canada Research Chair in Child and Youth Studies at the University of Lethbridge. Her scholarship focuses on young people, colonialism and war in the early twentieth century. Her publications include studies of Canadian girls and the First World War, summer camps across the British Empire, the imperial and international history of the Girl Guide movement, and the methodological and epistemological challenges involved in archival research on childhood.

Swapna M. Banerjee, Associate Professor of South Asian History at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York, researches gender, domesticity, family history and class relations in colonial India. Her current research is on the history of fathers and children in colonial India with special focus on the ideas and practices of fatherhood as a cornerstone of colonial patriarchy and masculine ideology. Her book *Men, Women, and Domestics: Articulating Middle-Class Identity in Colonial Bengal* (2004) employs the lens of employer–servant relationships to examine the construction of national identity in colonial Bengal. Her articles and reviews on domesticity, domestic service, children and youth have appeared in several edited volumes and journals such as *Paedagogica Historica*, *History Compass* and the *Journal of Social History*.

Juliane Brauer is Research Scientist at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Centre for the History of Emotions, Berlin. She studied Modern History and Musicology at Humboldt University and the University of Bielefeld. In 2007 she completed her PhD in History at the Free University of Berlin on Music in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. In 2012 she had a temporary professorship of Modern History and Didactics of History at the Department of History, University of Erfurt. She is currently working on her habilitation project, 'Youth, Music and the Cultivation of Feelings in a Divided Germany'. Her other research interests include the history of education and practices of remembrance.

Marcelo Caruso, Professor of History of Education at Humboldt University, Berlin, holds a degree in Educational Studies from the University of Buenos Aires, a PhD from the University of Munich and a habilitation

from Humboldt University. He researches the transnational history of educational technologies and power-knowledge constellations in educational history, with a focus on Western Europe and Latin America. Recent publications include: *Geist oder Mechanik. Unterrichtsordnungen als kulturelle Konstruktionen in Preußen, Dänemark (Schleswig-Holstein) und Spanien, 1800–1870* (2010) and the edited volumes *Internacionalización. Políticas educativas y reflexión pedagógica en un medio global* (together with Heinz-Elmar Tenorth, 2011) and *Classroom Struggle: Organizing Elementary School Teaching in the 19th Century* (2015).

Jane Hamlett is Senior Lecturer in Modern British History at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her research interests include the history of gender, visual and material culture, and families and emotional life. Her first book, *Material Relations: Middle-Class Families and Domestic Interiors in England 1850–1910*, was published by Manchester University Press in 2010. She recently led the ESRC 'At Home in the Institution' project, and the resulting monograph, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England*, was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2014.

Roy Kozlovsky is Senior Lecturer at the Tel Aviv University School of Architecture. He received his PhD in the history and theory of architecture at Princeton University in 2008. He specializes in the history of post-war architecture in Great Britain, with a concentration on architecture built for children. His monograph, *The Architectures of Childhood; Children, Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Postwar England*, was published in 2013.

Susan A. Miller is Associate Professor of Childhood Studies at Rutgers University, Camden. She is the author of *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls Organizations in America* (2007) and has contributed chapters to *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (2009) and *Rendering Nature: Animals, Bodies, Places, Politics* (2015). Her reviews have appeared in *Enterprise & Society, The Lion and the Unicorn*, the *Journal of American History* and the *Winterthur Portfolio*. Her current work focuses on children, patriotism and nationalism in the period 1890–1945.

Hugh Morrison is Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of Otago and a research associate in History at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. His research and writing foci are: New Zealand mission and religious history; missions and education; religious historiography;

and histories of British world childhood and religion. Amongst a range of publications, he is the author of *From Colonial to Global Citizens?: New Zealand Protestants and Overseas Missions, 1827–1939* (forthcoming, 2016) and is the co-editor of two other books: with Geoffrey Troughton, *The Spirit of the Past: Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History* (2011); and with Lachy Paterson, Brett Knowles and Murray Rae, *Mana Maori and Christianity* (2012).

Lydia Murdoch is Professor of History at Vassar College. She is co-editor of a special issue of the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* (forthcoming, 2015) on childhood and death, and is author of *Daily Life of Victorian Women* (2014) and *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (2006), a cultural and social history of children in poor law schools and Dr Barnardo's institutions. Her current book project is entitled *Called by Death: Child Mortality and the Politics of Grief in Nineteenth-Century England*, and she has started work on a new study of the cultural and medical uses of children in early campaigns against smallpox.

Stephanie Olsen is Research Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Center for the History of Emotions (Berlin). She was previously a postdoctoral fellow at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University. She is the author of *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen* (2014) and the co-author of *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and the History of Emotional Socialization, c. 1870–1970* (2014). She has published a number of articles on the history of masculinity, childhood, education and the emotions. Her new research, funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and based at McGill University in Montreal, focuses on children's education and the cultivation of hope in the First World War.

Ishita Pande is Associate Professor of History and Gender Studies at Queen's University and is the author of *Medicine, Race and Liberalism in British Bengal: Symptoms of Empire* (2010). Her essays on childhood have appeared in the *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, *South Asian History and Culture* and *History Compass*. Her article 'Coming of Age: Law, Sex and Childhood in Late Colonial India', *Gender and History* (2012) was awarded the Society for the History of Childhood and Youth's prize for best article in 2012. She is currently at work on a monograph that traces the place of 'the child' in ideologies of development.

M. Colette Plum is Program Director of International Initiatives at the University of California, Berkeley. She was previously a lecturer of Chinese history at the Hopkins-in-Nanjing programme and the Stanford Programme in Beijing, and Assistant Professor of World History at Widener University. She has published articles and chapters on orphans, war and the development of China's modern child welfare system. She is currently writing a manuscript on children and orphans during China's war with Japan (1937–1945).

Karen Vallgårda is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Copenhagen. Her current research focuses on divorce, childhood, emotions and the making of social hierarchies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Her publications include *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (2014) as well as articles on topics such as childhood, colonialism, gender, race, divorce and emotions.

Kathleen Vongsathorn is Wellcome Trust Research Fellow at the University of Warwick. She was previously a postdoctoral research fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin. Her research interests centre on the history of mission medicine in twentieth-century Uganda and, in particular, on leprosy and maternal and infant health. Her recent publications include articles and chapters in edited volumes on the motivations of leprosy humanitarianism; the cooperation between missionaries and the colonial government over medical mission; and shifting perceptions of leprosy in colonial Uganda.

1
Introduction

Stephanie Olsen

Where could modern children find joy? In Uganda, some found it in a leper home. In New Zealand, others found it through Christian faith and their minister's sermons. Where did young people learn about fear, but also about defiance? Some learnt in family settings, by their fathers' examples, while others learnt in public school. Where could late nineteenth-century Indian girls learn 'reasoned emotion'? Some 'experts' maintained they could learn it through marriage and conjugal love. In England after the Second World War, other 'experts' insisted that architecture could condition or facilitate a child's emotional self-governing. Where could children seek out 'healing feelings' after wartime fear, grief and deprivation? Some found them in singing together, some found them in their lived spaces, while others found them through feelings of patriotism. Still others did not feel what they were 'supposed' to feel at all. Were 'hot' or 'cold' feelings desirable in early republican Colombian children? What was an effective way to get American boys to really *feel* American? Was grief for deceased children an effective means to lobby for legislative change in England? This book introduces such a rich heterodoxy of childhood and emotional development and experience, contextualized by an equally diverse range of pedagogical, parenting and policy approaches to childhood emotions. But where there is empirical diversity, the scholars assembled here have found new, common questions and novel approaches, which suggest innovative theoretical and methodological ways forward for the history of childhood, through the history of emotions.

The chapters in *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* demonstrate how to *do* a history of childhood and the emotions and suggest why combining these fields affords historians from both approaches a valuable and more complete

picture. Topics were chosen to provide as comprehensive a whole as possible, to represent the best new scholarship in the field and to encourage future research on the intersection of childhood and emotions as they relate to war and conflict, politics and policy, space and material culture, youth organizations and institutions, and relationships with families, authority figures and peer groups. While the chapters each provide particular nuance to the overarching theme, they were also chosen because of their overlap. Taken together, they demonstrate that neither the category of childhood nor the emotions associated with it are universal; they are dependent on time, place and a host of other historical contingencies. The contributors to this volume show that while a top-down focus on children's emotional education and socialization was emphasised in many different times and places, children themselves are central to any analysis of childhood experience. In fact, it is in the dynamic relation between stakeholders of childhood (including, most importantly, children) and childhood itself that a new narrative of children's emotions emerges.

The genesis of this volume was a conference on Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History held at the Centre for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development in 2012. The reaction to the call for papers was enormous: we received over 200 applications, mostly from historians of childhood. My co-organizer, Juliane Brauer, and I realized that there was something particularly relevant about emotions to historians of childhood, but that until quite recently there had not been any rigorously developed historiographical means to get at them. We wanted to ask if there are particular emotions that are principally relevant in childhood. Can a focus on the history of emotions, its fundamental questions and its methodological approaches be a productive exercise for historians interested in childhood and youth? Can it open up new ways to uncover children's voices? And, conversely, can the participation of historians of childhood and youth further the field of emotions history? The conference was successful in mobilizing these questions, and it has taken some time for those involved to develop the ideas we explored together and to apply them to their respective research. This book is the product of our labours and demonstrates a radical increase in sophistication from our first conversations.

We have found that it is impossible to conjure with modern concepts of childhood without also engaging with ideas about emotion and emotional education. As Nina Verheyen points out, over time 'greater value [was] placed upon feelings in the educational process, educationalists

emphasising that a child was in no respect capable of bringing its feelings under control without external assistance'.[1] Parents, informed by 'experts', were pressured to take the lead. At the same time, this emphasis on emotional education seemed to narrow possibilities for children's acceptable emotional expression. In the estimation of Peter Stearns: 'The new standards were hardly invitations to emotional freedom.'[2]

Yet any temptation we may have felt to focus only on those exercising authority over children has been resisted. Just as historians of emotion argue that emotional norms cannot be separated from emotional experience or that emotional structures are contingent upon individual emotional practices, historians of childhood have pointed to the artificiality of the binary between childhood – an historically and geographically contingent category – and children themselves.[3] Children and the cultural category of childhood are mutually interdependent. As Joseph Hawes and N. Ray Hiner have put it: 'Childhood without children is by definition impossible, and children have no meaningful existence outside childhood. Each must be examined with a continual awareness of the other, not as separate, dualistic categories.'[4] Moreover, Peter Stearns has recently pointed to parallels in the historiographical trends of the history of childhood and of the history of emotions. 'Modern emotional trends', he argues, coincided with 'broader cultural changes – such as the idea of children as innocent blank slates, to be protected from fearsome discipline, rather than slaves of original sin – which in turn helped translate larger modern shifts into personal and emotional standards'.[5] At different times and in different cultures, children have been the particular targets of emotional education, of which the ideal of childhood, in its historical and cultural specificity, is especially informative.

Emotions allow us to access children's agency and children's voices in a new way. Several of the chapters in this book focus at least in part on children's own emotional experiences, while others explore the emotional valence of children and their symbolic value. Other chapters explore adults' efforts to cultivate or control children's emotions, and the effects these had on children. Several chapters deal with the relationship between children and parents, or children and other authority figures. Where we witness a heightened effort to cultivate children's emotions and a focus on their emotional education, we are alerted to a modern perception of the child as more malleable than an adult. Various steps were taken, depending on differences of time and place, to shape children while they were presumed to be still young enough to shape.[6] It is up to historians to lend specificity to, and point to the historical

contingency of, these important questions of emotional cultivation, but the questions themselves have a global relevance.

Historical scholarship is slowly becoming aware of the importance of such work. In my own work, for example, I have explored the ways in which children, and especially boys, were informally educated for their future roles as parents and citizens in Britain and in colonial India. This was especially accomplished through various appeals to the emotions. And in *Learning How to Feel*, a multi-authored volume that also emerged from the Centre for the History of Emotions in Berlin, the authors examine the ways in which children and youth learnt how to feel, through intricate interaction with their social and cultural settings, and specifically through their reading. Childhood and adolescence were the crucial life stages for this process. Rather than the existence of latent internal emotions, given specific cultural form, children are shown to have acquired competences in feeling itself. The insights that emotional repertoires develop *through* the social and cultural context, and that this happens principally in childhood, are critically important.[7]

In much of the world, as conceptions of childhood increasingly separated it from the other stages of the lifecycle, adults increasingly focused on children and youth who did not conform to the expectations of childhood. Modernity has witnessed an increasing number of youth experts and groups intervening with children and youth in order to work towards making new concepts of childhood universal (though these 'universals' have often remained class, caste, race or gender-specific).[8] Children are portrayed as being the 'hope for the future' by the protagonists in many of the chapters here. Most of the contributions concern some form of emotional education, but the focus is primarily on evidence outside of formal schooling, picking up on a remarkably common perception of the inadequacy of school curricula to impart emotions. Several chapters analyse efforts to turn children's hearts to the nation. But what struck us clearly as we advanced our collaboration was the need, within the history of childhood, for a new analytical toolbox in order to open up the question of emotions in a global context. How could we make seemingly 'closed' case studies 'talk' to one another? How could we deal with the complexities of transnational encounters, both in terms of dissonant concepts of childhood and their attendant emotions, and in terms of the experiences of children in a diversity of contexts? Could we not find a key to bring our research into line, making for viable comparative analysis without flattening out the richness of discrete cases?

These questions have led to the somewhat novel organization of this book. This introduction serves not only as intellectual background, but also as the guide for *how* to read the rest of the volume. Chapter 2 is the essential starting point. While each of the remaining chapters can be read individually, they will all be read more deeply through the lens of Chapter 2. Karen Vallgårda, Kristine Alexander and I have provided a new theoretical approach for the combined fields of the global history of childhood and the history of emotions, which supplies the analytical key for navigating other chapters, both individually and as they interrelate. At the centre of this chapter are the concepts of 'emotional formation' and 'emotional frontiers', which repurpose existing history-of-emotions tools – emotional communities, emotional regimes and emotives – for the history of childhood. We did not, however, want to impose our constructions on the individual contributors to the book. They have brought their own research and their own sets of questions to the fore, and it only makes sense that the interpretations they make remain theirs. Nevertheless, I brought the contributors together precisely because their work makes a coherent and novel contribution as a whole. This is not merely the art of juxtaposition, but a long and careful process of internal dialogue, through which individual contributors have been exposed to theories, methods and questions they had perhaps not faced before. This is reflected in the thematic coherence of the chapters read collectively. That notwithstanding, a concern remained that without careful handling, the reader might easily refragment a book that had taken so long to unify. The impetus behind Chapter 2 was therefore to come up with a framework that would bind the chapters together, using them to forge a new historiographical direction. To that end, Chapter 2 can be read as an organizing principle for the book as a whole, in advance of any or all chapters that follow, or it can be read as a summation of the work in the rest of the book, as an analytical conclusion. Certainly, the intention of Chapter 2 is not merely to explain this volume, but to set the agenda for future research in the global politics of childhood and in the history of emotions relating to childhood in particular.

The book as a whole is therefore somewhat more than the sum of its parts. But the individual parts themselves were material in inspiring the innovations of Chapter 2 and are respectively packed with research that indicates the incredible potential of the history of emotions in opening up new fronts in the history of childhood. In Chapter 3, Ishita Pande analyses the clash over the issues of child marriage and the age of consent between administrators of the British Raj and segments of

the native elite. Classifying precocious sexuality as unnatural, a new colonial law (1891) called for the systematic 'emotional re-education' of Indians. This led to a reconfiguration of both marriage and girlhood in late nineteenth-century India, and raised important questions about the universality of both childhood and the emotions. But by 'evoking emotions', Bengali authors strongly defended traditional early marriage, as it encouraged emotional concord between spouses. Particularly interesting is Pande's discussion of conjugal love as an age-specific 'reasoned emotion', which was to be attained through proper education in childhood.

Similarly complicating ideas about colonial transfer and exchange on emotions and childhood, Kathleen Vongsathorn analyses the interconnected emotional framework of Ugandan child leper patients, their families and British missionaries in Chapter 4. She raises the question of differing, sometimes conflicting, views of British and native (mainly Iteso) childhood. Happiness, as the 'right of childhood and the gift of the mission', was a predominant emotion both in the young patients' education and in missionaries' accounts. Lending nuance to this argument in an important section on 'children's responses', Vongsathorn makes clear that children sometimes performed happiness and other desired emotions in order to gain favour, but the chapter as a whole demonstrates that the distinction between 'performing' and 'feeling' emotion in this colonial context was not clear-cut. The young patients' outward markers of childhood, however, were often transformed in the leper home, making the contrast between native notions of childhood and the ideals of 'British', 'civilized' childhood plain.

Both Chapters 4 and 5 emphasize the desire to cultivate positive emotions through Protestant Christianity. This was done not through fear and loathing, but rather by the encouragement of cheerfulness and joy. Through a micro-study of one parish in colonial New Zealand, in Chapter 5 Hugh Morrison explores the important nexus of religion, childhood and emotions, highlighting the specificity of 'settler' and 'indigenous' childhoods. Transcending the analytical confines of examining only religious institutions, he argues that religion was more about emotional experience than it was about theological ideas. Importantly, the messages children received were designed to teach them how to *feel* what was 'right' and 'wrong'. Morrison also points to the broader resonance of childhood religion, ostensibly binding children of different nations to a common religious, emotional framework, though this cohesion was always marked by racial, class and other hierarchies.

The emotional impact of war is the background to Chapter 6, and indeed is thematically important in several other chapters. Roy Kozlovsky provides us with a novel and useful framework to think about the relationship between children's spaces and emotions. Through a study of several child-centred spaces, the playground, the hospital and the school, Kozlovsky demonstrates how new understandings of the special needs of childhood and of the specific emotions of children, especially in the aftermath of the Second World War, led various experts to reconceptualize childhood spaces in order ideally to provide an 'emotional refuge for children to navigate the new demands and responsibilities of citizenship' and to ensure the 'ideal of a happy, secure childhood'. Moreover, he discusses children's reactions to various spaces, showing that there was sometimes tension and transgression on the emotional frontier between children's expression and 'official behaviour norms'.

In Chapter 7, Jane Hamlett continues the discussion on children's spaces and objects, and their complicated emotional valence, through a study of boys' public school dormitories. The aim of dormitory planners was 'a moral system, in which the discipline of the self, body and emotions played an important part', and where the space itself would encourage boys to discipline themselves. The focus of the chapter is on boys' experiences and the emotional responses of children to their environments, and is especially important in highlighting the relationship between spaces/objects and the emotional practices that these things encouraged and discouraged. However, as Hamlett innovatively points out, this is by no means a simple story of cause and effect. Boys' emotions were influenced by their spaces, but they also subverted the intended use and feelings of those spaces.

In Chapter 8, Marcelo Caruso also explores the emotional effects of education, but in a vastly different context. Hamlett's discussion of the 'right' kind of emotional expression, in her case linked to Christian morality and virtue, finds a parallel in Caruso's discussion of republicanism in Colombia in the early years of independence from Spain. School policy and public examinations of youth were hotly contested topics in this era, precisely because, as Caruso argues, they were the decisive indicators of a shift in emotional regime. Questions of whether 'heating up' or 'cooling down' passions should be stressed in children's education were the focus. Children, then, were put at the emotional frontier created by a clash of leaders with competing ideas in a time of major political upheaval. Emotional education took on the utmost importance in carving out the new regime and in creating the 'right' sort of citizens.

These future citizens were meant to support republican ideals and reject despotism.

In a similar way, in Chapter 9, Susan A. Miller shows the importance of education in the formation of emotions in youth, but in her case the focus is not on formal education, but rather on a youth organization specifically designed to instil 'correct' feelings and values associated with being American, and to combat communist ideas. By encouraging the *feeling* of American patriotism in boys, the American Legion's Boys State Programme also combatted apathy by showing boys that they had a stake in their nation. Importantly, this emotional education was, to a large extent, directed by youth and instrumental in the formation of an 'emotional community'.

Nationalist education is also the theme of Chapter 10 by Juliane Brauer, which focuses on the Soviet Occupation Zone and the early German Democratic Republic. The duty to be 'joyful' and 'jolly' was promoted through the state-sponsored organization for children and youth, the Freie Deutsche Jugend (Free German Youth). Brauer focuses on collective signing within this organization as a powerful conveyor of emotional education. She argues that, in the first generation, evidence points to the measured success of such a strategy in assisting children and youth to recover from the trauma of war and deprivation, and to encourage hope for their own futures and for the socialist state. Interestingly, she demonstrates that ultimately this project at least partly failed and that more coercive means were necessary in order to ensure youth participation.

Following this, in Chapter 11 M. Colette Plum explores the Chinese Nationalist party's wartime propaganda efforts in children's homes to mobilize war orphans and to reconfigure them from potential threat to integral members of the 'family of the nation'. These new 'emotional communities', Plum shows, replaced the 'affections and bonds' of old familial emotional communities, making them stronger for nation building. Chapters 8–11 all indicate the importance of children as hope for the future of their respective nations. Adults responsible for working with children were skilled in transforming the emotional repertoire of youth. In the case presented by Plum, young orphans' excessive fear, rage and grief were redirected into 'positive' emotions for nationalist goals: patriotism, self-sacrifice, loyalty and love of labour were especially stressed. Unusually, in this context a feeling of revenge was cultivated among children as a desirable quality. Similar to the rituals in the Kumi home in Uganda described in Chapter 4, ritualized bodily practices promoted emotional conditioning. Though the goal was to bind war

orphans to the nationalist collective, Plum innovatively argues through a wonderful exploration of their own voices that they 'utilized the language of nationalism to articulate more subjective narratives of survival, inclusion and redemption, giving meaning and purpose to their post-war lives'.

Rather than exploring feelings of the nation as family, in Chapter 12 Swapna M. Banerjee examines the expression of childhood emotions from a different angle: the changing father–child relationship in colonial India as a representation of the incipient nation, specifically from the point of view of children's adult remembrances of those relationships. Both this chapter and Chapter 3 discuss how Bengali authors were informed by contact with the 'West' through British imperialism, but more importantly how this influence was adopted, changed and made acceptable in a local context. Especially relevant are ideas about childhood, sexuality and family relations. Fathers, especially those from elite, public families, were shaped by, and helped to shape, ideas and practices around the emotional involvement between fathers and children. The modern Bengali middle class was in large part defined by such changing relationships, yet children's experiences were nowhere near universal. Banerjee specifically pinpoints filial fear and defiance as the defining emotional experience of colonial Indian childhood, but effectively points to the specificity of the emotional relationship between individual fathers and children. In the end, this redefining of father–child relationships served political ends as much as familial cohesion as it aimed to redefine the public status of Bengali men through their children.

In the last chapter, Lydia Murdoch addresses an important issue: the instrumentalization of emotions related to children for political ends. Anti-vaccinationist campaigners and parents took to the streets publicly to mourn children who, so they claimed, had died needlessly because of forced vaccination. Emotions tied to childhood by mourning and through public displays of grief, combined with the fight to protect children's lives, arguably legitimatized protesters' political claims for recognition of their campaign and held the state accountable for child harm. Vocal supporters of vaccination, however, claimed that the emotions on display were inauthentic and vulgar. The anti-vaccinationist appeal was closely tied to the new ideal of childhood, both in terms of the children who participated in the campaign and in framing the larger issue. 'The innocence, happiness and health of child marchers', Murdoch argues, 'became equated with English liberty, just as expressions of mourning for premature child death stood for state tyranny.'

Yet both sides appealed to ideals of childhood innocence in staking out their positions for and against vaccination.

Informing and undergirding all the contributions presented here is the conviction that notions of childhood and children's emotional formation are mutable. By analysing the spaces and places of the emotional encounter at the 'emotional frontier' – where cultural friction and transfer take place – the intellectual architecture of childhood and the experiences of children can be reconstructed. While many of the authors are concerned with a nation or colony in apparent isolation, their analyses expose the extent to which national narratives have, embedded within them, multinational or transnational exchanges that were often fraught.[9] And where there appears to be a genuine case of national isolation, a comparative reading suggests that an absence of cultural encounter is, in itself, a silence that expresses an implicit understanding of the mutability or malleability, and therefore the high stakes, of childhood emotional formation. The 11 individual contributors to this volume were encouraged to explore similarities and points of comparison with other chapters, and therefore with other historical times and places. The chapters have been carefully selected to question assumptions about the export of 'Western' monolithic ideals of childhood, replete with an emphasis on emotional education, to the rest of the world as a one-way flow. As Chapter 2 demonstrates, juxtaposing these varied contexts often heralds surprising results. By foregrounding transnational exchange and cultural transfer concerning childhood and emotions, this volume sets a new agenda for the history of childhood, while at the same time exploring new possibilities in the history of emotions.

Notes

1. Nina Verheyen, 'Age(ing) with Feeling', in Ute Frevert *et al.* (eds), *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling, 1700–2000* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 151–176, here 168.
2. Peter N. Stearns, 'Childhood Emotions in Modern Western History', in Paula S. Fass (ed.), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013), 158–173, here 165.
3. See, for example, Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90(4) (1985), 813–836; Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51(2) (2012), 193–220; Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, 'Hidden in Plain View: The History of Children (and Childhood) in the Twenty-First-Century', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1(1) (2008), 43–49.

4. Hawes and Hiner, 'Hidden in Plain View', 46.
5. Peter N. Stearns, 'Modern Patterns in Emotions History', in Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 17–40, here 18 and 30–31.
6. For a discussion of the British example, see Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880–1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 4. This was also true in the Raj, although Indian children were sometimes perceived as small adults and thus were not granted the privileges of childhood. See, for example, Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*, 118; and Satadru Sen, *Colonial Childhoods: The Juvenile Periphery of India, 1850–1945* (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 51.
7. Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*; Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, Stephanie Olsen *et al*., *Learning How to Feel*: *Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Thomas Dixon, 'Educating the Emotions from Gradgrind to Goleman', *Research Papers in Education* 27(4) (2012), 481–495; Peter N. Stearns, 'Girls, Boys and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change', *Journal of American History* (June 1993), 36–74; Peter N. Stearns, 'Defining Happy Childhoods: Assessing a Recent Change', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3(2) (2010), 165–186; Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, 'The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950', *American Historical Review* 96(1) (1991), 63–94; Karen Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Juliane Brauer, 'Clashes of Emotions: Punk Music, Youth Subculture, and Authority in the GDR', *Social Justice* 38(4) (2012), 53–70.
8. John Gillis, 'Transitions to Modernity', in Jens Qvortrup, William A. Corsaro and Michael-Sebastian Honig (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Childhood Studies* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 114–126, here 118–119.
9. For an approach that uncovers these global processes in novel ways, see Heather Ellis (ed.), *Juvenile Delinquency and the Limits of Western Influence, 1850–2000* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

2
Emotions and the Global Politics of Childhood

Karen Vallgårda, Kristine Alexander and Stephanie Olsen

Focusing on emotional shifts in childhood ideals and practices over the past two centuries, this chapter seeks to understand child subjecthood, the instrumentalization of children's emotions for religious or ideological ends, and children's importance as agents of change. Because of their assumed malleability, young people were often at the heart of social anxieties and debates about the future of nations and empires. The interrelation of authority figures' understanding of childhood and children's own experiences is a principal focus of this book. In this chapter, we explore novel ways to approach the history of childhood and the emotions more broadly by laying out a framework for how to understand these fields in global terms, using the concepts of emotional formations, emotional frontiers and the sentimental/innocent child. Reflecting on the scholarship represented in this volume, which covers a diversity of national and transnational contexts, and bringing to bear our own experience in global histories of childhood and of the emotions, we hope to capitalize on an unprecedented opportunity to start thinking globally about the politics of childhood.

Whereas for decades, historians of childhood focused predominantly on Europe and North America, in recent years a growing number of scholars have begun to explore histories of childhood in various non-Western, colonial and post-colonial contexts. This work has brought to light sometimes parallel and overlapping, sometimes radically different histories. The turn to emotions in childhood history takes us even further, allowing us to explore how childhood emotional formation tied in with the making of social identities within and between different national and colonial settings. Taking stock of recent scholarship and setting out a new research agenda, we reflect on a number of questions.

How, for example, did situated emotional practices of childhood connect to larger global processes or specific transnational exchanges? How 'universal' was the imagined child whose emotional, physical and spiritual well-being and development motivated reform efforts around the world? In what ways did childhood become a means of forging emotional communities predicated on race, gender, religion and nationality? How did childhood – and the emotional practices related to it – figure in the construction of social hierarchies? How should historians approach the global? Why are emotions essential for a new global history of childhood?

In addition to introducing a new analytical framework with which to read and understand the different contributions in this book, this chapter points to fruitful avenues for future research in the interconnected fields represented here. Though each chapter in the volume deals with a particular national, imperial or colonial context, the questions and issues they raise have much broader implications. Here we begin to tease these out, stimulating and posing new questions, and reframing and revising old ones. Combining the history of emotions with the history of childhood, we suggest, triggers important new questions of global historical relevance.

Histories of emotions and of childhood: towards a global perspective

The history of childhood and the history of emotions share several methodological challenges. Similar binaries such as childhood/children and emotionology/emotional experience have haunted both fields in ways that have ultimately proved more problematic than enabling. Merging these fields and exploring their common problems requires theoretical creativity. The history of emotions has emerged relatively recently, but has already assumed an ambitious agenda. Various, sometimes competing approaches have been proposed,[1] but for our purposes here, the broad proposition that emotions have a history, and that they also play a role in shaping history, is essential. Children and childhood, of course, also have a history, and young people have shaped history, though often not in conditions of their own choosing.[2] Combining these two areas of study is both fruitful and necessary, not least because, as Stephanie Olsen and others have shown, adults in different times and places have often pinpointed childhood and youth as the most important life stages for emotional formation and education.[3]

As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, there is much to be gained by thinking globally about the history of childhood and the emotions. The history of modern childhood and its associated emotional formations and experiences is a global story, shaped by imperialism, transnational networks, circuits of consumer culture, mass migration and war. Yet most histories of childhood and the emotions focus on single national contexts, an approach that can obscure or fail to take into account important patterns, similarities, connections and points of difference.[4] Wherever they lived, young people both shaped and were shaped by processes, events and exchanges that crossed cultural, national and imperial boundaries, and historians of childhood and the emotions need to take this seriously.[5] Global influences, as Raymond Grew has written, 'affect the promise and purpose of childhood and change its very meaning'.[6] While his analysis is not concerned with the emotions, Grew is one of the few scholars who have noticed that the insights offered by global history and the history of childhood have the potential to shape both of these fields equally.

The methods and insights of global history therefore have much to offer historians of childhood and the emotions. Looking beyond national and colonial boundaries, the many ways in which mobility and cross-cultural encounters have shaped commodities, political and economic systems, and national and individual identities are revealed. Like much of the new imperial history, this work traces networks, webs and circuits of goods, people and ideas. As Ann Laura Stoler has pointed out, thinking comparatively or globally can 'identify unexpected points of congruence and similarities of discourse in seemingly disparate sites'.[7] Perhaps most importantly, recent world history scholarship has also produced sophisticated critiques of historical narratives that link modernity with the so-called rise of the West. This work, as Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton have written, shows that 'history cannot be imagined as an inexorable march to Western dominance and global homogeneity, but is a more complex and ambiguous set of interwoven and overlapping processes driven by a diverse array of groups from a variety of different locations'.[8] A global-historical approach forces us to reckon with a multicentred world, characterized by ambiguity and contradiction. Contingency and cultural-temporal specificity are key concepts in this geographically broad approach to the past. World history, the practitioners of which have preferred economic and political subjects to histories of culture and gender, would benefit from a more serious and sustained engagement with research on young people and the emotions.

Likewise, historians of childhood and of the emotions need to meet them halfway.

While some historians of childhood and youth have begun to employ more global approaches, many of them have not been immune to the simplistic appeal of the 'rise of the West' framework. A number of scholars have assumed that significant age-based social and political changes occurred first in the West and were gradually transported from there to other parts of the world.[9] Paula Fass, for example, has written that globalization 'continues patterns of development that began much earlier in the West, and most conspicuously in the United States'.[10] Similarly, while Peter Stearns' *Childhood in World History* allows for unevenness and complexity in global development, it nevertheless presents modernization as a process that spread outwards from the West.[11] From this perspective, research questions essentially remain bounded by when and how other societies transitioned to modern childhood according to a 'Western' model. Developments that deviate from this model are characterized by 'lack' or incompleteness. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has famously argued, such approaches to non-European history are linked to the fundamentally teleological premises that structure the academic discipline of history.[12]

Recent scholarship on the 'Modern Girl', though not fully engaging with the historiography of childhood and youth, provides a template for scholars interested in challenging the assumption that only European or North American powers have had the capacity of (progressive) innovation when it comes to childhood.[13] As Su Lin Lewis writes, the Modern Girl 'did not come from any one centre, but emerged in cities everywhere, as a worldwide phenomenon consolidated through the newly international media of newspapers and cinema'.[14] Lewis' work, like the scholarship produced by the *Modern Girl around the World* project, is an instructive example of how looking globally at young people can complicate and undermine scholarly assumptions about periodization and the relationship between Western metropoles and their so-called peripheries.[15]

Spontaneous, parallel emergences and new departures within the meaning of childhood in different parts of the world reflect a modernity only partially controlled by metropolitan authority, engaged with organically by children and filtered through or checked against local knowledge, local customs and local ways of feeling. The modern child is everywhere the same and everywhere different, forging itself in the teeth of forces that would forge it. If there is a conflict here, much can be ascribed to the assumption among adult agencies that the child

is eminently makeable: *tabula rasa* in terms of knowledge, but innocent in terms of emotion. This particularly modern assumption about the emptiness of childhood comes along with the equally troublesome attribution of dependence.

Childhood innocence and lovability: delineating global hierarchies

Thinking globally about the history of childhood and the emotions reveals the constructed and contingent nature of the feelings young people have inspired and been taught to cultivate. It can also produce important new insights about the relationship between childhood, the emotions and the construction of social hierarchies. An example of this can be found in the modern association of childhood with innocence and dependence, which, as Viviana Zelizer showed in her groundbreaking work on the United States, increased adults' emotional expectations of children.[16] In this context, seeing children as vulnerable beings in need of protection and love meant that caring for them became an economic as well as an affective investment.[17] As Peter Stearns has shown, American children were increasingly expected to smile and 'be happy', and parents were expected to raise their children with gentle educative methods and loving care.[18]

Historians of Europe and North America have since echoed Zelizer's identification of the emergence of an economically dependent but emotionally 'priceless' ideal child, although some argue that the development began somewhat earlier than she suggested.[19] Scholars have likewise pointed to the ways in which mainly white middle-class observers in these contexts, often the first to espouse these new ideals of childhood, not only initiated new legislation to safeguard children, but also became progressively more critical of the ways in which working-class and/or non-white parents raised their young ones.[20] Many chapters in this book examine the concept of innocence as a motivating and justifying factor for efforts to reform childhood in places as diverse as India, Uganda, Britain and China.

The category of innocence has been useful to historians of childhood studying many different locations and time periods, but it is proving equally useful to historians of emotions. It explains adults' efforts to train and educate children's emotions, and in the 'right', loving and gentle way. In this manner, the association of childhood with innocence and love became a forceful mode for emerging middle classes everywhere to describe themselves in contrast to the poorer and supposedly

less cultivated parts of their respective populations, but also for other groups to claim rights for themselves by appealing to the universality of the concept.[21]

The broad reach of this assumed relationship between childhood, innocence and love could be seen as an example of the rise of uniformity that C.A. Bayly has identified as a consequence of increasing global interconnectedness and interdependence during the long nineteenth century.[22] During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the presumed links between childhood, innocence and a particular version of familial love were used to justify child removal, a practice in which poor and non-white children in different national and colonial contexts were separated from their families and raised in institutions run by governments, churches and voluntary organizations. As Lydia Murdoch has written in her work on poor children and child welfare in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century London, British 'reformers continued to assert that poor children needed to be separated from their impoverished parents in order to be fashioned into citizens'.[23] While there were numerous differences between the emotional expectations/motivations behind, and experiences of, child removal in different sites across the modern world, many of these projects were also linked by a uniform belief that emotional norms and parent–child relationships in less 'civilized' families were harmful to individual children and to the nation-state as a whole.

In their study of child rescue discourses in England, Canada and Australia, Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel have pointed to such a dynamic. By the early twentieth century, they argue, 'Using notions of childhood innocence that were transcended even as they were being constructed', child rescuers in Britain and the settler colonies 'reinforced notions of the rightness of empire and the superiority of white Britons to whom God had entrusted large portions of the world's landmass'.[24] While criticizing poor, non-white and Indigenous homes as unhealthy and dirty, social reformers and missionaries often demonized the emotional relationships that they encountered in the families they sought to reshape.

These dynamics worked in particular ways in white settler societies like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the United States. Children and families – both symbolic and real – were central to settler colonialism, not least because of the imagined link between young people and futurity.[25] The stakes were high for these societies, and Indigenous children became politically central to questions of national identity and land. The idea that supposedly less 'civilized' families did not love their

children was widely expressed by the white reformers and settler states, as was the belief that Indigenous families were unwilling or unable to provide the material and affective conditions for childhood innocence – which, it was thought, was important for a successful transition to adulthood. In the process, how a society or community cared for its children came to function as a measuring stick for evaluating its civilizational status.[26]

Protestant missionary books for American children similarly justified imperial expansion with references to the depravity of women and children in 'savage' cultures. As Karen Sánchez-Eppler has shown, these texts emphasized the affective failure of 'heathen' mothers who, instead of loving their children, fed 'their babies to fish and alligators'.[27] Therefore, the spread of uniformity could also heighten ideas about racial difference: the popular association of childhood with love and innocence was closely tied to ideas about whiteness and civilization, and was mobilized to support particular imperial political agendas.

A belief in the importance of children's innocence pervaded understandings of specific sets of emotions for children within national contexts and within smaller groupings like communities and families. It was also applied globally to 'civilize' non-white children and to serve imperial and political ends, as in the case of child rescuers both in Britain and abroad. A global perspective compels us to examine whether and to what extent the modern conception of the child as innocent and lovable was universalized and how it related to the making of social hierarchies on a global scale. Under what conditions were children seen as innocent, dependent and lovable? Through what kinds of exchanges and circulations were these new emotional childhood ideals developed, translated, adapted or rejected?

In some contexts, the exclusion of non-white children from the childhood category was dependent on their supposedly different sensitivity or capacity of feeling. As Robin Bernstein has argued for the United States, although childhood innocence supposedly transcended social lines of division, it was in fact a marker of whiteness. Specifically, 'pain, and the alleged ability or inability to feel it, functioned in the mid nineteenth century as a wedge that split white and black childhood into distinct trajectories. The white, tender, vulnerable angel-child co-emerged with (and depended on) the "pickaninny", who was defined by … juvenile status, dark skin, and, crucially, the state of being comically impervious to pain'.[28] From the late nineteenth century, Western medical science was more likely to stress the anaesthetic qualities of all children, although whiteness remained a more sensitive category on the 'Great Chain of Feeling'.[29]

The concept of childhood innocence could therefore not completely trump hierarchies of race, class and gender. Consequently, it also did not universalize the emotional formation, expectations and cultivation of children globally, nor did it affect children's emotional experiences in uniform ways. There is much to suggest that even though childhood was ostensibly a category defined solely by age, in various global contexts it was nevertheless fractured by class, gender, religion and race.

In his study of colonial childhoods in India, Satadru Sen has pointed to the ambivalence with which colonial observers in the late nineteenth century discussed and handled native children: 'Even as some colonial observers "discovered" the native child, the sites of discovery produced a widespread conviction that "native childhood" was an oxymoron.' These observers operated with an assumption that Indian children were more malleable than the adult members of their society, yet they also harboured anxieties that 'native children were essentially small, perverse adults'.[30]

In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century white settler societies, politicians and educators engaged in the transnational attempt to create 'countries for white men' likewise excluded Asian children from the emotional and material privileges associated with childhood.[31] In the Canadian province of British Columbia, for instance, the decision to segregate Chinese students in separate schools was frequently explained as a way to protect the innocence of white children.[32] In other words, by essentially barring some children from the childhood category, such discursive and emotional constructions served globally to bolster racial hierarchies.

Yet in other contexts, those groups of adults who promoted the new, sentimental notion of childhood innocence explicitly insisted on its universality. As Karen Vallgårda has shown, the Danish evangelical missionaries who worked in South India in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for instance, repeatedly described Indian children as at least as cute, gifted, sweet and lovable as Danish children, thereby self-consciously seeking to constitute childhood as a universal category. The emotional labour of missionaries and their supporters, she argues, played an important part in this process.[33] However, this did not amount to a levelling of racial hierarchies. While Indian children were included – at least temporarily – in the missionaries' emotional community, many missionaries continued to conceive of the children's 'heathen' parents as fundamentally and irredeemably different. Age thus became a primary axis of differentiating between different emotional formations, placing Indian adults in an outside and supposedly inferior position. Furthermore, the emotional universality of the childhood category

was also continually undermined by educative practices that remained uneven across racial lines of division, making it fundamentally fragile. Global historical perspectives, in sum, deepen our understanding of the complicated politics of the childhood/emotions nexus.

Global emotional formations

In order to grasp, on a global scale, the reach and depth of collective standards for emotions in and across social groups to which children belonged, we have devised the concept of *emotional formation*. The concept refers simultaneously to a pattern and a process, both of which are of equal importance. On the one hand, an emotional formation is a set of emotional structures ordered in a particular *pattern*. Such a configuration exists at an overarching societal, national or even regional level, and the boundaries between emotional formations may be either murky or clear. Emotional formation in this respect thus resembles William Reddy's notion of an 'emotional regime' or Barbara Rosenwein's concept of an 'emotional community', which have been shown to have a lot in common.[34] The point is that within this large-scale collective, there exists a certain level of coherence in people's conception of appropriate or even fathomable emotional comportment in different situations. Yet the concept of emotional formation as a pattern also allows for internal variation. Emotional formations, while distinguished by certain overall hierarchies of feeling, also tend to be characterized by a high degree of diversity across space, class, ethnicity, age and gender. Analysing the interrelationships and conflicts between different spaces and social groups within and between different emotional formations is thus an important task for the historian.[35] In doing this, we must also interrogate how emotional patterns reflect and help sustain relationships of power.[36] As Sara Ahmed has famously pointed out, 'emotions work to align some subjects with some others against other others'.[37] Keeping this in mind, we need to interrogate how the structures of feeling that characterize a particular emotional formation helped to secure a hierarchically ordered set of social categorizations, as in the case of the modern emotional association of childhood with innocence, dependence and love.[38]

On the other hand, an emotional formation only exists through the reiterated everyday emotional practices of individuals and collectives. Therefore, it is also a *process* that depends on each individual learning the imparted codes of feeling. The concept thus signals forcefully that emotion structures are never fixed, but rather are continually

consolidated or altered as individuals acquire and seek to align themselves with – or contest – given hierarchies of emotion.

The process of emotional formation of an individual or a group happens as a result of varying degrees of intentionality. The acts and utterances of individuals that produce and reproduce an emotional formation may be designed to foster in oneself, or in others, particular sensibilities and habits of feeling.[39] Because children have often been considered particularly malleable, parents, educators and even other young people have frequently sought to promote in them a programme of feeling that accorded with a particular set of moral standards and relationships of power. In this manner, children were taught to express certain feelings in specific situations (such as grief at a funeral or gratitude when receiving a gift), and they were expected to eliminate or at least curtail and refrain from expressing other feelings (such as envy at other people's luck or pleasure at their pain).

The scheme of emotional re-education in East Germany after the Second World War that Juliane Brauer examines in Chapter 10 might fruitfully be understood as a (not entirely successful) project of emotional formation. The socialist youth leaders she studies believed that they could teach the young people who had been disillusioned by the war to feel joy and jolliness, and thereby transform them into a living and enthusiastic testament to the greatness of the new East German nation and the political ideology that underpinned it. The notion of an emotional formation helps us grasp this attempt to promote a particular political constellation by shaping emotional experience and expression at individual and group levels.

What is worth noting, however, is that children in most historical contexts have been subject to a variety of attempts at emotional enculturation. The emotional prescriptions and proscriptions of different groups of educators tend to differ markedly even *within* emotional formations. Rosenwein has argued that emotional mobility is limited to 'emotional communities' that are not 'radically different' from each other.[40] Yet in the crucible of revolution and war, imperial encounters, global knowledge transfer and population movements, the problem of emotional navigation would be insurmountable if this claim were true. For children, whose emotional practices are being formed, but whose exposure to a variety of affective codes may be no less than for the adults around them, the problem would seem to be even more acute. It is likely, for example, that the socialist project of emotional formation that Brauer examines was a partial failure because of the collision between new public emotional expectations and the emotional norms

and atmospheres that East German youths encountered at home or among their peers.

In Chapter 11, M. Colette Plum explores a similar process of emotional formation among orphans in Chinese Nationalist children's homes during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Nationalist state builders had clear goals in reconfiguring orphans emotionally, transforming them from potential threats to the nation into essential and valued children *of* the nation. The children themselves, however, while sometimes embracing this collective emotional formation, also related on an individual level to their treatment in the institutions where they lived.

Across time periods and in different geographical settings, young people have thus had to learn to navigate diverse emotional spaces and collectives. They have learnt that the emotional standards in school or in the orphanage differed from those in the playground or that the types of emotional interaction in the factory were dissimilar to those at home. Ugandan child lepers, as Kathleen Vongsathorn argues in Chapter 4, had to adapt to the sometimes vastly different emotional formation patterns and processes they encountered with their British teachers and carers, and at home from their families. Even the emotional training they received from their British carers might have sometimes conflicted, with either loyalty/respect or joy/hope predominating. Along the same lines, children in any number of contexts will have met one set of emotion rules among friends and another within their families. This raises important questions about how children have experienced and handled encounters with such contradictory emotional expectations.

The differences between distinct emotional formation patterns may appear so commonsensical or natural that the child remains unaware of them, instinctively adjusting to the shifting emotional formation processes. At other times, especially when a child in his or her quotidian life moved between different class, gender or ethnic milieux, the contrast between emotional formation patterns have often been felt sharply. Such a contrast is best understood as taking place at an *emotional frontier*.[41]

Emotional frontiers

By examining the emotions of children and youth in a global-historical framework, we have determined that many children share the experience of having to traverse various emotional frontiers and that, compared with adults, they are especially charged with such a role. An emotional frontier is a boundary between different emotional formations.

It may be encountered in various ways, from a minor misunderstanding to a seemingly insurmountable conflict. In encounters between people raised in different emotional formations, emotional frontiers are likely to be particularly difficult to traverse.

When studying the histories of children and childhood in various global and transnational settings, it is therefore paramount to examine how emotional frontiers have materialized and how historical actors have reacted to them. This is particularly relevant in colonial and imperial encounters, in which different sets of formal and informal educators[42] often sought to teach children particular habits of feeling, in accordance with the role envisioned for them in the future of the nation, colony and empire. This is why the debate over emotional education in schools can be such a hotly contested topic, as in the case of early republican Colombia in Chapter 8. At the same time, colonists and other imperial agents frequently portrayed indigenous ways of educating and caring for children as inadequate or even harmful.[43] The British missionaries in charge of the Ugandan leper children, as Vongsathorn describes, perceived that their charges were often 'worse' off after a visit home, and sometimes delayed permission for family visits.

Encounters among Protestant Christian missionaries, who worked across the colonized world, and the young people they sought to convert offer numerous examples of emotional frontiers.[44] These self-conscious agents of religious and cultural transformation often directed much of their educative and proselytizing work at children, who were generally seen to offer greater hope than the adults of their societies for profound interior change. Hence, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christian missionaries opened countless institutions – orphanages, day schools, Sunday schools, boarding schools, high schools and industrial schools – catering to children in what they perceived to be the 'heathen' lands.[45] The hope was that children would not only be reformed and converted, but that they would also contribute to the spread of Christianity throughout their 'heathen' societies. In this way, children became important targets in the global missionary movement's ultimate goal of conquering 'the world in the name of Christianity and civilisation'.[46]

In addition to learning how to read, write and familiarize themselves with the catechism and prayer, Indigenous children were to undergo a fundamental transformation. They were to dress according to the missionaries' standards of propriety, to develop industrious habits and to comport themselves in manners consistent with gender and class-specific notions of respectability. Most importantly, perhaps, they were

often expected to develop new ways of feeling that accorded with a different emotional formation. They were to respect the missionaries, to feel gratitude when receiving gifts, to feel guilt and remorse when they sinned, to feel shame when hearing indecent talk and even to feel disgust or sadness when witnessing superstition or idolatry. Hugh Morrison gives an example of this in Chapter 5 on settler children and Protestant Christianity in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New Zealand, noting that settler churches 'placed a premium on investing in the lives of children and young people, and in which particular modes of emotion helped to further shape children's religious sensibilities or attitudes'.[47] In a parallel case, as Vongsathorn shows in Chapter 4, British missionaries working in leprosy homes in mid-twentieth-century Uganda were keen to administer to the children, expecting nothing less than a profound physical, spiritual and emotional transformation. In particular, Vongsathorn maintains, the missionaries sought to engender a set of emotions that would support the British imperial project. In Chapter 11, Plum shows a parallel development for wartime China, whereby a focus on orphans' emotions served to bolster the nation. Ishita Pande in Chapter 3 examines the confrontations between British administrators and parts of the educated colonized elite over the issues of child marriage and age of consent in late nineteenth-century India, putting girls at the frontier of two very different emotional formations. In late colonial Bengal, meanwhile, Swapna M. Banerjee (Chapter 12) shows that fathers employed particular (and changing) emotional practices relating to their children. These practices were based on new, outward-looking ideals of fatherhood, but also on *bhadralok* families' perceived roles as representatives, and leaders, of the burgeoning nation.

In settler societies like Canada and Australia, some Indigenous children were physically removed from their homes by the state. Separating children from their families and communities, a central plank in these states' assimilation policies, was a physical and affective rupture. In nineteenth and twentieth-century Canada, the nationwide effort to assimilate and 'civilize' First Nations, Metis and Inuit children by separating them from their parents and training them in the Euro-Canadian cultural, social, occupational and emotional norms would have been experienced as an emotional frontier.

Residential schools, funded by the Canadian government and run by Protestant and Catholic churches, subjected Indigenous youngsters to harsh discipline, regimentation and gender-specific practical training. These institutions, at which many Indigenous children also experienced hunger and abuse, were 'unhappy spaces': particularly stark

environments that were characterized by alienation, loneliness and fear. They were often explained, to their students and the Canadian public, as an attempt to save Indigenous children from maternal neglect. Along with sewing and agriculture, the students at Canadian residential schools were taught to feel hatred and shame for their own families and cultures. While most studies of residential schooling have focused on the material hardships students endured, these spaces also forced Indigenous children to grapple with an especially harsh emotional frontier.[48] This is illustrated perfectly by the 1952 cover of the *Indian School Bulletin*, a magazine for residential schoolteachers published by the Education Division of the Indian Affairs Branch. The goals of assimilatory education, the publication boasted, covered 'the whole child, body and soul, intellect and will, sense, imagination, and emotions'.[49]

In all such situations, children and young people were placed at an emotional frontier between expectations stemming from contrasting emotional formations.[50] They were taught habits of feeling derived from an emotional formation in contrast to the one according to which they were raised. No matter where they settled, missionaries and child welfare and education workers as well as social leaders never operated in a social or political vacuum; rather, they encountered collaboration and adaptation, but also subtle or fierce resistance from the people whose worldviews, ways of living and modes of feeling they sought to change.[51] In this manner, children often became important symbols in battles among groups of adults in their attempts to shape the future of society.

What were the consequences for children of finding themselves at an emotional frontier? As Peter Burke, among others, has noted about cultural frontiers, they can function as either 'barriers' or 'contact zones'.[52] The same applies to emotions and, indeed, an emotional frontier might be a barrier and a contact zone all at once. Most likely, there were many different ways of facing such emotional frontiers. Some children probably more or less consciously learned to navigate the different sets of emotional expectations. For others, it may have seemed impossible; they may have felt disjointed, torn, inadequate, confused or alienated. Rob Boddice has conceived of such difficulty in emotional navigation as an 'emotional crisis'.[53] However, crossing an emotional frontier also has the potential to denaturalize certain ingrained types of feeling and practice. The individual at the emotional frontier becomes aware of the priority of visceral experience; the contingency of the variegated emotional codes of the different sets of adults is revealed; what had passed for authenticity is exposed. As Sara Ahmed has compellingly argued in her discussion of 'the feminist killjoy', questioning the emotional

consensus in a particular collective can be a forceful mode of social critique.[54]

Historians should therefore consider situations in which more-or-less open confrontations among different sets of authorities implicated and ensnared children. What did it mean for children, who had been brought up within one emotional formation pattern and according to one dominant emotional formation process, to be exposed to a new and very different set of emotional expectations? What kind of potential was embedded in the experience and the space of such an emotional frontier?

Approaching the global

Emotions provide a different critical lens with which to cut through conventional geographical boundaries, providing new ways to explore the history of childhood. This chapter has so far argued for a new way to approach global history, one that combines a focus on the local with larger transnational trends concerning childhood and the emotions. When historians remove the nation as our de facto analytical boundary, different analytical categories emerge that may in turn help revise how historians approach the history of nations. Several chapters in this book deal with colonial encounters, especially with the British Empire, but also with the Spanish Empire and with Japanese imperial pursuits. In the case of the British Empire, we have chapters from three continents and three types of colonies: Africa (Uganda), the subcontinent (India) and in the settler colonies (New Zealand). These colonial encounters were often marked by similar efforts to educate children within native populations. Faith, work and school patterns, changing legal and welfare standards all intersect with imperial encounters, but also transcend them in myriad ways. Several chapters, including Chapters 7 and 13, show that boundaries delineating which children were allowed a safe and 'innocent' childhood, and which were allowed freedom and privacy were not only predicated by race, but also most emphatically by social class.

We see childhood itself emerging as a contested category with global reach. The political capital of this category is explored in several chapters, but most explicitly in Chapter 13, as Lydia Murdoch discusses how conceptions of the child as emerging citizen in Victorian England led to demands for legislative action in the case of the anti-vaccination movement. Equally, in Chapter 6 Roy Kozlovsky shows that in post-Second World War England, the demands of the child as

citizen encouraged the reconceptualization of space and architecture, and the investment in spaces specifically for children. In Chapter 7, Jane Hamlett shows that youth-controlled spaces and objects could be decisive in emotional education, but sometimes ambiguously or negatively so.

Changing childhood spaces are reflective of changing ideas about childhood, but also about emotions. Chapters 6 and 7 explicitly deal with these issues, but several other chapters hint at the emotional valence of particular spaces, like familial homes, children's homes, schools, places of worship, streets and youth-directed places. Changing family norms are also significant on a global scale. Bengali fathers shared a similar generational shift to British fathers in terms of emotional involvement with their children. What it meant to be a wife in late nineteenth-century India, as Ishita Pande shows, was influenced by global debates and had great impact on what it meant to be a girl.

Several chapters also demonstrate the political potential of children's emotions. In Chapter 13, Murdoch demonstrates that the public display of grief for children who died ostensibly from enforced vaccination policies was contested precisely because of its volatile political potency for legislative change. From a vastly different perspective, the struggle for primacy of an emotional regime in post-revolutionary Colombia (Chapter 8), reflected in debates over school policy and children's public examinations, went to the very core of questions of what the new republic should be. These were of course also questions of who would have political control over the nation, for the present and, more importantly, in the hearts of its future citizens. The United States and independent Colombia sought to teach 'republican' emotions, though the meaning of this term was specific to the respective national contexts. As Susan A. Miller argues in Chapter 9, 'Americanism', a heady combination of free-market capitalism and democracy, was disseminated in part through the Boys State programme. The link between children's positive emotions and regime success and propagation was also exploited in East Germany and in China.

In a similar vein, several chapters reveal the insights produced by studying war, and the aftermath of war, in a global perspective. Wars of independence and related nationalist movements, the two World Wars and the Cold War all precipitated efforts by educators, politicians and policy makers, youth and social workers in Colombia, China, East Germany and the United States to train patriotic young citizens. Their love for their countries was not just demonstrated, but really *felt*. They felt they had a stake, and a contribution to make, in their

country's future. In general these chapters demonstrate that children's outward emotional states and their education mattered to national morale. In times of international and global strife, getting children over an emotional frontier and on board with a prescribed emotional formation process became a matter of high priority.

By thinking globally, we change how we understand the history of childhood and the emotions. The figure of the child is placed at the heart of nation-building and empire-building projects, in a context of international exchange, transfer and conflict. The political importance of educating and emotionally shaping the child in prescribed ways becomes clear, as do the risks of exposing children to the emotional frontier. Implicit in the global politics of subjecting or exposing children to processes of emotional formation is a clear conception of what the child is that rarely, if ever, comes from the child. Paula Fass has rightly pointed to the unevenness of children's experiences, but has also stressed childhood's 'continuing privileges' and 'aspiring universalism'.[55] Who aspires? When thinking about more-or-less rigid emotional formations, competing amongst themselves for the emotional loyalty of children, in what sense – and for whom – is childhood a 'privilege'? And can universalism ever be a desirable end?

Conclusion

For historians, the stakes of this work are high. Whose voices do we choose to write about? Whose are not represented in conventional textual archives? What are the political implications of our choice of analytical strategy? Who gets to have a childhood? Whose emotions are valid and how are they captured historically? These questions are equally relevant for scholars examining historical actors' discourses and practices, and for self-reflexive historians, who seek to have a more complete and inclusive narrative of the past. This self-reflexivity is essential in order not to take historical evidence at face value, and is especially important when dealing with historical actors whose voices are notoriously difficult to find, their silencing made more acute by the intersection of (young) age, class, gender and race. Emotional formations, as we have shown, tend to sustain particular relationships of power. This means that the negotiation of an emotional frontier might have significant political potential. When children (or adults) have the opportunity to question what has so far been taken for granted, they may also become agents of change. Children are sites of political struggle concerning emotional formation, but also have their own agency in

the power dynamics in play. This is not to say, necessarily, that theirs is a politics of intention, but nor is a child a *tabula rasa*, ready to be inscribed by the ascendant institutions and individuals who wish to fertilize their influence in youth.

Pointing to the continuities of the imagery of child rescue within present-day humanitarian campaigns and discourses on transnational adoption, for example, we might uncover the continued global political significance of the sentimental notion of the universal child. Further inquiries into the imperial and post-colonial reconfigurations of childhood and the significance of emotions in these processes in various global contexts would be a fruitful trajectory for future research. Further, a focus on the emotional formations of the child, and the emotional frontiers she or he had to cross in familial, institutional, cultural and racial settings, will provide historians with a much more complete picture.

This is important and challenging work – not least because it forces us to reckon with historiographies, frames of reference and analytical questions that have, to a large extent, evolved separately. Doing global childhood and emotions history, then, means getting beyond national and disciplinary conventions and paradigms. It also requires critical and creative engagement with a wide variety of primary sources and archives. In some respects, historians of young people and the emotions are especially well-suited to this kind of work, as their methods already include questioning and looking beyond state-based archives, and reading sources along and against the grain.

Notes

1. For introductions, see e.g. Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49(2) (2010), 237–265, esp. 243; Rob Boddice, 'The Affective Turn: Historicizing the Emotions', in Cristian Tileagă and Jovan Byford (eds), *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary Explorations* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 147–165, esp. 153–155; Ute Frevert, *Emotions in History: Lost and Found* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011); Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2015); Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).
2. Kristine Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 4(1) (2012), 132–145; Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, 'Hidden in Plain View: The History of Children (and Childhood) in the Twenty-First-Century', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1(1) (2008), 43–49.

3. Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880–1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, Stephanie Olsen *et al*., *Learning How to Feel*: *Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
4. Some excellent work fits into this category; examples are too numerous to cite. See e.g. Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004); Anna Saunders, *Honecker's Children: Youth and Patriotism in East(ern) Germany, 1979–2002* (Manchester University Press, 2007); Andrew Donson, *Youth in the Fatherless Land: War Pedagogy, Nationalism, and Authority in Germany, 1914–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: Age, Class, and the Male Youth Problem 1880–1920* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood 1600–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Colin Heywood, *Growing Up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 2007); Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000).
5. Some recent edited collections have paid attention to the global history of childhood, and global and colonial girlhoods, though these have little to say about the emotions. See e.g. Heidi Morrison (ed.), *The Global History of Childhood Reader* (London: Routledge, 2012); Jennifer Helgren and Colleen A. Vasconcellos (eds), *Girlhood: A Global History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith (eds), *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840–1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
6. Raymond Grew, 'On Seeking Global History's Inner Child', *Journal of Social History* 38(4) (2005), 849–858, here 854.
7. Ann Laura Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies', *Journal of American History* 88(3) (2001), 829–865, here 847.
8. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: Bodies, Empires, and World Histories', in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 1–15, here 12.
9. See e.g. Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
10. Paula S. Fass, *Children of a New World: Society, Culture, and Globalization* (New York University Press, 2006), 203–204.
11. Stearns, *Childhood in World History*.
12. Dipesh Chakrabarty, 'Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for "Indian" Pasts?', *Representations* 37 (1992), 1–26. For a related critique of anthropology, see Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

13. Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy *et al*. (eds), *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008). Other examples include Birgitte Søland, *Becoming Modern: Young Women and the Reconstruction of Womanhood in the 1920s* (Princeton University Press, 2000); Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).
14. Su Lin Lewis, 'Cosmopolitanism and the Modern Girl: A Cross-cultural Discourse in 1930s Penang', *Modern Asian Studies* 43(6) (2009), 1385–1419, here 1386.
15. Weinbaum, Thomas, Ramamurthy *et al*., *Modern Girl around the World*.
16. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*.
17. On the concept of 'affective economies', see Sara Ahmed 'Affective Economies', *Social Text* 22(2 79) (2004), 117–139.
18. On childhood happiness, see Peter N. Stearns, 'Defining Happy Childhoods: Assessing a Recent Change', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3(2) (2010), 165–186.
19. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*.
20. See e.g. Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 87–151; Bengt Sandin, '"In the Large Factory Town": Child Labour Legislation, Child Labour and School Compulsion', in Ning de Coninck-Smith, Bengt Sandin and Ellen Schrumpf (eds), *Industrious Children: Work and Childhood in the Nordic Countries 1850–1990* (Odense University Press, 1997), 17–46.
21. In *Juvenile Nation*, Olsen argues that important organizations for youth were specifically run for and by working-class members for the betterment of their own communities, using similar concepts of childhood to those employed by the middle classes.
22. C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2004).
23. Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, and Contested Citizenship in London* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 7; see also 3.
24. Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850–1915* (Manchester University Press, 2010), 74.
25. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis' claim that the impulse to create a sense of common future or destiny (in the absence of a shared past) is a common feature of settler nations; Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Introduction: Beyond Dichotomies – Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class in Settler Societies', in Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (ed.), *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class* (London: Sage, 1995), 1–39, here 19.
26. Here one can detect a distinct parallel to the way in which 'the women's question' functioned as a marker of national and colonial identities in various colonial contexts. See e.g. Lata Mani, 'Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India', *Cultural Critique* 7 (1987), 119–156; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in Cary Nelson and

Lawrence Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 271–313.

27. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 214.
28. Robin Bernstein, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights* (New York University Press, 2011), 20.
29. Joanna Bourke, *The Story of Pain: From Prayer to Painkillers* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 214–230.
30. Satadru Sen, *Colonial Childhoods: The Juvenile Periphery of India 1850–1945* (London: Anthem Press, 2005), 1.
31. Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).
32. Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-racism, and the Making of Chinese-Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).
33. Karen Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 156–180.
34. Reddy's concept is developed in William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge University Press, 2001). Rosenwein's concept was first developed in Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845. For their similarities, see Boddice, 'Affective Turn', 153–5.
35. Similarly, Peter Stearns has recently argued that historians of emotions should pay 'attention to the interplay between larger emotional patterns and particular emotional communities and subgroups'; Peter N. Stearns, 'Modern Patterns in Emotions History', in Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 17–40, here 23.
36. As Reddy has aptly phrased it, 'Emotional control is the real site of the exercise of power'; William M. Reddy, 'Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology* 38(3) (1997), 327–351, here 335.
37. Sara Ahmed, 'Collective Feelings: Or, the Impressions Left by Others', *Theory, Culture & Society* 21(2) (2004), 25–42, here 25. See also Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
38. See also the work of Ann Laura Stoler, particularly *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995); *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2002); *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton University Press, 2009).
39. This idea bears William Reddy's 'emotives' (1997) or what Monique Scheer might call 'emotional practices'; Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51(2) (2012), 193–220.
40. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', 842–843; Plamper, 'History of Emotions', 256.

41. The concept is inspired by Kathleen Brown's notion of 'gender frontiers'. See Kathleen M. Brown, 'Brave New Worlds: Women's and Gender History', *William and Mary Quarterly* 50(2) (1993), 311–328.
42. For a development of the concept of 'informal educators', see Stephanie Olsen, 'Informal Education: Emotional Conditioning and Enculturation in British Bands of Hope 1880–1914', in Marcelo Caruso and Ute Frevert (eds), *Schwerpunkt: Emotionen in der Bildungsgeschichte* (Bad Heilbrunn: Klinkhardt, 2012), 110–125.
43. Satadru Sen, 'The Savage Family: Colonialism and Female Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century India', *Journal of Women's History* 14(3) (2002), 53–79; Satadru Sen, 'The Orphaned Colony: Orphanage, Child and Authority in British India', *Indian Economic Social History Review* 44(4) (2007), 463–488; Karen Vallgårda, 'Between Consent and Coercion: Danish Missionaries and Tamil Parents in Late Nineteenth Century South India', *Review of Development and Change* 14(1&2) (2009), 87–108.
44. On such cross-cultural emotional mission encounters, see e.g. Claire McLisky, Daniel Midena and Karen Vallgårda (eds), *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
45. See e.g. Rhonda A. Semple, '"The Conversion and Highest Welfare of Each Pupil": The Work of the China Inland Mission at Chefoo', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31(1) (2003), 29–50; Heike Liebau, 'Faith and Knowledge: The Educational System of the Danish-Halle and English-Halle Mission', in Andreas Gross, Y. Vincent Kumaradoss, and Heike Liebau (eds), *Halle and the Beginning of Protestant Christianity in India*, vol. iii, *Communication between India and Europe* (Halle (Saale): Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen, 2006), 1181–1214; Larry Prochner, Helen May and Baljit Kaur, '"The Blessings of Civilisation": Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools for Young Native Children in Three Colonial Settings – India, Canada and New Zealand 1820s–1840s', *Paedagogica Historica* 45(1&2) (2009), 83–102; Jana Tschurenev, 'Incorporation and Differentiation: Popular Education and the Imperial Civilizing Mission in Early Nineteenth Century India', in Carey A. Watt and Michael Mann (eds), *Civilizing Missions in Colonial and Postcolonial South Asia: From Improvement to Development* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), 93–124; Karen A. Vallgårda, 'Adam's Escape: Children and the Discordant Nature of Colonial Conversions', *Childhood* 18(3) (2011), 298–315.
46. Hilde Nielssen, Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Karina Hestad Skeie (eds), *Protestant Missions and Local Encounters in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Unto the Ends of the World* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–22, here 9.
47. See Chapter 5. See also Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission*.
48. On emotional reactions to the separation of Canadian Indigenous children from their families, see Kristine Alexander, 'Picturing Girlhood and Empire: The Girl Guide Movement and Photography', in Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith (eds), *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840–1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 197–213. Important works on the history of residential schooling in Canada include John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System: 1879–1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in*

British Columbia, 1900–50 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998); J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (University of Toronto Press, 1997).

49. Quoted in Sarah de Leeuw, '"If Anything is to Be Done with the Indian, We Must Catch Him Very Young": Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children and the Geographies of Indian Residential Schooling in British Columbia, Canada', *Children's Geographies* 7(2) (2009), 123–140, here 131.
50. As Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen have shown in their work on British Christian missionaries in India, in the missionary ontology, emotional comportment became a crucial parameter of identity and the supposedly unbalanced emotional expressions of the natives came to define their heathenism; Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications c1880–1920', *Journal of Social History* 41(3) (2008), 691–716. Vallgårda develops this argument with particular reference to the education of children in the context of colonial South India and Denmark: Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission*, 39–73, 123–155.
51. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, vol. 1, *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (University of Chicago Press, 1991); Anna Johnston, *Missionary Writing and Empire: 1800–1860* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). See also several of the contributions to McLisky, Midena and Vallgårda, *Emotions and Christian Missions*.
52. Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Polity, 2008), 119–20.
53. Boddice, 'Affective Turn', 158–162.
54. Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
55. Paula S. Fass, 'Is There a Story in the History of Childhood?', in Paula S. Fass (ed.), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London: Routledge, 2013), 1–14, here 3.

3

Feeling Like a Child: Narratives of Development and the Indian Child/Wife

Ishita Pande

'Please let me sleep with you, *didi* [elder sister], don't make me go to his bed; I beg of you, save me; that weight crushes me; I simply cannot sleep in that room.'[1] Thus opens a novella-in-verse, written by a male author, in the form of a series of dialogues between the 12-year-old Sarojbala and a slew of female relatives, who appear in sequence to chide her for her misplaced reticence and to educate her on the duties and pleasures of conjugal sex. While a *didi* rebukes her with a not-so-friendly threat of a kick to the face, an aunt consoles her that even though the 'first connection might hurt a bit, that would ultimately melt into the glow of marital bliss'.[2] An older relative encourages her with salacious details from her own childhood when, as a young bride, she willingly – no, insistently – slept with her husband starting from the age of 11. Do the words of the reluctant young bride allow us to gauge the feelings of a child, forced into premature marriage and precocious sex, in the late nineteenth century? Do they alert the reader to the greatest scandal of child-marriage – of wives confronted with the prospect of marital rape – a phenomenon that was widely discussed after the death of a child-wife 'on her wedding night' in 1889?[3] Or does the author's twisted plot simply offer insights into an emotional regime that saw no conflict in the 12-year-old's assumption of conjugal duties? Did a 12-year-old feel like a child or was she expected to love like a wife in late nineteenth-century India?

Sarojbala was published in 1891, the very year in which the colonial government in India raised the age of consent to 12 years for unmarried girls and to 11 for wives. In mandating a minimum age for marital sex, and thus separating the marriage rite from sexual consummation,

the 1891 law had departed from English law and attempted to avoid direct interference in the Hindu rite of marriage.[4] In effect, therefore, the lines between 'child' (below the age considered capable of consenting to matters regarding the person) and 'wife' ('belonging' to the husband under both Hindu religion and Anglo-Indian law) remained slippery and uncertain in 1891. It was only in 1929 that the line was solidified, at least in theory, with the passage of the Child Marriage Restraint Act that prohibited the marriage of a child, defined as 'a person who, if a male, is under eighteen years of age, and if a female, is under fourteen years of age'.[5] Using the term child/wife to capture a shifting legal and affective subjectivity, this chapter asks if, how and when female persons between the ages of 12 and 14, who could be legally married until 31 March 1929, came to be reconfigured as children within the domestic, familial and societal realms in response to the new law.

The sheer social conflict and emotional crisis unleashed by the laws passed in 1891 and 1929 would have been intense: how was a husband to approach a wife? What was a mother to teach her daughter about marriage? How was the married 11- or 12-year-old to *feel*? When and how was she to become a wife and stop feeling like a child? The figure of the Indian child/wife, perched on the brink of precocious wifehood and precious childhood, provokes questions of interest both to historians of childhood and of emotions – about the transcultural disposition of children, the universality (or not) of emotions, the power of laws to recalibrate emotions and the crisis wrought in emotional communities by rapid transformations in legal norms. How were emotions such as love and desire subjected to redefinition and re-education in India, in the period roughly between 1891 and 1929, in order to disarticulate the figure of the child from the wife?

To answer this question, in the first section of this chapter, I track the 11-year-old protagonist's feelings in *Ratanbai: A Sketch of a Bombay High Caste Hindu Young Wife* (1895), which depicted a young wife's life as a narrative of development from childhood to adulthood. The *Bildungsroman* form served to reconfigure the 'young wife' as a child, thereby naturalizing a certain temporality of personal development. For the metropolitan audience, the novel captured India's difference in the present, and rationalized colonial legal intervention as a mechanism for restoring a natural order of universal human development in the future. For the local readership, the *Bildungsroman* drew attention to the 'unnaturalness' of early marriages, fulfilling a pedagogic function without embracing an overt, reformist stance. Yet, as this chapter suggests, the narrative of *Bildung* itself seemed to collapse in *Ratanbai*,

which, appearing soon after the Age of Consent Act of 1891, mirrored the cautious, obfuscating or perhaps simply confusing idiom of the law that had stopped short of separating the child and the wife. A fuller story of a transition from childhood to adulthood was to await the idea of adolescence, defined as an intermediate period of life and disseminated through a range of sex education manuals in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the second section, I read two such tracts addressed to girls and adolescents to ask how sex education might have captured (or even enabled) the disarticulation of the child and wife newly mandated by the law in 1929. Finally, I suggest that a sexological discourse on emotion enabled the disaggregation of the figure of the child from the wife. Since the sexological understanding of emotion rested on a narrative of corporeal development and shored up the teleology of conjugal partnership, it also served, paradoxically, to sexualize the child.[6]

Becoming child: the desire for education and a truncated narrative of development

The enormity of the emotional re-education demanded by the Age of Consent Act of 1891 becomes evident when considering the tone of marriage manuals from the 1880s and 1890s. While the unabashed promotion of precocious sexuality in *Sarojbala*, cited in the opening sentence to this chapter, might have constituted a deliberate retaliation against the Act of 1891, Bengali authors had long cast the youthfulness of wives in a 'warm, suffusing glow'.[7] Reflecting this trend and countering the reformists' citation of medical and ethnographic facts to critique precocious sexuality and early marriages, Sasibhushan Guha defended youthful marriages by evoking emotion: 'Shut your scientific eyes for a moment', he beseeched the reader, 'and look at the issue through the eyes of love.'[8] Despite the objections of social reformers, another author insisted, the ages between 10 and 14 were far from being unsuitable for marriage; if a girl came of age *before* marriage and was educated in her natal family, no mutual affection could possibly develop between the conjugal couple or the extended family because of the differences in opinion that would invariably arise.[9] Since early marriages offered a proper education for conjugal and familial happiness in this view, the best education was that provided by a husband to his wife.[10] Exemplifying this ideal pedagogy for conjugality, *Yuvatijivana* unfolded in the form of a dialogue between husband and wife. The fictitious husband offered lessons on marriage and reproduction, emphasizing the

emotional benefits of early marriages, to ward off his wife's increasingly sceptical queries:

> The girl who gets married young treats her in-laws as she would her own parents; a deep affection is born between them. The tender girl can be molded to fit the family. This can't happen at an older age.[11]

While recommending youthful marriages for promoting deeper affective ties within the family, the author nonetheless conceded, in an apparent nod to the new legal regime, that young wives of 11 or 12 ought to be kept from sexual activity for some years.[12] The manuals mentioned above were composed in Bengal, where the backlash against the 1891 law was strongest, but in other parts of the country as well, and amongst the most 'reformed' of families, childhood did not appear to be in conflict with wifehood as such, as long as young wives were given access to letters.[13]

A young wife's education was the narrative driver in *Ratanbai: A Sketch of a Bombay High Caste Hindu Young Wife* (1895), written by Shevantibai Nikambe, 'one of the pioneers of the Indian women's literary canon in English'.[14] An Indian Christian woman, born in Poona in western India, Nikambe attended St Peter's Girls' High School in Bombay and began teaching at Sharada Sadan High School upon graduating in 1890. The latter, established by the prominent woman reformer Pandita Ramabai, was a Christian institution that catered mainly to high-caste girls and young widows. In 1912, Nikambe established her own Married Women's High School, through which over 1,000 women passed during the first 16 years of its existence. Her involvement with and support of social reform in general, and of women's education in particular, is signalled in the essay she published in 1929 about her reformist role model, entitled 'Pandita Ramabai and the Problem of India's Married Women and Widows'. It is no surprise, then, that her only published novel, *Ratanbai*, also reflects these concerns and draws upon her experiences at the Married Women's High School, as indicated by the inclusion of two photographs featuring her students as illustrations for her novel.

Much like her contemporary Krupabai Satthianadhan, hailed as the first Indian woman writing in English, Nikambe would have been read by 'educated Indians, Christian converts, British colonialists and educators, Indian and British missionaries, and British women interested in reform both in India and in Britain'.[15] The work was acclaimed in its time for providing a realist account of Indian girlhood by one of India's daughters. The reformist potential of the novel was amply signalled

by the paratextual materials offered to the reader in 1895 – from the author's dedication to the Queen for 'brightening and enlightening the lives and homes of many Hindu women' to the foreword by Lady Ada Harris (wife of Lord Harris, Governor of Bombay from 1890 to 1895) detailing Nikambe's endeavours.[16] The 2004 edition of the novel, edited by Chandani Lokugé, emphasizes a particular reading of the novel: as an ethnographic account of high-caste Hindu life concerned with social reform and representing an early feminist position. Seeking to locate *Ratanbai* in its historical context, Lokugé provides a neat list of the legislative social reform that preceded its writing: the act permitting the remarriage of widows in 1856, and the raising of the age of consent to 10 years in 1860 and to 12 in 1891. Reading *Ratanbai* as 'primarily a social novel' that 'comprises the reformist agenda', Lokugé credits it for confronting 'three of the most controversial colonialist reforms of nineteenth-century India: child marriage, widowhood, and women's education'.[17] While these themes certainly loom large in the novel set against the backdrop of the daily domestic ritual and socio-religious customs of a Brahmin Maratha community, Lokugé reinforces her interpretation of the novel as one concerned with the trifecta of social reform by modifying its paratextual context, most dramatically by altering the title from *Ratanbai: A Sketch of a Bombay High Caste Hindu Young Wife* to *Ratanbai: A High Caste Child-Wife*.

The original *Sketch* trod more cautiously on the reformist terrain, making few claims to offering a comprehensive treatment of the Hindu child-wife; the original title did not even configure Ratanbai as a 'child-wife'. While the altered paratext of the 2004 edition renders the novel as an 'intervention' into a 'social problem' that is already in existence, the 1895 original would have captured a time of flux and formed part of a corpus of works that were instrumental in constituting 'child marriage' as a recognizable social problem. While Nikambe's rich account of high-caste Brahmin life – with a detailing of particular festivals and rituals, a recapitulation of religious chants and popular songs, a repetition of vernacular words parenthetically translated into English – might have fed the 'insatiable liberal appetite for non-Western alterity, custom, and female misery',[18] it doubtless also addressed English India – an English-educated Indian audience in other parts of the vast subcontinent – who turned to the novel for insights into Hindu life in a distinct regional setting. Making multiple mediations between a local and a pan-Indian context, between India and a foreign audience, Nikambe helped render 'child-marriage' as a problem worthy of scrutiny and intervention at a trans-local level and as a 'common' concern despite variations

in distinct locations. Far from offering a ledger of miseries of 'the Hindu child-wife', however, as the altered subtitle might suggest, the novel was engaged with the hesitant and difficult separation of the figures of child and wife.

The opening page of *Ratanbai* paints a vivid portrait of the eponymous protagonist, a 'pleasing girl of eleven', who appears 'dressed, as all Hindu girls are, in a skirt of the *khan* material, and a short-sleeved satin jacket', her hair 'brushed, well oiled and tied into a neat knot'. She is blessed not only with a 'fair complexion' that 'made her to be classed amongst the pretty girls of Bombay' but also with a wealthy family, an enlightened father and an adoring mother. She is laden with gold, diamonds and pearls from head to toe. A piece of jewellery around her neck, the *mangalsutra*, is not singled out for notice by the author, but serves as an indication that 'little Ratanbai' is married.[19] Promised to a family by her mother before her birth, Ratanbai has been married for a year as the novel opens. A linear narrative of development from child to wife is thus already disrupted: Ratanbai appears as a wife on the very first page. In the rest of the novel, Nikambe provides for her protagonist an extended period of childhood. *Ratanbai* thus made its most powerful intervention not through its contents – the detailing of everyday life – but through its form. In this hesitant tracing of a child's coming of age, *Ratanbai* made the reformist cause appear as natural, as consistent with a seemingly universal trajectory of personal development.

To delineate an appropriate emotional space of childhood, Nikambe draws attention to young Ratanbai's *feelings*. Instances of her feelings (admittedly somewhat scanty) appear in the novel as her devotion to her father, her kindness towards a young widowed aunt, her affection for her mother and, most overwhelmingly, in the context of her desire for an English education. Young Ratanbai wakes up each morning looking forward to riding to school with her father in a horse-drawn carriage. The daily schedule of her life as a child is routinely thwarted by events such as weddings, religious fasts and festivals, the birth of children and, more occasionally, a death in her extended family. We learn that on these occasions, Ratanbai longs to return to her books. She does 'not feel happy' in the home of her in-laws, where she finds herself: 'Sitting idly for hours, helping to clean the vegetables and grain, gossiping with the neighbouring girls of her age, listening to all sorts of talk of the elderly women.'[20] She 'feels unhappy' and flings 'herself into her mother's lap, weeping most bitterly' when she overhears her mother and aunt contemplating the wisdom of educating the young wife against the wishes of her mother-in-law.[21] She admits to 'feel[ing] strange' as she is sent

away for a holiday in the company of a maternal aunt – an arrangement made to delay the announcement of her suspended education. Receiving this devastating news upon her return, Ratanbai is overcome with misery: 'I wish I had known how to converse in English … [N]o pleasure or interest for me now. Oh! What shall I do with myself the whole day?'[22]

At her husband's home, Ratanbai becomes 'most miserable … How often, with an aching heart, she would sit dreaming about her school life! Her teachers, her companions, her singing lesson, the English lesson, the translation class, came before her, and then the *longing* would come: "Oh! could I but go to school once again!"'[23] Her life thus robbed of 'pleasure or interest', Ratanbai descends into misery, until she is permitted to return to school, thanks to the machinations of a family friend who seeks her out as a companion for his own daughter. Here again, Ratanbai 'feel[s] ashamed to go to school now', given the unfortunate gap in her education.[24] While she 'keeps silent' when she is removed from the school once again on account of her husband's poor performance in his college examinations, she 'did feel so sorry' that 'the disappointment could be seen in her sad face'.[25] In a novel that is relatively inattentive to its character's interiority, it is worth pondering that the few instances of the word 'feeling' with regard to Ratanbai appear overwhelmingly with reference to English education. English appears as the object of her *pleasure*, *interest* and *longing*; education is fetishized as the foundation of an ideal childhood.[26]

With the thoroughly asexualized object of the young wife's desire established and her childhood amply signified in the disproportionately long beginning to the novel, the years run into one another without distinction in its highly abbreviated middle and abrupt ending. While replicating some of the key components of the classic *Bildungsroman* – which delineates the formation of a coherent identity of an individual, following a period of self-exploration and crisis – *Ratanbai* deviates from the form in obfuscating seemingly crucial years of development. Much of the novel (72 out of 78 pages in the 1895 edition) is concerned with Ratanbai's life as an 11-year-old, with her quest for education and the conflict with her conjugal family recurring as sources of tension. There is, however, no gradual resolution with a formulaic harmonization of the self and society with the passing years.

While the *Bildungsroman* form has been considered 'exemplary in the degree to which its conventions overlap with the image of human personality development articulated by the law'[27] (in this example the 1891 law), the form itself collapses in *Ratanbai*. Time itself appears compressed

in the last few pages of the novel, with a quick resolution to the problem of Ratanbai's education following the death of her mother.[28] Having spent considerable ink on a year (or so) in Ratanbai's life, Nikambe simply glosses over the next five:

> Five years have rolled away . . . Ratan's husband has been to London, and has studied during three years for the Bar. At the time of his departure he left strict instructions, which were carried out, that Ratan should be sent to school until his return home . . . There was a great blank in the family circle while Ratan's husband was in England.[29]

Crucial years of development in a lifecycle, roughly between the ages of 11 and 16 in this instance, appear as a 'great blank' in emotional and narrative terms, with the mother dead, a widowed aunt away on a pilgrimage, a younger aunt off in a Widow's Home and the husband in England.

The abbreviated form of this *Bildungsroman* – its long beginning, brief middle and abrupt ending – capture the oddly collapsed personhood of the child/wife. The reader is denied a satisfactory narrative middle detailing a journey from the petulant desires of the child to the harmonious longings of the adult. In the long beginning, Nikambe fully fleshes out the young wife's childhood. Appearing in the very first page of the novel as a young wife, Ratanbai only *becomes* a child as the novel proceeds – throwing tantrums, being spoilt by her father, going to a tea party with her school friends. At the same time, she develops into a wife – learning the ropes of housework, patiently bearing the harsh words of her in-laws and registering the presence of a husband. In abbreviating the crucial middle years into a single paragraph, Nikambe hints at the *absence* that characterizes Ratanbai's life and suggests the impossibility of *Bildung* with regard to the truncated personhood of the child/wife.

A single passage separates the figure of the child from that of the wife, and the novel is brought to an abrupt end with the 'consummation' of Ratanbai's marriage. In keeping with the rest of the novel, the concluding pages are replete with ethnographic details about rituals performed in preparation for Ratanbai's 'wedding night'. The bride appears 'dressed in the most charming ruby-colored *pilao*, with jewels and flowers' and faces her husband 'bashfully and gracefully'.[30] She proceeds with the ordered rituals: washing the husband's feet, applying a scented powder, exchanging garlands, handing over a bouquet, while

chanting prayers to secure his fame, joy and prosperity. As the guests depart at the end of the evening, the couple retreats to 'the newly furnished room upstairs'.[31] Entering the husband's room in the final scene, Ratanbai's eyes are caught by one present amongst the many laid out on a table. She reaches out to grasp 'a beautifully bound gilt-edged Book'.[32] Her husband, Prataprao Khote, newly returned from England, his cosmopolitanism awkwardly signalled by his circuitous journey home via America, China and Japan, accepts this gesture with equanimity:

> 'I must have this book on my table every day; there are a *great many nice things in it which you must know*.' To this Ratanbai said: 'I have this Book too.' 'Well,' said her husband as he looked into his young partner's face, 'then let yours be out too, and we shall make it our guide in life.' Thus Prataprao Khote claims young Ratanbai as his *partner in life*. They begin life together, recognising the responsibilities and duties which lie before them, and which concern *not only themselves but their people and their country*.[33]

Ratanbai's desire for the Book is consummated just as her husband claims her as his wife.

Commenting on this significant coincidence, Shefali Chandra has suggested that despite its disruptive potential and reformist message, *Ratanbai* leaves intact the caste/sex/gender hierarchy of Hindu life and testifies to 'the benign and entirely conservative benefits of an English education'.[34] While Ratanbai's deep longing for English initially appears to disrupt traditional gender and familial norms, Prataprao Khote enters the narrative with the final act to commit her to a life of 'heterosexual romance, reproduction, and a nationalist sensibility'.[35] Taking on board Chandra's insights, we can see how *Ratanbai* served as a manifesto for a 'new heterosexuality' based on the ruse of a 'partnership'. But we can also discern Nikambe's subtle plug for an idealized childhood marked by a desire for education giving way to an *age-appropriate* monogamous sexuality, for the *Bildungsroman* ascribes to the young wife a period of childhood, even as it continues to naturalize heterosexual monogamy as the logical end to her personal development. While the truncation of the middle years reflects how the boundaries erected between child and wife by the law of 1891 had remained fuzzy, *Ratanbai* represents an early attempt to formulate an age-stratified life-course premised on graduated stages of sexual and emotional development. Something was changing.

The clue to a coming transition lies in the unnamed 'Book' with which Prataprao claims the young wife as his 'partner in life'. Was the Book

that appears in the final page simply a metonym for 'English education' or 'an indirect promotion of Christianity', as Lokugé tentatively suggests?[36] While Nikambe might well have left the Book unnamed to avoid appearing as a champion for Christian conversion, the obfuscation of the title tantalizes with other possibilities. What 'gilt-edged Book' might be given to a couple on their wedding night? What Book might have contained 'a great many things' that a young wife 'must know'? What Book would allow Prataprao to claim Ratanbai as a 'partner in life'? What Book offered advice to couples on their 'responsibilities and duties' towards 'not only themselves but their people and their country?' Might the unnamed (or perhaps unnameable?) Book have been one of the gilt-edged copies of the *Kama Sutra*, recently translated, newly resurrected and surreptitiously circulated as a modern guide to love?[37]

While it is admittedly unlikely that Nikambe would have placed the *Kama Sutra* in the hands of her young protagonist, her silence on the title might be just as significant as the other narrative elisions and formal abbreviations in the novel. The unnamed Book might be read as a placeholder for a genre-in-making. Within the next three decades, marital-advice manuals and tracts on sex education would become ubiquitous. Many of these would claim to contain 'a great many things' to enable young couples to become 'partners in life', to find pleasure in marriage and eugenic reproduction and thus to fulfil their responsibilities towards the family, race and nation. Crucially, such texts would also scrupulously detail the very years of emotional and sexual development that had appeared as a 'great blank' in *Ratanbai*. In doing so, such works would elaborate on a stage of adolescence and would drive a deeper wedge between the state of childhood and the stage of conjugality.

Loving like a wife: an education of desire and the staging of adolescence

Yet unarticulated as a discrete stage of life in the 1890s, adolescence began to emerge as an object of scientific scrutiny in a range of works on sexology and sex education published across the subcontinent in the 1920s and 1930s in several Indian languages.[38] This section is concerned with two such works, written in English, which appeared soon after the passage of the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929. *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents* (1931) was written by A.P. Pillay, a Bombay-based medical doctor, editor of the international journal *Marital Hygiene*, director of the Sholapur Eugenics Society and one of the most prolific writers on sexology, known for such works as *The Art of Love and Sane*

Sex Living and *Ideal Sex Life*.[39] Writing soon after the 1929 law had formally pushed the end of 'childhood' for women back from 12 to 14 years, Pillay underlined the sexological rationale for such a move: at the age of 12, 'the body begins to grow rapidly but the sex organs continue on their infantile state', only in adolescence do 'the body, mind and sex organs . . . attain functional maturity and the girl becomes a woman'.[40] *Towards Womanhood* (1929) was written by G. Sumati Bai, well known for her fiery attacks on gender inequality and child-marriage that circulated through *Stri Dhrama* – the journal of the Women's Indian Association – and *Revolt*, the mouthpiece of the Self-Respect Movement in southern India, which had at its heart a radical critique of the entwinement of gender and caste inequalities, of nationalism and Brahminism. Pushing for transformations well beyond the scope of the 1929 law, Sumati Bai insisted that 'a girl's body is not fully mature till she is at least twenty-one and the pelvis – the body cavity containing the organs of sex and generation – is the last to complete growth'.[41] Sumati Bai's medical training was thus foregrounded in *Towards Womanhood* (1929), a work written in 'simple language' to instruct girls on their passage to adulthood.

While Pillay promoted an elitist project centred on middle-class health, conjugal sexuality, small families, population control and national development,[42] Sumati Bai subjected the man–woman relationship to a fundamental critique and addressed women directly in a call to arms against Hindu law. Describing Hindu law as something 'devised for a colony of men', she urged women to 'crush these laws and conventions that have cowed women and curbed their growth'.[43] Despite the crucial differences in their tone and politics, both sought to complete the task of dissociating childhood and wifehood by dealing extensively with the very age group that had appeared only as an absence in Nikambe's *Ratanbai*. Reiterating the sexological narrative of development and formulating adolescence as a discrete stage of life, Pillay described his reasons for devising a course of instruction specifically for those caught between childhood and adulthood: whereas parents and girls of a certain age found his *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents* too elementary in its treatment of the 'physical aspects and problems of sex', some educationists felt his highly popular *Art of Love and Sane Sex Living*, 'being too elaborate and intimate, should be read by adults only'.[44] For her part, Sumati Bai also described adolescence as a stage of transition and education, providing simple instructions on 'how a girl can consciously evolve to full womanhood to occupy a time honoured place of Mother and Teacher of the Race'.[45]

Adolescence was staged as a time of emotional turmoil that accompanied physical transformations of 'the comely child . . . into a gawky girl'. At this perilous stage, a girl could 'form a passionate attachment for some girl friend or other', become 'thoughtful and sad without knowing why', be overcome by 'unusual weariness' or take to daydreaming, or even religion.[46] Sumati Bai emphasized the need for frank lessons on sex during this period of emotional chaos: 'It is KNOWLEDGE of facts and functions and not ignorance and suppression of those that build character.'[47]

Both put forward a model of sex education organized along age-stratified lines that was gaining popularity around the globe and that depicted adolescence as the time of physical and emotional upheaval, and also the time for an education on sexual desire. As per this schema, the very young were taught indirectly about sex with lessons about the 'birds and bees' to satiate their natural curiosity; adolescents were provided with biology lessons on puberty and reproduction in the human body; and adults were offered a frank and dispassionate discussion of the sex act and sex hygiene to ensure conjugal bliss.[48] Pillay followed up his generic illustrations of the naturalness of sex with examples from the plant and animal kingdom, with lessons on basic biology and human sexual development, before ending with advice on conjugal sex and wifely love. Sumati Bai also emphasized the naturalness of the sex instinct with examples from the animal world, concluding: 'It is sex that preserves and propagates the race-progeny; it is sex that creates in man that exuberance of spirit which bursts forth into art and music; it is sex that gives the impetus for grand achievements.'[49] Yet she followed this up with a strict warning of its dangers: 'But remember sex can also be destructive burning everything to ashes . . . *when ill-used and given undue liberty.*'[50] The characterization of sex as eminently natural – but potentially dangerous – is best clarified in their discussion of masturbation.

Boys and men had been warned of the dangers of masturbation and had been instructed on the spiritual and material benefits of semen conservation in the vernacular public sphere since the late nineteenth century.[51] Pillay and Sumati Bai brought the conversation to girls and women, addressing them with a twentieth-century sexological idiom that was no longer as preoccupied with anxieties about insanity, debility and death. This new discourse emphasized not surveillance, but education. While warning girls that the practice 'corrodes the very heart of your being' and advising self-control 'to combat self-abused sex perversion', Sumati Bai conceded that the practice of masturbation was

common and brought a 'sensation of pleasurable excitement'.[52] Going further in dismissing the cluster of medicalized fears that had long circulated under the rubric of semen anxiety or masturbation panics, Pillay boldly claimed that 'more rubbish' had been written on masturbation than on any other aspect of sex by those who 'blame all manner of ailment, from pimples to anemia to insanity' on it.[53] More significantly, he used a Freud-influenced understanding of the universality of infantile masturbation to conclude that 'masturbation and some other forms of auto-eroticism are *natural* occurrences at a certain *stage of development*'.[54] This twentieth-century discourse did not so much reject or surpass previous biomedical understandings of masturbation as make it 'a part of ontogenesis: we pass through masturbation, we build on it, as we become sexual adults'.[55] It was not the act of solitary sex as such, but its survival into a later developmental stage, or a failure to pass into sexual adulthood, that was deemed a problem.

To this end, Pillay listed the ways in which masturbation went against the course of personal and social development towards wifehood and motherhood: it made a girl self-centred and likely to avoid society; a girl habituated to taking her sex pleasures by herself might grow up to shun marriage; and, finally, 'really speaking, the generative organs are primarily meant for the purpose of reproduction and masturbation in no account can be considered a part of this purpose'.[56] Pillay envisaged masturbation in opposition to sexual activity aimed towards the future, that is, the long-term stability of a conjugal relationship and the procreation of children. Pillay and Sumati Bai depicted adolescence as a time of tremendous physical transformation and of mental and emotional turmoil, and drew a distinction between 'natural' sexual instincts (that might include masturbation or same-sex entanglements) and their 'normal' expression (directed towards the opposite sex, to an exclusive sex object and within marriage). This gap opened up between the natural and the normal can be better understood in analogy with the distinction between instinct and emotion highlighted in these works.

Underlining such a distinction, Pillay had commented on the perfectly natural tendency for adolescents to 'form a passionate attachment for some girl friend or other', but emphasized the need to avoid 'sex thoughts directed towards members of her own sex'.[57] Sumati Bai, in her turn, warned girls about their choice of friends with regard to their 'characteristic traits and tendencies' and informed them of 'sex-inverts . . . in whom the sex instinct is so perverted as to feel sensuous passion towards those of the same sex'.[58] Masturbation and same-sex desire

were closely linked in sexological discourse in diverse contexts: some depicted adolescent homosexual experimentation as the gateway to excessive masturbation and a failure to enjoy conjugal sex, while others perceived homosexuality as the fatal end of excessive masturbation in childhood and youth.[59] Masturbation stood not only for a failure of self-control, but also of the inability to direct emotions towards an appropriate object. Both were condemned as unproductive behaviour. In other words, the course of 'normal' emotional development was to be geared towards conjugality; sexual perversions signified the failure to educate the natural instincts of childhood.

While pronouncing sexual desire a natural phenomenon in adolescence, Pillay warned girls not to 'create a sex urge artificially or satisfy it whenever you feel it'.[60] Ideally, a girl was to control her instincts by avoiding 'all factors causing over-sexual stimulation, such as thinking, reading and talking of sex'.[61] Failing this, girls and adolescents 'troubled with excessive sex instinct' were advised to direct their interests and energy to other channels – 'intellectual pursuits, interesting hobbies, sports and social life'.[62] While Pillay defined this as sublimation – or 'the transformation of the libido into some impulse of higher psychic activity so that it ceases to be urgent as a physical need',[63] Sumati Bai put it more plainly, advising girls to avoid 'vulgar novels' and 'coarse allusions to sex'.[64] She advised girls to keep their mind off sex by taking 'a plunge in cold water' when desires were aroused, following a proper regime of diet, sleep and cleanliness, by trying out physical exercise to 'relieve you of sex tension' and by cultivating hobbies such as gardening, art, music, stamp collecting or minding babies for others.[65] The true purpose of sex was not 'to gratify the brute in you', she told the girl, but 'the sacred purpose of procreation'.[66] The message was straightforward: the sex instinct – natural in childhood – was to be cultivated towards realizing social goals such as the procreation of the race and nation.

Both Pillay and Sumati Bai thus contrasted the untamed, even childish, sex instinct with conjugal love, which they represented as an educated, adult emotion. Writing of adolescence as 'the stage when the instinct of sex draws on you', Sumati Bai posed the rhetorical question: 'Although desires are natural, does it mean that we must gratify every one of them? A child, for instance, might want to eat the whole day but do you tolerate that saying that it is natural?'[67] Sex instinct, like the child's hunger, was to be curtailed. 'What is an unconscious occurrence in plants, an instinctive impulse in animals, should be a wise union of love in men and women', she reiterated.[68] Likewise, Pillay

carefully parsed conjugal *love* – which he considered a learnt emotion – as opposed to what Sumati Bai had posed as it its untrained expression – sexual *desire*:

> Everyone can understand what affection, respect, devotion, sympathy and protective feelings are, as they are more or less concrete factors. These are present *even in children*, though in the early years of life they are directed to parents, friends, pets, and so on. *After the adult age*, these feelings are directed towards *a person of the opposite sex*. The term *love* is difficult to define and may signify to some affection combined with respect, to others devotion combined with any other qualities, but behind them all is sexual desire. When sexual desire is entirely repressed, due usually to faulty early training, love would mean only companionship or friendship and this alone is not conducive to a permanent or happy marriage. A marriage based on lust alone is also bound to prove unhappy.[69]

Conjugal love – a happy combination of romantic affection and sexual desire – directed towards an appropriate object in adulthood – was to be attained through the proper education during childhood. In Pillay's words: 'Happy adolescence, happy wifehood and happy motherhood would mean a sane outlook on sex the foundation for which should be laid in childhood.'[70] As a learnt emotion *par excellence*, marital love was thus set apart from other, more 'concrete' emotions such as affection, devotion or sympathy.

Whereas *Ratanbai*, composed soon after the 1891 law, had struggled to delineate a stage of life yet to be detailed or even named, Pillay and Sumati Bai used a proliferating literature on sexology and sex education to describe adolescence as the phase that intervened between childhood and wifehood. This temporal delinking of childhood from wifehood – via the theorization of adolescence as a stage of self-control and sex education – matched the efforts of the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929. In the end, however, adolescence remained the phase for 'laying the foundations' of a future wifehood and motherhood. Girls and adolescents continued to be provided with handy tips for the marital bedchamber and were taught that the foundations of an emotionally stable married life lay in 'mutually satisfying physical sex relations'.[71] Pillay's work remained haunted by the figure of the child/wife inasmuch as the child or adolescent was still configured as a wife-in-making and conjugality remained the logical culmination of her narrative of personal development.

Grasping emotion: pedagogy for conjugality and the figuration of the child/wife

Let us return, in concluding, to the pensive cry of the 12-year-old child/wife Sarojbala: 'Please let me sleep with you, *didi* [elder sister], don't make me go to his bed.'[72] While appearing to capture a young wife's aversion to sex, the novella had ended with strict instructions to the young wife to embrace her conjugal duties. The perverse message of the novella might be understood in the context of the debate on child marriage that raged in Bengal in the 1890s – and the backlash in that region against the Age of Consent Act of 1891. While critiques of child marriage had relied on ethnological and anatomical facts that proved the biomedical and eugenic damage caused to the person and the race by precocious sex, a curious defence of the practice, as we have seen, had come to rest on the grounds of emotion. Increasingly, reformers too occupied these same grounds, pointing to the emotional damage caused by premature conjugality, the most important of which was a loss of childhood itself.

To capture the enormity of this loss, novels such as *Ratanbai* attempted to track the thwarted desires of a child forced into wifehood. But operating in a context where the wedge between child and wife was yet to be made firm, *Ratanbai* could only take an abbreviated form, with the years of formation between childhood and wifehood signalled as an absence of narrative. These 'blank' years were gradually detailed in a new genre – sex education for girls and adolescents – in the 1920s and 1930s. The 'universal' trajectory of formation articulated in the *Bildungsroman* and the 'natural' narrative of personal development offered by sexology, I have suggested, were examples of the informal means by which a newly legislated separation of child and wife came to be disseminated. Sexological works formulated a seemingly universal narrative of age-stratified personal development to emphasize the contradiction between childhood and wifehood.

A discourse of emotion was crucial to the parsing of the figure of the child/wife in the 1920s. Pillay depicted educated emotions as a taming of childish instincts in a manner that was reformist in its intent, even if it was socially conservative in its promotion of monogamous conjugality. In her more radical critique of the gender/caste structure of Hindu society, Sumati Bai evoked emotion to promote marriages of partnership and to criticize marriages based on the other, more dubious imperatives of caste, money or family.[73] These distinct evocations of emotion relied on the contrast between the image of the child with

uninhibited sexual *instinct* and the adult trained for conjugality by a proper education of desire. In other words, neither author depicted the course of personal development as one from innocent childhood to knowing adulthood, but as the very opposite – a move from uncontrolled instinct to controlled emotion. 'Childhood', in other words, was conceptualized in sexualized terms. Reformers in the 1890s, drawing on biomedical statistics, had amply documented that the child was not *physically* prepared for marital sex. In the 1920s, sexologists suggested that the child was not *emotionally* prepared for conjugal love. In doing so, paradoxically, they configured the child in highly sexualized terms.

The figuration of the child/wife thus offers some food for thought to historians of emotions, as well as those of childhood. For historians of emotions, the sexological casting of instinct and emotion points to their mutual imbrication. As the works by Pillay and Sumati Bai demonstrate, while the distinction between the sex instinct and conjugal love was rhetorically invaluable, it was frail: both authors spilt considerable ink placing sexual desire at the heart of happy conjugality and in educating their readers on conjugal love while insisting on its prediscursive essence. Both also acknowledged the corporeality of emotion while insisting on its transcendence of the body. In contrasting natural instinct with reasoned emotion (instead of highlighting a duality of emotion and reason), these works stopped short of naturalizing conjugal love, even as they insisted on a stadial theory of human development.[74] For historians of childhood, the figuration of the child/wife points to the epistemic co-constitution of sexual norms and ideas of childhood, and suggests that a discourse on 'childhood innocence' was constituted under the shadow of its other – the spectre of the sexualized child.

Appearing to move well beyond the uncertain morality of the Bengali manual from 1891 that had normalized a child/wife's experiences in the marital bedchamber, Pillay and Sumati Bai argued for a dissociation of the periods of childhood and wifehood. And yet they insisted that child sexuality had to be controlled and managed through a robust educational apparatus. Paradoxically, then, even in the new reformist discourse that foregrounded emotion, the sexualized child characterized by an untamed lust provided the beginning to a narrative of personal development, to which wifehood remained the foretold end.

Notes

1. Hemchandra Kunda, *Rupasi Bala Hudaki Somotto Sarojbala Arthat Atyanta Sundari Navayuvati Kulabadhur Swamir Shayan Grihe Pratham Prabesh Lila*

(Benares: Amar Press, 1891), 1. The English title in the British Library catalogue is *Sarojbala: A Tale in Verse Describing a Hindu Girl-Marriage*.

2. Kunda, *Rupasi Bala Hudaki Somotto Sarojbala*, 45.
3. Tanika Sarkar, 'Conjugality and Hindu Nationalism: Resisting Colonial Reason and the Death of a Child-Wife', in *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001), 191–225.
4. Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester University Press, 1995).
5. For a comprehensive treatment of the 1929 law, see Mrinalini Sinha, *Specters of Mother India: The Global Restructuring of an Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); for a comparison of the laws of 1891 and 1929, see Ishita Pande, 'Coming of Age: Law, Sex and Childhood in Late Colonial India', *Gender and History* 24(1) (2012), 205–230.
6. For a particular, Anglo-American history of the development of conjugal love – from 'true love' to 'sex love' to 'heterosexuality' – see Jonathan Ned Katz, 'The Invention of Heterosexuality', in Michael S. Kimmel and Anny L. Ferber (eds), *Privilege: A Reader* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003), 83–98.
7. Sarkar, 'Conjugality and Hindu Nationalism', 205–208.
8. Sasibhushana Guha, *Dampatya Prema* (Calcutta: n.p., 1886).
9. Purnachandra Gupta, *Bangalibau, or the Instructive Lessons on the Career or Life of the Native Females* (Calcutta: AK Banerji, 1885).
10. For a historical contextualization of romantic and conjugal love, see William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia, and Japan, 900–1200 CE* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); for a critical view on marriages as a key to happiness in modern times, see Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
11. Vipradasa Mukhopadhyaya, *Yuvatijivana* (Calcutta: n.p., 1902), 21–23.
12. For the radical multiplicity in family forms that constitutes the context in which the Indian debate on marriage, coupling and domesticity unfolded, see Indrani Chatterjee (ed.), *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004).
13. The prominent Bombay reformer Justice M.G. Ranade was instrumental in the education of his wife, Ramabai Ranade. In *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* (1887), Ramabai wrote how 'girls of nine and ten when recently out of school and given in marriage are wholly cut off from reading or writing'; Pundita Ramabai Sarasvati, *The High-Caste Hindu Woman* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rodgers, 1887), 103. Note that the denial of access to writing, not the fact of marriage itself, is being critiqued. In contrast, in *Amar Jiban*, Rassundari Debi writes of her struggles to acquire the word against the wishes of her conjugal family; see Tanika Sarjar (ed.), *Words to Win: The Making of Amar Jiban: A Modern Autobiography* (Delhi: Kali for Women, 1999).
14. Shevantibai Nikambe, *Ratanbai: A High-Caste Child-Wife*, Chandani Lokugé (ed.) (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), xiii.
15. Priya Joshi, *In Another Country: Colonialism, Culture, and the English Novel in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 174.

16. Shevantibai M. Nikambe, *Ratanbai: A Sketch of a Bombay High Caste Hindu Young Wife* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1895), viii.
17. Chandani Lokugé, introduction to *Ratanbai: A High-Caste Child-Wife* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004), xv, xiv.
18. Shefali Chandra, *The Sexual Life of English: Languages of Caste and Desire in Colonial India* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 152.
19. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 9–11. All quotations are from the original 1895 edition.
20. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 22.
21. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 31.
22. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 62–63.
23. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 63.
24. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 69.
25. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 73.
26. For a critical appraisal of Western-centric, mutually enforcing ideals of education and childhood in our times, see Sarada Balagopalan, 'Memories of Tomorrow: Children, Labor, and the Panacea of Formal Schooling', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1(2) (2008), 267–285.
27. Joseph R. Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.: The World Novel, Narrative Form, and International Law* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 4.
28. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 81.
29. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 83–84.
30. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 85.
31. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 87.
32. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 87.
33. Nikambe, *Ratanbai*, 87–88, emphasis added.
34. Chandra, *Sexual Life of English*, 154.
35. Chandra, *Sexual Life of English*, 154.
36. Lokugé, introduction to *Ratanbai*, xxx.
37. Richard Burton, *The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana* (London: Kama Shastra Society, 1883).
38. Ishita Pande, 'Time for Sex: The Education of Desire and the Staging of Adolescence in Global/Hindu Sexology' (forthcoming).
39. For more on Pillay and sexology in India, see Sanjay Srivastava, *Passionate Modernity: Sexuality, Class, and Consumption in India* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2007); Sanjam Ahluwalia, *Reproductive Restraints: Birth Control in India, 1877–1947* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).
40. A.P. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents* (Bombay: D.B. Taporewala Sons and Co., n.d.), 39. I have not been able to date *Sex Knowledge* with precision, but the 1931 date provided on Worldcat, based on a record of library acquisitions, is likely to be accurate for an early edition and is certainly consistent with other contemporaneous texts. Internal evidence suggests that the edition I have consulted dates from after 1936.
41. G. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood* (Tungabhadra: Prema Literature Society, 1929), 59.
42. Ahluwalia, *Reproductive Restraints*.
43. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 70–71.
44. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, ii.
45. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, x.
46. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 39.

47. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, ix.
48. For a sense of the simultaneity of such developments in multiple locations, see Jennifer Burek Pierce, *What Adolescents Ought to Know: Sexual Health Texts in Early Twentieth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); Sabine Frühstück, 'Managing the Truth of Sex in Imperial Japan', *Journal of Asian Studies* 59(2) (2000), 332–358; Frank Dikötter, *Sex, Culture and Modernity in China: Medical Science and the Construction of Sexual Identities in the Early Republican Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), 146–179.
49. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, x.
50. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 17.
51. Joseph S. Alter, *Moral Materialism: Sex and Masculinity in Modern India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2011).
52. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 18–19.
53. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 55.
54. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 58.
55. Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone Books, 2003), 394.
56. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 60.
57. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 82.
58. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 41–42.
59. Lesley A. Hall, 'Forbidden by God, Despised by Men: Masturbation, Medical Warnings, Moral Panic, and Manhood in Great Britain, 1850–1950', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 2(3) (1992), 365–387.
60. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 65.
61. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 61.
62. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 86.
63. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 80–81.
64. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 19.
65. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 33.
66. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 23.
67. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 16.
68. Sumati Bai, *Towards Womanhood*, 54.
69. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 72, emphasis added.
70. Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, i.
71. Henry M. Grant, 'The Possibilities of Modern Marriage' *Marriage Hygiene* 2(3) (1936), 308–319, reproduced in Pillay, *Sex Knowledge for Girls and Adolescents*, 73.
72. Kunda, *Rupasi Bala Hudaki Somotto Sarojbala*, 1.
73. Mytheli Sreenivas, 'Emotion, Identity, and the Female Subject: Tamil Women's Magazines in Colonial India, 1890–1940', *Journal of Women's History* 14(4) (2003), 59–82.
74. The duality of instinct/emotion was common in sexological and psychoanalytical writing by the 1920s, with the two often understood as bodily change and psychical phenomenon, respectively. While emotion was explained as the 'subjective' aspect of instinct, debates raged into the 1920s as to which took precedence. See e.g. Henry C. Link, 'Emotions and Instinct', *American Journal of Psychology* 32(1) (1921), 134–144. The problem was frequently

discussed in India, as evidenced by articles such as S. Ghosh, 'Child Psychology: Play Instinct', *Indian Journal of Psychology* 9(4) (1936), 72–76. I thank Stephanie Olsen for pushing me to reflect further on this distinction; a fuller response will take me well beyond the limited parameters of this brief chapter.

4

Teaching, Learning and Adapting Emotions in Uganda's Child Leprosy Settlement, c. 1930–1962

Kathleen Vongsathorn

The Kumi Children's Leper Home was founded by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1930 for the purpose of saving children from leprosy and transforming them into happy, healthy and faithful Christian citizens of the British Empire. Leprosy was a popular imperial philanthropic cause and child leprosy sufferers were particularly prominent within this cause, in part because doctors believed children must be at the foundation of any successful effort to eradicate leprosy, but primarily because child leprosy patients presented a special opportunity.[1] As children and as victims of leprosy, child leprosy sufferers were considered to be doubly vulnerable and thus their potential salvation was an especially attractive prospect for philanthropists.

For the first half of the twentieth century, European philanthropy for leprosy was directed primarily towards missionary run, in-patient leprosy settlements in the colonial world. Most of these in-patient leprosy settlements were founded to isolate leprosy patients not because they were infectious, but rather because their isolation created a relatively stable population of long-term residents who were ideal targets for the colonial civilizing mission. In fact, by the 1920s, expert medical opinion advised against the compulsory segregation of leprosy patients, and missionaries tended to prioritize the admission of advanced leprosy cases, who had been disfigured and debilitated by the disease, but who were also less likely to be infectious.[2] Children were the most common exception to this trend and were usually admitted in the early stages of leprosy, with very few visible symptoms. Kumi's missionaries hoped to save these children from leprosy before the disease permanently disfigured them. Of equal importance, these missionaries hoped to save

child leprosy patients from backwardness by separating children from their supposedly dangerous and 'primitive' parents at a time in their lives when they were perceived as especially malleable. They wanted to mould these children into Christian citizens of the British Empire. Though they cooperated closely with the colonial government, as well as representatives from British leprosy charities, Kumi's missionaries had a great deal of autonomy in this endeavour.[3] While the CMS was one of the biggest missions in Britain, its global presence meant that few of its staff were available for rural missions like Kumi's. Until the 1950s, the Kumi Children's Leper Home – along with a counterpart adult settlement nearby – was run by two missionaries, usually two female nurses.

Kumi's missionaries perceived emotion as a means and an end in the physical and mental improvement of their child leprosy patients. They expected that life at the Kumi Children's Leper Home would engender certain emotions in their child leprosy patients. Happiness, for example, was both an aim and an expectation, essential to healing children of their leprosy and to the experience of a real childhood, which the home purported to provide. Other emotions, like loyalty, courage and nationalism, were expected to develop in conjunction with specific character traits that the missionaries encouraged in order to create healthy citizens of the British Empire. Kumi's missionaries employed a wide range of tactics in an attempt to create these emotions, from recreational activities meant to instil happiness, to drill exercises intended to promote British imperial pride, to a strict daily timetable meant to encourage respect and loyalty. These tactics were varied in their success and Kumi's child patients responded to the missionaries' emotional agendas in a variety of ways, sometimes embracing or rejecting certain parts, while at other times performing emotions of happiness, enthusiasm, service and obedience, which were often ambiguously felt, in order to win the missionaries' favour and thus an opportunity for further education and economic advancement.

Happiness, joy and hope

Happiness, joy and hope were emotions that the missionaries of the Kumi Children's Leper Home expected all of its child patients to feel, even if its civilizing mission was unsuccessful in promoting emotions such as love, loyalty and respect towards the mission and the broader British Empire. The goal of the home was to save children from leprosy and from their dangerous parents, and, in so doing, to provide them with real childhoods and healthy futures as civilized, Christian

adults. The experience of happiness was pivotal both to healing and to childhood, and missionaries at Kumi endeavoured to promote this happiness through activities, learning and the creation of a 'home-like' atmosphere.

Of equal importance to saving children from leprosy was saving children from the dangerous influence of their 'primitive' parents and giving them a real and happy childhood. CMS missionaries blamed parents for exposing their children to leprosy, failing to pursue effective treatment for the disease and exposing them to the 'evil living' of their 'backward' lifestyles.[4] Of course, families were not so irresponsible as the missionaries believed. The Iteso, the ethnic group from whom most of the earliest child patients at Kumi were drawn, did not believe leprosy to be a distinct, single disease. They categorized leprosy as several different ailments, depending upon its visible symptoms, and treated those ailments accordingly.[5] Children were certainly a very important part of Iteso households; apart from any affective ties to their kin, children were valuable sources of labour and thus wealth. The labour requirements of colonialism, in particular cotton cash cropping, directed men's labour away from the homestead, which increased the value of – and necessity for – a child's labour for the household economy.[6] Girls, whose labour as a woman was appropriated through bride wealth payments from a groom to her family upon marriage, were perceived as an especially valuable source of wealth, and in the pre-colonial period, women and children were the focus of raids between rival groups in the Teso region.[7] In fact, the potential increase in the value of a child's labour was the primary reason that families sent their children to a leprosy settlement because of the education and vocational training that children received there. But it was not the labour of Iteso children to which Kumi's missionaries objected. In fact, they appropriated that labour for the duration of a child's stay in the settlement and, in the case of women who married from the settlement, they even appropriated bride wealth payments.[8] Nor did they question parents' love of their children. As nurse Margaret Laing, who was in charge of Kumi from 1932 to 1948, wrote, it 'is of great importance to us, and ... makes this work easier [that] they show that they are willing to trust us with their children. You will understand of course that it is not easy for these people to give up their children, for they have a great love for them'.[9] Rather, the missionaries were concerned with the ignorance of parents, and the idea that child leprosy patients who remained with their families would suffer 'not only a slow rottening of the body from the dread disease, but also mental and perhaps spiritual decay'.[10]

The desire to save children from their supposedly degenerate parents, taking them in as miserable, suffering creatures and shaping them into joyful children, was shared by British humanitarians worldwide, who sought to give poor children a 'proper childhood'. As the voluntary impulse merged with the creation of a new ideal for a happy and carefree childhood in the nineteenth century, British philanthropists looked first to the poor children who filled the streets of industrial cities. They were frequently shocked by the difference between the ideal childhood experienced by middle- and upper-class children, and the perceived absence of childhood experienced by the children of the urban poor.[11] Across Europe and the colonies, philanthropists created institutions where children could be housed, taught, and given a happy and productive childhood. They believed that a nurturing, domestic environment within these institutions would be able to regenerate the childlike innocence that had been lost through hard living and the improper care of parents.[12]

In Uganda, the Kumi Children's Leper Home was a part of this philanthropic desire to bestow a childhood upon children, and happiness was a key ingredient in this new childhood. The CMS missionaries wrote frequently of the poor physical and mental state of new patients, often linking these symptoms to an absence of childhood. For example, nurse Adelaide Kent, who worked with Miss Laing at Kumi from 1937 to 1948, described 'a very bad case', a boy aged 12, as 'looking more like an old man than a boy'.[13] Miraculous was the transformation that occurred when one of the dressers took him in hand and 'soon he returned with face shining and clad in clean garments, ready for examination and treatment, and looking like the boy he really was. That same evening this boy was found on the football field, and looking as happy and at home as if he had been with us for years'.[14] Time in the settlement supposedly transformed children's aged appearance and demeanours into happiness: 'That sad, unchildlike look with which they came gives place to a cheery smile, and once more they look like children.'[15]

This idea of the transformation of children, from miserable and sick to happy and healthy, was common to children's philanthropy in Europe, and the missionaries at Kumi consciously patterned themselves after this model. Although the photographs were never published, Miss Laing transposed 'before' and 'after' photos of child patients on several pages of her album (see Figure 4.1). On this page, notice this girl's transition from a sad, shadowed expression to a smile; from a waistcloth tied up with string to an appropriately modest, English-styled dress; and from the protruding belly evidencing hunger to a covered figure. This trend of

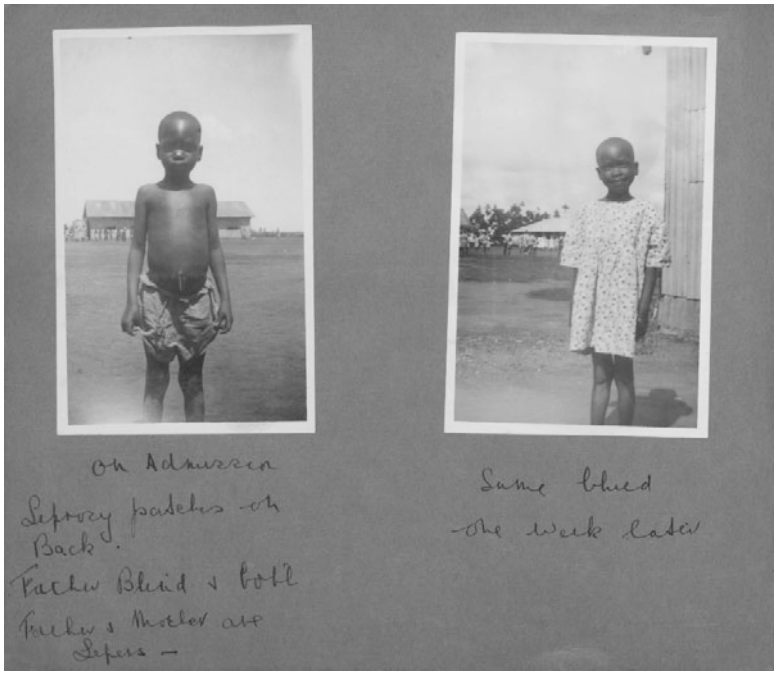

Figure 4.1 Page from the photograph album of Margaret Laing, Cadbury Research Library: Special Collections, University of Birmingham, CMS/ACC/356/Z1; permission of Church Missionary Society Archives

'before' and 'after' figures was popularized by children's charities in late nineteenth-century England, and even though the photographs were never published, their placement indicates that the nurse who ran Kumi for 16 years conceived of the home and its transformative possibilities in a manner similar to children's institutions at home in Britain.[16]

Not only did patients look more like children after several months within the leprosy settlement, they supposedly began to act and feel differently, as children should: 'They come in ragged, dirty, some without clothing at all, some with many ulcers, [but with] clean surroundings, they are entirely different. It is good to see them learn to laugh and play as only children can. It is good to see expressions of unhappiness disappear from their faces.'[17] In letters written back to their donors in Britain, Kumi's missionaries wrote about their efforts to ensure that 'these children [are], as children should be, full of joy and happiness'.[18] This happiness was in spite of any debilitating or painful symptoms that

leprosy might cause them: 'Hundreds of little children, all afflicted with the worst of all diseases, some terribly disfigured, with swollen ugly faces and rotted limbs, yet all as happy as children can be and ought to be.'[19] The happiness of leprosy sufferers who were being treated in a leprosy settlement was a common theme in the writings of all of Uganda's leprosy missionaries, but in children it was especially pervasive and was tied to the idea that this happiness was the right of childhood and the gift of the mission.[20] There is no evidence – apart from the word of a handful of missionaries intent on creating a transformative experience for children at Kumi – that these children actually were unhappy upon entering the home, but there is certainly evidence to suggest that the children at Kumi more closely resembled civilized, British children than they had upon entry.

Happiness was not only an end in the process of transforming these sick, suffering and 'primitive' children into healthy beacons of civilization, but also a means. Missionaries, backed up by expert medical opinion, believed that happiness was integral to the healing process.[21] Medical treatment for leprosy was available in the form of *chaulmoogra* oil injections, but the efficacy of these injections was unclear, and Kumi's missionaries pursued the health of their child patients by choosing to 'concentrate chiefly upon a good diet, cheerful environment, fresh air, good sanitation, [and] exercises'.[22] These areas were also emphasized by philanthropists attempting to transform poor, sickly, urban British waifs into healthy children, though the way in which Kumi's missionaries pursued these goals was particular to their perceived relationship with the disease of leprosy and to the environment in and resources with which they were operating. While the link between happiness and healing was by no means uncommon in this period, the link between leprosy and joy was particularly strong.

For most of the colonial period – and, indeed, for millennia before – leprosy was a chronic and incurable disease, and missionaries thus assumed that the occasionally disfiguring and debilitating symptoms of leprosy would lead to stigma, suffering and a sense of hopelessness in all leprosy patients. To counteract that suffering, patients needed joy, and to counteract hopelessness, patients needed a reason to hope. So missionaries drew on medieval conceptions of the 'leper saint': individuals who received special compensation from God for their suffering in life. In the context of medieval Catholicism, this meant that leprosy sufferers would ascend straight to Heaven after death without experiencing Purgatory. In the context of the Anglican mission in Uganda, this meant that leprosy patients could be brought out of their suffering through

their experience of Christianity and the knowledge of their salvation. As one CMS missionary wrote of another leprosy settlement in Uganda:

> Though terribly pathetic, it is a wonderful experience to see how some of these suffering lepers hold tight to their faith in the Lord Jesus through their ghastly agony, and the eyes fast becoming sightless will lift up with joy at His name. The terrible neuritic leprous pain is much more resistant to sedatives than any other form of suffering I have met. Yet if the lepers are Christian they can take it. An atheist writer came to the Island, and when he left he said: 'For the first time I have seen some real reason for religion.' Truly they are being made perfect through suffering.[23]

Joy was brought to the leprosy patient through their knowledge of Christ, and CMS missionaries often wrote of how happy leprosy sufferers were in their Christianity, going so far as to suggest they were lucky to have leprosy because, as some patients said, 'they can thank God for their leprosy because in it they have found Christ' and, in Christ, joy and hope.[24]

Kumi's missionaries employed a variety of strategies in order to encourage happiness among their child patients. Christianity was one such strategy:

> The children's leper home – although it may sound repulsive to some – is full of joyous work. Perhaps it is because we have the realization of the presence of Christ in the home. There certainly is a real spirit of love and happiness among the children, in spite of their rather loathsome disease. A happier band of youngsters it would be difficult to find anywhere.[25]

Child leprosy patients converted to Christianity in far greater numbers than their adult counterparts, and the missionaries did worry that 'although a great keenness is shown, one feels if anything, they are too eager, little grasping the very big step they are taking'.[26] But Christianity was consistently linked to the emotions of joy, love and happiness, and it was at the root of the mission's endeavours to create happy, civilized and healthy children.

Activity was equally essential to promoting happiness among Kumi's child patients, for missionaries believed that enjoyment of planned activities would increase the children's happiness and would distract them from sadness over their ill health or separation from family. They

endeavoured to make their child patients 'ideally happy – land cultivation – school – games etc never leaving a moment for discontent'.[27] In order to avoid the 'brooding and depression' that were assumed to accompany leprosy and to keep ailing bodies fit, missionaries occupied children with 'exercises', such as drill, and work, such as cultivation, which were respectively convenient sources of imperial regimentation and food.[28] They believed a 'happy school life', work and a wide variety of games, including elements of both British and 'native' customs, were the path to the 'ideally happy' childhood that they wished child leprosy patients to experience.[29] They also endeavoured to create a new family for the children within the home, with the hope of replacing the dangerous, primitive families that the children had left behind, and distracting them from their sadness over that separation. Kumi was:

> A huge home of helpless children entirely dependent upon the care and counsel of these two women, yet everywhere a freedom of spirit and an eagerness to be helpful; everyone conscious of being part of a whole; each member of the community contributing in small or large degree to the welfare of the whole. A truly happy family, though its numbers are so great.[30]

This happiness, supposedly achieved through Christianity, recreation, schooling and the formation of new relationships, was paramount to the success of the Kumi Children's Leper Home, because without that happiness, children could not be healed, moulded into civilized adults or be justifiably separated from their parents.

Civilizing emotions

The British civilizing mission, which was such a large justification for colonialism and missionary work, was premised upon the idea that the British were inherently superior to the people of the tropics, and that it was therefore their right and responsibility to promote those character traits that defined the ideal British citizen for the benefit of their 'primitive' colonial subjects. For the CMS missionaries at Kumi, the civilizing mission was about moulding young leprosy patients into adults who were Christian, educated and embodied the character traits that defined the British, and specifically the English, as a superior nation – at least to the extent that they believed supposedly inferior Ugandans capable. Much like the residential charitable institutions in Britain that strove to remake poor children by separating them from their parents and placing

them in a new domestic environment, the CMS missionaries used Kumi to try to create 'healthy and useful citizens' of empire, as British in character as possible, but prepared to undertake their subordinate imperial status.[31] Key to the development and expression of these character traits were emotions such as love, loyalty, courage, fortitude and nationalism.

Service and, by extension, love were particularly strongly emphasized by the missionary ladies at Kumi, who deemed it such a positive characteristic that they often linked it to descriptions of intelligence.[32] One young woman, Priscilla, who spent five years in treatment at Kumi before being released symptom-free and going to Mengo to train in the CMS nursing school, was reported to be 'exceptionally good, especially in her thought for others. And is this not the spirit which we are aiming at, thinking for and serving those in need?'[33] Priscilla's story is one example of many in which the missionaries chose one young man or woman, a former child patient, who early showed 'a real desire to love and serve Jesus' and followed a vocational path that would allow her to express that love through service to others.[34] The missionaries also wrote occasionally of large groups of children displaying their devotion through a 'labour of love': usually carrying stones and bricks for a new building.[35] An 'eagerness to be helpful' was often mentioned and lauded, as were patients' endeavours to use the education and training that they had acquired in the settlement for the sake of other leprosy patients.[36] The greater the personal sacrifice of the patient, the greater the praise that the missionaries heaped upon them. For example, Miss Laing was 'filled with admiration' for the first Kumi girls who stepped forward to train for dispensary work, overcoming the ridicule of their peers in their desire to serve others.[37] She specified that: 'It is the Christians who volunteer, and probably it is because they are Christians that they are prepared to help their suffering neighbours.'[38]

The demonstrations of love encouraged or required by Kumi's missionaries could also link the children of Kumi to the British Empire in a far more tangible way: through charitable donations. However small their own earnings, the children were encouraged to think of those who were suffering in other parts of the Empire. For the leprosy patients of the Lui settlement in Sudan: 'The children had been earning money by doing little tasks, and even the smallest had 2 cents . . . ready to put into the collection plate.'[39] On this occasion, the children would have been forewarned that a charitable collection would take place and encouraged to bring some of their money with them to the prayer service. In nineteenth-century Britain children became increasingly involved in charity work and, in pushing the children of Kumi to donate to

charitable causes, the lady missionaries were thinking of the children in Britain who raised so much money for missionary societies in particular.[40] Religious philanthropy was an established means of emotionally influencing children, and charity was a desirable attribute for the civilized 'little Britons' at Kumi.[41]

The Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements were also perceived as particularly effective means of encouraging the emotion and practice of love for others at Kumi.[42] During the Second World War, troop leaders told their Scouts and Guides about the trials faced by children in England, and the Kumi children correspondingly fundraised for their distressed English counterparts:

> These invalid Guides are very keen, not only on the actual guide work but in carrying out the real principle of all guiding, that of helping other people not only in this Home amongst their fellow sufferers, but in other parts of the world.
>
> These Guides, too, are trying to do their share to help in the War Effort. They have cultivated their Cotton Patch, the proceeds of which has [sic] been given to the War Fund.[43]

When Lady Baden-Powell visited these girls, they presented her 'with a cheque for Shs. 30/- which they had earned entirely themselves. And at their own request, the money was to be used for distressed Guides in England. Quite a number of these Guides are without fingers or toes'.[44] The Guides were also active in service to other causes, for example, raising money for Lord Baden-Powell's Memorial Fund on Poppy Day and doing community work for Red Cross Day.[45] Love was thus a useful emotion for the missionaries to cultivate, in that it encouraged increased labour, for the settlement and for others, and connected Kumi's children to other parts of the British Empire. It was also an emotion that the missionaries felt for the children that they cared for, and one that was integral to the ultimate goal that they held for themselves and the children: to follow in Christ's footsteps.[46]

Respect and loyalty also ranked high on the missionaries' emotional agenda for their child leprosy patients. Obedience, unlike love and service, was mentioned relatively rarely by Kumi's missionaries and it might therefore be fair to assume that it was the characteristic that they were least successful in teaching. On rare occasions, however, the missionaries would write of how 'orderly' the children were at church services, and outside visitors would comment on the 'marvellous discipline' of the children at Kumi.[47] The Guide and Scout movements

were a supplement to endeavours to instil respect for authority in the child leprosy patients of Kumi; the Scout Law called specifically for boys to be loyal and obey.[48] This discipline and loyalty were not only a demonstration of commitment to Christianity, the Scouting or Guiding movement and the authority of the missionaries within the settlement, but also a preparation for adult life as a citizen in the British Empire.[49] Obedience was taken very seriously by the colonial government in Uganda. When the CMS applied for permission for two young men, former Kumi patients, to go for teacher training, a government medical officer recommended against one of the boys because he was 'not very intelligent' and was 'said to be disobedient'.[50] In attempting to prepare the children for lives as subordinates in the British Empire, the missionaries endeavoured to instil in them loyalty and respect for the authority of civilized British and Ugandans.[51]

When directed through appropriate avenues, enthusiasm, keenness and eagerness were emotions that were particularly valued by Kumi's missionaries. The best avenue through which child patients could direct their enthusiasm was work. When Dr Wheate, who replaced Miss Laing as head of the settlement in 1949, wrote of the mission's success in saving and educating a boy who had nearly died of leprosy, his highest praise was: 'When he is sent on an errand he runs.'[52] The same doctor wrote of a teenage patient who wanted to learn the carpentry trade that 'wild horses would not drag him from the carpentry shop'.[53] This praise was consistent with the notion common in child welfare institutions in Britain that work and perseverance were a child's best assets in the struggle to avoid the fate of his or her indigent parents.[54] Given the similarity in some British middle-class views towards the lower classes in Britain and the colonial subjects in the Empire that both the poor and the 'savages' were lazy, backwards and a danger to their innocent children, it is unsurprising that Kumi's missionaries saw a solution in industriousness and dedication, and made a virtue of them.[55]

Kumi was a school as well as a hospital, and since the missionaries aimed to educate children for vocational work or for more 'intellectual' professions such as teaching and nursing, they particularly valued a keenness for learning. Kumi's missionaries hoped that children would be 'keen to learn something which will help them as they grow up', which to their minds included an emphasis on handwork and vocational training.[56] Children appear to have valued a different set of skills more highly, as missionary reports of their interest in learning spoke more often of children as 'all keen to learn to write and read more than anything else'.[57] When the development of a 'keen mind' was accompanied

by a responsible and Christian character, however, the CMS valued the combination enough to sponsor young men and women for secondary and even higher education outside the settlement after their treatment was finished.[58]

Kumi's missionaries broadly encouraged and praised enthusiasm, beyond a keenness for learning and work. A keenness for games confirmed the missionaries' expectations that children were experiencing happy childhoods in the settlement, while an 'eagerness to be helpful' affirmed their dual goals of evangelization and civilization.[59] A dedication to hygiene, which was even ascribed to toddlers, confirmed that children were receiving the missionaries' lessons. As one missionary wrote of a one-year-old girl: 'Sabiti is evidently benefitting by the hygiene taught, for her whole thought was centred on waving the flies off the bottle which had been prepared and brought to the Chapel.'[60] An enthusiasm for a smart appearance and a keen interest in improving one's health were further evidence of the supposedly successful reception of the missionaries' civilizing agenda.

Courage and fortitude were also seen as desirable characteristics in Christians and citizens of the British Empire. The stoic endurance of suffering was particularly admired by the missionaries at Kumi:

> Each child undergoes a regular course of treatment – and Tuesday morning alas! Is [illegible] a day of dread – HYPODERMIC INJECTIONS !!! – To give 148 takes no little time, and I must confess I am quite as thankful as the children when this is all over. They are exceptionally good – absolute little 'Britons' if one may use this term of our small African kiddies![61]

Miss Laing also wrote: 'They have one black day in the week, and that is injection day, but some of them are very brave and really keen to get better, for I think they are beginning to realize all that this treatment means to them.'[62] The high praise of comparing Ugandan children to 'little Britons' was about more than bravery; it also celebrated obedience in the face of suffering and a growing awareness of the value of biomedicine. 'Crippled' Girl Guides were especially likely to be recommended for the Fortitude Badge on the basis of their 'courage and perseverance and cheerful outlook, which . . . has been an encouragement . . . to all the children in the Home'.[63] It might even be said that the attempt to be cheerful was perceived as a virtue. A visitor to Kumi reported that: 'The Kumi Leper Colony, Uganda, is one of the brightest and yet the saddest of places. Sad because of the terrible

disease. Bright because everyone is trying to be cheerful – even the worst cases.'[64]

Becoming a citizen of the British Empire was not just about the development of certain character traits, but also about feeling British imperial pride and embracing the imperial mentality.[65] Like children in Britain, the children of Kumi performed imperialism through physical activities that expressed the ideologies of British nationalism, for example, through drill, singing the national anthem and the raising of the British flag.[66] In Britain, flag-raising ceremonies and drills were meant to inculcate a sense of national pride and responsibility in children. Many schools incorporated symbols of empire or nationalism into drill formations, like children making up a living Union Jack or a Christian crucifix.[67] At Kumi, too, the children were asked to put on displays of imperial pride on special occasions such as Empire Day, a war remembrance ceremony or the visit of a distinguished colonial officer. Another example was the organization of an exhibition of leprosy patients' handwork in 1947, to which the lady missionaries invited local chiefs and CMS missionaries from around the diocese to view the handwork and attend the prize-giving ceremony:

> As they [guests] were seated on the verandah at the back of the Dispensary, strains of a band as yet unseen were heard. Soon from behind the Dormitories appeared the Scouts, Guides, and Rangers, who marched smartly up the centre of the compound, and halted at the Flag Staff and then all sang the National Anthem in English. Then from the hidden corners out rushed the Brownies and Cubs, and made their Grand Salute. It was a very pretty and colourful sight. The Scouts and Cubs in their Khaki suits and yellow scarves, the Guides in a very pretty blue uniform with green and red ties, the Rangers in a darker blue with red scarves, and the Brownies in their little brown uniforms with bright yellow ties.[68]

On such occasions, the bodies of Kumi's child leprosy patients were displayed as a sign of the intentions and successes of the missionaries' civilizing mission.[69] Kumi's children were performing the ideology of empire: a Union Jack was on the flagstaff, Scouts and Guides carried their flags and wore the same uniforms worn by children around the world, a band played and 'God Save the King' was sung in English, though most of the children did not know the language.

Drill was also a part of the Kumi students' daily timetable and was one of the only classes that the missionaries taught themselves. Drill was the

marching of students into specific formations, with the accompaniment of dance, folk or military music. Its emphasis on physical repetition and conformity was meant to encourage discipline, physical fitness and devotion to the Empire, and across Britain it was regarded as an important tool for building children's national character and moulding them into citizens of empire.[70] Displays of drill, or physical exercise, were also put on for special occasions, and Scouts and Guides in particular were taught a variety of formations with which they could demonstrate their devotion to the Empire.[71]

From all their descriptions of the young leprosy patients at Kumi, it is evident that the settlement's missionaries endeavoured to promote certain characteristics and emotions in the children: the qualities of good Christians and Britons, who bore suffering with fortitude, served others and remained steadfast in faith, and were enthusiastic to learn more of the trades and values that civilization had to offer. Less frequently recorded but equally powerful were the missionaries' desires to deter emotions that they perceived of as counter-productive.

Children's responses

The child leprosy patients at the colonial Kumi Children's Leper Home have left no remaining written accounts of their experiences at the home, and outside of contemporary interviews with several former child patients, it is impossible to gain firsthand knowledge of the way in which children experienced emotions there. The extensive missionary documentation of life in the settlement, however, points to a variety of emotions felt by the child residents, both in accordance to and in deviance from the emotional experiences that missionaries expected.

Taking missionaries at their word, all of the children at Kumi were truly happy, but looking beyond mission publications, it is evident that children at the settlement experienced both happiness and unhappiness. Some children undoubtedly were happy at Kumi, with all the recreational, educational and religious opportunities available. When told that they were ready to be released symptom-free, some children wept and asked if they could return to the settlement if they were unhappy at home.[72] On more than one occasion, Margaret Laing obstructed parents who came to collect their children from the settlement, as in one case where 'the Boy Paulo cried so bitterly at the thought of going back to Toroma, that I have had to keep him a little longer'.[73] It is impossible to know why this boy was unhappy at the thought of going home. Perhaps he was happy at Kumi, with the entertainment,

camaraderie and schooling available. Perhaps he had become a sincere Christian and faced the unhappy prospect of returning home to a community as yet untouched by Christian mission.[74] Perhaps he wanted to continue with school or perhaps he had been unhappy at his home before entering the settlement years before. Whatever the reason, it is evident that there were many causes for happiness at Kumi. Equally, however, there were causes for unhappiness.

Chief among the causes of unhappiness was separation from family, as exemplified by one child, when asked on his deathbed what he would like most, answering: 'Sister I want to go home, just go home and see my people.'[75] In these instances, love was an emotion missionaries discouraged. If children were dying, missionaries did write to their relatives with an invitation to visit, but in general they did their best to displace relationships between children and their families, and lamented the necessity of allowing children to go home to visit their parents: 'Some of those who have come back . . . are very much the worse for their "leave", as they return dull looking and covered with sores, very different to the bright, clean little creatures who went out. We cannot refuse this leave, but it is a great pity that we cannot.'[76] Some other causes of unhappiness were a dislike of school and the enforced routine that the children had to live under, disliking the painful injections they received as medical treatment, and forcing girls to eat eggs, which were culturally taboo for women.[77] The latter is another example of the kind of emotion missionaries were trying to redirect: they hoped to transform respect for 'native customs' into respect for Christianity and British authority. They were not necessarily successful in this endeavour, however, as children acted out their unhappiness in a variety of ways, whether through 'bad behaviour' such as lying, stealing or evading class, or through running away from the settlement, which about one in 50 children did annually.[78]

Whatever emotions Kumi's child patients may actually have felt, some certainly learned what emotions the missionaries expected of them and performed them accordingly. Children were adept at manipulating the discourse of expected emotions and behaviour that the missionaries extolled, for example, by frequently offering such explanations for wrongdoing as 'Satan did enter my heart and take hold of me, and I am sorry'.[79] Thinking towards longer-term advantage, responsibility and dependability were prerequisites to any kind of advance within the hierarchy of the settlement, and the missionaries saw them as traits that could only be learned by a minority of Kumi's young patients. Particularly responsible and intelligent young men and women were selected

to be the heads of children's dormitories and to undertake specialized training that would give them greater abilities and status within the settlement. Training as a nurse, midwife or teacher required a high standard of behaviour as the mission had to find the resources to send these young men and women away from Kumi for schooling. If they ever failed to uphold these standards, their education was terminated:

> I have 2 leper girls training as leper nurses. They were both doing extremely well, but one, I am sorry to say, has not fulfilled our expectations, so another is chosed [sic] to take her place. Zerida the remaining helper is doing a really good work and is showing an intelligent interest amongst the sick girls.[80]

Reading between the lines, it seems most likely that the errant trainee nurse proved to be undependable in maintaining the behaviour expected of a civilized Christian. But if children demonstrated the emotions of love, keenness, respect, loyalty, obedience, happiness and faith, then they had an opportunity for economic advancement that they most likely would not have had otherwise, as the vast majority of child patients came from families too poor to afford even the cheapest of primary schooling. It is difficult to know the extent to which children felt the emotions that they were performing. Some may have wholeheartedly embraced these emotions, and certainly many went on to become respected members of the Anglican Church. One former patient was even appointed by the government as a chief. Others, perhaps including these exemplars of Kumi's civilizing graces, would have experienced conflicting emotions. One former child patient expressed resentment towards Miss Laing for damaging her relationship with her relatives, while in the same interview she expressed great pride in her education and the responsibilities that she discharged as a nursing assistant, and a love for Miss Laing who 'became like her mother'.[81] What is certain, however, is that children did not always experience emotion in the ways that the missionaries hoped and wanted, that they were capable of enacting emotions that they did not necessarily feel, and that those emotions that they did feel were often ambiguous or conflicted.

Conclusion

The Kumi Children's Leper Home was an unusual institution, in that its existence was entirely premised upon the salvation of a group of people perceived by philanthropists as particularly vulnerable: child leprosy

patients. Missionaries, and their supporters in Britain, hoped to take advantage of the supposed malleability of these children in order to transform them into healthy, civilized, Christian citizens of the British Empire. In pursuing the salvation and transformation of these children, emotions were an important part of the missionaries' agenda. Happiness, joy and faith were both a means to improving the health of these children and a means through which to bestow upon these children a real childhood, which justified the mission in separating them from their parents and increased the attractiveness of the cause to donors. Emotions such as respect, loyalty, love, service and keenness were central to the mission's civilizing agenda, and the missionaries also attempted to engender these emotions among their child patients in order to promote their vision of character growth.

The CMS missionaries at Kumi were by no means unique in believing that these emotions were the foundation of a civilized, Christian character. As Hugh Morrison discusses in Chapter 5, preachers in other parts of the British Empire saw emotions such as happiness, joy, faithfulness and love as an expression of a Protestant faith grounded in the New Testament. Philanthropists, administrators and missionaries believed in emotions as a transformative force for delinquent or unhealthy children, whether street waifs in Britain, students in missionary boarding schools across Africa or juvenile delinquents in the Dutch East Indies.[82] While Kumi was an unusual institution, the missionaries' vision for the emotional life and future of their child residents was shared.

The children at Kumi reacted very differently from the missionaries' emotional agendas; some felt happiness, love and loyalty to Christianity and the missionaries, some felt sadness and alienation, and many were ambiguous about their experience of these often conflicting emotions.[83] However, whatever they felt, many children were able to take advantage of their time in the settlement, demonstrating what missionaries expected of them in order to pursue further education and define their own place as the newest generation of civilized, Christian Ugandans.

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5

Settler Childhood, Protestant Christianity and Emotions in Colonial New Zealand, 1880s–1920s[1]

Hugh Morrison

In November 1880 Protestant settler children and their teachers gathered in the southern New Zealand city of Dunedin to celebrate the centenary of the British Sunday school movement. The first event was a 'mass meeting of children' that incorporated hymns from Bateman's Hymn Book 'sung with very great spirit by the children', Bible readings and a series of addresses.[2] One speaker lamented that many children thought that being a Christian meant they had to become a 'parson' or 'very old men and women'. That was a mistake; to be true disciples of Christ, they 'must get to be like Christ was when he was at their age'. He then observed that:

> It would not be a very desirable thing that the clergymen on the platform should go away playing leapfrog all down Princess street [sic], but he would not think it at all a wrong thing for the boys to do it, but would think they had enjoyed the meeting and were in really good spirits. He wished boys and girls to understand that they had not to give up play, but to be like Christ when He was a child. They were not asked to be Christ's men and women, but Christ's boys and girls, and they had Christ's example as a boy, and would have His help.[3]

Boys were his focus, but this was not gender-specific. In the sensibilities of late nineteenth-century colonial society, there was a clear adult expectation both that play was intrinsic to childhood and that Christ was

the exemplar *par excellence*. Jesus was qualitatively different (as a child he allegedly 'never thought evil and never did wrong') and children, like adults, were equally important because of what the adult Jesus later did on the cross.[4] Here the relationship between settler children and religion was viewed through the mixed lenses of old-world Calvinism, late-Bushnellian optimism about the religious nature of childhood[5] and the emerging notion of the psychological child.[6] Children were more central in the thinking of colonial church leaders, childhood religion was construed to be both a thing of the heart and of the mind, and play was a legitimate element of religious expression.[7] With this specific focus on childhood, cultivating the 'right' emotions was key to instilling religious feeling and conduct.

This chapter focuses on the intersection of religion and emotions for Protestant settler children and young people in one British colonial context. It begins to explore this idea through a focused case study of an urban Presbyterian parish in Dunedin. It argues that there is value in thinking about childhood religion in terms of the emotional communities to which children belonged. These communities were characterized by emotionally framed narratives that defined or redefined their lives from childhood well into adulthood. This is still a relatively underexplored dimension of juvenile religion. Christianity was an important influence that shaped many children's and young people's lives and identities in British settler societies, albeit mixed with notions of empire, nation and cultural superiority.

As this chapter will illustrate, childhood by the late nineteenth century was viewed as an intrinsically unique stage of life, and therefore was strategic in terms of spiritual and moral formation for adulthood. Colonial childhood and religion have been approached traditionally from an institutional angle, with most emphasis on Sunday schools or on the many sites of missionary, religious or state education.[8] This is understandable given the wide impact of these institutions or sites on indigenous and settler children in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sunday schools across the British world, for example, became 'omnipresent social institutions' embracing large numbers of colonial and colonized children, but also working-class children in the British metropole.[9] The number of children impacted by the Sunday school movement was impressively large by any measure. By 1911, there were an estimated 15 million children involved in Sunday schools across Canada and the United States.[10] In New Zealand high rates of participation plateaued in the 1910s and 1920s.[11] In turn, colonial Sunday schools were increasingly bolstered by a wide array of

other groups ranging from Christian Endeavour, Bible classes and the YWCA/YMCA to uniformed groups like the Boys' Brigade, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides. As such, all of these institutions were an important expression of globalized Protestant Christianity that was both uniform and yet differently configured. If the New Zealand and Canadian contexts are typical, such institutions had a major influence on the moral, social and cultural sensibilities of children growing up in settler contexts.[12]

At the same time, there were also other domains in which children were religiously formed, enculturated and socialized. Juvenile religious formation occurred in the home, amongst peer networks and was influenced by a wide array of artefacts (literary and non-literary) through an increasingly pervasive child or youth-centred consumer culture. Childhood religion was as much a matter of experience, emotion or embodiment as it was one of intellectual engagement. Children 'imbibed feelings about religion as much as they absorbed information' and these 'feelings' were remembered both positively and negatively in later life.[13] While the institutions were important, just as significant were the ways in which religion was communicated, received, perceived or experienced both emotionally and intellectually within and beyond institutional boundaries.[14] One way by which to gain a fuller view of childhood and religion is to consider the intersection of these emotional and institutional perspectives as they played out in the colonial context. While the colonial religious context was not exclusively unique (these patterns also pertain to the British metropole), children were differentiated in colonial settings in terms of race and culture in particular. In New Zealand there was a clear division between 'indigenous' and 'settler' childhoods by the early twentieth century.[15] Religious children were further differentiated by the Protestant–Roman Catholic divide. This chapter focuses on settler Protestant children.

Settler churches as emotional communities

St Andrew's Church was among five new Presbyterian parishes established in Dunedin in 1863, less than 20 years after initial settlement in 1848 and spurred on by urban and economic growth in the 1860s.[16] Despite Dunedin's particular economic circumstances, this growth was by no means unique. Church-building absorbed the energies of all settler denominations from the 1840s until at least the early twentieth century.[17] While much money, time and energy was invested in buildings and infrastructure, the abiding focus was on the creation of local

worshipping communities. These fledgling pioneer congregations often required the energetic leadership of individual ministers to consolidate further growth. In the case of St Andrew's, the figure of the long-serving Rev. Rutherford Waddell loomed large. Waddell was central to St Andrew's emphasis on home and foreign missions, and on ministry to children and young people from 1879 to 1919.[18]

Settler churches like St Andrew's were variously defined as 'communities', primarily in terms of denomination, ethnicity, geography, theology, gender and class, or by social and political engagement.[19] Religious communities have often also been presented, or have represented themselves, as sites of circumscribed emotional expectations and expressions.[20] In these terms settler churches can also be reconceptualized as theological-emotional communities, which were partially defined by commonly accepted 'systems of feeling'[21] and by shared emotional values. In the case of St Andrew's, this is hinted at in the pages of a promotional booklet asserting that any church's aim was to 'create and feed that life which, in Scripture, is described by such words as "Spiritual," "Divine," "Eternal." ... The Church gathers about the life hid with Christ in God, and it exists to nourish and strengthen that life in its own members'.[22] As such, churches were communities that placed a premium on investing in the lives of children and young people, and in which particular modes of emotion helped to further shape children's religious sensibilities or attitudes. In turn, although the evidence is often more circumstantial than direct, church life both contributed to juvenile internalization of accepted emotional norms (both positive and negative) and afforded the opportunity to test the boundaries of acceptability across the spectrum from child to young adult.[23]

While the idea of emotional communities is relatively unexplored for the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial religion,[24] it has been applied more widely in other settings (religious and non-religious) – especially in the work of Barbara Rosenwein[25] – and therefore might be useful for the study of childhood religion. There are two issues to consider. First, in exploring children's and young people's incorporation into religious emotional communities, we face the dilemma of all historians of childhood: whose voices do we hear and how can we properly evaluate the impact of these voices? There is merit, then, in thinking about Rosenwein's strategy of compiling a broadly conceived 'dossier of sources produced by the group in question', one which attends to different voices, to changes over time and to particularly persuasive individuals.[26] For St Andrew's, there are three types of sources: sermons delivered to children, news sheets partly produced

by the children and young people, and material relating to a temporary juvenile group named 'Young Soldiers of the Cross'. Second, there is a danger that a single case study will misrepresent the wider colonial church. St Andrew's fits the mould of mainstream colonial Presbyterianism. Broadly evangelical and quite middle class, it reflected the norms and expectations of the dominant white settler, British culture of the colony. St Andrew's also represented a large segment of colonial Protestantism in that Presbyterians were historically dominant at both the local and national levels.[27] At the same time, it was atypical in its outreach to Chinese, Lebanese, poor white families and larrikin young folk; nor did it represent the growing numbers of Presbyterian Māori in the North Island.[28]

Emotions and community: Rutherford Waddell's children's sermons

The emotional messages that children received from adults within this religious community are instructive. Other than the Sunday school or the Bible class, one important vehicle for these messages was the carefully crafted and engaging weekly children's sermon. One contemporary American writer noted that children's preachers were most effective when they had 'a smile that children love' or, like the Rev. Alexander Fletcher, carried 'into manhood all the taste and feelings of their childhood years'.[29] Head and heart were to be doubly engaged. By the late nineteenth century, Anglo-American Protestants placed a high value on engaging children through interesting, simple, relevant and emotionally framed sermons. Precedents for the sermonized appeal to children's minds and hearts were to be found, for example, in the eighteenth-century preaching of American Puritan Jonathan Edwards and the English Dissenter Philip Doddridge.[30] The scholarly literature is undeservedly sparse and the importance of children's sermons by the twentieth century is perhaps more assumed than well documented. The emergence of such adjunct child-focused ministries as Scripture Union in Britain from the 1870s and their eventual reception in such colonial contexts as New Zealand served to reinforce both the importance of a central message (that children were important to God) and the necessity that this message should be packaged in ways that would intrinsically and uniquely make sense to children.[31] Children's sermons, then, sat within a wider commitment to multi-faceted and meaningful engagement with the worlds of children in an era of increasing specialization and professionalization.

Rev. Rutherford Waddell brought to his sermons a conviction that children and young people were important.[32] Early in his career, reflecting a popular notion, he told Dunedin Sunday School teachers that childhood was the crucial stage in which to prepare youngsters for adulthood: 'We know the value of teaching youth to be truthful, honest, pure. We know that if childhood is allowed to pass without its being taught these cardinal virtues, it is vain to begin it when character is formed.'[33] Late in his career, he more simply stated his conviction that 'children were [Christ's] particular care and delight while on earth' and that 'in them' adult believers 'get nearest to Him'.[34] Waddell also emphasized that juveniles' Christian faith should be defined and experienced in ways that were directly relevant to their own lives. He commonly used emotional motifs, for they afforded many points of contact with his young listeners. He also had a deep love of nature and of both classical and Romantic literature, which he frequently deployed in his children's sermons. He commonly drew on natural history, classical legends, novels, historical and biblical stories, and the character of Jesus Christ. He was also humorous and interacted with his listeners.

The range of emotional references in these sermons was quite staggering: happiness and unhappiness, joy, laughter, love, kindness, sympathy and care, gratitude and thankfulness, fear, frowning, smiling and envy. Waddell regularly moved from the illustration to its application for life and finally to its connection with the Bible. In one of many sermons on the snowdrop, he painted a verbal picture of a flower that 'looks on the bright side of things' by flowering in winter, and which might inspire children to be cheerful despite their circumstances. Its message was 'that in being cheerful we shall not only bring cheer to others but we shall bring cheer to ourselves'. At home children could make a difference by deciding to be bad tempered (by 'frowning') or cheerful (by 'smiling'). This was only possible if children kept the 'company of optimists'. Therefore, Jesus Christ was worth keeping company with, as 'the greatest optimist of all' who 'came into the world to die for our sins' and who 'told us then to cheer up'.[35]

Waddell also made connections between nature and children's lives: sunshine was equated with exhibiting a radiant joy, cheerfulness and happiness to others; and sweet peas were used to illustrate how a joyful adult disposition might come from seeds sown in younger life.[36] Lessons were also drawn from common childhood experiences or from contemporary events. Nightmares, for example, could be terrifying experiences or presage even darker things like death – all of which engendered fear. Therefore, he suggested that by belonging to Christ, 'the darkness shall

be light about you; you shall have no need to fear any darkness'. Likewise, the events of the First World War prompted him to talk about the heroism of Christ and to bring comfort to children struggling with the emotional impact of the never-ending lists of war casualties.[37]

'Happiness' emerged as a frequently occurring motif.[38] This was by no means unique. By the early twentieth century, in America at least, there was a newly emerging emphasis on the relationship between happiness and childhood. Parents were increasingly urged to protect childhood as a time of intrinsic happiness, joy and pleasure, and to nurture a state of happiness as a desired disposition for life. Happiness became 'a central purpose, a leading quality of childhood, and an essential obligation for parents'.[39] Comparative studies suggest that this emotional turn may have occurred slightly earlier and differently in the American context than elsewhere.[40] Even so, the existence of happiness as a motif throughout Waddell's sermons in the early 1900s suggests that this was a contemporaneous change in the colonial New Zealand context.

Here, however, happiness was more than a state of mind or a child's right, and it was commonly associated with such other emotions as cheerfulness, joy, gladness or emotional responses like laughter. Intrinsically being happy, joyous or cheerful was taken for granted – albeit an emotion susceptible to mood or circumstance – and thus was preferable to being unhappy or feeling miserable. Happiness, as a disposition, had a theological as well as a psychological element, emanating from the ongoing work of God in children's lives. Being 'truly happy' was variously equated with being divinely 'blessed'. He suggested at one point that: 'Blessed are they that give themselves to Christ when they are young, that find a home in Him. Their lives, and theirs only, are happy, enduringly happy – they are better than happy. They are blessed.'[41] Moreover, while it was a disposition, it was one that should also generously benefit others. God gave Isaac to Abraham and Sarah, for example, 'to make them happy, to make them joyous, to be a right gladsome boy to them'.[42] Thus, children were an emotional gift, given for their parents' joy and happiness. Alternatively, the story of Narcissus contrasted the unselfish life (that is, a generous and happy life) with the selfish life. Jesus' example of sacrificial love was the ultimate sign of a happy life. Those who rejected Christ's unselfish example would become 'narrower, and thinner, more miserable, more unhappy, [with] less fidelity, less power, less freedom, less joy'.[43]

It is unclear whether Waddell randomly combined or conflated emotional and theological imagery to engage children or deliberately employed emotional language to emphasize important theological

messages. Theological imperatives were important. There appeared to be, for instance, a strong similarity between emotions and the so-called 'fruit of the Holy Spirit' that are outlined in the New Testament as the commonly accepted outward signs of Christian lifestyle and community – qualities of love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control.[44] Many of these 'fruit' appeared in his talks as expressions of individual emotions which, in turn, were theologically defined in terms of their application in children's lives and as markers of the community to which they belonged.

This interplay of emotions and theology, however, was more complex than simply the one taking precedence over the other. In the Christian community there were, for example, right and wrong emotions, and children were given clear and practical lessons about these. Right emotions were not just transitory feelings, but rather habits of heart and mind to be cultivated over a lifetime, shaped in the light of Christ's life, example and words.[45] In turn, these right emotions defined an intergenerational community of people who would live thoughtfully, generously and sacrificially in reference to each other, to wider society and to the whole world.

As a consequence, this community could only be sustained by a proper motive: God's love that was individually activated and practically expressed through the church. In 1926 Waddell reminded Sunday school teachers that love was an emotion that was more dependent on the will than on whimsy, that was embodied through the life and sacrifice of Christ, and that would only be genuinely activated when every child or adult was truly motivated or 'possessed' by the 'spirit of Christ'.[46] Furthermore, this community was to be a place of emotional safety and rest. During the First World War, he spoke feelingly that:

> we are all trying to get . . . a nest, a place of safety, a place of rest, a place of security, a home . . . Let us say that that is the church. Well, it is a good thing for boys and girls to find a home in the church, to be comfortable there, to make it a rest . . . [Church helps people get closer to Christ and] build our life upon Him . . . that is the true foundation for you and me . . . Blessed are they that dwell in Thy House.[47]

Waddell thought that theological and emotional understandings were equally important and that, for children, theological lessons only made sense through the lenses of human emotions and of practical real-life examples.

Emotions and community: the *St Andrew's Bible School News*

How far did children and young people 'buy in' to these adult-generated messages and emphases? While this is difficult to answer, due to the paucity of juvenile-produced sources, in the St Andrew's case there is one possibility worth considering. This was a newsletter – the *St Andrew's Bible School News* – which began circulation in August 1916. In 1912 church-run programmes for the young were consolidated architecturally within the St Andrew's Bible School: a dedicated two-storey building with both shared and separated pedagogical, gendered and social spaces.[48] The newsletter was a way of forging a sense of community and was contributed to by a combination of teachers and pupils. Furthermore, it was designed to connect juvenile ministry and the wider church 'through knowledge to stimulate interest and enthusiasm for all branches of the work'.[49] We find traces of children's voices and enough congruity with the theological-emotional appeal of Waddell's sermons to suggest that both were important for the longer-term definition of the wider emotional community.

First, in the *St Andrew's Bible School News* the same kinds of emotional imagery were commonplace. A 1918 editorial compared inward with outward actions, appealing to the emotions both to disabuse young readers of certain misconceptions and to promote a positive theological message. The writer, drawing on the story of Hagar in Genesis 16 and the text 'Thou God seest me', argued that 'good and pious people sometimes make a very wrong use of [it, by which they] try to frighten boys and girls . . . and picture God as a great policeman watching to catch them if they go wrong'. The story was more about God accompanying, 'comforting' and keeping watch over Hagar in her desolation, and about God making 'beautiful promises' to her. The writer stressed that it is 'our greatest happiness' to have God's all-seeing presence, in whose company there can be 'fulness of joy' and 'pleasures for evermore'. Furthermore, God's presence could be either 'pleasure' or 'terror' for individuals depending on whether or not they were 'abiding in [God's] love'.[50] Likewise, happiness as an anticipated state of mind and an accepted expression of Christ-like character was iterated in various other contexts that emphasized its practical outplay in everyday life.[51]

Again there was an enduring emphasis on the theme of love. This love was centred in Christ, 'the very greatest king to serve for He loves each of his soldiers' and whose love for humanity was worthy of mutual 'love and devotion' from all his followers. Love was a quality bracketed with

others like 'devotion', 'enthusiasm' and 'faith', and was best expressed through actions.[52] Because its definition was equally theological and emotional, love was both about 'being' and 'doing'. Altruism (loving actions) was predicated on personal conversion as a mark of Christ's indwelling love. Echoing one of Waddell's children's sermons in 1916 and with the trauma of war echoing around, the writer argued that followers of Christ:

> must be something for Christ before they can do anything for Him. They must be converted themselves before they can convert others. That is, they must have something done in them by Christ, that they may be fit to do something for their fellows. What we are therefore is the father of what we do. If you are nasty in your thoughts, you will do nasty things. If you are full of love, you will do loving deeds.[53]

Second, writers in the *St Andrew's Bible School News* conveyed how they understood their community through a mixture of emotional and theological language. It was to be an intergenerational community that centred on or was defined by the stories and ideals of the Christian faith, and which made the Bible School's motto – 'That I may know Him' – real in daily life. The Old Testament example of Israel was upheld as one in which children 'tried to live worthily of their fathers' and to 'obey those voices of the past', which they then handed on to the next generation. St Andrew's people likewise handed on to others what they had learnt, as missionaries, teachers and people in 'other useful positions'. This was also the responsibility of children and young people.[54] In a brief description of the Sunday school, one pre-teen girl evoked a juvenile community marked more by inclusiveness, forbearance and acceptance than by gender.[55] Knowing Christ involved communal relationships as much as acquiring knowledge. There were clear expectations with emotional resonances: reverence, serious study, punctuality, full participation through joining 'gladly in the singing, and sincerely in the prayers', generous giving and loyalty.[56] Exercising that relationship within the community of the church, then, was no different from doing so amongst family or friends. It was to be a community marked by such things as 'keeping [Christ's] company, by obedience, by love, trust, sympathy etc.'. In other words, it was made real by the collective act of exercising 'the faculties that enable you to know other persons'.[57] The motto was the community's definitive 'marching orders',[58] while theological and emotional parameters provided its defining characteristics regardless of age or gender.

Emotions and community: 'Young Soldiers of the Cross'

Reference to 'marching orders' reflected the martial atmosphere of New Zealand's total war effort, a cause to which colonial churches were no less devoted.[59] Around 147 men and women at St Andrew's enlisted for war service and the Roll of Honour contained 28 names by the war's end.[60] As elsewhere, children and young people were energetic and patriotic supporters of the war effort. In September 1917 the *St Andrew's Bible School News* announced that a group called the 'Young Soldiers of the Cross' had been formed, overseen by an assistant minister and meeting on alternate Sundays 'after the close of ordinary [Sunday] school'.[61] Despite its somewhat jingoistic overtones, the emphasis was on forming a group of children devoted to their Christian faith. Around 90 girls and boys signed up as members in 1917. While ongoing numbers are hard to ascertain, within two months 'a large number' of 'soldiers' attended fortnightly meetings. The group ceased to function in early 1919.[62]

Here was a cadre of children who had 'definitely decided to take sides with Christ' by 'promising to try to be [His] good soldiers'.[63] In turn, they would be exemplars of vibrant, engaged and practical faith amongst their peers. The emotionally potent military language was unashamedly co-opted by those who led the group, framing the expectations of its members. The motto was to 'Endure hardness, as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ', and the vows focused on Jesus' love made real for each member and the divine help offered to be a 'good Soldier'.[64] Membership was more tightly defined than for the wider Sunday school. Obedience, regular attendance, active participation, mutual care, promotional activities and recruitment of others were clear expectations. In particular, members were to 'show proper reverence' in all church-related activities by 'not whispering or laughing during singing, prayer, or the delivering of an address'. Parents were expected to support and encourage by ensuring their children's regular membership and through active 'observance of family worship'.[65] As well as regular meetings and church involvement, members typically participated through letter-writing to soldiers serving overseas, practical projects supporting missionary activity in New Zealand or abroad and social events.[66]

Hence, the wider religious community to which children belonged was disrupted and disturbed by the juxtaposition of differing expectations. On the one hand, church was to be a community of emotional rest, safety and security for children. At the same time, its expectations of sacrificial service and of emotional prescription tied to moral imperatives re-drew it for children as a community that had a slight edginess

about it. Christian faith, communally defined in theological-emotional terms, was to be experienced as both a source of comfort and a disrupter of social expectations. Furthermore, the creation of the 'Young Soldiers of the Cross' suggests that we should attend to the notion of communities within communities and ask to what extent these mirrored or differed from their parent community, set one group off against another or, indeed, created a hegemonic divide.

This was by no means a new phenomenon. 'Bands of Hope' and 'Christian Endeavour' groups had long been prominent vehicles for capturing and channelling juvenile energies and spirituality within churches in New Zealand from the 1880s onwards.[67] At St Andrew's, both types of groups were well established.[68] Just like the 'Young Soldiers', they were specialist communities within communities, focused around an issue, a cause or a defined sense of mission, and with a strong emphasis on experiential and activist religion. Critically, they were often run by older teenagers or young adults who, in the case of Christian Endeavour, had to be 'enthusiasts', 'inventive and persistent, courageous and prayerful', and not 'mere theorists'.[69] The children they incorporated were drawn from the wider church community, but also often interacted with those of other churches and denominations through local and national unions, and were bound together by a common set of theological expectations, emotionally and practically framed.

Membership further defined those who were truly devoted Christians, creating a potential power differential between 'them' and 'us' within the wider church community. Australian historians Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen indicate how this might have worked itself out in religious contexts; in their case women's missionary support in relation to India. They highlight how missionary texts for British women 'discursively constructed "emotional communities" of religion' that became 'raced, classed and gendered'.[70] They argue that religion provided 'the vocabulary of emotion' underpinning '[British women's] constructions of community – the "freedom", "joy", and "love" true religion offers a fellowship of believers'. In turn, however, this supposedly inclusive Christian community of European and non-European women was effectively 'fractured hierarchically along the lines of "race", caste and class', thus differentiating the British woman supporter, 'English lady missionary [and] Indian bible woman'.[71]

In the case of St Andrew's it is difficult to discern that this was the case. At St Andrew's, the 'vocabulary of emotion' did underpin constructions of community for children and adults. In reality, both the rhetoric and expectations of the 'Young Soldiers' were little different

from what was encountered by children in the wider church community. However, it is less easy to discern the ways in which this may have created hierarchies of power. Furthermore, the 'Young Soldiers' grouping was both an extension of an established model of enculturating juvenile faith (Christian Endeavour) and a response, possibly, to a lack of people power during wartime. This could explain its curtailment shortly after the war's end. It also fed off the notion that children and young people were the adults of the future and valuable assets for the community in their own right. Yet we cannot discount that this theologically and emotionally defined grouping was seen by other children as different from the rest of the community and that perceived power differentials did indeed exist. We might speculate, for example, how far this group was more homogeneous than the wider community of children and young people catered for at St Andrew's, especially with respect to working- and middle-class representation, and to white settler composition compared with the children of neighbouring Chinese and Lebanese families.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the concept of emotional community is worth further consideration when we think about the relationship between childhood and institutional religion. While the focus has been on an exploratory study of one urban parish in a settler society setting, this quasi-microhistorical context provides a window into wider modes of thought and behaviour operative across other settler churches and denominations. It will also have resonances in wider Anglo-American Protestant historical settings from which settler churches were often influenced.[72] Certainly these churches in the New Zealand context were influenced by a broadly stated and somewhat irenic form of evangelicalism that bought into similar theological frameworks with respect to children and young people, and that emphasized (to the chagrin of some) a brand of religion that was both experiential and pragmatic in outlook. Even the conservative evangelicalism that took hold in many churches by the 1930s continued to hold both orthodoxy (right belief) and orthopraxis (right behaviour) together, but often with a practical emphasis on the latter.[73] This inevitably applied to the modes of emotional expression and consequent individual or public behaviour variously expected of children, young people and adults.

Adults' memories of religious childhood, consequently, were often constructed from within a shared theological-emotional discourse. Their

juvenile lives were shaped in similarly defined emotional-religious communities.[74] Equally clear, however, is that any further analysis needs to find and take account of what children thought of these communities and how they responded or resisted, through both written and oral testimony.[75] Such research, which is in its infancy, further points to children's religion being as much embodied and experienced as it was intellectualized, and perhaps even more so. As such, an emotional approach helps to redress the imbalance of an institutional emphasis. It also causes us to think more critically both about the local and the global contours of childhood religion. As global Protestant networks expanded from the late nineteenth century, emotional constructions of childhood religious thinking, conventions of behaviour and actions were activated in local settings, but also crossed national boundaries, thus rendering those divisions fluid rather than concrete. Children of different nations were bound together, at least in theory, by these common understandings or experiences. Differences wrought by colonization, however, are a warning that any such constructions of religious emotions were culturally or racially configured, and thus variously imposed, rejected, misconstrued or reappropriated. An emotional approach appropriately serves to problematize childhood religion beyond the neat boundaries of such things as denomination, institution, nation or culture, and therefore helps to further liberate both its practice and our understanding.

Notes

1. This chapter was initially presented as an exploratory paper for a panel on childhood and religion at the 'Childhood, Youth and Emotions in History' Conference, November–December 2012, hosted by the Centre for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin, Germany. I gratefully thank the conference organizers for the opportunity to air some of these ideas and to then re-craft the paper for this chapter. In turn, I am also grateful to the editor and various readers who have constructively helped to refine the chapter even further.
2. 'Mass Meeting of Children', *Supplement to the N.Z. Christian Record* (3 December 1880), 1.
3. Rev. J. Upton Read, 'Childhood and Christ's Children', *Supplement to the N.Z. Christian Record* (3 December 1880), 2.
4. Read, 'Childhood and Christ's Children', 2.
5. Later in his life, the influential Horace Bushnell held a high view of children and their natural susceptibility to religious formation; see Margaret Bendroth, 'Horace Bushnell's Christian Nurture', in Marcia J. Bunge (ed.), *The Child in Christian Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2001), 350–364, here 359.

6. Geoffrey Troughton, 'Religious Education and the Rise of Psychological Childhood in New Zealand', *History of Education Review* 33(2) (2004), 30–44.
7. For more on the perceived usefulness of children's play to cultivate emotions, see Chapter 6.
8. See e.g. Christine Weir, '"Deeply Interested in These Children Whom You Have Not Seen": The Protestant Sunday School View of the Pacific, 1900–1940', *Journal of Pacific History* 48(1) (2013), 43–62; Helen May, Baljit Kaur and Larry Prochner, *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods: Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools in Three British Colonies* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
9. Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 101; Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), 78–80; Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford University Press, 1999).
10. Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 281–282.
11. Geoffrey Troughton, 'Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand, c.1900–1940', *New Zealand Journal of History* 40(1) (2006), 39–56, here 39, 40.
12. David Stuart Keen, '"Feeding the Lambs": The Influence of Sunday Schools in the Socialization of Children in Otago and Southland, 1848–1901' (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1999); John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1988), 58–59; Neil Semple, '"The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord": Nineteenth-Century Canadian Methodism's Response to "Childhood"', *Histoire Sociale: Social History* 14(27) (1981), 157–175.
13. Troughton, 'Religion, Churches and Childhood', 50.
14. See e.g. Grace Bateman, 'Signs and Graces: Remembering Religion in Childhood in Southern Dunedin, 1920–1950' (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2014).
15. Helen May, 'Mapping Some Landscapes of Colonial-Global Childhood: ece@2000.europe.antipodes', *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* 9(2) (2001), 5–20.
16. John McKean, *The Church in a Special Colony: A History of the Presbyterian Synod of Otago & Southland, 1866–1991* (Dunedin: Synod of Otago and Southland, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, 1994), 38–40.
17. For differences between missionary and settler Christianity in New Zealand, see Allan K. Davidson, 'The Interaction of Missionary and Colonial Christianity in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', *Studies in World Christianity* 2(2) (1996), 145–166.
18. Ian Breward, 'Waddell, Rutherford', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w1/waddell-rutherford (date accessed 15 June 2015); J. Collie (ed.), *Rutherford Waddell: Memoir and Addresses*, 2nd edn (Dunedin: A.H. Reed, 1933).
19. See e.g. John Stenhouse, 'Christianity, Gender, and the Working Class in Southern Dunedin, 1880–1940', *Journal of Religious History* 30(1) (2006), 18–44.

20. See e.g. Matthew Sigler, '"Our Hearts Reply": Charles Wesley's Lyrical Technique as a Prescription for Rooted Emotion', *Liturgy* 28(2) (2013), 39–47; Ardjan Logmans and Herman Paul, 'Hercules at the Crossroads: Confirmation as a Rite of Passage in the Nineteenth-Century Netherlands Reformed Church', *Church History and Religious Culture* 93(3) (2013), 385–408; Lynn Bridgers, 'Emotion, Experience and Enthusiasm: The Growing Divide in U.S. Religion', *Modern Believing* 50(4) (2009), 6–24; Timothy J. Nelson, 'Sacrifice of Praise: Emotion and Collective Participation in an African-American Worship Service', *Sociology of Religion* 57(4) (1996), 379–396.
21. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions* 1(1) (2010), 11–12.
22. St Andrew's Church, *Brief Notes on Some of the Privileges and Duties of Church Members and Adherents* [pamphlet] (n.p.: Crown Printing, n.d. [c. 1908]), from the *Bible School Correspondence & Reports 1910–1920*, St Andrew's Parish, P19/6, Archives Research Centre, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
23. Bateman, 'Signs and Graces'; Charlotte Greenhalgh, 'The Church as a Site of Romance in Interwar New Zealand', in Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison (eds), *The Spirit of the Past: Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), 126–141; Florence S.H. Young, *Pearls from the Pacific* (London: Marshall Brothers, 1925).
24. The one recent exception is Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications c1880–1920', *Journal of Social History* 41(3) (2008), 691–716.
25. See e.g. Maud Anne Bracke, 'Building a "Counter-community of Emotions": Feminist Encounters and Socio-cultural Difference in 1970s Turin', *Modern Italy* 17(2) (2012), 223–236; David Hendy, 'Biography and the Emotions as a Missing "Narrative" in Media History: A Case Study of Lance Sieveking and the Early BBC', *Media History* 18(3/4) (2012), 361–378; Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006); Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods'; Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845, here 835; Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49(2) (2010), 237–265.
26. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods', 12–13.
27. See further Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 66–67; Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 35–37; Stuart M. Lange, *A Rising Tide: Evangelical Christianity in New Zealand 1930–1965* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), 16–21.
28. Presbyterian Māori were missionary 'subjects' well into the twentieth century. See selected essays in Hugh Morrison, Lachy Paterson, Brett Knowles *et al*. (eds), *Mana Māori and Christianity* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2012).
29. Rev. Edward Payson Hammond, *The Conversion of Children* (London: Morgan and Scott, n.d. [1870s]), 68.

30. Catherine A. Brekus, 'Children of Wrath, Children of Grace: Jonathan Edwards and the Puritan Culture of Child Rearing', in Marcia J. Bunge (ed.), *The Child in Christian Thought* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 2001), 313–320; Françoise Deconinck-Brossard, 'Representations of Children in the Sermons of Philip Doddridge', in Diana Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 379–389.
31. Peter J. Lineham, *No Ordinary Union: Centenary History of Scripture Union in New Zealand* (Wellington: Scripture Union in New Zealand, 1980), 5–20.
32. The following observations are based on an extant body of his children's sermons (some in his own hand and some transcribed by a Sunday school superintendent) for the years 1906–1916: Rev. Dr Rutherford Waddell, 'Children's Talks', Folder, *Personal Collection*, Archives Research Centre, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
33. Rev. R. Waddell, 'The Sabbath-School and Missions', *New Zealand Missionary Record* (February 1884), 44–49, here 45.
34. Rutherford Waddell, *The Dynamic of Service* (Dunedin: A.H. Reed, 1928), 16.
35. Rutherford Waddell, 'The Snowdrop' (22 July [no year]); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
36. Rutherford Waddell, 'Eve' (undated); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'; Rutherford Waddell, 'Sow Your Sweet Peas Now' (6 August 1911); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
37. Rutherford Waddell, 'Nightmares and Darkness' (13 May 1906); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'; Rutherford Waddell, 'Heroism' (5 June 1917), Waddell, 'Children's Talks'. For children's responses to the First World War, see Charlotte Bennett, '"Now the War is Over, We Have Something Else to Worry Us": New Zealand Children's Responses to Crises, 1914–1918', *Journal of the History of Childhood & Youth* 7(1) (2014), 15–41.
38. For more on happiness as a desirable emotion specifically in childhood and in various contexts, see also Chapters 4 and 10.
39. Peter N. Stearns, 'Defining Happy Childhoods: Assessing a Recent Change', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3(2) (2010), 165–186, here 172. In the American context Stearns links this change to: the influence of professionals on definitions of childhood; declining birth rates and thus smaller families; wider emphases on cheerfulness in American adult culture; the impact of consumerism and industrialization; and the impact of compulsory schooling.
40. Stearns, 'Defining Happy Childhoods', 182–183.
41. Rutherford Waddell, 'Snowdrops and Purity' (20 August 1911); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'; Rutherford Waddell, 'Lessons from the Sparrow' (17 December 1911); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
42. Rutherford Waddell, 'Boys and Girls of the Bible' (12 May–1 August 1912); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
43. Waddell, 'Boys and Girls of the Bible'; Rutherford Waddell, 'The Narcissus' (17 September 1911); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
44. These fruit are explicitly outlined in Galatians 5:22–23 (*New International Version*).
45. For similarities in the British context, see Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880–1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 8.

46. Waddell, *Dynamic of Service*, 24–29.
47. Rutherford Waddell, 'Lessons from the Sparrow' (17 December 1911); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
48. Editorial Committee, *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church: A Brief Survey of the First Sixty Years and an Illustrated History of the Years 1923–1963* (Dunedin: Editorial Committee, 1963), 9.
49. Editorial, *St Andrew's Bible School News* (July 1916), 1.
50. 'Editorial: Truth in the Inward Parts', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (March 1918), 1.
51. 'In Memorium', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (October 1917), 2–3; 'Farewells to Rutherford Waddell', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (December 1919), 3.
52. 'Soldiers of the Cross', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (October 1917), 2; 'In Memorium;' 'Rutherford Waddell 40th Anniversary', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (April 1919), 2.
53. 'Being and Doing', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (June 1919), 1; Rutherford Waddell, 'Palm Sunday' (16 April 1916); Waddell, 'Children's Talks'.
54. A.R.C., 'Keep up the Standard', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (April 1917), 1.
55. Rua Rata Papakura [pen name], 'Our School', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (December 1916), 1; P.R.N., 'A Visit to St Andrew's Sunday School', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (August 1917), 1–2.
56. G.F.I., 'School Ideals', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (March 1917), 1.
57. 'Our Motto – That I May Know Him', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (April 1918), 1.
58. 'Our Motto – That I May Know Him', 1.
59. Allan Davidson, 'New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Auckland: Exisle Publishers, 2007), 447–466.
60. *Diamond Jubilee St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church: Historical Narrative, 1913–1923* (Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd., 1923), 11–12.
61. 'Young Soldiers of the Cross', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (September 1917), 2.
62. 'Soldiers of the Cross', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (November 1917), 1; 'Open Letter to Parents, 1917', St Andrew's Parish, P19/6, *Bible School Correspondence & Reports 1910–1922*, Archives Research Centre, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
63. 'Open Letter to New Members, 1917', St Andrew's Parish, P19/6, *Bible School Correspondence & Reports 1910–1922*, Archives Research Centre, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
64. 'St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Young Soldiers of the Cross Rulebook', St Andrew's Parish, P19/6, *Bible School Scrapbook, c.1916–1920*, Archives Research Centre, Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand.
65. 'Young Soldiers of the Cross Rulebook'; 'Open Letter to New Members'; 'Open Letter to Parents'.
66. 'Young Soldiers', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (May 1918), 2; 'Young Soldiers', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (June 1918), 2; 'Young Soldiers', *St Andrew's Bible School News* (November 1918), 4.
67. Geoffrey Troughton, 'Richard Booth and Gospel Temperance Revivalism', in Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison (eds), *The Spirit of the Past: Essays*

on Christianity in New Zealand History (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), 112–125; Mark H. Senter, *When God Shows Up: A History of Protestant Youth Ministry in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2010); Henry Bush and Walter J.E. Kerrison (eds), *First Fifty Years: The Story of Christian Endeavour under the Southern Cross* (Sydney: National Christian Endeavour Union of Australia and New Zealand, 1938).

68. Editorial Committee, *St Andrew's Presbyterian Church*, 8.
69. Amos R. Wells, *The Missionary Manual: A Handbook of Methods for Missionary Work in Young People's Societies* (Boston: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1899), 10.
70. Haggis and Allen, 'Imperial Emotions', 692.
71. Haggis and Allen, 'Imperial Emotions', 709.
72. Again, see further Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*.
73. For a broad and balanced treatment of evangelical Protestantism in New Zealand, see Lange, *Rising Tide*.
74. This is clear, for example, from a range of published memoirs and autobiographies, and also from such unpublished records as the applications of prospective missionaries in the Presbyterian Church and the Anglican-based New Zealand Church Missionary Society.
75. That work has begun, but only in part, with published results still to appear. See e.g. Bateman, 'Signs and Graces'; Sylvia Yang Yuan, '"Kiwis" in the Middle Kingdom: A Sociological Interpretation of the History of New Zealand Missionaries in China from 1877 to 1953 and Beyond' (PhD thesis, Massey University, Albany, 2013), 212–224.

6

Architecture, Emotions and the History of Childhood

Roy Kozlovsky

Can buildings readily be interpreted as cultural documents that encode attitudes towards children and their emotions? Or do they perhaps play a more active, dynamic role in the emotional construction of childhood? This chapter explores the place of architectural culture within the field of childhood studies and the history of emotions. The use of architecture as a document of emotional and childhood history was pioneered by Philippe Ariès. In *Centuries of Childhood*, he counterpoised textual documents with material artefacts such as paintings, clothing, toys and, pertinent to our subject, architecture to chart the historical development of a caring and loving sentiment towards children. He compared the layout of the medieval house with that of the eighteenth-century mansion to historicize the crystallization of the modern family as an emotional unit. The pre-childhood house was a heterogeneous social unit that was public in character. It was occupied by the master, his wife and their children, as well as servants and apprentices, and was frequented by a multitude of people. Consequently, 'nobody was left alone' in the house.[1] With the advent of the modern ideal of childhood, which entailed a different emotional and caring attitude towards one's children, there emerged a 'need' to separate the affairs of the family from the intrusion of others by rearranging the house into private and public zones. Ariès tied the specialization of rooms in the house, as well as the invention of the corridor, to such emotional 'need' for intimacy.

Centuries of Childhood has been the subject of rigorous scholarly scrutiny and many of its claims have been contested or revised, yet some of the problems raised by Ariès' methodology still engage the field and provide incentives for interdisciplinary exchange. This is especially valid with regard to the practice of reading emotions from cultural documents such as literary texts or pictorial representations. Critics schooled in

the methods and modes of interpretation of art history have suggested that Ariès misattributed artistic conventions for emotional 'truths'.[2] The debate over the status of cultural artefacts as historical documents is relevant to the question of how to incorporate architecture into the history of emotions. Ariès assumed that there was a cause and effect relationship between changes in building types and social processes that occurred during the same historical timeframe. Architectural history no longer works under the assumption that there is a direct, mirroring relationship between spatial and aesthetic configurations and specific social and emotional relationships. Architecture, like other works of culture, is structured by artistic codes of representation that do not necessarily correspond with actual practices or sentiments. Moreover, buildings may be experienced and used in many different ways, depending on the context and the agency of those who interact with them; this makes it problematic to deduce, as Ariès did, that architectural layouts that provide for privacy enable, even determine, a more intimate attitude to children.

A focus on children and their emotions entails broadening the scope of inquiry beyond the architectural object and the intentions of its producer in order to include the subject interacting with it. It suggests incorporating into the history of emotions (and of architecture) a study of how children think of and engage with the built environment, including acts such as vandalism or stealing. These acts do not necessarily indicate the presence of aggression or hate: they could be interpreted as emotives, the calling up of an emotion or its communication to others. Such rethinking of children's interaction with architecture in terms drawn from emotional history raises the question of what can be gained by utilizing concepts developed by the history of emotions in architectural history. How does historically grounded research into emotions reflect on claims made by child-centred architects in the 1950s that a certain school design satisfies the 'emotional needs' of children or, conversely, 'stunts' their emotional development? Could references that architectural historians make to emotions, such as associating shifts in styles and modes of seeing with the emotional structure of a given period or portraying architectural movements as undergoing psychological processes (as a recent publication entitled *Anxious Modernism* seems to suggest),[3] be analysed within the disciplinary framework of the history of emotions?

Bearing in mind these challenges and opportunities, this chapter has a dual trajectory. First, it expands on those methods of architectural scholarship that are conducive to the historical study of childhood and emotions. Second, it examines the usefulness of historical analysis of

emotions for an academic discipline whose discussion of emotions is based on ahistorical concepts drawn mainly from aesthetic theory.

The architectural discourse of emotions

The modern discipline of architecture has been ambivalent towards defining its aesthetic performance in language that draws upon emotions. The seminal modernist architect Le Corbusier differentiated the art of architecture from mere construction by pointing to its essence as a 'poetic emotion' that 'affects the core of our being'.[4] Avant-garde movements such as *New Objectivity* in turn have rejected, without too much reflection on objectivity as affect, outward emotional expression in architecture: the architect Hannes Mayer proclaimed that 'architecture as "an emotional act of the artist" has no justification'.[5] Yet emotions are integral to the ways in which historians have narrated modernism's emergence. In *Time, Space and Architecture*, the architectural historian Sigfried Giedion diagnosed modernity as a condition of radical separation between feeling and thinking; its 'split personality' was reflected in the disharmonious and confused 'content of feeling' of nineteenth-century architecture. He defined the cultural project of modern architecture as that of reintegrating the modern personality and 'curing its fatal disease'.[6] Such statements regarding emotions by architects have been discussed in terms that are internal to the discipline: Marxist-oriented critics condemned the expression of emotions in architecture as a reactionary ideological byproduct of capitalism and the bourgeois cult of individuality, while phenomenological interpretations commended the emotional and sensory experience of architecture as a response to a world desensitized by mass culture.[7] Architectural scholarship is in the process of assuming a more historical approach towards emotions, as can be seen in studies that detail the psychological and aesthetic models underpinning diverse architectural practices such as Étienne-Louis Boullée's association of geometric forms with sublime emotions, Richard Neutra's psychoanalytical interpretation of space or Aldo Rossi's engagement with Jung's analogical thought. This interest has been carried over to a more reflexive examination of architectural history's incorporation of emotions as historical forces that shape architectural change. Post-structuralist historians trace this practice to Giedion's teacher, the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin, whose influential formalist approach is shown to have internalized psychological concepts such as empathy, in which the observer projects his or her inner emotions and bodily sensations into the inanimate object. This type

of history, and its reliance on psychological explanations of aesthetic affect, is criticized for creating a space for individualistic-humanistic action that is based on the 'stabilizing historiographic unity of the synthesizing ego'.[8]

As these examples make evident, emotions have been analysed in architectural discourse mainly through the paradigm of intellectual history. In their seminal paper on emotionology, Carol and Peter Stearns cautioned that intellectual history, with its focus on cultural ideas developed in elite circles, does not reflect social reality and thus cannot be interpreted as evidence of a widely shared and experienced emotional 'style'.[9]

Psychologists in turn have challenged the architectural discourse of emotions on empirical grounds. David Canter questioned the 'esoteric, private language' developed by architects for ascribing to buildings an emotional effect, concluding that 'there is no possibility of providing evidence to test these statements'.[10] He was especially critical of architectural practice that presupposes a deterministic, innate relationship between an external sensorial stimulus (such as colour or texture) and emotional states. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, in turn, contrasted claims made by artists and theorists regarding the beneficial emotional effect of aesthetic environments with empirical studies of how average people responded to them. He concluded that 'Most people create their own private set of references, singling out objects that will give order to what they have experienced' in a way that is unrelated to the 'thoughts and feelings of a small minority' of artists.[11] He also argued that the meaning of objects is actively formed by social agents, as a technique for connecting with one's feelings, aspirations and memories, and for that reason 'are not determined by objective characteristics of visual stimuli' of the object.[12]

Csikszentmihalyi's critique of the practice of establishing a direct cause and effect relationship between architecture and emotions is especially pertinent to the study of the environments of childhood, as there is a longstanding tradition that ascribes to the formal properties of educational environments an emotional effect. In England, such association between the aesthetic qualities of the building and children's emotions appears together with the move towards universal education in 1870. The architect E.R. Robson, who designed England's first Board Schools, maintained that:

> children whose manners, morals, habits of order, cleanliness, and punctuality, temper, love of study and of the school, cannot fail to

> be in no inconsiderable degree affected by the attractive or repulsive situation, appearance, out-door convenience and in-door comfort, of the place where they are to spend a large part of their most impressionable period of their lives.[13]

The widely held 'impressionable' theory stipulated that children were more susceptible than others to the civilizing effect of art and were predisposed to experience it in a direct, unmediated manner. It has become difficult to accept at face value such claims in relation to the emotional effect of architecture. Yet the question of the status of the architectural discourse of emotions as documents of emotional history remains open, as it is viable to historicize such claims as material embodiments of prevailing attitudes towards children. For example, the ideal of a happy, secure childhood could be documented in buildings that organize children's activities along child-centred principles.

There are other ways in which architecture, childhood and emotions more profitably intersect. One such place is related to the 'spatial turn' in the social sciences and the humanities. In this theoretical framework, space is understood as a social practice conducive to the study of power relations and the production of the self, since 'the ordering of space in buildings is really about the ordering of relations between people'.[14] This approach is indebted to Michel Foucault, whose *Discipline and Punish* examined the architecture of schools alongside that of prisons to account for the disciplinary regime of power that 'proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space'.[15] Following Foucault, spatiality has been conducive to research aimed at uncovering the array of disciplinary practices that act upon the bodies of subjects. The architectural historian Thomas Markus explored the role of school buildings in producing character and 'emotional bonds' by examining the ways in which their layouts regulate communication between individuals through patterns of circulation, spatial partitioning and lines of sight.[16] As noted by Jane Hamlett in Chapter 7, one of the limitations of this methodology is that it excludes the possibility that these spatial mechanisms of power are negotiated by those who come under their sway. Building upon Pierre Bourdieu's spatial concept of *habitus*, the sociologist Kim Rasmussen developed the analytical distinction between 'spaces for children' and 'children's spaces' to highlight the tension between the intentions of authorities for children as they are inscribed in spaces such as playgrounds or schools, and how children, as legitimate social actors, perceive and appropriate them.[17] The interplay between spaces for children and children's spaces teaches us about expectations and

norms concerning children's emotions, as well as their production and expression of emotions when interacting with these prerogatives as active, creative agents. For this purpose, the concept of the 'activity arena', developed by architectural historians to account for how spaces are created and given meaning by human action, would be particularly useful for interpreting the child's interaction with objects and spaces.[18] The child's reaction could be understood as a form of expression and communication that is performed by agents, often in tension with, if not transgressive of, official behavioural norms, taking place on an 'emotional frontier'.[19]

Methods and concepts developed by historians of emotion may solve some of the difficulties of discussing the emotional content of architecture. The concept of emotional communities developed by Barbara Rosenwein, which is defined by overlapping, multiple emotional styles which one must navigate, could be calibrated to account for the spatial disposition of emotions in childhood. Since space is essentially a relational concept, its shifting, unstable meaning and emotional resonance are contingent upon the spatial dynamics between, for example, the home, the classroom and the street. This brings attention to emotional ambivalence and conflict that occurs in constructed spaces. In respect to William Reddy's suggestion that emotional utterances, taken from the repertoire of emotional expression available to a person in a given society, may fail to express one's inner emotions, informing the development of alternative emotional spaces,[20] the architectural study of childhood and emotions may expand Reddy's emotional geography to include emotional spheres beyond his binary model of spaces of emotional orthodoxy and emotional refuges. Finally, one may add that children's emotions are themselves historical forces that reshape the organization and design of childhood institutions.

Emotions and post-war governmentality

The second part of this chapter focuses on three types of environments that were built shortly after the Second World War in England: a school, a playground and a children's hospital. Each case brings forth a different methodological dimension of using the built environment as documents, even agents, of the emotions history of post-war reconstruction. The historian of childhood Harry Hendrick considered the period in question to be unique in instituting an intense 'awareness of and interest in children's emotions'.[21] He asserted that the wartime evacuation of children, as an act of geographical displacement, highlighted the

emotional importance of the home and the family. The result was that children's emotions became self-consciously incorporated into post-war social policy. The 1941 *Cambridge Evacuation Survey* is a case in point. It was commissioned to provide the government with feedback on improving social services for evacuated children. Its authors, among them John Bowlby, raised alarm over the long-term emotional consequences of separating children from their families and concluded their survey with an appeal that 'a true understanding of the feelings and aims of ordinary human beings is an essential condition of success, whether we are concerned with . . . the humanizing of our town schools, the training and teaching of youth, the education of adult citizens'.[22] The early post-war period constitutes a unique historical moment when social policy was concerned with assessing and redressing the long-term emotional impact of war on the civilian population. In the emphatic words of Richard Titmuss, who played an important role in formulating the social policy of the British welfare state:

> Perhaps more lasting harm was wrought to the minds and to the hearts of men, women and children than to their bodies. The disturbances to family life, the separation of mothers and fathers from their children, of husbands from their wives, of pupils from their schools . . . of society from the pursuits of peace – perhaps all these indignities of war have left wounds which will take time to heal and infinite patience to understand.[23]

Emotions thus entered the calculations of social policy. In *Governing the Soul*, the sociologist Nikolas Rose situated this development within a broader socio-political shift. He argued that post-war governmentality operated through modes of knowledge and networks of power that assessed and modified the subjective existence of people and their relationships with one another. Post-war power worked by inducing subjects to assume a more productive and responsible behaviour of their own free will. As Rose noted, 'childhood is the most intensively governed sector of personal existence' and consequently children's emotions became the subject of knowledge and expertise.[24] Failure of citizenship was attributed to childhood emotional experience and especially to insufficient parental affection. Institutions caring for children were reformed in light of psychological concepts and techniques for assessing children's emotional capacities, to aid the family in providing the emotional environment needed for the development of a successful and adjusted citizen. Rose's historical thesis, despite its limitations,[25] is valuable for

analysing the role of space in eliciting, managing and observing children's emotions as part of the post-war project of constituting an emotional model of citizenship.

Play, aggression and love: the post-war playground as psychodynamic space

The adventure playground was invented during the Second World War and was promoted as the playground of the future during the period of reconstruction. Unlike the traditional playground, it had no ready-made play equipment; children were given a site, building materials and tools, and it was up to them to construct its content and meaning through their self-initiated activity. Architectural accounts place it at the pinnacle of evolution from mechanical, ready-made play equipment utilizing mostly kinetic pleasure to imaginative, participatory play which was thought to be more in tune with the 'true' nature of play and the developmental needs of children.[26] Rather than accepting such essentialist, naturalizing claims, the play activity in the adventure playground is explored historically through the analysis of the agency of space and materiality in activating and managing emotions. Play activity is uniquely positioned to be appropriated as a technique for inciting, observing and governing emotions, since modernity defines it as a realm of freedom, pleasure and autonomy – hence, it can be used to control children in a way that is not experienced by them as being imposed from without. As one play leader stated, 'we want the cooperation and obedience of the children to be spontaneous, we want discipline emanating from within the children and not imposed by authority'.[27] Moreover, it is of significance that these playgrounds in England were first opened on bombed sites, in contrast with the current belief that exposing children to violence is traumatic for them. At the time, however, designating sites of destruction for children's play was deemed to be curative for participants and spectators alike.

The idea that aggressive emotions could be healed by returning to the scene of destruction is indebted to Marie Paneth, one of the early pioneers of art therapy and a disciple of Anna Freud. She was the first to suggest that it 'could have a very healing effect if one were allowed to build upon the very spot where damage has been done'.[28] Her involvement points to the key role of psychoanalytic theory in interpreting and managing play during reconstruction. During the war, Paneth operated a play centre at the Tilbury Shelter. After her success in using art activity to lessen the tensions between adults and children who were living

in overcrowded conditions, she was asked to manage a play centre for slum children who were deemed too violent to be evacuated. Creativity seemed to fail with this group:

> They climbed on the top of the bunks and shot at us with all sorts of things, and at the few small ones who still sat at their tables, trying to paint in this turmoil. Dirty, wet canvas was slung into our faces when we passed them, they spat at us and tried to hurt us and showered gross indecencies at us with wild laughter.[29]

Paneth's account of children's emotional outbursts captured the attention of the press, which interpreted such scenes as a threat to citizenship. The *Times Literary Supplement* commented that: 'Meaningless rages seem to sweep through them, and, largely inarticulate, they were at the mercy of violent emotions which seemed unaccountable.'[30] Paneth's method for dealing with aggression was to pursue a 'non-resistance line'. The rationale for this practice was twofold: she took from Anna Freud the conception of the child as naturally asocial and aggressive. The purpose of education was to repress these instincts and force the child to 'give up his primitive habits, to lessen his aggression, to restrict his greed'.[31] If this were done too severely, the child would come to hate his parents and would transfer this hostility to society at large. Paneth interpreted the violence directed towards her as the transference of the child's aggression towards the parent. Thus, observing the child's destructive behaviour provided access to the emotional environment of the home.

Second, violent play could be curative in itself. Paneth allowed children to act out their aggression until they became, in her words, 'sick of their own method'.[32] Play assumed a cathartic function, purging violent emotions by rendering them self-reflexive through parody.[33] Afterwards, the damaged subject could be reintegrated into society by re-enacting what Paneth termed a 'second childhood'.[34] At adventure playgrounds, children were provided with a surrogate parental figure, the play leader, with whom they could reconstruct a more positive emotional relationship to authority and hence to society. Reports written by adventure playground organizers reflect this mode of reasoning:

> Today one little girl complained bitterly about her mother who 'has no love for me, she always kicks me out'. We might say that as they have no place to play inside in the happy setting of a home they develop a certain antagonism against the home and later follows boredom and then delinquency.[35]

My contention is that the adventure playground in fact grafts the dynamics of the psychoanalytic situation onto the outdoor space of play. Free play was conceived of as a substitute for the talking cure, as it provided access to the child's emotions, in order to transform them through the mechanisms of catharsis and positive transference. The role of the play leader was to enable the child to engage in this process of creative self-transformation merely by his or her attentive, non-judgmental presence. Thus, a social worker in Liverpool observed that the play leader 'needs to supply not only bricks and mortar, saws and hammers, wood and nails, but also those impalpable things, the emotional demands of children of all ages for security, companionship and love'.[36]

To return to the association between citizenship and destruction, Paneth conceived constructive play as a technique for building communities upon a participatory model of creative citizenship. The act of building playgrounds on bombed sites established a metaphorical correspondence between the reconstruction of the nation and the reconstruction of the self: a form of architectural therapy. Inciting children to appropriate and master space, to make it their own, was intended to attach children at risk to the social body by providing them with a sense of ownership and belonging.

It is important to stress that adventure playground advocates actively sought media coverage, turning it into a public event. The *Times Educational Supplement* presented an image of children playing with bricks on a site of a bombed church in Camberwell, London with the caption: 'Post-war Builders at Work at the Camberwell Junk Playground' (see Figure 6.1). Such images played a part in constructing an emotional public through a collective emotional investment in children's wellbeing. But the study of playgrounds as documents of emotional history is not limited to their status as spaces for children, where emotions are the product of an expert discourse. If examined as children's places, it is possible to uncover children's ambivalence towards emotional prescriptions, promoted by free, autonomous play and especially by the ideal of creative self-construction.

Advocates of the adventure playground always maintained that constructive play is an expression of the child's innate curiosity and creativity. They celebrated the ingenuity and imagination of children's architecture, portraying their towers, caves, huts and lofty treehouses as embodiments of humanity's home-making instincts and its propensity to erect monuments. But adventure playgrounds were also places of violence and destruction, as can be seen in reports drawn by social

Figure 6.1 Illustration from 'Post-war Builders at Work at the Camberwell Junk Playground', *Times Educational Supplement* (5 June 1948), 317; permission of the *Times Educational Supplement*

workers and play inspectors, who interpreted them as evidence of the slum population's inability to master the behavioural norms associated with the post-war ideal of an active, productive citizenship: 'Knocking things down, bashing, combat, aggression, destructiveness had a much firmer hold on the minds and imagination of the children than the arduous toils of construction, creation, organization, planning and design.'[37] Adventure playground advocates were reluctant to discuss the reality of violence, since it contradicted their understanding of violence as a reaction to the suppression of creativity. Lady Allen of Hurtwood (Marjory Allen), the main promoter of the adventure playground movement in England, argued that 'children who have never known the joy of being engrossingly occupied become emotionally starved and unstable ... If children are denied opportunities for adventure and creative play we cannot hope to reduce the army of delinquent children that marches into the juvenile court'.[38] This idealistic account of creativity is influenced by what Rosenwein identifies as the 'hydraulic' model of emotions.[39] If blocked or repressed, so the theory goes, the child's vital energies would eventually burst out in a destructive manner.

Paneth provided an alternative reading of the failure of children to assume the emotional style of creativity. After the children physically destroyed her play centre, she engaged them in a variety of locations, including her home and their own secret play space where they burned Blitz rubble to cook stolen potatoes. She remarked that 'now I came to them as somebody who tried to share what they did. It was something very different from their coming to us, to the strange house and into a new situation. Their attitude changed completely'.[40] Paneth contextualized violence in relation to a conflict over the mastery of space. Her account suggests that destructiveness towards the built environment could be considered as a form of emotional communication, drawn from that group's dramatic emotional style.

The adventure playground demonstrates the importance of space for studying the modes of knowledge and mechanisms of power that enable the production of emotional 'regimes', prescriptive orthodoxies of feeling and emotional expression. Once the playground is situated in relation to the failed emotional space of the home, it could be seen as one of those places that were negotiated by child experts, communities and children to create an emotional refuge for children to navigate the new demands and responsibilities of citizenship, and the ideal of a happy, free and creative childhood.

Fear, deprivation and the post-war environments of cure

The second case study examines the impact of a discourse on emotions such as fear, despair and deprivation on the planning of the post-war children's hospital. It focuses on the hospital plan developed by the Nuffield Foundation's Division for Architectural Studies, which was based on the Platt Committee's 1959 Report *The Welfare of Children in Hospital*. Considered a milestone in childhood and medical history, the Platt Report pioneered the incorporation of what it considered to be the child's basic 'emotional needs' into the organization of medical care. The sociologist Lindsay Prior singles out two characteristics of the post-war children's ward that resulted from its reorganization to accommodate the child's newly defined emotional needs: the provision of a mother's divan in the single bedrooms and the provision of a play space in the open section of the ward.[41] Prior situates these two novel additions in relation to the emotional spaces of the home and the school. As explained by the Platt Report, the drive to reform hospital care was initiated by the 'profound changes … in the lives of children, at home and at school. The child['s] … individuality is recognised and

appreciated both at home and in school and there is a growing readiness to understand and care for his [sic] emotional needs'.[42] What this section aims to show is not so much that the post-war hospital plan was influenced by a shift in attitude towards children's emotions, but that the very understanding of children's emotions and, consequently, the new emotional style required of different actors – doctors, nurses, visiting parents and sick children – was based on a spatio-temporal conception of emotions such as fear and despair. These emotions were seen as developing and changing in time, and triggered by the act of separating children from the intimate emotional bonds of the home and placing them in an institutional environment.

The primary reason for commissioning the Platt Report was related to the post-war controversy over visitation policy. In most British hospitals until the early 1950s, parental visits were restricted to a weekly schedule: in some, parents were allowed to see their children only when they were asleep. The Platt Report called for 'every effort . . . to preserve continuity with the home during the time the child is in hospital' by liberalizing visitation policy and providing mothers with sleeping accommodations inside the hospital (see Figure 6.2).[43]

Historians of medical care have attributed this change in policy to the action of two different professional coalitions. The first is the discourse of maternal deprivation, initiated by the child psychologist John

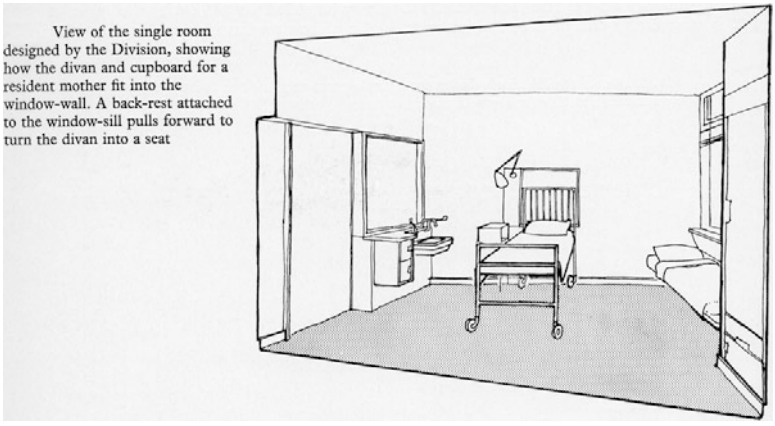

Figure 6.2 Single room with sleeping accommodation for mothers. *Children in Hospital: Studies in Planning* (London: Oxford University Press for the Nuffield Foundation, 1963), 90; permission of Nuffield Foundation Division for Architectural Studies

Bowlby and the social worker John Robertson, which addressed the problem of prolonged hospitalization as it affected the specific age group of children under five, whose relationship with the mother was deemed critical for their emotional development. The second is the advocacy of doctors from inside the hospital system, led by Sir James Spence.[44] Their concern for children's emotional wellbeing did not depend on the length of hospitalization or the child's age, and was expanded to encompass the entire environment and arrangement of the hospital beyond the issue of visitation. In his 1946 lecture at the Royal College of Physicians, Spence provided an influential blueprint for humanizing the post-war children's hospital. To alter the ways in which doctors thought and felt about their young patients, he asked them to imagine 'in each case that the patient is our own child'.[45] To present the child's subjective emotional experience of hospitalization, Spence chose to narrate the daily routine at a children's ward in relation to its material features:

> The room is vast. It contains twenty beds, spaced along walls tiled by Doulton or painted chocolate and yellow . . . Some of the beds are three feet from the ground . . . to the discomfort of the child who has not slept so far from the ground before.[46]

The quotidian experience of the child in hospital was assessed in relation to the spatial norms of the home. Spence, whose father was an architect, also criticized the design of lockers, which were not within reach of a bedridden child. The Platt Report explained the significance of lockers in emotional terms: 'it is generally desirable to allow children to keep with them one or two personal possessions such as toys or books . . . to provide some visible contact with home, once the parents have departed'.[47] Spence continued his description of the daily routine at the hospital with a scene in which a child is administered an emotionally, and perhaps physically, painful treatment: 'The children await their dinner, but are distracted by strange events. A white-coated young man arrives and descends upon the silent occupant of a bed who, knowing that her penicillin hour is at hand, breaks her silence in a four-hourly scream.'[48] Spence recommended the designation of a special space for administering a potentially painful or frightening treatment to shield children from such demoralizing scenes. The Platt Report went even further, instructing the medical staff that 'it is never safe to assume that a child will be afraid of an experience that an adult regards as frightening, or conversely that an experience which has no

terrors for an adult will have none for a child'. One such source of fear distinct to children was identified with darkness, which together with solitude 'can seem more terrifying than an operation'.[49] The Nuffield Study dedicated a section on the lighting of children's wards to alleviate such fear.

Spence's temporal framework of the hospital's daily routine concluded with the following night-time scene: 'Night comes on, but there is no bedtime story, no last moment of intimacy, no friendly cuddle before sleep.'[50] Spence used this scene to draw attention to the emotional states of loneliness and despair. He was a member of the 1946 Curtis Commission on the institutional care of children, which defined children living without their parents or caring guardians as emotionally 'deprived'. He extended this concept to the condition of hospitalization, arguing that hospital environments did not 'give the sense of personal attachment, the relationship, the companionship, which are necessary exercises for the mind of the growing child'.[51] To address these emotional needs, he suggested organizing children in small groups under a house-mother. The significance of this proposal is that it conceptualized the hospital as a community of children. It informed the Nuffield Study's concept of the open ward, in which children were grouped according to their capacity for socialization rather than their medical condition. Bedridden children were intentionally placed next to mobile ones in order to boost their morale.[52] It exemplifies Rose's claim that during the post-war period: 'The group had become a crucial means of conceptualizing the social behaviours of the individual . . . and of conducting the business of the cure.'[53]

While Spence's analysis was framed by a single, typical day, Bowlby and Robertson's notion of maternal separation required a longer time-frame, which had a decisive impact on the Nuffield Foundation's proposed hospital layout. During the War, John Bowlby argued that the disruption of the maternal bond between the mother and the young child because of the evacuation could cause 'severe disturbance of the personality which may persist throughout life'.[54] He later considered this condition as occurring during prolonged hospitalization of young infants; children five years or older were not considered to be at risk. Bowlby's collaborator, James Robertson, made a documentary film, *A Two Year Old Child Goes to Hospital* (1952), to visualize the process of separation as it enfolded over time. The movie was screened to the Platt Committee and transformed its understanding of hospitalization in accordance with Bowlby's paradigm of separation. The film could be interpreted as a document of architectural history as much as that of

childhood emotional history, as it pioneered a methodology for assessing the emotional condition of patients in relation to the institutional space of the hospital.

The film documents a routine event, an eight-day-long hospitalization of a child named Laura. It commences with a domestic scene, the family enjoying their togetherness in the sunny garden, thus framing hospitalization in relation to the home. The film analyses the mother–child relationship as it enfolds over time. For this purpose, each new day is introduced with a calendar and a clock. The film interprets the child's emotional experience caused by the mother's daily coming and going in terms of a cyclic process of withdrawal, breakdown and regained self-control. At the end of the week, the child has become indifferent to her mother's presence, thus illustrating Bowlby's three-staged model of Protest, Despair and Denial (later called Detachment).[55]

The conceptualization of hospitalization as a process that is longer and more complex than the daily sequence observed by Spence informed another distinctive feature of the hospital layout developed by the Nuffield Foundation's architects: the upfront location of the open ward near the entrance. The Platt Report suggested that: 'First impressions are particularly important to a child entering hospital . . . The child will be very conscious of his [sic] surroundings.'[56] Another example of how the film's perspective on time influenced medical practice is the administration of a mandatory bath upon admittance. Laura's hospitalization commences with a bath. The crying child is handled by a nurse as if she was an object rather than a subject endowed with emotions and autonomy. In part due to such representation, this practice was discontinued, demonstrating the power of film to elicit the spectator's emotional identification. The film concludes with a scene showing Laura and her mother leaving the hospital without touching each other, suggesting the long-term emotional effects of separation. Robertson's method of analysing time and space in hospitals as a process, made up of stages of admittance, settling down, treatment, recuperation and discharge, informed the way in which architects and administrators sequenced hospitalization within its space. The Nuffield Study recommended incorporating an interview room near the ward's entrance, where parents could be instructed on how to conceptualize the child's emotional experience of hospitalization. It dealt with what emotional style they should display, in accordance with the Platt Report's suggestion that the child's emotional state is influenced by the parents' emotional performance: 'The recovery of the sick child may be retarded by emotional disturbance which can be aroused by

parents who are anxious.'[57] The opposite may hold true as well – that the new emotional organization of the post-war hospital drew attention to and amplified the perception and experience of fear and loneliness, previously regarded as inconsequential, by giving them a name.

The architectural plan of the post-war children's hospital not only reflected new ways of thinking about children's emotions in relation to time and space, but also worked to transform the attitudes of parents towards their children. The provision of a bed for the mother and an interview room promoted new desires and assumptions regarding the emotional nature of the relationship between parents and children, demonstrating how the modes of knowledge developed by experts of subjectivity were internalized.

Motion and emotion: the post-war school

An examination of school architecture in different times and places involves discerning the complex interrelationship between educational theories that ascribe to aesthetics an emotional effect, and the prevailing architectural theories and styles of the time. While the Board School designed by Robson relied on architectural codes drawn from earlier historical styles (mainly the Queen Anne style), after the Second World War, modern architecture was promoted in England as having a direct, unmediated emotional impact on children. Architects represented the progressive educational ideal of the school as a place full of life, activity and happiness, with bright, vibrant colour schemes, informal and flexible classroom arrangements, asymmetrical layouts and glazed walls that blurred the boundaries between the school's interior and exterior, aspects that typify other modernist buildings of the period.[58] How then can the aesthetic dimension of design become a document of emotionology or emotional style beyond its status as a signifier? Concepts developed by historians of emotions, such as Monique Scheer's notion of emotional practice, suggest a way to integrate aesthetics, as an embodied practice, into emotional history. Scheer defines emotional practice as the habits, rituals and everyday pastimes that aid the subject in achieving desired emotional states and modifying emotions that are not desirable.[59] This brings into focus the role of aesthetic practices intended to mobilize and manage children's emotions at the historical moment when physical education became entwined with an aesthetic project of cultivating a new emotional style for England's children through the mastery of a repertoire of exuberant,

expressive, harmonious yet unscripted bodily motion. This project was initiated by educationalists and art theorists who shared the wartime understanding that values deemed important for social democratic citizenship (such as freedom, social solidarity and tolerance) had to be made emotionally meaningful if they were to overcome the libidinal attraction of violent authoritarian movements. Educational theorists like Herbert Read called to incorporate such sentiments into the citizen's soul through bodily practices during the most malleable period of life: that of childhood. Read claimed that art 'brings grace to the body and nobility to the mind, and that we must make it the basis of education because it can operate in childhood, during the sleep of reason'.[60] He insisted that the aim of education was to adjust the subjective feelings and emotions of the individual with the objective world, and that this was best done by habituating the child in the aesthetic principle of harmony: 'without this mechanism', he warned, 'civilization loses its balance, and topples over into social and spiritual chaos'.[61]

Read's ideas on aesthetics had significance beyond the history of art education, as they were ingrained into everyday practice during the reconstruction period through education pamphlets such as *Story of a School* (1949) and *Moving and Growing* (1952). These official texts turned aesthetic practices in schools into documents of emotional and architectural history.

Story of a School narrated an educational experiment taking place in a war-damaged, working-class neighbourhood in Birmingham. It employed artistic activities such as dance, drama, painting and sculpture to transform children's emotions through the creation of beauty and, in that process, liberated them from fears, inhibitions and aggression.

Arthur Stone, the school's headmaster, observed that children initially imitated their teachers and failed to express themselves with their bodies because they feared embarrassment. The teachers trained students with Rudolph Laban's modern dance technique to relieve them from such fear. The abstract vocabulary of motion of this technique was conceived as a means for discovering and expressing to others the child's 'authentic self'. Stone explained: 'It took some time before we could free the child from his inhibitions, but, when that did occur, the children made their own patterns in the space about them as dictated by the individual ideas they wished to express.'[62] He claimed that: 'The body was responding easily and fearlessly to the thoughts within. There was a oneness between the emotional self and the physical body.'[63] Timid,

Figure 6.3 'Responding Easily and Fearlessly to the Thoughts within'. Photograph illustrating the 1949 Education Pamphlet *Story of a School*

uncreative or destructive movement was attributed to a 'fear of freedom', a concept developed by Erich Fromm and popularized by Herbert Read. The task of the teacher was to liberate the child from the fear 'of assuming the responsibility of disciplining himself'.[64] The students were encouraged to break all spatial boundaries, using classroom floors and school corridors to dance, paint, sing and perform dramatic plays. These practices were later institutionalized into the open plan of the post-war school, following Read's assertion that the most important aspect of school design was to provide an environment that ensured 'freedom of movement, freedom to roam. The senses are only educated by endless action . . . and action requires space'.[65]

The mobilization of bodily movement to produce emotions through Laban's modernist dance aesthetics was officially integrated into England's education system with the education pamphlet *Moving and Growing*. Laban's 'grammatical movement' was to have given a graceful and harmonious character to the performance of everyday activities such as walking, socializing and home-making. This new style of movement was thought to arise from the child's inner nature, one that was suppressed by traditional cultural codes that favoured self-restraint:

> This exuberance of expression is regarded as undesirable and uncivilized; it is described as 'childish'; and English men and women would find it a shocking and inconvenient mode of behaviour in everyday life. So children learn to subdue such expressions.[66]

Moving and Growing cultivated an expressive grammar of movement for communal activities. The text referred to the archaic origins of drama and dance, performance arts that arose from 'the need felt by people to come to terms with their exciting experiences and to put them into shape or pattern of their own creation'.[67] This Dionysian notion of collective movement was intended to provide the future citizen of social democracy with an expressive language with which to fashion an energetic ideal of the self and to forge communal attachments based on shared, embodied sentiments.

There are currently no studies of children's responses to this aesthetic project, as historical research into physical education in England is mainly focused on competitiveness and health.[68] Did the inability or unwillingness of children to mobilize the body creatively and harmonically involve a personal sense of inadequacy? At the time, failure was interpreted psychoanalytically, as a form of unconscious resistance to 'freedom'.

Thinking of school architecture through its relation to the history of emotions provides an opportunity to historicize aesthetic concepts deemed autonomous in architectural thinking, such as harmony or rhythm. Architectural critics have ascribed the rhythmic, sensuous quality of post-war school buildings to the influence of modernist painterly styles. Another explanation could tie them to the project of harmonizing emotions through an aesthetic interaction with the environment. Read claimed that: 'The school in its structure and appearance should be an agent, however unconscious in its application, of aesthetic education.'[69] School buildings were designed to modulate the moving subject's experience with rhythmic, harmonic alternation between material textures, light intensities, colours, composed and animated forms, as a means for what Scheer calls 'mobilizing' emotional states, deemed conducive to England's emotional reconstruction.

Conclusion

The architectural and spatial analysis of the three types of childhood institutions suggests that they were designed in relation to the emotional environment of the home, thus highlighting the significance of

space, as a relational concept, to the discipline of the history of emotions. The emotional prescriptions associated with these institutions are typified by the preference of productive over restrictive mechanisms; they mobilized the child's psychophysical capacities to elicit emotional states of happiness, security and liveliness, while managing the more harmful emotional residues of war, such as fear and aggression. The project of reconstruction in England was pursued through the creation of an 'emotional public' that defined its humanity through a shared concern for children's wellbeing as part of the new emotional economy of social democracy.

As for the discipline of architectural history, the analysis suggests the broadening of understanding of architecture beyond interpretations of how it signifies or affects the beholder, to how it affects, with other practices, the body and emotions of subjects who inhabit it. In this respect, the architecture of childhood of the post-war period is well-suited for exploring how emotions become knowable and governable, precisely because of the status of the child as a citizen in the making who is in need of emotional care and is therefore a legitimate subject of indirect techniques for governing one's emotional self.

Notes

1. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), 398.
2. Ariès was especially criticized for claiming that the medieval period lacked awareness of the particular nature of childhood. As his argument rested in part on pictorial representations of children in medieval art as 'little adults', his critics relied on art history to challenge his use of pictorial evidence in order to discredit his thesis. See Colin Heywood, '*Centuries of Childhood*: An Anniversary – and an Epitaph?', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3(3) (2010), 341–365, here 345–346. A similar criticism regarding the use of literary texts has also been levelled at the work of Barbara H. Rosenwein, whose essay 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845 is illustrated with pictorial representations of children in which they are undifferentiated from adults. Such representations may have as much to do with painterly conventions as with social conceptions of children.
3. Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault, *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).
4. Le Corbusier, *Toward an Architecture* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2007), 249.
5. Ulrich Conrads, *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 119.
6. Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954), 13.

7. A contemporary example of a phenomenological reading of architecture and its emotional significance is Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (London: Academy Editions, 1996). See the discussion in Chapter 7 of this volume.
8. Mark Jarzombek, *The Psychologizing of Modernity*: *Art, Architecture, and History* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 72.
9. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90(4) (1985), 813–836, here 830–831.
10. David Canter, *Psychology for Architects* (London: Applied Science Publishers, 1974), 3.
11. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, 'Design and Order in Everyday Life', *Design Issues* 8(1) (1991), 26–34, here 34.
12. Csikszentmihalyi, 'Design and Order in Everyday Life', 32.
13. E.R. Robson, *School Architecture* (Leicester University Press, 1972), 6.
14. Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge University Press, 1988), 2.
15. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 141.
16. Thomas A. Markus, *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London: Routledge 1993), 125. See the discussion of Markus and his impact on the study of emotions in Chapter 7 in this volume.
17. Kim Rasmussen, 'Places for Children – Children's Places', *Childhood* 11(2) (2004), 155–173.
18. The term was developed by the architectural historian Elizabeth Cromley. See discussion of the concept in Abigail A. van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xxxi.
19. For an elaboration of this concept, see Chapter 2.
20. William M. Reddy, 'Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology* 38(3) (1997), 327–351, here 331.
21. Harry Hendrick, 'Children's Emotional Well-being and Mental Health in Early Post-Second World War Britain: The Case of Unrestricted Hospital Visiting', *Clio Medica: The Wellcome Series in the History of Medicine* 71 (2003), 213–242, here 214.
22. Susan Isaac,(ed.), *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey; A Wartime Study in Social Welfare and Education* (London: Methuen, 1941), 11.
23. Richard M. Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (London: HMSO, 1950), 538.
24. Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Routledge, 1990), 121.
25. Rose's Foucaultian approach has several methodological shortcomings for the study of emotional history. Because subjectivity is seen as being produced by discourse, emotional regimes appear homogeneous and overreaching. Consequently, little is known of the subject's emotional performance. In addition, Rose divides historical flow into 'paradigmatic shifts' in structures of power and regimes of truth. Historians of emotions such as Stearns emphasize the continuity of emotional formations, while Rosenwein argues for overlapping emotional communities and emotional standards; both caution against assuming that concepts developed by administrators do in fact

determine everyday emotional experience. See Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49(2) (2010), 237–265.
26. Marjory Allen, *Planning for Play* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), 18–19.
27. Peter Gutkind, 'Five Months in Clydesdale Playground' (1953), MSS 121/AP/3/2/8/1, Modern Records Centre, Coventry.
28. Marie Paneth, *Branch Street: A Sociological Study* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1944), 120.
29. Paneth, *Branch Street*, 12.
30. 'Town Life at its Worst: Social Problems of the Immediate Future', *Times Educational Supplement* (29 July 1944), 362.
31. Anna Freud and Dorothy T. Burlingham, *War and Children* (New York: Medical War Books, 1943), 191.
32. Paneth, *Branch Street*, 34.
33. This approach was developed by August Aichhorn, who pioneered the use of psychoanalysis for the institutional treatment of delinquents. He allowed his subjects complete licence 'to work out their aggression' to the point of explosion, figuring that 'when this point came, the aggression changed its character. The outbreaks of rage . . . were no longer genuine, but were acted out for our benefit'; August Aichhorn, *Wayward Youth* (London: Imago, 1951), 175.
34. Paneth, *Branch Street*, 47.
35. Gutkind, 'Five Months in Clydesdale Playground'.
36. John Mays, *Adventure in Play* (Liverpool Council of Social Service, 1957), 27.
37. Mays, *Adventure in Play*, 16.
38. Marjory Allen, *Junk Playgrounds* (London: National Under Fourteens Council, 1948), 3.
39. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845, here 834–836.
40. Paneth, *Branch Street*, 111.
41. Lindsay Prior, 'The Architecture of the Hospital: A Study of Spatial Organization and Medical Knowledge', *British Journal of Sociology* 39(1) (1988), 86–113, here 101.
42. Ministry of Health, *The Welfare of Children in Hospital* (London: HMSO, 1959), sec. 6, 2.
43. Ministry of Health, *Welfare of Children in Hospital*, sec. 15, 4.
44. Frank C.P. van der Horst and René van der Veer, 'Changing Attitudes Towards the Care of Children in Hospital: A New Assessment of the Influence of the Work of Bowlby and Robertson in the UK, 1940–1970', *Attachment & Human Development* 11(2) (2009), 119–142, here 127. Spence, whose memoranda to the Minister of Health Aneurin Bevan initiated the change in visitation policy in the early 1950s, was also the person who suggested that the Nuffield Foundation undertake a study of the children's hospital.
45. J[ames] C. Spence, 'The Care of Children in Hospital', *British Medical Journal* 1(4490) (1947), 125–130, here 127.
46. Spence, 'Care of Children in Hospital', 127.
47. Ministry of Health, *Welfare of Children in Hospital*, sec. 59, 15.
48. Spence, 'Care of Children in Hospital', 128.

49. Ministry of Health, *Welfare of Children in Hospital*, sec. 112, 28. Fear figures as an important topic in wartime discussions of children's emotions. The child psychologist William Blatz, known for his 'security theory', maintained in a 1942 BBC radio lecture that fear is an innate and evolutionarily useful emotional response to situations with which the individual is incapable of dealing. To control fear and channel its energies in order to overcome rather than flee the threat, Blatz recommended restoring a sense of familiarity and providing the child with 'sympathetic companionship', techniques which were implemented in post-war hospitals and schools. Mary Ainsworth, who was Blatz's doctoral student, later worked with John Bowlby on attachment.
50. Spence, 'Care of Children in Hospital', 128.
51. Nuffield Foundation Division for Architectural Studies, *Children in Hospital: Studies in Planning* (London: Oxford University Press for the Nuffield Foundation, 1963), 58.
52. Nuffield Foundation Division for Architectural Studies, *Children in Hospital*, 87.
53. Rose, *Governing the Soul*, 52.
54. Quoted in van der Horst and van der Veer, 'Changing Attitudes', 122.
55. John Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss*, vol. 1, *Attachment* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 27.
56. Ministry of Health, *Welfare of Children in Hospital*, sec. 55, 14.
57. Ministry of Health, *Welfare of Children in Hospital*, sec. 41, 11.
58. Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor, *School* (London: Reaktion, 2008), 67–118.
59. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History & Theory* 51(2) (2012), 193–220, here 212.
60. Herbert Read, *Education through Art* (New York: Pantheon, 1945), 277.
61. Read, *Education through Art*, 14.
62. Arthur Stone, *Story of a School: A Headmaster's Experiences with Children Aged Seven and Eleven,* Ministry of Education Pamphlet no. 14 (London: HMSO, 1949), 14.
63. Stone, *Story of a School*, 16.
64. Stone, *Story of a School*, 11.
65. Read, *Education through Art*, 292.
66. Ministry of Education, *Moving and Growing: Physical Education in the Primary School: Part One*, Education Pamphlet no. 24 (London: HMSO, 1952), 37.
67. Ministry of Education, *Moving and Growing*, 103.
68. Mick Donovan, Gareth Jones, and Ken Hardman, 'Physical Education and Sport in England: Dualism, Partnership and Delivery Provision', *Kinesiology* 38(1) (2006), 16–27.
69. Read, *Education through Art*, 291.

7

Space and Emotional Experience in Victorian and Edwardian English Public School Dormitories

Jane Hamlett

In the second half of the nineteenth century, boys at many English public schools lived apart from their teachers. This was typical in such institutions at the time, with most schools adopting the 'house system'. While notionally under the control of housemasters, within these places pupils usually inhabited house rooms and open dormitories, which teachers seldom entered. This was a deliberate policy. Discussions of the open dormitory reveal that its spatial set-up – where boys were kept isolated from their masters but in very close proximity to their peers – was intended to have a distinct emotional effect. It was hoped that the judicious guidance of senior boys would set a good example to their juniors, contributing to their emotional education. Isolation, meanwhile, was supposed to encourage independence, creating self-governing individuals who were able to exercise self-control rather than being disciplined by the institution. The aim was the production of a moral system, in which the discipline of the self, body and emotions played an important part. This meant learning to control emotional expression, but also forming the right kind of attachments to others. The prefect system, in which a chosen group of senior boys were given the right to use physical discipline, and especially fagging, is notorious. However, it is important to remember that this had set cultural limits. This is clearly articulated in the famous schoolboy novel of the era, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857), which celebrates the physicality and rough-and-tumble masculinity of school life, while condemning older boys who resort to extreme violence.[1] The novel is set before the reform of the public schools at mid-century, the implication being that such excesses were unlikely to occur under the new prefect system implemented by Thomas Arnold.[2]

Yet there is a stark contrast between such ideals as articulated by teachers, architects and novelists, and the reality of life as experienced in these spaces by contemporary schoolboys. The isolation of the open dormitory, and the way in which vulnerable boys were left with nowhere to hide, produced a turbulent emotional atmosphere that became more intense as the term wore on. It was certainly emotionally productive – building pleasure for the bully as well as terror for the victim – but it bore little relation to the disciplined moral system that the authorities envisaged.

Public schools – and the emotional climate they produced – have been seen as fundamental to state and society in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. These institutions, so the story goes, created a uniform public school 'type', robust and manly, fit to rule home, country and empire. Historians have charted the significance and power of these places, noting their increasing cohesiveness in the second half of the nineteenth century, and a new emphasis on team games and inter-house competition.[3] For scholars of masculinity such as John Tosh, the schools produced rough-and-ready manly characters that dominated elite masculinity in this era through their removal of young boys from the feminine sphere of the home.[4] More recently, some important differences between these schools have been brought to the fore.[5] Patrick Joyce argues that they were competing forces, deriving their power from their status as individual institutions rather than acting as a uniform block.[6] But he ultimately sees them acting together, producing a traumatized and desensitized governing class, inured to violent punishment, who went on to create a brutal state and empire.[7] What these writers agree on is that pupils were subject to powerful forces that fundamentally altered their emotional states, creating new forms of character and behaviour. Yet there has been little work on the material conditions that helped to bring these changes about.[8] This is where this chapter intervenes, investigating the built spaces of these schools. Examining the role that space and material culture played in shaping daily emotional life brings the contrast between the idealized educational function of these schools and their impact on pupils into sharp relief. To a certain extent, incidents like the one recounted above reinforce the idea that public schools produced desensitized individuals as Joyce describes. But paying attention to how boys reacted to the spaces around them and brought in their own material goods can also help us see how they were able to establish a kind of equilibrium and find some personal autonomy in a world where person, self and identity were all under threat.

Why use space as a means of furthering our understanding of emotional experiences? Getting at experience has been one of the major

preoccupations of the new history of the emotions and is highly contested.[9] As Roy Kozlovsky discussed in Chapter 6, buildings can play an active, dynamic role in the creation of emotions. Architecture can have an emotional impact in both aesthetic and experiential terms. As Juhani Pallasmaa puts it, '[a] building is not an end in itself; it frames, articulates, structures, gives significance, relates, separates and unites, facilitates and prohibits'.[10] Built spaces provoke bodily responses that are closely linked to emotional states: 'our bodies respond very directly to the spatial conditions that we experience. Narrow or cramped spaces make us physically crouch or hunch over, and in some cases even strike a chord of terror'.[11] The spatial, physical world, then, represents an important dimension of emotional experience. Enclosure or confinement in space can produce a response. But perhaps more importantly, space is also fundamental to emotional life in that its arrangement often determines the positioning of bodies and their relationships to each other. Emotions are conditioned by interactions with other people, in which presence or absence plays an important role. The architectural critic Thomas Markus argues that space creates emotional bonds between individuals: 'Spaces can be so linked that communication is free and frequent, making possible dense encounters between classes, groups and individuals. These are the basis for community, friendship and solidarity.'[12] According to Markus, the organization of space can create relationships between individuals – both enmities and affections. For historians seeking to uncover distinctive sets of emotional experiences in the past, looking at the changing use of built space over time and how it could control and place bodies, and hence construct relationships, can be a very useful tool. This chapter focuses on the atmospheres and patterns of interaction that were enabled by certain uses of space: its impact on schoolboy relationships, and the contribution of this to the broader emotional experience of school life.

Exploring the built environment can also show the operation of contemporary understandings of emotion on several levels, both in terms of ideals and in practice. Designs and plans, rules and timetables that set out the daily use of space have much to tell us about the intentions of school authorities and contemporary expectations about the emotional effect of the built environment. Here, my account chimes with Michel Foucault's influential interpretation of institutional space. Foucault argued that the surveillance of space was one of the major tools used to discipline bodies within nineteenth-century carceral institutions.[13] Inmates were induced to believe that they were being constantly watched, creating self-discipline and emotional restraint.[14] As I will go on to discuss, this is an apt description of the imagined

discipline that school authorities hoped would be produced in the open dormitory by peer pressure between boys. Yet, as Kozlovsky outlines in Chapter 6, the spatial turn has also recently led to a rethinking of what space means to its users. The isolation of the boys from masters often did not produce the intended disciplined independence, but it was absolutely fundamental to the shaping of relations between schoolboys and therefore also to their emotional lives. At certain times and places, the allocation of space could also secure a sense of individual and personal autonomy within the forced collective life of the public school.

In contrast to Chapter 6, which examined three examples of post-war architectural design that aimed to shape emotional experience in childhood, I am fundamentally concerned here with the creation of historical material worlds through specific lived experiences, and the emotional responses of children to their environments. To this end, in addition to considering the ideas of architects and cultural commentators, I focus closely on institutional records and personal accounts from three case-study institutions in London and the south-east of England: Winchester College, Charterhouse and Lancing. The writings of children themselves, produced both at the time and in adulthood, offer a very different picture of school life. Personal documents, autobiographies, letters and diaries open up the emotional culture of the dormitory in the words of those who actually lived in them. From the early part of the century, there was a growing demand for institutions to educate the sons of the well-off middle in addition to the upper classes. During the 1840s and 1850s, reforming headmasters made increasing efforts to create better disciplined and, crucially, more moral schools. Arnold's work at Rugby, and his prefect system, is the most famous example.[15] The Clarendon Commission was set up to investigate conditions in public schools – it reported in 1864 and the resulting Public Schools Act of 1868 freed school authorities from some of their constraints. This era saw substantial building activity at all three schools. The ancient foundation at Winchester was expanded and new boarding houses substantially raised the school's capacity.[16] Winchester was regarded as inferior only to Eton. In addition to aristocratic and upper-class boys (known as commoners), there were usually around 70 scholars at Winchester, the majority from the professional middle classes. Charterhouse, also a predominantly elite establishment, moved from London on the recommendation of the Clarendon Commission and substantial new school buildings were opened just outside Godalming in 1872. Lancing was established by leading churchman Nathaniel Woodard in 1848 in a vicarage at Shoreham, before moving to new buildings on the South

Downs in 1857. The institution was part of the Woodard Schools – an initiative designed to offer a public-school education to a wider social range. An early prospectus declared the school open to 'gentlemen of limited means' as well as the sons of clergymen, professionals and tradesmen.[17] Looking at these three distinctive establishments allows us to move away from the idea that public schools operated in a uniform fashion, revealing significant differences in the use of space that could have an important impact on the lives of the boys.

The open dormitory and the 'moral discipline of common life'

School authorities shared a common philosophy when it came to planning residential accommodation for pupils. The implementation of the house system was central to the reform of public schools in the mid-Victorian period. Rugby in the 1840s sought control by eliminating Dames Houses (which were often run by local women) and making boys live in houses headed by assistant masters. The Clarendon Commissioners' report noted that Harrow and Westminster had followed suit, and called for the removal of the nine remaining Dames Houses at Eton. The new system, the Commissioners declared, was 'desirable for the sake of the boys themselves and for the general discipline of the school'.[18] According to the architect Felix Clay, most public schools had separate boarding houses by the early 1900s.[19] While the house system was undoubtedly important, schools set it up in different ways. At Winchester in the mid-nineteenth century, both scholars and commoners lived in the college, although houses were built later on for the commoners while the scholars remained in Chambers. The house system was strongest at Charterhouse, which had three houses when the school first moved to Godalming and 11 by 1904.[20] The identification of Carthusians with their houses was probably strengthened by the practice of eating within them. At Lancing, there were initially three houses on the school's new site, but meals were taken in a central dining hall, so pupils from different houses saw more of each other.

What the houses and other living spaces for boys shared was a clear system of spatial organization that created a sharp dividing line between the territories of pupils and masters. Their plans were modelled on homes for the upper middle classes, which created separate spaces for servants and for the family. Green baize doors, often the marker of the threshold between master and maid in the middle-class home, were used here to separate housemasters and boys. The two halves of the house

were known as 'the boys' side' and 'the private side'. Housemasters were expected to be involved with the boys, but fundamentally it was thought that pupils should manage and control themselves. Under the prefect system, senior boys were encouraged to exercise authority and to be essentially self-disciplining. Spatial separation from adults was a crucial part of this. According to the Commissioners in 1864, too close supervision from housemasters amounted to 'espionage'.[21] Indeed, comparative reports on British and French schools were quick to defend the 'liberty' that boys had within the English system.[22] Masters usually had a completely separate suite of rooms within the house, and a kitchen and servants' quarters apart from the boys' area. In Saunderites, the headmaster's house at Charterhouse, for example, the only entrance to the boys' side from the private side was through the door of the study.[23] Even the kitchen was cut off, as the pupils' breakfast and supper was cooked by the scholar's butler in a separate room on their side. Of course, a great deal depended on the personality of the housemaster and his wife (if he had one). At Winchester, Trant Bramston was known for opening up his side of the house to the boys and allowing them to make use of his study for their own entertainment.[24] But in most houses, pupils were left to fend for themselves.

Yet while school authorities chose to isolate boys from their masters, they were offered little privacy from each other. Within the houses, most schools chose to have open-plan dormitories (see Figure 7.1). There were strong arguments for this from a health perspective. By 1900, cubicles within school dormitories were seen as outdated, unhealthy and even morally dangerous. Felix Clay's survey of school buildings (1902) noted that 'the opinion both of Headmasters and school doctors is very strongly in favour of the open room or small dormitory on all grounds'.[25] But it went further than that. The open dormitory was thought to produce a self-regulating community, in which all boys benefited from positive peer pressure and emotional discipline. Clement Dukes, in his *Health at School* (1883 and 1905), argued that cubicles kept boys from the good influence of older boys in the dormitory, who might prevent bad language and loose talk.[26] Dean Farrar's account of the silencing of smutty chat by the angelic Russell in *Eric* (1858), his painfully moral schoolboy novel, makes the same point.[27] One of the advantages of Winchester over Eton, according to the Wykehamist Spencer Leeson, was its open dormitories and Chambers with toys that offered 'privacy together with the moral discipline of common life'.[28] The ideal, then, was that the open dormitory would produce boys who were able to discipline and govern themselves, learning to control their

Figure 7.1 Photograph showing the interior of a dormitory, possibly in the Sanatorium. The sparse layout is typical of the open dormitory in this era. Winchester College Archive, M24/3. Permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

emotions as they lived constantly under the eyes of their peers. Through watching the older boys, the younger would learn the kind of emotional expression deemed acceptable within the school environment, that is, self-controlled, not overly expressive or feminine. This was linked to the inculcation of Christian morality and virtue. Control was not, however, provided by spatial surveillance alone. What gave boys the power to govern each other was a system of physical discipline, which senior pupils could mete out to juniors. Corporal punishment for boys, as Heather Ellis has recently pointed out, was endemic in Victorian public schools.[29] All the schools considered here had ritualized forms of punishment.[30] Yet positive role models were also very important. Boys were deliberately isolated in the hope that they would forge the right kind of relationships. Prefects were expected to acquire the habit of command, and younger boys to be obedient, but there was also to be a great deal of camaraderie and novels frequently celebrate the role of positive relationships between pupils.[31]

It was also thought that dormitory design should be used to control sexual behaviour by limiting boys' opportunities to form relationships

in private. Spatial organization was seen as important here because it set an immediate control on physical behaviour. Yet it also had an emotional impact, as sexual desire and a boy's opportunity for expressing it were closely linked to his emotional state. Certainly for the school authorities, regulating sexuality was a crucial part of the creation of a broader moral system that promoted self-control and limited the expression of desire.

Many shared the view that, as the sanitarian Alfred Carpenter remarked, 'the morals of a school are closely connected with the character of the bedroom arrangements'.[32] Advocating the open dormitory, Clement Dukes writes: 'The evil, too, of cubicles is serious from a moral point of view.'[33] For Dukes, the main threat posed by the cubicle was sexual: 'They allow boys to get together for immoral purposes, unseen and undiscovered.'[34] Dukes was particularly insistent on this point and it seems he had come into conflict with several school authorities: 'Their defenders, whose name is legion, deny their defects, and assert that boys keep to their own cubicles by night. Only let an impartial inquiry be instituted on this point, and the result will often startle and shame!'[35] However, while Wykehamists and Lancing boys slept in open dormitories, Charterhouse pupils *were* given cubicles, despite the general consensus against this (see Figure 7.2).[36] Few other schools used them.[37] We have little evidence as to why the authorities chose to keep these cubicles in place. But they were equipped to prevent interaction and intrusion – each had a catch inside the door, which could not be opened from the outside except with the housemaster's key, and panels at the tops of the partitions were wired, stopping boys from climbing over the top. Adrian Daintrey, a former pupil at the school, was convinced that they were designed to stall sexual activities: 'I never heard the upstanding panels being made fun of (perhaps because the underlying ground, that of sexual misbehaviour, was dangerous), nor even mentioned in my own time at school.'[38] Daintrey, and presumably the school authorities, believed that the cubicles kept residents in their place at night and discouraged sexual advances. However, as we will see, the emotional climates that spatial isolation fostered were often far from these disciplined ideals.

Tunding and foulness

The spatial separation of boys and masters had important consequences for the behaviour of and relationships between the boys. Sometimes, the 'moral discipline of common life' operated as the authorities hoped,

Figure 7.2 Photograph showing boys packing at the end of term by Alexander Hay Tod. Most of the houses at Charterhouse had two or three large dormitories filled with cubicles. Charterhouse School Archive, 'Tod Albums', 077/4. Permission of Charterhouse School

but in many places it did not. This varied between schools, times and even houses. Importantly, the boys' spatial isolation could produce atmospheres of intimidation, extreme violence and sexual exploitation that went far beyond what was viewed as acceptable by contemporaries

(even given the considerable difference in standards between the nineteenth century and today). The emotional responses and reactions felt and expressed by the boys themselves often overpowered notions of moral constraint – both for the pleasure-seeking bullies and sadists and their fearful victims. All three schools witnessed incidents of extreme behaviour. In the 1870s, Winchester saw the growth of the brutal and extensive use of corporal punishment and 'tunding' by the prefects to a far greater extent than elsewhere. 'Tunding' was the Winchester word for a beating with the ground ash, delivered by a prefect, for which the victim would be required to expose their bare shoulders and be 'cut into' with the ash. The prefects frequently carried this out on the smallest of pretexts. Charles Oman, who arrived in Chambers in 1873, recalled that over 100 thrashings had been inflicted in college on mostly 14 boys during the first six weeks of that term.[39] Oman himself was thrashed four times during the period, in one instance for putting a cup of hot chocolate in the wrong place.[40] But others fared worse: a fellow boy who was not able to adapt to the fagging system was beaten 14 times – when he bathed, Oman observed that his body was covered in black and blue welts.[41] The situation finally came to a head after a particularly brutal beating. In the commoner houses the prefects decided to examine all boys on their grasp of 'notions' (the special vocabulary of Wykehamists). One boy, McPherson, refused to take the test. When he would not apologize to the head prefect, he was given a savage beating – 30 cuts of the ground ash on his bare shoulders, breaking five sticks in the process. It is a testament to the lack of knowledge of the pupils' affairs that was brought about by spatial separation that the school authorities only learned of the beating after a letter was published about it in *The Times*.[42] After parental complaints and public scandal, the school was finally persuaded to act, and Chambers, where the beatings had been rife, was taken over by a new Second Master, Mr Richardson, who watched the boys more closely. But this step was only taken after significant problems.

A second consequence of the absence of masters was increased sexual activity between boys, despite the efforts made to prevent this with open dormitories and cubicles with special devices. Physical desire, and the emotional attachments that sometimes but not always accompanied it, often exerted more power in the everyday world of schoolboys than the disciplined morality hoped for by the authorities. Taking advantage of their isolation, boys had sex at all three schools. Schoolboy Sam Brooke, writing in his diary in 1862, expressed his fears over the sexuality of some of the boys at Lancing and his worries over the

effect of this on his younger brother, soon to arrive at the school: 'the lower school thrive as beasts thrive, flourishing in their lusts'.[43] Robert Graves, in his widely read autobiography *Good-Bye to All That* (1929), famously described the sexual atmosphere at Charterhouse as 'complicated by cynicism and foulness', where boys 'used each other coldly as convenient sex-instruments'.[44] Graves makes a clear connection between this and the absence of masters: 'the house-masters knew little about what went on in their houses; their living quarters were removed from the boys'.[45] Sex was also present at Winchester. Raymond Asquith (the eldest son of the later Prime Minister), a prefect at the school in 1897, noted in a letter to a friend that in a special prefects' meeting the headmaster 'spoke in hushed accents of the abominable crime and exhorted us with passionate fervour to prefer every known form of prostitution and bestiality to the sin of Sodom'.[46] The boys, however, remained uncowed – and Asquith registered the annoyance of some at the headmaster's support for the government's plans to increase the penalty for homosexuality from two to 14 years: 'The bolder spirits muttered that the law was not altered yet, and registered a mental vow to make the best of the lucid interspace.'[47] It's hard to establish just how much sexual activity went on – particularly as much would have gone under the radar and, indeed, might only have come to light if there was a complaint. Tom Driberg, for example, after many years of pleasurable liaisons on the hills around Lancing and in the public toilets at Brighton, was finally thrown out of school when he attempted to lure a younger boy into bed with him in the dormitory – the boy's complaint to the housemaster sealed his fate.[48] Driberg is probably an unusual example, but his success in concealing his sexual practices from the school authorities was part of a larger culture of the spatial isolation of the boys.

Apple pie beds, cargo and pits

How, then, were boys able to come to terms with living in such turbulent and violent worlds? Outbreaks of the kind discussed above were not constant, but were part of a ubiquitous larger culture of robust sallies and dormitory tricks that was a vital part of school life. Becoming inured to this kind of emotional buffeting was fundamental to the shift in character that being at school could bring about. Indeed, the prominence of this pupil-generated culture can be seen as a success for the school authorities, as the ability to deal with ragging contributed to the emotional self-control that they wanted boys to acquire. These japes

inevitably involved attacks on beds – personal spaces that housed prone and vulnerable bodies at night.

According to R.E. Grice Hutchinson, an amusing Charterhouse trick involved removing the bed boards from under a mattress, causing the unfortunate occupant to plunge to the floor when he attempted to get in.[49] The practice of making an 'apple pie bed' (folding the sheets in such as way as to make it impossible for the bed to be entered) was well established at Winchester.[50] A range of other bed-related tricks were recorded in the Winchester 'notions', introducing boys to various ingenious methods of dormitory joshing, just in case they were unable to invent them for themselves. These included the 'booby trap' (a bucket of water positioned over an open door)[51] and 'the launch' (shown in Figure 7.3). The celebration of dormitory tricks in 'notions', often accompanied by little illustrations, shows the pleasure boys took in these affairs. Most seem quickly to have become accustomed to the physicality of the dormitory and used to tolerating such pranks, while retaining a basic level of trust that their peers would not go too far. These boys were being conditioned to be able to function in a climate of

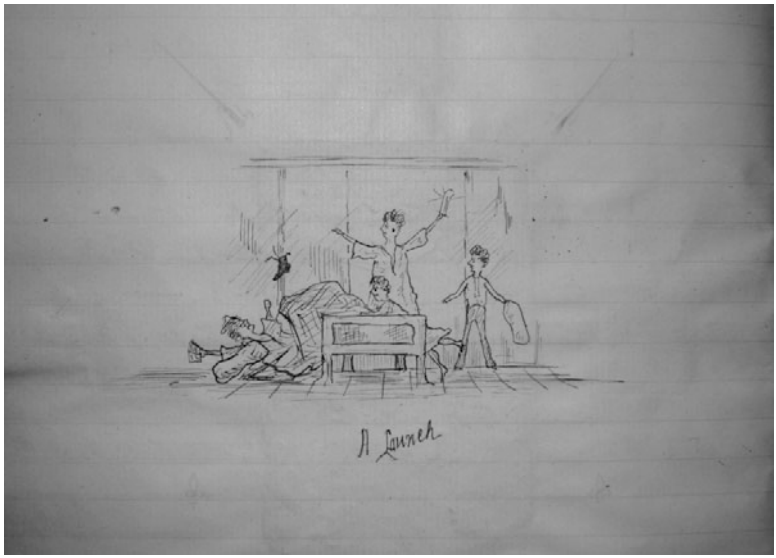

Figure 7.3 Sketch from the notions book of H.E. Campbell, 1866. Such japes were common at all three schools. Winchester College Archive, F3/3/31. Permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

constant mild physical threat and to be comfortable there. A few boys, however, never got used to it. For them, the dormitory was the scene of constant unease and fear, as they waited, on edge, for the next attack.

There were also more positive forms of consolation. The spatial arrangements of the dormitory allowed the boys considerable licence to form friendships. The boys were sometimes supportive as well as aggressive. When Norman de Bruyne arrived at Lancing, he found that someone had placed a collection of daddy long legs in his bed. This was the last straw and he burst into tears, but later recalled that 'a boy named Hale removed the insects and tried to comfort' him.[52] Communal life had some benefits. The material world, and in particular the exchange of food, was an important means of becoming established within the dormitory and forging vital alliances. A commoner at Winchester remembered that in the 1840s, his room was known for its cookery: 'We used to light an Etna in a wooden box, and boil eggs and cook various things, including making negus of port wine.'[53] Many letters refer to the practice of sharing provisions from home in the dormitories at night. At Winchester, it was common to receive cakes in 'cargo' and to split these in Chambers at night. 'I hope you do not think I am too grasping in the way of cakes', worried Geoffrey Polson in a letter to his mother from Charterhouse in 1904.[54] He was not alone – culinary confections were a staple topic in letters between mothers and sons. Sharing 'cargo' with ones' mates often allowed boys to form bonds with their peers. Events like this were a means of taking back power in the dormitory, in creating a safe space, and a temporary sense of comfort and friendship.

Ultimately, emotional stability at school was also strongly influenced by the sense of security that came with being granted autonomy through personal space. There were considerable variations in this among the three schools. Charterhouse, as we have seen, allowed boys to have their own cubicles, and as they progressed up the school, they might be allowed their own study. The photograph in Figure 7.4 shows a study at Charterhouse around 1910. There are numerous personal objects in the background, and the game of chess in progress conveys the quiet sociability that the study could foster. At Lancing, sixth formers were granted their own studies, or 'pits' as they were known. Max Mallowan describes his joy in obtaining a study: 'My happiest time at school was during my last year when I earned the privilege of enjoying a "pit" . . . The bliss of solitude in a tiny cubicle was a reward for suffering years of public pandemonium in the House common room.'[55] Sam Brooke, too, felt that life at Lancing improved considerably when in

Figure 7.4 Photograph showing a study by Alexander Hay Tod, Charterhouse School Archive, 'Tod Albums', 077/3. Permission of Charterhouse School

1861 he was able to take possession of a 'recess' in the dormitory, allowing him a new sense of emotional security: 'I have wished for a place of retirement like this for many years, and now I have got it, my satisfaction is really unbounded … How one can pursue without molestations

all this quiet pleasure.'[56] For the more junior boys, however, personal space was a great deal more limited. Mallowan, at Lancing some 50 years later, also remembered the scant respect of the dormitory for objects from home. He recalls of an Irish boy that 'his father's photograph stood in a frame at the side of the son's bed and exhibited a bald head which his bedmates used to polish continually with beeswax'.[57]

The school that offered the most personal space was Winchester, where there was a distinctive system of 'toys' which consisted of allocating each boy his own desk and lockable bureau on arrival. Figure 7.5 shows desks and toys in Second Chamber in the late nineteenth century. The significance of this spatial provision is highlighted by the letters of one pupil, Frank Lucas, who was at the school in the 1890s and documented his life there in over 200 letters home. Lucas was moved into Second Chamber in January 1892 after he had already spent a term at the school. He was delighted with the change: 'it is excellently lighted, and to have very nice men is a great point'.[58] Part of its superiority lay in its especially commodious toy provision: 'the great thing about it is that each person has four drawers a desk to open out and a cupboard combined into one piece of furniture'.[59] During his years at the school, Lucas continued to enthuse over the decoration of his

Figure 7.5 Photograph showing the interior of Second Chamber, Winchester College Archive, G5/5/3/2. Permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

toys and often pressed his mother and sisters to supply him with ornaments and cloths for it.[60] In 1896, Lucas' final year at the school, he was moved into 'very comfortable and roomy quarters in upstairs eleventh and down-stairs fifth'.[61] Writing to his mother, he described his feelings on having satisfactorily arranged his personal possessions in the space: 'I am writing this comfortably ensconced in my place, with the satisfactory feeling that everything is in its place. My washing stool is in a magnificent condition with scarlet muslin hangings (3d a yard) freshly washed busts, cut narcissus and geraniums, and two geraniums in pots red and white. In fact everything is beautiful.'[62] This quotation indicates the pride and emotional satisfaction that a boy might invest in his own space within the school. It offers an example of how one pupil might use space and material goods to actively exert agency within institutional space, creating a sense of emotional security and equilibrium.

Conclusion

Exploring the spatial and material world can help us understand how emotions were produced in everyday life. This strategy is particularly useful when assessing the role of institutions in society, like public schools, which have been strongly associated with the moulding of young boys and the creation of a certain emotional 'type', which went on to exert a powerful force in nineteenth-century Britain. Public schools in Victorian and Edwardian England shared a common system of spatial organization – boys lived in houses, where a sharp dividing line was drawn between spaces for pupils and masters, and most schools employed the open dormitory. This system was supposed to promote a disciplined atmosphere in which the boys governed themselves through surveillance and through institutionally sanctioned physical discipline exercised by prefects. While positive peer influence and camaraderie were encouraged, the use of space was also designed to discourage sexual relationships between boys, although schools differed in their methods of implementing this, some preferring an open dormitory and others cubicles. In all three schools, at certain times, this system broke down, and rather than producing disciplined pupils, prefects and juniors alike ran amok, beating and bullying with fierce violence, and indulging in sexual activity. Frequently pupils' own emotional responses to their situations must have completely overwhelmed the moral ideas the authorities hoped to encourage. Such turbulence was not total, though. Nearly all dormitories acquired a rough-and-tumble culture in which

tricks were a constant presence. For some boys at least, becoming used to living in an atmosphere of mild threat played a role in acquiring the emotional equilibrium required to survive public school. It was in the creation of this culture, perhaps, that the authorities were most successful in using schools to shape the characters of their pupils. Spatial isolation also allowed scope for friendship and the exchange of tuck that were important in acquiring a sense of stability within the dormitory. Finally, it is worth noting just how important access to personal space was in determining emotional security within the school environment. Here the three schools differed markedly – while a Lancing junior was unprotected in the dormitory, a Charterhouse boy could secure himself in his cubicle and a Wykehamist could find consolation at his lockable toys. Instead of creating a single public school type, the spatial idiosyncrasies of some schools protected and shielded boys in surprising ways rather than breaking their spirits.

Notes

1. Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (London: Penguin, 1997), 156–157.
2. Fabrice Neddam, 'Constructing Masculinities under Thomas Arnold of Rugby (1828–1842): Gender, Educational Policy and School Life in an Early-Victorian Public School', *Gender and Education* 16(3) (2004), 303–326.
3. J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*, 3rd edn (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 146.
4. John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 118.
5. See Rob Boddice, 'In Loco Parentis? Public-School Authority, Cricket and Manly Character, 1855–62', *Gender and Education* 21(2) (2009), 159–172.
6. Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 264–266.
7. Joyce, *State of Freedom*, 291–294.
8. For an architectural history, see Malcolm Seaborne and Rob Lowe, *The English School: Its Architecture and Organization*, vol. 2, *1870–1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977).
9. There is no room for a full exploration here, but for a useful introduction, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845, and for a discussion of the key terms in use to describe emotional experience and conflicts between them, see Rob Boddice, 'The Affective Turn: Historicizing the Emotions', in Cristian Tileagă and Jovan Byford (eds), *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary Explorations* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 147–165, esp. 153–156.
10. Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (London: Academy Editions, 1996), 44.
11. Henry Francis Mallgrave, *Architecture and Embodiment: The Implications of the New Sciences and Humanities for Design* (London: Routledge, 2013), 144.

12. Thomas A. Markus, *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (London: Routledge, 1993), 125.
13. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), translated from the French by Alan Sheridan as *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977), 170.
14. These theories have been subject to considerable revision and debate. For discussion, see Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston, 'Introduction', in Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins and Rebecca Preston (eds), *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: Inmates and Environments* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 1–16, here 4–9.
15. See T.W. Bamford, 'Thomas Arnold and the Victorian Idea of a Public School', in Brian Simon and Ian Bradley (eds), *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of and Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1975), 58–71.
16. James Sabben-Clare, *Winchester College: After 600 Years, 1382–1982* (Southampton: Paul Cave, 1981), 14–17.
17. Brian Heeney, *Mission to the Middle Classes: The Woodard Schools 1848–1891* (London: SPCK, 1969), 32.
18. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, and the Studies Pursued and Instruction Given Therein: With an Appendix and Evidence*, vol. 1, *Report* (London: HMSO, 1864), 49.
19. Felix Clay, *Modern School Buildings Elementary and Secondary: A Treatise on the Planning, Arrangement, and Fitting of Day and Boarding Schools* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1902), 217.
20. A.H. Tod, *Charterhouse*, 2nd edn (London: George Bell & Sons, 1905), 56.
21. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners*, 42.
22. Christina de Bellaigue, '"Educational Homes" and "Barrack-Like Schools": Cross-Channel Perspectives on Secondary Education in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England and France', in David Phillips and Kimberley Ochs (eds), *Educational Policy Borrowing: Historical Perspectives* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2004), 89–108.
23. Charterhouse School Archive (CSA), 'Amended Plan of Saunderites'.
24. Sabben-Clare, *Winchester College*, 45.
25. Clay, *Modern School Buildings*, 238.
26. Clement Dukes, *Health at School: Considered in its Mental, Moral, and Physical Aspects*, 4th edn (London: Rivingtons, 1905), 136.
27. Frederick W. Farrar, *Eric, or Little by Little* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., undated), 89–90.
28. Spencer Leeson, *College: 1901 to 1911* (Winchester College, 1958), 27.
29. Heather Ellis, 'Corporal Punishment in English Public Schools in the Nineteenth Century', in Laurence Brockliss and Heather Montgomery (eds), *Childhood and Violence in the Western Tradition* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 141–150, here 142.
30. Augustine Courtauld, *Man the Ropes* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1957), 25.
31. *Tom Brown's Schooldays* stresses the importance of positive friendships for the young Tom; Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, 67–68. His alliance with successful sportsman East (forged over shared sausages) is particularly

significant; Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, 104. And the friendship and support of older boy Diggs lets Tom off fagging duties and helps him recover after the infamous roasting incident; Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, 150, 157.

32. Alfred Carpenter, *The Principles and Practice of School Hygiene*, 4th edn (London: Abbott, Jones & Co., 1895), 105.
33. Dukes, *Health at School*, 135.
34. Dukes, *Health at School*, 136.
35. Dukes, *Health at School*, 135.
36. Charterhouse School Archive (CSA), 'Report of the Headmaster, June 1899'.
37. They were used in Catholic schools and were also adopted at Radley as it was thought they encouraged religious contemplation. Andrew Henderson, *The Stone Phoenix: Stonyhurst College 1794–1894* (Worthing: Churchman, 1986), 33; Alfred Kenneth Boyd, *The History of Radley College, 1847–1947* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948), 42.
38. Adrian Daintrey, *I Must Say* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963), 45.
39. Charles Oman, *Memories of Victorian Oxford and of Some Early Years* (London: Methuen, 1941), 32.
40. Oman, *Memories of Victorian Oxford*, 33–34.
41. Oman, *Memories of Victorian Oxford*, 33–34.
42. See Sabben-Clare, *Winchester College*, 44–45; Winchester College Archive (WCA), 'Papers Relating to the Tunding Row', F3/4/1.
43. Sam Brooke, 'Easter Monday 21 April 1862', *Diary*, 498(1), Corpus Christi College, Oxford (CCCA).
44. Robert Graves, *Good-Bye to All That: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929), 66.
45. Graves, *Good-Bye to All That*, 66.
46. 'Letter from Raymond Asquith to H. T. Baker 28 February 1897', in John Joliffe (ed.), *Raymond Asquith: Life and Letters* (London: Collins, 1980), 24.
47. 'Letter from Raymond Asquith to H. T. Baker 28 February 1897', 24.
48. Tom Driberg, *Ruling Passions* (London: Cape, 1977), 44, 51.
49. Charterhouse School Archive (CSA), 1/8.
50. Charles Stevens, *Winchester Notions: The English Dialect of Winchester College*, Christopher Stray (ed.) (London: Athlone, 1998), 26.
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52. Norman de Bruyne, *My Life* (Cambridge: Midsummer Books, 1996), 26.
53. 'Commoners, Winton, 1843–1846', *The Wykehamist* 461 (February 1909), 90.
54. Charterhouse School Archive (CSA), 'Letter from Geoffrey Polson to His Mother, 27 November 1904', ACC 300/11.
55. Max Mallowan, *Mallowan's Memoirs: Agatha and the Archaeologist* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), 22.
56. Sam Brooke, 'Thur. 29 Aug. 1861', *Diary*, 498(1), Corpus Christi College, Oxford (CCCA).
57. Mallowan, *Mallowan's Memoirs*, 18.
58. Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, 28 January 1892', G14/38, Winchester College Archive (WCA).
59. Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, 28 January 1892', G14/38, Winchester College Archive (WCA).

60. Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, 28 January 1892', G14/38, Winchester College Archive (WCA); Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Sister, 31 January 1892', G14/40, WCA; Frank Lucas, 'Letter to his Mother, 2 February 1892', G14/41, WCA; Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, 24 September 1893', G14/92, WCA; Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, 20 September 1894', G14/135, WCA; Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Sister, 10 October 1895', G14/178, WCA; Frank Lucas, Letter to His Mother, September 1896', G14/208, WCA.
61. Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, September 1896', G14/208, WCA.
62. Frank Lucas, 'Letter to His Mother, Undated' [autumn 1896], G14/235, WCA.

8

Emotional Regimes and School Policy in Colombia, 1800–1835

Marcelo Caruso

Children and their emotional education are at the frontier of major political upheaval. Learning how to feel 'correctly' is paramount to the success of a regime change. The leaders of Latin American independence focused a great deal of effort on reworking the education system to that end. This chapter focuses on the battle to determine which educational and emotional innovations would prevail, and analyses the role attributed to education and schools in the governing of these sentiments as expressed in discussions in the early independent public sphere in the territory today known as Colombia. It proposes an alternative understanding of early republican education and school policies in Colombia, an understanding not only linked to the politics of the time, but also to the crucial subject of the management of emotional life in a rather fragile political and cultural context.

On 26 July 1822, one in the major summits of the process of Latin American independence took place in Guayaquil (Ecuador). Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), who had fought against Spanish troops in the northern part of South America, and José de San Martín (1778–1850), who had defeated the Spaniards in what is today Argentina, Chile and Peru, met to forge post-independence plans. This meeting has an almost mythical status in the Latin American collective memory, signalling the end of ambitious plans to reunite all former Spanish colonies as a new continental republic. One of the few sources related to this crucial meeting, the description by General Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera (1798–1878) in a Colombian newspaper in 1861, demonstrates that Bolívar and San Martín disagreed about what type of government was best for the former colonies. Bolívar sharply rejected San Martín's proposal to establish a monarchy and, referring to a battle against the Spaniards in 1813, argued that the fragile bond between officers from Venezuela, captured

in Colombia, and soldiers from Colombia was a 'republican sentiment'. Bolívar stressed that 'in spite of their education and their experiences on the battlefield against us, the republican spirit has come to them, so that we can count on their loyalty and patriotism'.[1]

Political independence in Latin America apparently appealed to patriotic emotions. Yet shared notions of the fatherland were only provisional because of changes in territories and identities. As an alternative, Bolívar sought common ground on shared 'republican' emotions. William Reddy's concept of the emotional regime as a constitutive part of 'any stable political regime' is instructive here.[2] I follow his close association between political and emotional regimes[3] for analysing the role attributed to education and schools in the regulation of 'passions' – as emotions were termed in the vocabulary of the time – in early independent Colombia. I particularly examine various positions in the nascent public sphere of this young republic. My piece differs from Reddy's own work in two respects. The focus on the public sphere means that norms about emotions, rather than the rituals and practices governing them, will be addressed. The emphasis on education and schools implies that questions related to the inculcation of emotions are in focus rather than questions related to their expression.

Following a regional print revolution,[4] hundreds of newspapers – even in small towns – were the main force in the formation of a public sphere around the Latin American revolution (after 1808) and independence, and, as significant evidence of public discourse, form the basis of my analysis of the different trajectories of the patriotic and republican passions evoked by Bolívar. The period in question is limited to the years of political rupture and the construction of a new republican regime, when – following Reddy – a new emotional regime may have reflected the emergence of a new political regime. In turn, in my argument, the changing configurations of this new regime were linked to significant changes in education and school policy.

Heating up: struggling for a new emotional regime

The establishment of new polities in Latin America after independence from Spain faced at least two major obstacles. The limits of each new polity were highly contested due to the consistent divisive tendencies of cities, major towns and provinces. The 'republican invention' was unprecedented in the region; only the much-admired North American model of the United States suggested that its implementation could be realistic.[5] In this context, the rather voluntaristic character of the new

republican education was evident. To force political and cultural change under conditions of territorial and social uncertainty became the main task in the first two decades after independence.[6]

For this task, liberal leaders of independence movements based their understanding on the bonds between emotional life and education inherited from late colonial times, but, as we shall see, also significantly altered their recommendations and practical applications. A more education-friendly attitude had spread over the Spanish colonies in the last decades of the eighteenth century.[7] The links made between emotion and education in these enlightened proposals showed a direction that consistently returned to a language of heating and cooling passions. All over the Spanish colonies, *ilustrados*, the proponents of the Enlightenment, identified Jesuit education, a rather dominant model of schooling and instructing, as part of a programme towards 'ardent' sentiments and a 'feverish' search for God.[8] The new sensibility implied that enlightened education should overcome superstition and baroque sensibility, deemed as heating up imagination, and focus on cooling down the passions.

This programme was particularly clear in articles about emotions and education published in the only weekly of the city of Bogotá just two years before the political insurrections began. Traditional classroom practices, particularly those of the Jesuits, as criticized by one author, were incendiary to children's spirits: 'It is evident to all that these methods have inspired the spirit of ambition among schoolchildren – and even in colleges – by pursuing high and pre-eminent appointments and being superior to the others through distinctions of status naming them "emperors", "consuls" and "captains". These ideas fit very well an inclination of the human heart that usually remains in young people for the rest of their life.'[9] The notion that education must necessarily have a cooling effect on these tendencies of the human spirit was evident: 'those who drink from this glass remain thirsty so that sometimes this degenerates into a fever that lasts'.[10] For authors advancing enlightened arguments about rationality and discernment, the question of how to teach emotions in schools focused on the paradigm of taming the passions. Accordingly, the author of this programme intended to cool passions; in his proposal for the establishment of a new school in Bogotá, he declared that 'the principal has to inculcate the spirit of honour, shame, and probity among his schoolchildren from the very beginning. This will be conducive for promoting their application to work'.[11] These were considered 'cool' passions.

Colonial officials and future fighters for independence alike adhered to these principles in dealing with emotions. Following theories about the climatic determination of collective moral character and emotional life, Francisco Antonio de Ulloa (1783–1816), a lawyer in Bogotá who became one of the leaders of the independence movement in the southern city of Popayán, believed that 'the most meticulous physics teaches us that heat and cold influence the development or the learning of human passions'.[12] Ulloa clearly preferred the beneficial influence of cold climates, especially as hot climates seemed to foster despotic regimes. Hot climates, having a negative effect on the level of activity, had to be counteracted by providing children with adequate nourishment and with baths alongside extra physical and mental activity. All educational activity should lead to 'harmony' as an antidote to heat. Fully deploying sensualist assumptions of learning, and claiming music and singing to be valuable tools with which to cool the passions, Ulloa proposed banning wind instruments from schools because their damaging sounds affected harmony.[13] Only pleasant music could 'stir the imagination' of the 'phlegmatic' in a proper way.[14] It is not surprising then that the dominant enlightened attitudes towards the cultivation of emotions in educational settings stressed self-restraint, prudence and moderation. In this emotional regime, characteristic of late colonial times, even the term 'passions' often has a negative connotation; we read of 'horrible passions' that render the 'rational being' a kind of 'abominable monster'. This could only be counteracted with 'very careful education' (*los esmeros de la educación*).[15]

This focus significantly shifted during the wars of independence and the first years of republican life. A view which challenged the opposition between cooling down and heating up of emotions circulated in the discussion how to correctly manage passions in education. Changes in political nature did not necessarily cause an epistemological rupture in concepts of the nature and dynamics of emotional life. Sensualistic assumptions about the environmental factors influencing emotional life still prevailed. This combination of sensualistic views and a renewed vision of the virtues of heating up passions were clearly formulated in an article about education published in a liberal newspaper in Bogotá in 1822: 'In a child there is no more than sensations', the author stated, and this included the 'seeds of the passions'. Yet distancing himself from this inherited view on emotional life, he explained that: 'We take here passions in their most extensive sense of the word, meaning all lively and ardent inclination towards any object, and not taking them as only referring to vicious affections.'[16]

Ideas about good emotional regimes, centred on heating up and cooling emotions, still circulated widely, but were now interpreted quite differently. The connection between climates, character and political regime is certainly a point in case. The link between political institutions on the one hand and 'the character, the passions, the customs and the grandeur of the nations (*pueblos*)' on the other differed starkly from inherited assumptions.[17] If despotic regimes in 1808 were partly a result of hot climates, it seems they were now rather associated with a cold emotional atmosphere: 'despotic governments suffocate the lights and suppress the passions; fear extinguishes the sentiments', wrote an editorialist from the city of Rionegro when discussing education and politics.[18] In his view, the opposite was true in republican governments: these are not only coextensive with the spread of knowledge and education, but in them, 'the passions have motivations' (*resortes*). Republican regimes are based on 'slightly oppressed sentiments, modified in one thousand ways, and thereby acquire ascendancy, deepness and gentleness'.[19] A well-tempered heat being the foundation of republican order, the new republics could not afford to ignore emotional life.

If supporters of the new republican order had a rather positive view of the passions and recommended that they merely be subtly dulled through education rather than being 'suffocated' as recommended in 'despotic' regimes, this preference was stronger still in the more dramatic question of patriotic sentiments, which they had linked to the very existence of these new independent polities. In a remarkable *Catecismo de una sola pregunta* (catechism of only one question), the liberal weekly *El Patriota* in Bogotá defined patriotism in a series of answers to a single question: what is a patriot? The answers cited a wide range of virtues. Of course, civic duties played a major role, but so did the spirit of sacrifice which developed during the years of military conflict against the Spaniards. On the whole, to be a patriot was 'to abjure a corrupted and unjust fatherland, to adopt another liberal one, and to serve it with loyalty and enthusiasm'.[20] This catechism concluded that 'to be a patriot is to abandon oneself without limits to the fatherland in times of war and times of peace'.[21] To give oneself over was the critical point here, and this association reinforced the sense that heated passions were a pillar of the new political regimes. On the whole, the positive aspects credited to the passions drawn from patriotic sentiments were a further consequence of a more positive view of nature. In a fictive dialogue published in the newspaper *The Match* (*El Fosforo*), a name clearly alluding to fire and ignition, 'the tiger cannot do less than to love the woods where he first opened his eyes' – consequently 'the worship of the fatherland

(patria) is present everywhere in nature and the love to be felt is also the work of nature. It is the intimate sentiment that obliges you to love your existence'.[22]

Heated passions could be a clear asset in the cause of independence. This is not unexpected given the political context of war. Only heated spirits could sacrifice themselves for a nascent fatherland. Heated passions became more problematic, however, in the task of building a new republican political order, questioning Bolívar's assertions that a republican sentiment was at the base of efforts towards independence.

Education as a heater: ambivalences in republican education

The heat of independence and revolution gave way to the task of building up a new republican order that largely conditioned the development of educational institutions. Many of the new republics in Latin America – particularly Gran Colombia – advanced ambitious plans to overcome the distinctions characteristic of colonial society. Political constitutions introduced a language of equality and emancipation,[23] and some of the consequent electoral regulations continued this path of equalizing political rights.[24] A set of ambitious reforms consisting of the extension of suffrage and education, equality for indigenous peoples, strong secularization, liberalizing commerce and changing cultural patterns – but not the liberation of slaves, however – marked the radical-liberal agenda of the 1820s.[25]

Particularly in the field of education, drafts for reform were overtly ambitious. The monitorial system of education, deemed as delivering cheap, quick, basic and mass instruction, received great support as a strategy for rapidly expanding the group of literate males that, following electoral provisions, had the right to vote. Similarly, higher education had to be reformed according to utilitarian and secularized values. However, due to the difficult financial situation, these transformations were more often envisioned and proclaimed than consistently carried out.[26] Yet the very attempt to transform society along liberal lines led to the formation of conservative forces composed of the Catholic Church, elites and even subaltern groups like indigenous communities,[27] all sharing a diffuse feeling that change was occurring precipitously fast.

Bolívar was one of the leading members of an elite group that sided with moderation and mistrust of the masses early in the process of independence. He supported republican ideas and general representations of equality, but he also remained quite pessimistic about the powers of new

representative regimes to deal with Latin American realities. An institutional vision to moderate rather than to heat the passions was conveyed in his proposals for a 'moral power'. He envisioned a second chamber in Parliament, elected by the president and the chamber of representatives and held for life, which would have the function of watching over public virtues.[28] Education, particularly early education, should be one of the first concerns of this second chamber. Explicitly a power modelled after old republican orders in Greece and Rome and the British House of Lords, this chamber would be a moderating force insofar as it intended to put democratic principles – like universal adult male franchise – into action without disrupting social order.[29] In this project, the late Enlightenment vocabulary of moderation and virtue continued to exist, though now in a republican context.

Bolívar had outlined some features of this more cautious republican education in his famous *Discurso de Angostura* (1819). Educating children and youth in the republican spirit was rather the cultivation of virtue in a disciplined way and thus education had to be removed from the political arena. 'Popular education ought to be the first care of the Congress' paternal regard. Morals and knowledge are the cardinal points of a Republic, and morals and knowledge are what we most want.' Citing the Aeropagus in Athens, the Roman censors and the 'austere' establishments in Sparta, he declared: 'Let us give our Republic a fourth Power with Authority to preside over the infancy and hearts of men – public spirit, good habits, and Republican morality. Let us constitute this Aeropagus to watch over the education of youth and National instruction, to purify whatever may be corrupt in the Republic – to impeach ingratitude, egoism, luke-warmness in the Country's cause, sloth, and idleness – and to pass judgement on the first germs of corruption and pernicious example.'[30] Following the climatological understanding of emotions, this political body had to have a real, clear function: 'It will be the means of calming the fury and maintaining the harmony betwixt the Members and the Head of this political body.'[31]

Since the moderating power had a responsibility to cool down passions, it is not surprising that liberals opposed it. Liberals accused Bolívar of coming 'to the extreme of forming Spartans: he wants honourable parents, faithful spouses, fair magistrates, virtuous citizens, all of them eminently temperate'.[32] Arguing against this 'Catonian character', the editors of *El Fosforo* in the southern city of Popayan argued that 'our customs . . . are not compatible with the severity of this Areopagus'. They argued that Latin Americans should not imitate foreign ways: 'either we

go back to simple nature and our transformation will be durable, or we will be corrupted by European customs'.[33]

Bolívar's proposal for a moderating power had no immediate consequences. The course of the wars of independence in Peru and Bolivia, a new country named after him, consumed his energies well into the 1820s. During this time, his Vice President Francisco de Paula Santander (1792–1840) – a committed radical liberal – was in charge of the government and advanced a series of secularist reforms that provoked much agitation among the elites. In particular, the adoption of Jeremy Bentham's philosophy, political principles and reform projects as mandatory at the level of secondary education in 1826 accelerated the growing political gap between the moderate Bolívar and the radical Santander. Conservatives voicing strong opposition to the educational plan from 1826 described 'Colombia's evils' as being the result of a limitless liberty fuelled by the spread of 'detestable' authors like 'Benthan', 'Rusó' and 'Volter' (sic). The damaging effect of this situation was to 'heat up the youthful imagination' producing and multiplying 'agitated and feverish projects' (*proyecto de febricitantes*).[34]

Heating up patriotic and republican sentiments increasingly provoked disagreements within the newly dominant republican forces. From the conservative perspective, from which it was desirable to cool down the passions unleashed by political disruption, education naturally played a central role. These conservatives evoked virtues that the enlightened discourse in Spain had advocated in the late eighteenth century. They focused on the value of industrious behaviour and a rather rational explanation of the duties men have in relation to God, society and their fellow men.[35] When the Bishop of Maracaibo published a series about his 'sentiments' in the difficult time of radical liberal reforms and secularization, he described Christian education as pastoral care and discussed the meaning of *apacentar*, a verb related to such care. Originally meaning 'to graze' and 'to pasture', it acquired an additional meaning. 'We should not understand *apacentar* as a material task; we should not relate it only to the administration of the sacraments; it is true that instruction preceded even baptism.'[36] He suggested understanding teaching as a kind of *apacentar*, but his indication of the immaterial sense of the word clearly evoked the word *pacificar* (to appease), rejecting harmful passions. The construction of the republican order in Colombia proved so divisive for the former independence fighters that the more liberal line in favour of heating up sentiments did not win uncontested support. The crisis of political and, to a limited extent, educational authority during the 1820s laid the ground for a change in the

emotional regime, preferring harmony and appeasement to heating up the emotions.

Even if the proposal to institutionalize moral power was not enthusiastically accepted in Colombia, another tenet of Bolívar's discourse proved more consequential. Bolívar had in his *Discurso de Angostura* (1819) evoked a 'national' feeling 'possessing a uniform inclination towards two principal points, regulating public will and limiting public authority'. Of course, this 'uniform' inclination was a fiction, serving solely the formation and publication of the new constitution under independence. His assertion was more programmatic than a true diagnosis, as shown when declaring that: 'Love of Country, Laws, and Magistrates ought to be the ruling passion in the breast of every republican.' The alternative to the intended uniform attachment to the new order would be 'a state of confusion'.[37] Even before the formation of Gran Colombia succeeded, he had sketched out a momentous programme for the emotional regime needed in later, contentious times: 'To save our incipient Republic from such a chaos, all our moral powers will be insufficient, unless we melt the whole People down into one mass; the composition of the Government is a whole, the Legislation is a whole, and National feeling is a whole. Unity, Unity, Unity, ought to be our device.'[38]

The meaning of this intended unity may have varied considerably according to political and ideological positioning and, ironically, could become a divisive issue. However, during the convulsive 1820s and particularly after Bolívar's brief conservative dictatorship between 1828 and 1830, this tenet consistently evoked at least two central, urgent issues of the time: the dismembering of Gran Colombia, which happened after 1830, giving way to three different republics, and the fact that dissent actually provoked civil war. But even before these dramatic events forced Bolívar to change his moderate liberal position, the identification of public education as being conducive to this unity of sentiment remained a part of liberal discussions about the education of the younger generations.[39]

Even the most radical of liberals accepted that creating unity of sentiment was a priority for republican education. Simón Rodríguez (1769–1854), former private tutor to Bolívar, is a case in point. As a radical and original thinker, Rodriguez played a significant role in the process of independence and establishing a republican political regime, particularly after his return from Europe in 1823. On the one hand, Rodriguez epitomized liberal strategies to deal with children's and youths' emotions, whilst educating them. In his famous work *Sociedades*

americanas en 1828, one of the most original texts on the changes occurring in the new republics, he saw the cooling down of sentiments as a real danger in the education of the new generations of republicans: 'the patriots are seeing how their sentiments are becoming part of the past; they do not realise that their children – already! – hear them speaking about their revolution . . . maybe . . . with even less emotion than they feel when they read Roman History'.[40] A new political regime for him was also about sentiments: 'no matter how often republicans speak in public against despotism, the few men who feel its burden will suffer under it as long as they belong to a people that bear it without feeling it'.[41] The main role of education was to eradicate remnants of the feeling for the old despotic orders still partly present in daily life despite all the constitutional experiments. On the other hand, if Rodriguez advocated an emotional regime that should not temper but rather accentuate passions, he clearly addressed this question in a manner that echoed Bolívar's contention that unity should be a republican educational goal. The new republican order had to be achieved by a unity of agreement to tame the diverging wills of individuals and groups. He argued that 'this sentiment results from the knowledge that each person has about his true interests; and schools are necessary in the republics in order to acquire this knowledge . . . a school for all, because all are citizens'.[42]

Although many agreed with the conception of influencing passions as operations of heating up and cooling, particular political groups differed in terms of educational approach. Various preferences coexisted, contributing to the shaping of attitudes and practices towards the education of children in the new independent and republican era. The nascent emotional regime stated that patriotic and republican emotions were to be instilled by education. Whereas independence fighters consistently associated patriotic sentiments with operations intended to heat up emotional reserves, the question of republican emotions involved a more nuanced field of possibilities. The construction of the new republican order oscillated between the two contrary orientations, one of 'honouring the general will' and the other geared towards 'securing the moral cement of society', as it was recently described.[43] The different preferences in this field guided the preferences towards a hotter or a colder variation of the emotional regime.

Heating up emotions through teaching systems and school rituals?

In order to understand early republican school policies in Gran Colombia, this section focuses on two measures adopted by the first

republican governments: the adoption of the monitorial system of education and the role played by public examinations in elementary schools. I will argue that discussions about the proper handling of passions resonated with the elites charged with making policy decisions and those discussing such matters in the nascent Colombian public sphere. This resonance led to the adoption of these techniques and contributed to the controversies in which they were involved. In my argument, I do not present this explanation in causal terms. Struggling emotional regimes may have conditioned – yet not wholly determined – the plausibility and acceptance of educational measures.

If we consider the major decision in the field of elementary school policy – the official adoption of the English monitorial system of education – the multiple views on the new republican emotional regime may have played a considerable role in shaping both support and opposition. The basic idea of this system of instruction consisted of the delegation of all direct teaching to monitors or teaching assistants. These monitors were the best pupils in each subject. They had to go through a highly standardized curriculum with a small group of pupils. Following the instructions of this curriculum, pupils were grouped according to their respective ability in each subject and each group had to train specific portions of the overall content with a pre-defined didactic device. Direct teaching, as we know it today, did not take place. The whole system was based on practice exercises and repetitions of the pre-defined content under the supervision of the monitor. There was also a whole range of order monitors who were responsible for general order in the classroom and for discipline. The overall design of this system of teaching resulted from the need to provide elementary instruction to a large group of students – often more than 100 – at a low cost and in a short time.[44]

The constitutional assembly for Gran Colombia, not bureaucrats from the educational or church administration, ordered the adoption of this system of teaching. Bolívar presented a motion to found three normal schools based on the monitorial system.[45] Almost simultaneously, Article 14 of the law from 6 August 1821 on the establishment of primary schools for both sexes declared that 'the teaching method will be the same (*uniforme*) in all parts of the Republic'.[46] The emphasis on unity of method in all schools of the country – a novelty for that time – was evident. In a controversial plan in 1826, legislators set a deadline of just one year to convert schools to the new monitorial method: 'once a monitorial school has been established in every parish, no one shall be allowed to run a school under the old and vicious method'.[47] In truth, the fate of the monitorial system of education

was less certain than this determined statement might suggest. Sluggish progress and rather unsystematic application prevailed over naïve and ambitious assumptions about its dissemination.[48] Regardless of these setbacks, contemporaries clearly viewed the system as being part of the reforms of the new republican era. An observer of the opening of primary and secondary schools in the city of Boyacá marvelled at the fact that monitorial schools had been established 'in spite of the horror usually inspired by such novelties in the arts and sciences'.[49]

Explanations for the desire to introduce monitorial schools in Colombia ranged from the inescapable cultural ascendancy of Great Britain at that time,[50] to its potential to instil discipline,[51] to the networking of early independent political elites.[52] Nevertheless, fragmentary evidence points to intrinsic aspects of the system that may also have contributed significantly to its popularity and acceptance; these are features that adapted to the vicissitudes of the early republican emotional regime. The dynamics of this model of teaching and its strongly differentiated schedule are cases in point. This required frequent movements of all classes from the benches to the so-called 'sand desks' for writing, and then to the tables, with lessons taking place in all parts of the large schoolroom. In the words of one leading educationalist of the early republic, José María Triana (1792–1855), 'children are continuously occupied without fatigue because of the pleasant change in the exercises'.[53] Observers, like the one reporting to a newspaper in the city of Medellín in 1823, credited these constant movements and changes with the power to vivify and make pleasant teaching routines: 'to convince people about its utility, it suffices to point out the expediency that it brings in the advancement of the young students without causing them the annoyance and the aversion that the barbarian methods used until now necessarily produce'.[54]

Regular movements – executed in these big schools almost as collective choreographies – were expected to promote positive emotions and to intensify emotional states. This expectation resulted from the sensory assumptions shared by educated Spanish and Latin American elites at that time. One central point of the sensory understanding of emotions was the attempt to expand 'Locke's notion of the sensory origins of ideas by applying it to the emotions and moral sentiments as well. Ideas, emotions, and moral sentiments alike were expressions of sensibility, movements of the body's parts in response to sensory impressions of the outside world'.[55] In fact, this sensory view gave way in the last decades of the eighteenth century to a veritable pattern of interpretation, probably across the entire Hispanic world.[56] Activating sentiments through

regular body movements pointed to the strategy of heating emotions in a context in which the expansion of schooling was equated with a 'combat against idleness and ignorance'.[57]

The routines proposed in this system may have been for many the ideal arrangement of sensations, capable of bringing about specific emotions in a very powerful manner. José María Triana presented this system to the public as being a particularly effective one. 'In the old method', he wrote, 'morality was only in the precepts, and here it is in the practices.'[58] He referred here to the strong meritocratic aspects of the system and its method of honouring achievement on a regular basis, making it visible for everyone through badges, the distribution of prizes and the allocation of positions as monitors. The epistemology of the efficacy of good models over good precepts was certainly older and underlined the power of sensations as formative forces, one of the tenets of sensory concepts of learning.[59]

Monitorial schools may not only have been particularly suited to the strategy of activating and heating up emotions, but were a supporting factor in achieving the 'unity of sentiment' that actors from different groups saw as promising the consolidation of the republican order. A reporter in Antioquia clearly formulated the virtues of having a codified system that could be transplanted into all regions of the young republic: 'the wise plan of our government in establishing [monitorial schools] is to prescribe operations and principles that spread and define the intelligence that forms the students in the same sentiments and simplifies instruction by giving rules for its order and progression'.[60] This was undoubtedly one of the main concerns of some officials, who introduced and distributed a unified handbook for the organization and conduct of teaching in the 1820s, and remained a recurrent point in the discussions about the freedom to teach throughout the nineteenth century.[61] The monitorial system of education matched both the intended mobilization of sentiments and the search for unity of sentiment in the context of divisive discussions about the shape of the new republican order.

Another way to heat up patriotic and republican emotions was to have school performances in public. Again, public ceremonies displaying school exercises had existed for a long time and had become more popular at the end of the eighteenth century in the Hispanic world.[62] Now these public examinations became sites for the constitution of emotional attachment to the imagined community of the republic. Of course, other public gatherings during the wars of independence attracted even more attention, like the spectacle of military parades,

and early decrees and reform projects correspondingly defined schooling in terms of military activity.[63] Public ceremonies related to the work of schools gradually gained ground. Although no general regulations seemed to have ordered public competitions and examinations, these became common from the 1820s onwards, and were encouraged by local and regional officials. These public school examinations became crucial insofar as they put the virtues of the new egalitarian political order on the scene.

These public ceremonies demonstrating the progress children made in their education had to show a good deal of republican solemnity.[64] The events undoubtedly also aimed to heat up the passions with their display of educational achievements. Witnessing the wonders of the new system of education and propagating the new rules of republican government often coincided, as in the case of a public examination in Bogotá in 1826: 'many prizes were distributed at the ceremony and it was noticed with astonishment that a four- or five-year-old child, the son of an artisan, answered many questions on the rights of man quite vividly'.[65] For the purposes of heating up republican sentiments, bullfighting and dancing accompanied school exercises, as in the opening of the monitorial school in the town of Honda in 1825.[66] We do not know whether these exercises and celebrations really impressed children, but the public attempts to heat up passions seemed at least to have gained the favour of adults. In the town of Guayatá (Tunja), 'heads of the families' and 'priests' insisted on organizing a public examination for the opening of the local monitorial school.[67] The public even demanded the re-establishment of public examinations when these were suspended as a result of political unrest and conflict.[68] Public examinations became a central piece of the new political life of schools and children. Their organization was fully in line with the early republican programme to foster passions and heat up sentiments.

Conclusion: children's emotions and school education in early republican Colombia

Both school policies – the consistent promotion of the monitorial system of education and the organization of school examinations pervaded with republican enthusiasm – suffered a backlash during Simón Bolívar's short dictatorship between 1828 and 1830. It was a time of deep political crisis in Gran Colombia and Bolívar increasingly took on conservative positions in the fields of politics, religion and education. He attempted to form an alliance with the Catholic Church, opposing Francisco de

Paula Santander's efforts for a decisive secularization of political and social life.[69] His conservative turn on educational policies was visible in the transference of educational supervision to the priests and in the introduction of the freedom to teach, which represented the end of the monopoly of the monitorial system in the arena of education. A decree banning public school examinations was issued during this time.[70] Both policies were reinstated after Bolívar's death in 1830 and the return of Santander from exile.

Yet something had changed after the crisis between these two republicans tendencies. In general, the second term of Santander's presidency showed a shift towards a more careful approach. The mere heating up of the sentiments prevailing in the public discourses of the 1820s gave way to more nuanced positions. The forceful assertion of the passions from the pre-civil war era did not return. Already at a time when civil and political disagreement had resulted in open conflict, the more conservative faction of republicans following Bolívar advocated the taming of the passions as a necessity: 'How could fathers fight against the passions of their sons, those untidy and without habits?'[71] Negative effects of the heating up of passions in schools had become evident, even for some liberals. Vanity, affirmed an editorial writer in a liberal daily, was a common feature of the new generation: 'conceited because of their little or greater intelligence and full of pride, they think that disdain and unpleasant manners with all persons is the *nom* (sic) *plus ultra* of their knowledge and their freedom'.[72]

After conservative insurgence and disruption, liberals increasingly advocated their own concepts of docility and tempered passions. Even in decidedly liberal newspapers, vocabulary concerning emotions and education became more restrained. One editorialist in Tunja wrote in 1833 about the blessings of education: 'children and young people . . . you are the ones, who have to receive [education] with docility and enthusiasm' for the good of the fatherland.[73] Under these conditions, liberals tended to hold more nuanced views on the passions. They had to be governed rather than be considered as being simply good and natural. It is in this context that liberals shifted to the paradigm of 'the vigilance of the passions', as the Colombian historian Franz Hensel Riveros called it.[74] As a consequence, school policies that had been central to the strategy of heating up passions came under scrutiny. Critics of monitorial schooling – still the official system of elementary teaching in the 1830s – gained the upper hand by the early 1840s and school examinations increasingly refrained from working up republican enthusiasm, and focused on more traditional forms of knowledge

like penmanship rather than on political education and constitutional rights.[75]

The new republican emotional regime contributed to the adoption of school policies after 1830 that increasingly aimed to moderate emotions. Although heating up passions had become a central element of the republican emotional regime after independence, a rather consensual view on the suitability of emotions heated through education remained fixed to the realm of patriotic emotions. In the time of war and independence, these demanded sacrifice and a total commitment to the cause of forming new polities. Contrary to this, heating up republican sentiments proved more controversial. Moderate and conservative forces mistrusted the impact of heated emotions and Bolívar proposed with the 'unity of sentiment' an alternative concept of handling emotions through their moderation. Without renouncing the strategy of heating up republican sentiments, liberal and radical forces also viewed the unity of sentiment as an urgent task, particularly after conservative unrest in the late 1820s. After this experience, a combination of enthusiasm and docility became stronger.

This account provides a more complete explanation of some features of school policies than is provided by the mere ideological divide between liberal and conservatives. For instance, historiography based on purely ideological categories could not explain why Bolívar did not ban the use of monitorial schooling, although this system of teaching was heavily associated with secularization and liberal groups. If we take into account the potential contribution of monitorial schools in achieving a 'unity of sentiment' through a unity of school methods, Bolívar's reticence to ban them becomes understandable. In the same vein, transformations of public school examinations over time are not only tied to ideology, but are also closely related to changing preferences in the management of collective emotions and cannot be completely explained by referring back to mere ideological devices. If this hypothesis is true, emotional regimes may be considered not only as a correlate of political regimes, but – mediated through the structuring power of educational institutions and practices – as one of their formative forces.

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9

Feeling Like a Citizen: The American Legion's Boys State Programme and the Promise of Americanism

Susan A. Miller

If the experience of war can ever really be called typical, then for a member of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF), Private First Class Edward W. Miller had a fairly typical encounter with the First World War. He enlisted in June 1917 two months after the United States entered the conflict, but wasn't shipped to France until April of the following year, where he fought in some of the war's last major engagements at Château Thierry, Champagne-Marne and the Meuse Argonne. Although gassed on the Western Front, his injuries did not preclude him from serving in the US occupation forces in France at the war's end; lingering health concerns did, however, briefly land him in a veterans' hospital upon his return home. Nor was Miller's military service the only experience that marked him as an average representative of his generation. Born somewhere in the Balkans, he had arrived in the United States in the early years of the twentieth century amidst the heaviest waves of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. Like many young immigrant men (Miller was 22 when he enlisted in the AEF), he was eager to prove his loyalty to his adopted country by voluntarily returning to Europe – dressed in an American military uniform.

After the war, Miller channelled his patriotic feelings into the nation's newest veterans' organization, the American Legion. At last my grandfather departed from the average, and in his zeal for the Legion, he named his first-born son after the organization's national commander. I imagine that this act occasioned a frisson of bemused discomfort at his Legion Post in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, its overt emotionality

out of sync with the more restrained conservatism of small-town America. But if Miller misconstrued the appropriate form of cultural expression for his attachment to the Legion, he was not at all wrong to conclude that much of what the Legion hoped to foster might plausibly be read into my father's middle name: an intimately emotional, indeed familial, bond to the organization as well as to fellow veterans, and, crucially, a desire to instil a reverential, but quite personal, sense of patriotic attachment in the nation's youth. Like the organization he so revered, Miller wanted to ensure that the rising generation accepted its patriotic duty, but he also wanted his son to feel a profound civic connection to community and country.[1]

In this chapter I explore one particular American Legion programme – Boys State – whose goals were to educate promising young Americans with what Legion leaders believed to be a practical, hands-on training in democratic governance and civic life. The Boys State programme was designed to teach young men factual information about their state governments, but it was also predicated on an understanding that those civics lessons had to be imbued with patriotic feeling. This organization, whose motto is 'For God and Country', claimed Americanism as its 'watchword' in the interwar years and imbued all of its programmes, but most especially its work with youth, with a spirited, intensely emotional sense of patriotism.

The American Legion was created by AEF brass, including Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., in Paris immediately after the war's end. Officers warily eyed what they perceived to be a hoard of uncontrollable young men at the fore of the Russian Revolution and began to worry about the political proclivities of their own soon-to-be-demobilized troops. Some officers had been involved in crafting the Committee on Public Information's relentless propaganda appeals that had convinced reluctant Americans to join the 'European war'; all officers were cognizant of the heightened emotional pitch required to stoke soldiers' morale through the deadening experience of the trenches.[2] In November 1918, however, they worried that agitated sensibilities unleashed by war might be magnetically attracted to the dynamism of the Communist Revolution. The purpose of the Legion was to redirect the feelings of rank-and-file troops, provide them with a focus for their stirred-up sense of nationalism and deploy them as a bulwark against the potential threat of communist infiltration in America. In short, AEF officers ascribed to the view that commitment to American ideals, including free-market capitalism as well as democratic governance, was undergirded by an emotional fervour that cemented patriots' loyalty to their nation. Legion founders

called this belief 'Americanism' and it quickly became the central mission of Legion activities, particularly those involving youth.

In the introduction to *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal*, historians Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin draw attention to the dual meaning of the 'vast, protean, and famously contested' concept known as 'Americanism'.[3] This 'nationalist faith', they argue, is predicated on an intertwining of political principle and emotional commitment, and can only be fully understood by analysing both of its poles. Although Americanism originated in the first European settlements, its meaning has been transformed generationally, reshaped by the political and economic necessities of each historical era, but also significantly altered by the reigning emotional culture of the times. By the interwar years, when the Legion took up Americanism as its watchword, the concept had been daubed by 'New Deal liberals' with a 'tolerant, populist hue' that celebrated the heroics of common people, lionized local histories and cultures, and 'depicted America as one big, friendly house for ordinary people'.[4] Kazin and McCartin claim that this manifestation of Americanism created, however tentatively, a space for racial and religious minorities. While I do not disagree with this analysis, I suggest that in the 1930s Americanism's 'friendly house' flung its doors open even wider to another class of marginally disenfranchised citizens – the rising generation of children and youth.[5]

In her analysis of emotion and political change in the Early Republic, historian Nicole Eustace affirms the unique position of Americans, compared with their European contemporaries, having to 'develop modes of patriotism deliberately, rather than inherit them naturally'.[6] While she goes on to argue persuasively against the imperative for a shared sentiment of patriotism, I would suggest that we pause a bit longer with the concept of natural inheritance. Newly minted Americans did occupy a precariously formative position relative to their nascent state, but surely the insights of children's history tell us that unity through birth is never simply 'available' to any nation, but rather must be deliberately taught – however unself-consciously or didactically – to each and every generation. The history of political emotions read in conjunction with the history of youth requires us to examine both the emotional valance of patriotic bonds and the means by which they are transmitted to the next generation. In depression-era America, those ties were threaded through with an inclusive reverence for the local, and a patriotic respect for daily life. For many Americans, including members of the American Legion, it was particularly important that these feelings resonated with children. The interwar years thus present a particularly fertile landscape

for an exploration of emotions history through the lens of the history of youth.

Creating the 'Mythic 49th State'

Returning First World War veterans set to work immediately, creating local posts and organizing themselves for patriotic service. Within a decade, the Legion had made national headlines for its involvement with the 'Bonus Army' confrontation, but it was far better known at the local level for its work with children and youth. The Legion sponsored 'Safe and Sane' Fourth of July celebrations, organized Memorial Day parades and advocated the celebration of Armistice Day (later Veterans Day), all of which helped affix the Legion's vision of Americanism into the yearly calendar of children's lives.[7] On a more daily basis, local posts, with the blessing of national officials, took on work in schools. Legionnaires supported mandatory recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, advocated loyalty oaths for teachers, screened history textbooks for untoward content, and sponsored essay and oratory contests on patriotic themes.[8] Come spring, many Legionnaires turned their formidable energies to the baseball diamond. The Legion's Junior Baseball programme enrolled tens of thousands of boys across the country every year. Although the sport was administered by the Americanism division and the rules required players to repeat a patriotic creed before each game, it is unlikely that boys paid as much attention to this ad hoc civics lesson as they did to their batting averages. Legion leaders, perhaps sensing that they needed a more deliberate mechanism for teaching the tenets of Americanism, created a summer programme, Boys State, which they believed to be an almost ideal forum for instilling patriotic feelings in American boys.

Begun in Illinois in 1935, Boys State was quickly embraced by rank-and-file Legionnaires, spreading to more than 30 states by the time the US entered the Second World War in 1941. Organized under the auspices of the Americanism division, the programme brought together young men from virtually every county in their home states for a week-long summer encampment that typically met on fairgrounds or college campuses in the state's capital. Boys, or 'citizens' as they were called once they arrived, were selected by their teachers or principals, and sponsored by a variety of fraternal clubs such as the Elks, Rotary or Kiwanis, as well as Boy Scout troops, Chambers of Commerce or Legion Posts. Once gathered together, the 300–600 new citizens (who had been randomly assigned to political parties) were expected to identify candidates

and begin the electioneering process that would fill the dozens of offices that their 'mythic' state government required. Although all boys from 16 to 18 years of age were typically eligible, whether or not they attended school, organizers preferred high-school juniors. The reason for this preference betrayed one of the only instances of anxiety about American youth in an otherwise relentlessly positive vision of young men's present character and future prospects.

One of the purposes of Boys State was to impress upon youth that 'there [was] nothing fundamentally wrong with our American form of government, that it has not outlived its usefulness'.[9] The incessant repetition of this message, however, belied Legion leaders' assurance of its acceptance. They feared that Americanism was in a state of decline on both its intellectual and emotional fronts. If the nation's distinctive economic and political systems were no longer equal to the challenges brought on by the Great Depression, these policy failures could sap the people's commitment to their national institutions. And if America reneged on its democratic promises, then its citizens' emotional attachments might be reduced to nothing more than the faded relic of loyalty, once passionately felt, but now cooled to a tepid habit. This was a state of affairs that haunted Legion leaders, compelling them to bend all of their youth programmes towards remedying these alleged ills. The task of Boys State was to teach young men about the mechanisms of government, to be sure, yet to do this in such a way that boys' hearts became recommitted to their nation even as their heads were filled with patriotic lessons. Boys thus inoculated in mind and spirit could bring the required intellectual and emotional patriotic commitment back to their schools, serving as 'a real vaccine against the alien "isms" plaguing this disturbed nation today'.[10]

Legion leaders proposed to do this through the Boys State week-long programme of 'hands-on' experience in governance and democracy. Although this pedagogy was evocative of progressive education reforms that stressed the 'learning by doing' methods championed by John Dewey and others, many Legion leaders were suspicious of the educational professionals and intellectuals with whom they often came into conflict over textbooks and loyalty oaths. Even though the Legion borrowed progressive language – they often called Boys State a 'laboratory of practical political science', echoing the name given to Dewey's first school in Chicago – they tended to distrust both the content and the feeling behind these institutions. Recognizing that schools were fast becoming key locations for emotional socialization, and convinced that the intellectual and emotional tenets of Americanism were not being

properly addressed, the Legion believed it was time to create a new place where boys could learn how to think and feel like citizens.[11]

This programmatic obsession with both the mind and heart of Americanism was paramount to the Legion since many leaders distrusted 'book knowledge' alone, fearing that a dispassionate distance from government did not confer a level-headedness, but rather encouraged citizens to criticize blithely a system to which they felt unattached.[12] Therefore, like other scholars represented in this volume, I interrogate the emotional timbre of the affective, patriotic bonds that youth were supposed to cultivate. Juliane Brauer locates 'joy and jolliness' at the heart of the German Democratic Republic's efforts to assimilate the 'Hitler Youth Generation', while M. Colette Plum finds an intensely felt, unifying nationalism within the 'dominant emotional regime' of China's Nationalist government. I suggest that the American Legion relied on emotionality that had always been present in Americanism to undergird and reinforce the affective ties it wished to create between boys, and among the leaders and participants of Boys State. In caring for each other as citizens, Legion leaders underscored the importance of an emotional connection between youth and its government.

Boys State would 'awaken boys' desire' to be a part of a community characterized by knowledge of the duties and privileges of American democracy, but also, importantly, by affective bonds between citizens.[13] Boys assumed offices in state governments of their own creation and carefully studied state constitutions for direction, following a programme that rooted Americanism firmly in the small-town experiences that Legion leaders feared were becoming obsolete as the nation grew into an urban, industrial society.[14] Even boys who hailed from urban areas were encouraged to find the best of their government in the small-scale and cultivate the face-to-face experiences that were meant to teach familiarity with local government and allow for a real intimacy with their fellow citizens. All this allegedly transpired at Boys State encampments – over the course of an often sultry and frenetic week in mid-summer – in a place that may have looked like a state fairground, but which Legion leaders dubbed the 'Mythic 49th State'.[15]

Legionnaires' glowing descriptions of the patriotic powers of the Mythic 49th State lead the scholar immediately to Benedict Anderson's iconic text *Imagined Communities* (1983).[16] Anderson's central questions – how do nations 'command such profound emotional legitimacy' and 'arouse such deep attachments' – were the very same queries that the American Legion hoped to answer through the Boys State

programme.[17] I believe that Anderson's queries, as well as the Legion's answer to those questions, can be best understood by retaining a clear focus on the emotionality that infuses the introduction of *Imagined Communities*, but which, oddly, dissipates in the text itself.[18] Here, Barbara H. Rosenwein's insights into emotional communities permit a sustained analysis of the Legion's anxieties and hopes, as well as the boys' responses to lessons they received.

Rosenwein asks that historians take seriously the plural form of emotional communities, arguing that the 'systems of feelings' that call them into being are complex and multi-faceted.[19] Not merely do overlapping communities exist within particular temporal and geographic boundaries, but individuals can simultaneously belong to multiple emotional communities. In the 1930s, American adults were acutely aware of the truth of these insights, especially regarding their adolescent children. The growth of high schools and the rise of a burgeoning peer culture, which was changing the rituals around dating and friendship, offered affective outlets that economically strained families struggled to provide. The rise of European totalitarian states that both called forth and manipulated the emotions of their populations laid bare the depth of feeling present in political systems and revealed how aggressively those heightened emotions could spread. A firm sense of Americanism directed towards adolescents could help to combat the international threat, but how could this be accomplished when the most powerful forces of socialization for youth – stable families and the promise of a future to work towards – appeared to be in tatters? Legion leaders thought the answer lay in shoring up a civic identity, grounded in knowledge of American systems and held together by bonds of civic feeling.

When the Legion created Boys State, it did so within a society that had a firmly established youth culture that provided an array of patriotic service organizations. American Boy Scouting had come of age during the First World War, and by the 1930s had matured into a thriving national organization. From YMCA service groups to the Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) established by the National Defense Act of 1916, boys had an array of civically minded volunteer groups in which they could participate. Girls' civic organizations were dominated by Camp Fire and the Girl Scouts. All of these groups made patriotic service and civic education a large part of their mission. All, in short, supported a basic allegiance to Americanism, but how they viewed this concept differed widely in the interwar years.[20] Most mainstream girls' organizations cast their lot with internationalism.[21] Most mainstream boys'

organizations, however, found internationalism suspect and equated it with what they thought of as a sentimental and uncritical commitment to pacifism, a naiveté about realpolitik. Suspicious of a wave of internationalism that they perceived not as a harbinger of cooperation but as capitulation to communism, the American Legion, in particular, taught boys that Americanism was the only path to responsible citizenship in an unpredictable transnational world.[22] Many Legionnaires took the 'war to end all wars' seriously and strenuously opposed American involvement in future conflicts, even as their national office argued for American 'preparedness'.

Despite differences in opinion about future US involvement in international affairs, Legionnaires cherished the bonds that they believed they had formed in the course of bearing arms for their nation. These men saw themselves as direct descendants of a dying generation of Civil War veterans and, indeed, as the last in a long line of 'citizen-soldiers' who had fought to establish and preserve the republic. But few men, veterans or not, wished war upon their sons. In the interwar years, the grotesque carnage of the First World War had all but destroyed Americans' belief in the rejuvenating powers of bloodlust that had characterized so many leaders at the turn of the century.[23] Yet how could men hope to 'keep the spirit of the Great War alive' – the motto of the Legion – if they worked to deny their sons the opportunity to become citizen-soldiers? How could they instil in boys the communal spirit, the sense of pulling together for a common and supremely worthy goal unless they were tested in the terrible crucible of war? How could they raise robust manly citizens outside the military and within a civilian life? How, in short, could they create a Band of Brothers without a battlefield?

In Boys State the Legion found its answer to this dilemma. All the lessons that had been learned from a decade of patriotic youth work in local communities could be condensed into a single week-long programme. This would satisfy the intellectual half of Americanism that required knowledge of, and commitment to, the distinctive political and economic ideals of the nation. But where Boys State really stood out was in its ability to target the other half of Americanism: its insistence on unwavering loyalty and fraternal affection. Here the Legion attempted to channel the very force that had the potential to drive young men to ruin – psychologists called it the 'gang instinct' – and instead direct it into the creation of a Mythic State predicated on emotional bonds between boys and the adult men who brought them together.[24]

State-ments, Boys States' Fourth Estate

If the Legion's incessant evocation of the 'Mythic 49th State' calls out to be read as an imagined emotional community, then the documents by which we can examine youth experience of Boys State only confirm this interpretation.[25] Once a day, every day except Sunday, young editors across the nation turned out *State-ments*.[26] The six- to eight-paged mimeographed newspapers often borrowed a state's nickname – Michigan Boys State paper, for example, was called *Wolverine State-ment* – and served as a vehicle for jokes and gossip, baseball box scores and the endless lists of boys who had been elected to office. Promoted by adult leaders as a vital part of the democratic community of Boys State, *State-ments* also chronicled the political and relational life of encampments as it was being lived (indeed, most *State-ments* read more like blogs than newspapers in their rapid fire, call-and-response recording of daily life). The editors and writers of *State-ments*, who often worked on more adult-regulated school newspapers back home, seized the opportunity to create the imagined emotional community of Boys State according to their own will.[27]

Whether *State-ment* editors fancied themselves the youthful counterparts of cigar-chomping local beat reporters or, after 1939, as kindred spirits of the Boy Rangers Press, which saved the political career of Jimmy Stewart in *Mr Smith Goes to Washington* – and there is evidence that they did both – they certainly appointed themselves as watchdogs of their communities' emotional and political vitality.[28] 'If there is a slackening in spirits among any here the *Daily Volunteer* certainly won't hesitate to make mention of it', warned the editorial staff of the *Tennessee Daily Volunteer*.[29] Editors managed and directed the patriotic spirits of fellow citizens by selectively reporting on what they viewed as the most important elements of Boys State community life, turning their daily papers into a palimpsest of prescriptive and proscriptive stories that showed boys how to navigate the multiple layers of affectionate regard that would allow them to function as loyal citizens of their imaginary States. Although boys' relationships with adults frequently claimed front-page status, it was boys' relationships with each other as fledging, feeling citizens that filled most of the pages of the daily *State-ments*. 'Print', as historian Nicole Eustace astutely observes, 'has always facilitated the emotional exchanges that allow people to envision the invisible bonds of nationhood.'[30] At Boys States encampments, boys used *State-ments* as a vehicle to both repeat back the patriotic messages communicated to them by adult leaders and

also to forge affective ties that bound them to their State and to each other.

Man to man

By the mid-1930s, many of the youngsters who participated in Boys State lived in a world where masculine bonding stressed the fraternal over the paternal. Male social and service organizations, such as the Elks, Rotary and Lions Clubs that sponsored many boys for Boys State, had grown in popularity in response to Americans' anxiety over urbanization and nostalgia for small town, face-to-face governance. The draw to fraternity was not only reactive; First World War veterans had come of age in a nation that had seen the strengthening of sibling bonds and horizontal kinship as well as the very first stirrings of a youth peer culture that celebrated the brotherhood to be found in high school and collegiate fraternities and sports clubs.[31] Men who became active in the American Legion were, by definition, inclined towards cultivating social and civic ties within their own generation; they lived in a culture that looked kindly on men who extended a brotherly hand to younger men and boys. They were the volunteer analogue of the Scout leaders, YMCA workers and youth sports coaches whose professional identities were intertwined with their ideas about civic duties, especially as they concerned the boys they served.[32] In these fraternal bonds, adult creators of Boys State constructed the emotive cultural systems of sociability that cemented Legion visions of loyal Americanism.[33]

Since reigning ideals of masculinity still required that boys be ready to fight, both physically and emotionally, American boyhood existed in a state of perpetual preparedness, even in a nation that rejected such a policy for its own affairs. And if the unique ideals of Americanism represented the cause to be fought for, the loyalty Americanism engendered had to be built into the relationships that would make that fighting possible. For Legion officials, one of the most important bonds undergirding Americanism was an informed and affective tie to the elected officials whose offices served as models for the Boys State programme. These men were meant to be objects of respect and admiration, with boys cultivating ties that were characterized by an affectionate regard that did not devolve into mindless hero worship. State government officials were to be familiar role models, not distantly revered icons, and this could only happen through face-to-face meetings. Consequently, Legion officials typically chose state capitals to host Boy State encampments, not only for the convenience of state fairgrounds or college dormitories, but

also to facilitate a visit to the seat of government – an experience that boys were encouraged to view as the apotheosis of all the electioneering, voting and law making that filled their days at camp.

Citizens typically received the invitation to visit their 'real-life counterparts' in state government early at Boys State inaugural sessions. Green Mountain Boys State citizens, for example, were welcomed to their Mythic State by Vermont Lieutenant Governor Wills, whose speech stressed the twin pillars of Americanism. Wills encouraged boys to learn as much as they could about the mechanics of state government before their impending visit to legislative offices in Montpelier, but he also informed them that this was insufficient. A real citizen must also 'feel himself part of his government', he concluded.[34] Elected officials from dozens of other states echoed Wills' position and underscored the Legion's belief that the strength of a nation was best reflected in the 'courage, devotion, intelligence and sincerity' of its citizens. These were the characteristics of the patriotic emotional system that boys were supposed to cultivate during their week at camp. Legion officials did not believe that these young men were starting from scratch – Boys State leaders frequently boasted that they had skimmed the 'cream of boy crop' from across the nation – but the week of civic activities was meant to draw these traits out.

Boys responded to the early visits from state executives and legislators by giving the men front-page billing in *State-ments*. The 10 June 1941 issue of *The Cornhusker* gave side-by-side front-page coverage to talks by Governor Griswold of Nebraska and Governor Flagg of Nebraska Boys State. In fact, a reader unfamiliar with local politics would have to scan deeply into the articles to disentangle the two chief executives, so similar were their speeches. Both governors spoke of the pride they felt in their states, real and imagined, and reminded their audience that real pleasure in life is afforded only within democratic systems. The foundation of this democratic promise was located in a citizen's ability to truly be a part of his government, as *The Cornhusker*'s previous day's front page made clear. Citizen Bob Olmstead's winning essay, 'What Democracy Means to Me', was imbued with paeans to freedom of religion and commercial opportunity, but it was also forthright in its claims for the importance of emotion within a civic community.[35] Democracy 'permits me to share my feelings and attitudes with others freely', he concluded.

Many of the feelings that *State-ment* editors chose to express were directed to the Legion men who made their encampment possible. From Maine to Florida to California, boys were courteous and gracious in expressing their admiration for the men who had sponsored them,

raised money for their upkeep and volunteered to serve as counsellors, or just dropped by to give a speech on the rights and duties of citizenship. The *Utah Boys State News* from 1940 offers a typical array of citizens' efforts to show that they were responsibly cultivating their own emotional self-development. Under the headline 'G-Man Visits', editors praised federal agent and Legion member Grimes for his talk on subversive elements, and reminded fellow citizens of the gratitude they owed him for taking time from his busy schedule. Just a few days later, in an editorial entitled 'Ideals of Boys State', citizens were cautioned that they were not living up to their promise. Invoking the spirit of Otto Wiesley, who had visited the previous year to give a 'good talk on Americanism', editors asked fellow citizens to shape up. Apparently, they did so, because by mid-week Glen Ballinger, the State Commander, had nothing but praise for the boys. Editors returned the compliment by featuring a three-quarter page drawing of the commander's beaming face above his endorsement that Boys State was the 'greatest citizenship programme the American Legion has ever attempted'.[36]

The only thing that marks Utah's paper as different from the dozens of other *State-ments* is the degree to which the citizens expressed themselves in artwork. One drawing deserves special mention. In a single panel drawing, a Boys State citizen is shown watering a large, healthy tree, its branches spreading out across the entire frame. The boy's watering can is labelled 'Boys State' and the tree itself is 'Americanism'. The Boys State citizen is clearly overjoyed with his work; his Boys State cap is set at a jaunty angle, he boasts a huge smile, and lines that typically denote sunshine radiate from his face.[37] Time and again in the hundreds of pages of *State-ments* that were produced in the first years of the programme, Boys State editors chose to express in prose the feelings that the Utah artist put into his cartoon. They felt themselves to be vital participants in the organic growth of their nation, were pleased with the results and were thrilled that Boys States' caps marked them as recognizable partners in the American Legion.

Notwithstanding the cartoons that graced Utah's paper and appeared occasionally in other *State-ments*, much of the humour that infused the papers was jocular banter between the young college counsellors who helped with the camps and a series of running gags in which the boys poked fun at the older Legion men who were in charge. Boys bonded with their elders as men, even as they distinguished themselves as younger, more vital boys. Editors constantly made fun of counsellors who pined for girlfriends back home and teased unfortunate counsellors who were saddled with clerical responsibilities by suggesting that

they should perform their service in dresses. This good-natured ribbing allowed boys to bond with men who were just a few years older than themselves; their affectionate humour marked the borders of a shared masculinity defined by the love of women and an aspiration to gender-appropriate work.

The affectionate humour that editors levelled at the Legion men who ran Boys State was of a different character, but was within the same emotional register. With the older men, boys marked their own masculinity in generational opposition. Editors and writers for *State-ments* relentlessly teased the men about grey hair and baldness, their middle-aged paunches and forgetfulness. Although some of the jokes may sound harsh to contemporary ears, boys knew to soften the blow by allowing most of them to play out on the sports fields. Athletics was an integral part of Boys State, with complicated tournaments sharing time with ad hoc play. Legion men often formed a side to challenge the boys and, judging from the *State-ments*, the most popular field of contest was the baseball diamond.

By the 1930s, the notion that sport was the moral equivalent of war was well-worn, but still in wide circulation, and boys lost little time declaring the equivalent of a light-hearted battle with their mentors. Kansas Boys State initiated a gag about a leader's girth, suggesting that he should purchase his next uniform at the circus supply store as it would be sure to have enough canvas to clothe him properly.[38] Even as boys from Rhode Island acknowledged the awesome power of men who could belt home runs over the fence, they mused that their lead in the game would surely be safe since the men could hardly manage the run around the bases.[39] Boys from Iowa Boys State created an ongoing joke about the alleged unfair advantage their adult opponents possessed. They might as well rename the game 'shine-ball', the boys complained, since they were being blinded by the sun reflecting off the bald heads of the opposing team. But the men who accepted this good-natured grumbling also welcomed the boys' 'sincerest thanks' for all their hard work.[40]

In sport as in war, as in their position in a democratic government, Boys State citizens were taught that they were all in it together. Boys learned to express their admiration for state officials whose offices they held for one week over the summer. They practised myriad ways of expressing their gratitude and affection for the Legion men who made this experience possible. Boys learned to think of themselves as devoted and sincere citizens, who were required to save their communities from the 'isms' that threatened their nation. They also learned that the Mythic State they were creating could only come into being through

camaraderie with their fellow citizens, the 'swell' fellows who were their partners in Americanism.

Brother citizens, the 'swellest fellows'

As the official record of Boys State proceedings, *State-ments* were chock-full of an array of emotional expressions that boys felt for both the Legionnaires who administered the encampments and the men who held the offices to which Boys State participants aspired. Important as these relationships were to the Boys State programme, leaders – and the boys themselves – seemed to acknowledge that they were of secondary import. The emotional community that truly constituted the heart of Americanism was in the relationships that boys created with each other. Within hours of their arrival, despite the fatigue of long journeys or prickling feelings of homesickness, boys were charged with their community's creation. The first step in this was an intense, even passionate, whirlwind of courtship. In the elections that would make manifest the entire Mythic State, boys immediately had to appeal to each other, solicit each other's votes and, time and again, willingly choose each other as partners in the creation of their very own Mythic State.

Citizens of Boys State voted more in one week, often in the course of a single day, than most Americans did in an entire lifetime. Offices from governor to coroner had to be filled, with party-affiliated slates of candidates engaged in boisterous campaigning. This was then dutifully amplified by the next day's *State-ments*. Candidates' electioneering appeals were a mix of tactics that revealed how well they understood the message sent by Legion leaders that real Americanism depended on a pairing of ideals and emotion. In formal speeches and in the ongoing chaos of electioneering, boys paired encomia to democratic ideals with frankly emotional appeals to their fellow citizens. For example, the Nationalist Party gubernatorial candidate in Nebraska, whose party platform included both 'a firm stand against the Fifth Column elements' and a dance on Wednesday night, delivered a 'rip-roaring' speech in which he was overcome by emotion, finally drawing his address to a close by blurting out 'you're the swellest fellows I've ever met'.[41] He dashed from the stage to thunderous applause.

Hawkeye Boys State candidates appeared to be a bit more jaded in terms of the political process. One roused his fellow Iowans by warning that the 'government will go to the dogs if we don't get in', while his opponent vowed 'to leave no stone unturned' in the course of his campaign. *State-ment* editors dutifully covered the speeches, but heaved

a world-weary sigh at the tired political bromides offered by the candidates, wondering exactly what these phrases meant and suggesting that the pair pick up their game if they really wanted to win.[42] The editors' laconic response was an indication of how seriously they took the proceedings, a view echoed by the editors at Mississippi's Magnolia Boys State when their newly elected attorney general was found with his feet up on his desk, a bottle of Coke and a cigar (unlit) at hand. Editors admonished those who 'disregarded the legislative sessions and took their offices lightly' and reminded fellow citizens that 'bonds of brotherhood' were supposed to hold them together in a more solemn purpose.[43]

When the electioneering was over, officials were duly chosen and sometimes browbeaten into behaving correctly. The remainder of the week at Boys State was largely filled with the making – and breaking – of laws. After all, governors, senators, representatives and judges had to do something with their time, and so they acted with gusto to pass law after law and set penalty after penalty. In what I read as a farcical comment on American culture's obsession with juvenile delinquency and a robust vote of confidence in each other, boys set about showing that they well knew how to police themselves. They revealed their commitment to each other by making rules and breaking rules, enacting a performance of punishment and forgiveness that bound them to each other in a community. Boys relied on each other to understand the feelings that underlay the letter of the many, many laws that they passed. Even laws meant to be broken were not obviously flagged, but a wink and a nod let boys know that these were the rules whose rupture actually served as an adhesive to bind the Boys State communities together. Boys showed that they had a feel for these civic codes by engaging in creative and amusing mischief.

Boys who missed the point and ignored the rules that were not made to be broken found themselves subject to resentment, anger and scolding disappointment. The affectionate bonds that they had broken tore at the emotional equilibrium of the camp, and they were quickly singled out and called to task immediately in *State-ments*. However, rule breakers who flaunted the regulations that had been made in order to give the Boys State jailors, state highway patrol, judges and pardon boards something to do with their time showed that they understood the real spirit of the laws and were, accordingly, given an honoured place in the pages of the *State-ments*. These professional 'scofflaws' were roundly abused with the most affectionate regard – their devotion to pulling off daredevil pranks or flagrant acts of disobedience was greeted with an equally devoted detailed reporting.

Editors at the *Wolverine Whirligig*, the paper of Michigan's Boys State, named two 'incorrigibles' charged with countless mundane offences against the public order, and a few more imaginative ones, such as putting a toad in the counsellor's bed. Both miscreants spent plenty of time on the 'road gang' and in jail for their demerits, but their antics commanded plenty of column inches and undoubtedly offered not only amusement but also inspiration to fellow citizens.[44] Nor was misbehaviour limited to individuals. A 'feud' between rival cities – one of the common forms of Boys State organization – saw the warring mayors put their governmental training to good use. One mayor employed the services of the county registrar of deeds to deprive his nemesis of access to the lavatory, drinking fountain and stairway leading to his bed.[45] However, perhaps the crowning glory of Michigan misbehaviour went to the coroner. Called in by the report of a corpse, he found that 'the manly crop of hair' on the sleeping boy's chest 'proved too much of a temptation' to him. He 'went for his straight razor' and sheared the body.[46] This act cost him his office, and time in 'county lockup', but it clearly earned him the devotion of the editors and readers of the *Wolverine Whirligig*.

Enterprising law breakers broke curfew, short-sheeted beds, 'borrowed' pictures of girlfriends to put on display in the dining hall and performed countless other acts of measured, controlled and ultimately sanctioned disobedience. Some Nebraska boys even mocked the serious threat posed by 'fifth column elements' and started their own renegade papers, promising to dig up dirt on all.[47] Editors from the *Green Mountain Statement* warned readers about 'the "sullen mutterings" of the 5th column lawless men with "black evil" in their hearts – looking to get back at the paper for its exposure of the political corruption at Boys State'.[48] But the Vermont editors printed their every exchange with that rogue element. *State-ments* across the nation reported on the daily life of their camps – the weather and food and box scores – but they reserved their most affectionate reporting for the boys who did the most to forge the bonds between them. Boys understood that their Mythic States were governed by principles comparable to Americanism. They had to learn about offices and laws, but, above all, they had to cultivate emotional bonds with their fellow citizens.

Conclusion

Film footage survives of a handshake from June 1963 between a youthful thirty-fifth President and a beaming youngster who would, 30 years later and in fulfilment of a boyish boast made that very day, secure the job for

himself. This meeting of John F. Kennedy and a 16-year-old Bill Clinton at the American Legion's Boys Nation camp captures the essence of the programme.[49] Almost 30 years before this meeting of the American presidency's present and future, the American Legion had inaugurated the programme whose goals included just such encounters, albeit between slightly less exalted chief executives.

Young men trained at Boys State encampments – from governors and senators to county coroners – were supposed to learn that their state and even, perhaps, their nation, was waiting for them. Since the founding of the republic, Americanism – that inchoate definition of patriotism that nevertheless felt and feels perfectly clear to those who subscribe to it – has depended on a balance of intellectual commitment to political ideals and an emotional connection to country and fellow citizens. Boys States' 'Mythic 49th State' was not a myth at all – it was a very real emotional community created by and for the young citizens who dwelt there, however briefly.

Notes

1. William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919–1941* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989) is the best scholarly history of the Legion.
2. Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
3. Michael Kazin and Joseph A. McCartin (eds), *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1.
4. Kazin and McCartin, *Americanism*, 5, 6.
5. My analysis extends what historian Patricia West, among others, calls the 'domestication of history'; see Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of America's House Museums* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999); Seth C. Bruggeman (ed.), *Born in the U.S.A.: Birth, Commemoration, and American Public Memory* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).
6. Nicole Eustace, 'Emotion and Political Change', in Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns (ed.), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 163–183, here 172.
7. In addition to Pencak's even-handed history, the Legion inspired quite a few scholars who took issue with its politics and who produced well-researched albeit one-dimensional histories. See Dorothy Culp, 'The American Legion: A Study in Pressure Politics' (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1939); William Gellermann, 'The American Legion as Educator' (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1938). Gellermann studied with George Counts, an avowed adversary of the Legion in battles over high-school textbooks.

8. Richard J. Ellis, *To the Flag: The Unlikely History of the Pledge of Allegiance* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2005).
9. Kansas, Illinois and Indiana documents all repeat this message verbatim. All state-level documents, as well as all issues of *State-ments*, can be found at the archives of the American Legion National Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana (hereinafter AL). All materials are on microfilm and can be located under the name of the state and year of publication.
10. 'Looks Real Good', *Fargo Forum* (North Dakota) (10 May 1938). Many of the following notes reference small regional papers from across the United States. These articles were compiled by the Luce Press Clipping Bureau and were presumably commissioned by Kansas Boys State officials. All can be found in Kansas Boys State materials, 1938, AL.
11. For an analogous case, see Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880–1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, Stephanie Olsen *et al*., *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).
12. *Bloomington Evening World* (Indiana) (23 May 1938).
13. *Burlington News* (Vermont) (31 March 1938).
14. Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967). Wiebe's iconic 1967 text suggests that the First World War put a halt to the search, but scholarship written in its wake argues that the interwar years continue it. See e.g. Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and their Institutions, 1917–1933* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1979); Joseph M. Hawes, *Children between the Wars: American Childhood, 1920–1940* (New York: Twayne, 1997). Joseph M. Hawes argues that this is also crucial in understanding youth.
15. In the 1930s, the United States consisted of the Lower Forty-Eight; Alaska and Hawaii did not join the Union until 1959.
16. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edn (New York: Verso, 2006).
17. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 4.
18. Anderson's ideas, though not without their critics, have had astonishing staying power. For the suggestion that Jean-Jacques Rousseau was there before him, see Steven T. Engel, 'Rousseau and Imagined Communities', *Review of Politics* 67(3) (2005), 515–537.
19. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions* 1(1) (2010), www.passionsincontext.de/index.php?id=557 (date accessed 17 June 2015).
20. Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007).
21. Tammy M. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*: *A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009).
22. Although many Boy Scout leaders were in political sympathy with Legion positions, the international origins and aspirations of the world Scouting movement – epitomized in world Jamborees – caused Scout leaders to embrace a different rhetoric for their organization.

23. Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009).
24. On cultural conversations about the gang instinct, see Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Kriste Lindenmeyer, *The Greatest Generation Grows Up: American Childhood in the 1930s* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005).
25. Anderson stresses the role of the press in the creation of communities – the cover of the latest paperback edition of the book depicts tightly packed newsprint.
26. Fortunately, a great many of these newsletters were preserved, which permits me to answer Rosenwein's call for an abundance of voices within emotional communities; Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', 12. All the following quotations from various *State-ments* can be found under the appropriate state and year. Many *State-ments* were dated, although sometimes the dates were given simply as 'Day One of Boys States'. Few papers, however, contain legible page numbers.
27. Jane H. Hunter firmly established the worth of youth-edited school newspapers for access to young people's self-created culture; see Jane H. Hunter, *How Young Ladies Became Girls: The Victorian Origins of American Girlhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002).
28. See Lindenmeyer, *Greatest Generation Grows Up*, 208–209.
29. *Tennessee Daily Volunteer* (7 June 1940).
30. Eustace, 'Emotion and Political Change', 171.
31. For siblings, see Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford University Press, 2012); C. Dallett Hemphill, *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History* (Oxford University Press, 2011).
32. There is some debate in the literature over this. See David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Kenneth B. Kidd, *Making American Boys: Boyology and the Feral Tale* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004) for varying degrees of fraternity among 'boy workers'.
33. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', 19–20, quoting Thomas Scheff and Claire Armon-Jones on the social functions of emotions.
34. *Green Mountain State-ment* (24 June 1940).
35. Bob Olmstead, 'What Democracy Means to Me', *The Cornhusker* (9 June 1941), front page.
36. *Utah Boys State News* (10–15 July 1940).
37. *Boys' State News* (9 July 1940).
38. *Sunflower State-ment* (1939).
39. *Little Rhody Boys State* (1936).
40. *Iowa State-ment* (1939).
41. *The Cornhusker* (Nebraska) (10 June 1940).
42. *Iowa Hawkeye Stater* (5 June 1939).
43. *Magnolia Boys State* (1939).
44. *Wolverine Whirligig* (26 June 1941).
45. *Wolverine Whirligig* (25 June 1941).
46. *Wolverine Whirligig* (23 June 1941).

47. *The Cornhusker* (12 June 1940).
48. *Green Mountain Boys Statement* (27 June 1940).
49. 'A Future President Meets JFK', YouTube Video, 2:07, ABC news clip, posted by the Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation, 24 July 2009, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W0uErdlyTUo (date accessed 17 June 2015).

10

Disciplining Young People's Emotions in the Soviet Occupation Zone and the Early German Democratic Republic

Juliane Brauer

For the young people of the 'Hitler Youth Generation' – the vast majority of German children and youth who were in the Hitler Youth organization – the collapse following the Second World War entailed an identity crisis of great proportions. Many felt betrayed. Young people described themselves, and were described, as victims: they stood 'on the ruins of (our) youth'; 'twelve years have been stolen from us'; they felt 'mentally disrupted' and seduced by 'satanic education methods'.[1]

The American military government conducted a study in a small Hessian town in 1946 that revealed the disastrous emotional and physical state of young Germans. Confronted daily with death and mourning, young people had to deal with the loss of family members and parents, often either left to be cared for by relatives or simply orphaned. Many of their friends had died in the war. Such experiences of loss determined the everyday life of children and young people immediately after the war. Many also suffered homelessness, poverty, illness and chronic malnourishment, as well as from the crime that resulted from these experiences. Young people, the study claimed, lacked conviction, hope and perspective, and were tired, burnt-out and disillusioned.[2]

Young people in the Soviet Occupation Zone saw themselves threatened with arbitrary arrest by the Soviet secret police. Thousands of young people who had held leading positions in the Hitler Youth were arrested. The Soviet secret police justified these arrests by claiming that these young people had belonged to the so-called Werewolf Organization, a paramilitary movement founded in 1944 in the ranks of the Hitler Youth to fight subversively against Allied troops.[3]

What was post-war German society supposed to do with such young people? Since its 'discovery' around the turn of the twentieth century, older generations had projected themselves onto youth. They considered youth to be a socially defined period of life bound to concrete expectations and an object 'onto which a society's self-validation and creation of sense were bound and onto which many hopes, expectations and anxieties of the older generation – along with corresponding demands – were projected'.[4]

East (German Democratic Republic – GDR) and West Germany had different responses to this phenomenon. Society in the West permitted youth to undergo a sort of moratorium, primarily because they lacked serious ideas as to how members of the Hitler Youth could be socially integrated, and began in around 1950 to focus on youth.[5] In the Soviet Occupation Zone, communist politicians began their efforts to organize young people immediately after the war, seeing in them bearers of socialist visions of the future. The state-sponsored youth organization Free German Youth (*Freie Deutsche Jugend* – FDJ) was founded in 1946 and the associated Ernst Thälmann Pioneer Organization in 1948. The Ernst Thälmann Pioneer Organization was part of the FDJ and consisted of the Young Pioneers, made up of schoolchildren from the first to third grades, wearing the distinctive blue kerchief, and the Thälmann Pioneers, from the fourth to seventh grades, wearing a red kerchief. In the eighth grade, young people joined the youth organization, the FDJ, and remained there until the end of their vocational training or studies. The so-called FDJlers wore a blue shirt.[6]

Communist expectations that young people would serve as bearers of hope fed into political campaigns directly addressed to them, attempting to control and regulate young people's emotions, expectations and notions of the future. Political programmes based on young people's sponge-like capacity to receive education were a major feature of communist social systems. Looking at the longer history of the GDR, however, shows that educating hearts and minds could also fail, precisely because of those optimistic visions from which the youth chose to distance themselves. As Peter Stearns concluded, communist youth leaders were of the conviction that 'children had to be remade' and that 'communism as an ideology was deeply imbued with the belief that children were born good, innocent, and improvable'.[7] The socialist authorities made all their political decisions on education on the basis of this principle. At the centre of these decisions was thus the young person, conceived as a malleable object.

Finding some way of approaching these 'destroyed' young generations was a top priority for the Soviet Military Administration, which aimed to make youth into the 'standard bearers of a new era'.[8] The vision of a new German youth was outlined in the preface to *Die Grundrechte der jungen Generation* (*The Fundamental Rights for the Young Generation*), agreed upon by the first Parliament of the Free German Youth in 1946: 'Only the hard and rocky path of building up our new homeland can lead us out of the rubble and misery, it is the path of building a new homeland, the path of peaceful but truly heroic work, the path of the rebirth of ideals, among which bravery, youth enthusiasm and vigour have got the place they deserve; it is the way that allows for joy and jolliness and democratic liberties to be revived.'[9]

The key emotions here are 'joy and jolliness'. The entire socialist vision of the future was built upon the idea of young people as 'vigorous', 'vital', 'forward pressing' and 'joyful'.[10] Part of the communist youth leaders' vision of a new, better, socialist Germany involved children and young people full of energy, vigour and self-sacrifice, who would be able to bring about the socialist utopia. In Zygmunt Bauman's words, one can see why this was necessary: 'the image of a future and a better world was critical of the existing society; in fact a system of ideas remains utopian and thus able to boost human activity only in so far as it is perceived as representing a system essentially different from, if not antithetical to, the existing one'.[11] In considering the mentality of young people at that time, the programme more or less intended to completely transform or re-educate youth. With this goal in mind, socialist functionaries offered and tried to evoke strong affirmative emotions in young people. But how was it possible to bring up young people to embody 'joy and jolliness'? Is it at all possible to raise children to hold a particular emotional disposition? Socialist youth leaders of the post-war period held a firm conviction that they could raise young people to feel a particular way. One widespread and commonly practised strategy in this emotional education was group singing. Singing has traditionally been considered an expression of the joy and jolliness of youth. Music teachers claimed that group singing had a special emotional effect, as this chapter will show.

Because of this assumed connection between singing and reaching young people's inner core, there was a widespread conviction that group singing in particular had the power to bind communities closer together. It was thus claimed that it should be used to shape collective identities and to communicate political messages, as well as to propagate a single emotional style, as one can gather from the manual for group

leaders: 'collective singing boosts morale and forms strong bonds of friendship that bind children into a tightly knit group. Through commonly expressed words, the same feelings, thoughts and ambitions are evoked in everyone'.[12]

Based on Monique Scheer's claim that emotions are a 'bodily act of experience and expression',[13] I define singing as a practice of 'doing emotion'. I will investigate the ways in which emotional dispositions and rules come into being, along with the ways in which they are sought, communicated and perceived through the practice of collective singing. Emotional practices can be successful in triggering emotions, but they can also fail, as we shall see below. Songs were and are everyday objects of use, often sung collectively without specialized training. For this reason, collective singing is a widespread form of human communication. The emotional effects of songs are decisively conditioned by the use, presentation and perception of the song.

Focusing on collective singing, this chapter looks at debates and practices surrounding the project of shaping young people's emotions. It will show that in the post-Second World War Soviet Occupation Zone, the education of young people aimed to summon them to action by promising them joy and jolliness, while at the same time turning the practice of these emotions into a duty. In addition, education in the Soviet Occupied Zone focused on fostering young people's hopes and wishes by orienting them towards visions of a socialist future. For the sake of the socialists' utopian project, occupation functionaries had to win over not only the minds but also the hearts of young people. Those newly placed in positions of responsibility and power conceived of the young generation as 'tomorrow's heads of house', attributing a key role to them.[14] The chapter explains that the emotional dispositions targeted and propagated in emotional education included feelings of happiness, cheerfulness (ideally leading to commitment), activity, vigour and 'combative' patriotism.[15] Moreover, it seeks to show that education of the emotions was motivated by the presumed link between the young generation and the future of the socialist state.

The framework for the future was thus mapped out in these songs: emotions deemed desirable were mobilized in performance at the same time as those deemed undesirable in terms of the future of the socialist state were blocked out. The challenge for the historian lies in working out if, in the long term, the youth of the GDR really meant what they sang: whether they truly and enduringly felt the happiness, joy, confidence and optimism they expressed in song. If we accept that acquired preferences, expectations and experiences determine perceptions of

music, we must also ask if collective singing taught children and youth to memorize and manifest the patriotic emotions of the FDJ songs.

Youth, singing, and education in the aftermath of 1945

The education of emotions was marked out as a domain in music education for post-war music teachers and musicologists. Collective singing was thus seen as an appropriate means with which to make an impact on the feelings of children and young people. Discussions on emotional education in pedagogical circles went back to the pre-war period and were based on the notion that music pedagogy is a medium of holistic human education that has the potential to shape hearts and minds, working within the framework of ideological concepts of humanity and morality, and leading to the debate on artistic education (*musische Erziehung*), which in an extended sense could be translated as the 'formation of human identities (*Menschenbildung*) through music'.[16] Music was supposed to serve as a key to reaching people's inner core, to educating the emotions.

Music teachers of the post-war period were particularly attached to the ideas of artistic education, as they themselves were socialized with the same methods in the 1920s and 1930s. Newspaper reports, memoirs and pamphlets for teachers and youth group leaders all insisted that collectively singing newly composed songs was to play a key role in the education of children and young people. 'Ultimately, we want to form people for whom the ideal of peaceful work and cooperative competition within the framework of the family of the peoples of the world is the highest ideal', states a pamphlet from the Institute for Music Education in the Pedagogical Faculty of the Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg. 'In order to attain this grand aim, all educational means are necessary, both the understanding and the soul.'[17]

The idea that collective singing could form a collective emotional style was not only important for the socialist education agenda. Debates in pedagogical circles revolved around concrete efforts to revive young people's joy for life. 'Singing is an immediate human expression. It expresses emotional impulses and improves one's attitude towards life', claims an early syllabus from 1946.[18] The artistically educated teachers were convinced that singing had a therapeutic function, that it would bring joy, and that it would make children happy and young people strong and hopeful. Song was seen as a singularly effective medium to make the young generation enthusiastic. 'If the leader of the pioneers participates with joy and enthusiasm, then his song will carry the others along.'[19]

At the same time, singing had another decisive function: socialist spokespeople claimed that it would be capable of forming communities. 'Music expresses deep feelings and emotions and unifies singers and listeners in a common experience. It makes life more beautiful, brings joy, chases off worry and summons up fight.'[20]

Music educators promoted two ways of establishing collective singing in the socialist educational programme, both in school curricula and in the FDJ. First, they deployed notions of the emotional impact of music and its community-building powers in order to integrate music into the debate about the properly holistic education of 'socialist personalities'.[21] Music textbooks were thus supposed to serve as devices used to inculcate socialist values and feelings, which for their part served as 'an orientation towards peace and understanding among the peoples of the world, enthusiasm for the people's struggle for freedom, for the struggle for the unity of Germany; an education oriented towards a new work ethic, and the development of positive, honest, humane feelings'.[22] Values and feelings were thus strongly dependent on emotional participation and conviction.

Second, collective singing found its place in socialist educational programmes due to dire material circumstances: destroyed schools or school buildings without heating, overcrowded classes with pupils of all ages and a lack of suitable teachers (that is, sufficiently trained teachers without a Nazi past). Pupils suffered hunger and lacked clothing and shoes, as well as having to care for their decimated families and struggle in order to obtain the most basic provisions. Music education did not initially take place in school classes, but was instead carried out in the FDJ. Whereas music as a subject had to compete against core subjects in the school curriculum, collectively singing newly composed songs was a fixed part of leisure activities in the Free German Youth and of daily life in society, beginning with the first anti-fascist committees in the summer of 1945. Bringing up young people who embodied the attitudes of 'joy and jolliness', especially through collective singing, was one of the first tasks of the new youth organization. Youth functionaries persistently attempted to recruit young people with activities like sports, sewing (for girls), reading groups, dance (in newly refurbished clubhouses) and singing. A call for new members explicitly stated that:

> Girls and boys will no longer stomp the stepping stones straight, marching hand in hand, but will move through our homeland like once upon a time, singing and wearing colourful clothes. They won't growl out bloodthirsty songs, but will sing the old folk tunes or the

> songs of struggle that speak of a better future of people living in freedom. Boys and girls will dance the old folk dances, just as they bring every nation into the beat, according to their own style and rhythm.[23]

Despite the stated break with the past, the anti-fascist youth committees and the FDJ were able to use the Hitler Youth's structures and the experience of its leaders. This becomes clear when one considers the story of the young composer Siegfried Köhler (1927–1984). Köhler grew up in Meißen in a music-loving family.[24] At the age of ten, he began taking piano lessons. At 14, he began his first compositions and, beginning in 1943, he led the student ensemble at his high school. Significantly, he was also head of the Bannspielschar Meißen 208 (the Bannspielschar was a type of band organized by the Hitler Youth).[25] In the early summer of 1944, he toured Saxon villages with this band. They sang in hospitals as well as for soldiers and villagers. The group's collective diary shows that the repertoire of the Bannspielschar band was exclusively made up of folk songs old and new, among them Köhler's compositions. The joyful songs of the Hitler Youth's choirs contained nothing about the war or about National Socialist ideology. In the autumn of 1945, the Soviet secret police (NKVD) suspected Köhler of belonging to the Werewolf Organization. He was thus arrested and interned in Special Camp Number Four in Bautzen. Suffering from tuberculosis, the 19 year old was released in June 1946.[26] His diaries show that after his release he continued to compose songs and lead his old band, but now for the newly established FDJ. The new group's repertoire remained the same: 'harmless' folk songs and hiking songs. The only difference was that they no longer sang for soldiers and the wounded, but for factory workers and at communist party meetings and FDJ assemblies. Throughout his life, Köhler hid his arrest by the Soviet secret police; despite the arrest, he had a successful career as one of the most significant personalities in the musical life of the GDR. In the autumn of 1946, he began to study music at the *Staatliche Akademie für Musik und Theater* in Dresden (today the *Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber Dresden*), and in 1955, he was awarded his doctorate in Leipzig. By 1974, he had written his *Habilitation* in Halle (Saale). He held multiple leading roles in the most important groups and organizations. He became rector of the *Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber Dresden* in 1968, holding the office until 1980 and continuing his work as professor of composition. In 1978, he was one of the founding members of the Dresden Music Festival. In 1984, he became intendant of the Saxon State Theatre

(*Semperoper*) in Dresden, holding the post until his sudden death in the same year.[27]

Köhler's example demonstrates how pragmatism and accommodation determined the life of young people in the Soviet Occupation Zone. His past as a Hitler Youth leader was apparently an insignificant matter for the FDJ. More important was his experience of working with youth organizations, even if the political goals were completely contradictory to those of the occupying authorities. This was one reason for the relatively quick and successful development of youth organizations after the war. The FDJ nonetheless seemed to have a certain attraction that could not simply be reduced to its monopolizing force, and this despite the scepticism young people held towards political efforts in the post-war period.[28] Thus, in 1948 in the eastern part of Germany (with the exception of Berlin), about 17 per cent of those between the ages of 14 and 25 joined the FDJ of their own free will.[29] I argue that this attraction to the FDJ could be seen in the organization's offer of a positive, distracting and therefore healing emotion, the offer of belonging to a new, future-oriented emotional community.

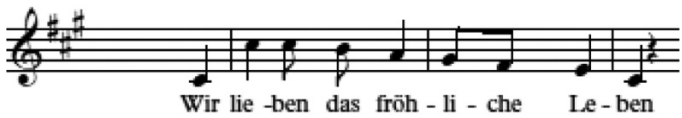
The offer of 'joy and jolliness'

The young Siegfried Köhler made a name for himself by composing two songs which were very popular immediately after the war, and which would be sung for decades by children and young people in the Soviet Occupation Zone and the GDR: 'Jugend heraus' ('Youth, Set Forth!) and 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag' ('Today is a Beautiful Day').[30] They were popular because they offered the emotional style required by socialist pedagogues: catchy, upbeat odes to a hopeful, joyful era. They are about children and young people in good moods, cheerfully and confidently looking into the future: 'our hearts are as free as the larks high above/And our song resonates brightly, joyfully, raised above all cares'.[31] 'Jugend heraus', beginning with its declaration that 'we love the joyous life', apparently served as a motto for Köhler, a motto that corresponded – by no means merely by chance – with the educational agenda of the first communist youth organizations in the Soviet Occupation Zone. These two songs belong to the musical landscape of the decade after the war. Children and young people learned them at school and sang them at the meetings of the FDJ during field trips and during school festivities right up until the 1980s.[32]

These two songs were nothing exceptional in the Soviet Occupation Zone. New songs for children and young people were composed with

astonishing speed in the first decade after the war. These songs prophesied the vision of a joyfully singing and optimistic generation, with fast rhythms and melodies that could be quickly and easily learned. Up to the mid-1950s, more than 120 new songs appeared in the songbooks and music textbooks in the Soviet Occupation Zone.[33] These new songs were composed by musicians like Köhler, by music teachers or at the behest of the Commission for Music Education of the Central Office for the People's Education. At the Commission, musicologists and music pedagogues discussed which songs were appropriate for the prescribed educational goals.[34] The songs that found their way into the songbooks and textbooks tell of the work of building up a new socialist Germany. They call for a strong and progressive new youth; they sing about love of the homeland, peace, friendship and solidarity; or they thematize everyday life, the duties and joys of the pioneers and members of the FDJ. The songs, often paired with colourful illustrations, such as that in Figure 10.1, praise happy children and young people, and make claims about vitality, drive and dedication.

Whilst 'Jugend heraus' belonged to the FDJ repertoire, 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag' was considered to be a folk song, learned by children at school and sung often. A closer look at the composition of 'Jugend heraus' reveals a confident, assertive, proudly forward marching mood. The prevailing goal seems to have been to make children and young people active. Large interval leaps, such as the octaves at the beginning of this phrase, refer to keywords: *wir lieben* (we love), *wir wollen* (we want), *wir folgen* (we follow), *wir brechen mi*t (we break) and *wir ballen die Kräfte zusammen* (we come together).



Typical rhythmic phrases punctuating fourths and octaves stand for an assertive self-consciousness. The homophonic polyvocality in the phrase 'Jugend heraus! Wir sind bereit!' ('Youth, set forth! We are ready!') undergirds the character of the call and underlines the idea of a strong, rousing collective. Drive, vitality, and dedication make up the central message of the song, whose simultaneous agent and addressee are the youths themselves. It offers and calls for a positive orientation towards the future, an active forward-pressing movement. Young people are

Figure 10.1 Cover of the songbook: Zentralrat der Freien Deutschen Jugend, Abt. Junge Pioniere (ed.), *Wir singen neue Lieder* (Berlin: Junge Welt, 1952)

primarily described in their youth, and thus innocence, as struggling for a new life and a new era.

Köhler deployed similar means of composition in his folk song-like hiking song 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag'. Octaves emphasize central words: *Tag* (day), *Sonne* (sun), *schön* (beautiful), *leuchtend* (light), *frei* (free) and *hoch* (high). There are also phrases that receive rhythmic emphasis through punctuation, such as: *wunderschön* (beautiful), *lockende Ferne* (enticing distance), *die Wolken* (the clouds), *die Herzen so frei* (the hearts so free), *jubelt* (jubilating) and *froh* (happy). As opposed to 'Jugend heraus', this song is entirely polyvocal and primarily homophonic. Further, in contrast to 'Jugend heraus', a definite agent and addressee are lacking, as is a clear ideological agenda. For this reason, it could have functioned well both for the Hitler Youth singing organization and those of the FDJ. It was well known and sung often in the decade after the war as it stood for a desirable emotional style: happiness and cheerfulness. Doubt, anxiety and foot-dragging were nowhere to be found in the new songs for children and young people. The songs say nothing of the past, but focus on the present and on a desirable future.

Readily apparent in these songs is an obligation to be happy. The stereotypical claim to, and call for, an easy, cheerful youth looking confidently into the future was a constitutive part of the deep emotional connection to the homeland and the state, which offered the space where this happiness could be actualized. That cheerfulness and vitality could be promised in abundance in a song was a widely held opinion amongst contemporaries. In 1952, Hermann Mattern – a member of the Politbüro of the Central Committee of the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany – gave the Young Pioneers in Dresden a task: 'but I don't want to forget to tell you all that you should be happy and cheerful. A real Young Pioneer should always have a cheerful song on his lips'.[35]

The discursive demand for joy and happiness was significant for several reasons. First, the imperative of 'joy and jolliness' was an important part of the vision of a socialist utopia, found in Soviet pedagogical discourses of the 1920s and 1930s, and later influencing East German pedagogical discourse. Second, the vigour that functionaries laid claim to was intended to act as a distraction from negative experiences of the war and the post-war period. It was supposed to give the younger generation a feeling of security and belonging in a newly established community. And, third, happily singing children in the Soviet Occupation Zone presented a picture to Western societies completely opposed to that of the Western Occupation Zones, where young people were presented as apathetic and disillusioned.

In the vision of a socialist utopia, the imperative to be joyful played an important role. Differing from the experience of individual happiness in America, which according to Peter Stearns was supposed to serve as a basis for personal success,[36] the experience of happiness in socialism was a collective affair.[37] In Soviet politics, young generations were bound up in a narrative of happiness: 'happiness was children's essential condition, a dogma that remained undisputed throughout the Soviet period'.[38] Happy children were supposed to symbolize the superiority of the system. They were depicted as a 'demonstration of righteousness'. The public presentation of happy children 'was thus not only (or even mainly) a goal of Soviet culture, it was a legitimating sacred value'.[39] The state could present itself as guarantor of the happiness of joyful children, as a father figure who looked after the fortune of his family. The goal of this paternalistic schema was to integrate the younger generation into a new social concept. The first President of the GDR, Wilhelm Pieck, thus assumed the image of a (grand)fatherly patron. The strategy of deploying joy and jolliness to integrate the young generation into socialist visions had two decisive advantages. First, by way of this paternalistic gesture, the state was able to imbue the younger generation with a sense of obligation, insofar as the latter were supposed to feel grateful for what was offered to them. The collective happiness that was promised to members of the socialist utopia was thus made into something that the younger generation should be willing to defend. Conversely, the ability to direct young people's emotions would make them easier to discipline. Emotions like gratefulness and trust were thus supposed to create proximity between the new social system and the new youth. This proximity in turn made the state's goal of surveillance easier to execute.

The imperative of joy and jolliness can be traced back to the 'moral of joyfulness'. Around 1920, the Magdeburg publisher Emil R. Müller published a book of his own writings, *Sonnige Jugend: Festgedanken und Feierstunden* (*Sunny Youth: Celebration Ideas and Festivals*). The first chapter was entitled 'Die Moral der Fröhlichkeit' ('The Morality of Joyfulness'). Müller, who came from a working-class family, highlighted the significance of the 'joyful approach to life' in transmitting socialist ideas.[40] According to him, it is precisely this joyful approach to life that distinguishes 'weak striving' from 'powerful straining towards a strong humanity filled with camaraderie'.[41] In the first chapter of *Sonnige Jugend*, Müller developed an important connection between camaraderie and joyfulness. According to him, joyfulness strengthens camaraderie and can even be seen as a condition for it. Feeling happiness and

joyfulness thus goes hand in hand with the feeling of belonging to a community. He depicted happiness as the emotional glue binding a functioning community together. The text thus makes clear that the dictum to be jolly and joyful had its roots both in the older generation's projection of particular wishes onto the younger generation and in the political programme of socialist morality. An apathetic and disillusioned youth did not fit the emotion-laden image of the standard bearers of hope. For the older generation, joyfulness seemed necessary to the transformation of young people's desires into a motor for progress and social development.

The stereotypical cheerfulness, the feeling of being happy, the forward-pressing drive and the demand for a future-oriented trust can all be interpreted against this background as the emotional opposite of the presentation of post-war youth in the media of the Western Occupied Zones. The Berlin daily paper *Der Telegraf*, for example, claimed that the German youth had a 'confused, distrustful spirit', which could only be pulled out of the 'lethargy of the vacuum left behind by the loss of a worldview' with difficulty.[42] Public opinion in the Western Occupied Zones often saw German youth as being apathetic, disillusioned and overburdened with guilt. The youth in the Soviet Occupation Zone, apparently singing about their new homeland with a spirit of cheer, thus visibly and audibly demonstrated the success of the youth leaders in their attempts to win the youth over to the idea of a socialist Germany. These young people, filled with vitality and drive, were thus supposed to be visible, audible evidence for the socialist system's superiority over neighbouring West Germany.

Learning how to feel

With his songs 'Jugend heraus' and 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag', Siegfried Köhler composed so-called *Massenlieder*, a type of political song prevalent in socialist countries. The clear, full musical structure of the songs is readily apparent, as are the simple rhythm and melody. 'The effectiveness on the masses', wrote the music scholar Inge Lammel, results from the songs' 'direct influence on the feelings, thoughts and actions of many people'. As such, these songs motivated people to 'actively participate' in the 'new duties'.[43] How can one determine if there was a correlation between the emotions proclaimed in the songs, 'active participation' and the actual feelings of children and young people? Is it possible to make such a determination?

A closer look at the actual practice of collective singing supports the hypothesis that singing was a practice intentionally geared towards a

socialist education. The presumption that song had an influence on feelings and actions can also be found in a 1947 issue of daily newspaper *Neues Deutschland* (*New Germany*), which reported on the Second Youth Parliament in Meißen, an event whose mood reverberated in song:

> An unforgettable image, as the first ones with their blue FDJ flags stepped through the Gothic gate, spectrally lighted by countless torches. The endless line marches through the tiny streets between the cramped frame houses of a past era over to the great wide Elbe Bridge: 'Jugend heraus!' is the song heard through the streets, and there is hardly a German boy or girl who would not have joined this march.[44]

This description of young people marching, along with the central ideas – torches, flags, gothic, singing, German boys and girls – is reminiscent of the marches of National Socialist youth organizations. Nevertheless, these parallels, so readily apparent to today's observer, were not reflected on at all by contemporaries. One reason for this is that the GDR defined itself as an anti-fascist state; the state's founders insisted on having actively fought against fascism. Contemporaries saw no need to justify the similarity of post-war and pre-war youth organizations, their ideological objectives being so clearly disparate from one another. More generally, these practices of community formation have their origins in nineteenth-century workers' clubs and societies. They were and still are in use in different historical and cultural contexts.[45] Nonetheless, the young people who marched and sang in Meißen in 1947 were by no means unfamiliar with the emotionally charged nature of a torch march. In years past, they were supposed to have already learned to feel senses of belonging, strength and superiority in such situations. The FDJ appropriated these rituals for itself – rituals that went far back into the pre-war era – and filled them with its own ideological ideas and emotions.

The newspaper article stated that there were hardly any German boys or girls who would not have taken part in the collective march through Meißen's historic district, and thus attributed a special emotional effect to it. The emotional power of the scene was to be found in the totality of the setting, which was marked by collective singing as well as by torches and marching. Collective song, constructed with the synchronization of movement in a marching rhythm, contributed to the mobilization of emotions.[46] A 'musical community' was present here, defined as 'collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or

performances … socially and/or symbolically constituted' giving rise 'to real-time social relationships' existing 'in the realm of a virtual setting or in the imagination'.[47] One can also speak, after Barbara Rosenwein, of an 'emotional community'.[48] McNeill and Shelemay correctly point out that such communities not only have the function of the 'Consolidation of subgroups',[49] but also that they mark the boundaries of what can be felt and heard. Only those young people who sang, marched and thus felt the same emotions belonged to the collective. It is nonetheless remarkable that the young people marching through Meißen not only demarcated the boundaries of belonging, but also invited the spectators to join them.

Is it possible to learn emotions through music, stimulated again and again through the repetition of the same music in similar situations? We might interpret group singing as an 'emotive', a special kind of emotional expression that is understood as 'an attempt to call up the emotion that is expressed … [as] an attempt to feel what one says one feels'.[50] This dynamic relationship between utterances and felt emotions is encapsulated in the performative act of collective singing. The political significance of such acts occurs with regard to communities, which 'have a huge stake in how people habitually use "emotives"'.[51] Following this argument, I would describe collective singing – particularly when combined with marching, which was a standard feature in socialist mass festivities – as a powerful ritual through which emotional ideals and norms are inculcated. They are powerful in that they engage the 'mindful body' through repetitious singing and marching and affect it through textual expression together with musical expression. Youth in Meißen in 1947 not only asserted cheerfulness, drive and confidence through their singing – they could also have been powerfully affected by the emotions they sang and performed. In this way, feelings could be translated into concrete action: joining the FDJ and actively supporting the youth organization's goals, for instance. However, they could also fail. Collective singing, seen as an *emotive*, manifests the emotions called for and intensifies them, while others – such as doubt, anxiety and sadness – could be hidden and regulated. As already stated, a repertoire of songs was established in the GDR with specific motives in mind, and practices of singing were consciously staged. Thus, one can speak of an intentional politics of 'emotives'. The goal was clearly to construct feelings that conformed with the socialist project, such as joy, cheerfulness, drive and dedication, and finally to define and instrumentalize the desires of the youth. The risk of failure was implicit, as Reddy maintains: 'These attempts [to call up the emotion that is expressed] usually

work, but they can and do fail.'[52] It is conceivable that the emotions in the songs remained in the words, having no further influence on those singing and listening.

Conclusion

Whether the education of emotions through music was successful or not cannot clearly be answered, but the sources offer evidence that the education of young people and their integration into various visions of the future had a strong correspondence with the activation of their emotions. In conclusion, I would like to emphasize three observations on the importance of collective singing as a strategy for educating emotions in the time period examined here.

In the post-war years and later in the GDR, politicians tried to integrate emotional education into schools as well as into the centrally organized youth organizations. Furthermore, they tried to enhance this education by identifying all visions of the future with visions of the socialist Utopia. This resulted in an 'educational dictatorship', as historian Dorothee Wierling has pointed out.[53] After a decade of optimism regarding the success of the education of emotions, the mood turned to disappointment, and the GDR ultimately pursued a policy of surveillance and aggression against divergent adolescent behaviour. The 'emotives' discussed above must have failed, at least in part, or they must have only had a short-term effect. The system was unable to refresh the desirable 'emotives' for the new era of the 1960s. It lost power over the younger generation, which went on to develop its own emotional style – in music and songs, for instance – which became an increasingly stronger marker of young people's identity.[54]

The endeavours to create appropriate new songs were remarkable. As I have shown, the so-called mass songs obviously had the potential to communicate moods in specific situations, such as socialist mass festivities. Collective singing in this particular case not only underlines the internal consciousness of belonging to a strong group, but also externally demonstrates fortitude and purposefulness, combined with the offer of a utopian dream as 'an image of . . . a better world'.[55] The new youth organization's activities – along with its vision of socialist feelings – were strongly related to an optimistic outlook on life, full of joy, happiness and satisfaction. For their part, these emotions were seen as gratification for belonging to the new, brave and strong youth that loved its homeland and aimed to build it anew. This could be interpreted as an attempt at healing emotions after the devastating experiences of the

war; a way out into the future, which necessitated the suppression of the past.

Notes

1. Fritz Domann, 'Die Stimme der Jugend', *Volkszeitung: Organ der KPD für die Provinz Sachsen* (27 August 1945), 3.
2. Henry J. Kellermann, *The Present Status of German Youth*, Department of State Publications 2583 (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1946); Karl-Heinz Füssl, *Die Umerziehung der Deutschen: Jugend und Schule unter den Siegermächten des Zweiten Weltkriegs 1945–1955*, 2nd edn (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1995), 103–119; Michael Buddrus, 'A Generation Twice Betrayed: Youth Policy in the Transition from the Third Reich to the Soviet Zone of Occupation (1945–1946)', in Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany 1770–1968* (Cambridge University Press, 1995), 247–268; Rolf Schörken, *Die Niederlage als Generationserfahrung: Jugendliche nach dem Zusammenbruch der NS-Herrschaft* (Weinheim: Juventa, 2004).
3. Perry Biddiscombe: *The Last Nazis: SS Werewolf Guerrilla Resistance in Europe 1944–1947* (New York: History Press, 2013).
4. Jürgen Reulecke, 'Jugend und Jugendpolitik im mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Kontext der Nachkriegszeit in Westdeutschland', in Ulrich Herrmann (ed.), *Jugendpolitik in der Nachkriegszeit: Zeitzeugen, Forschungsberichte, Dokumente* (Weinheim: Juventa, 1993), 75–90, here 87.
5. Reulecke, 'Jugend und Jugendpolitik im mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Kontext', 81.
6. See Leonore Ansorg, *Kinder im Klassenkampf: Die Geschichte der Pionierorganisation von 1948 bis Ende der fünfziger Jahre* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1997); Alan McDougall, *Youth Politics in East Germany: The Free German Youth Movement 1946–1968* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004); Alan L. Nothnagle, *Building the East German Myth: Historical Mythology and Youth Propaganda in the German Democratic Republic, 1945–1989* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Buddrus, 'Generation Twice Betrayed'.
7. Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2011), 103, 104.
8. Zentralrat der Freien Deutschen Jugend, 'Aufruf an die deutsche Jugend zum 1. Mai: "Seid Bannerträger einer neuen Zeit!"', *Junge Welt* 1 (16 April 1947), 1.
9. Freie Deutsche Jugend, Landesleitung Sachsen (ed.), *Grundrechte der jungen Generation* (Dresden: Sachsenverlag, 1946), 5
10. Terms taken from P. Buchholz, 'Alles wirkliche Leben entfaltet sich in der Gemeinschaft', *Neues Leben: Zeitschrift der Freien Deutschen Jugend* 1 (1945), 2; 'Junge Welt am Mikro: Ausschnitte von den Feierlichkeiten aus Anlaß der Namensgebung für die Jugendhochschule "Wilhelm Pieck" der Zentralschule der FDJ am Bogensee, 14.09.1950', Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Potsdam (DRA), no. 38.
11. Zygmunt Bauman, *Socialism: The Active Utopia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1976), 17.
12. Zentralrat der Freien Deutschen Jugend (ed.), *Handbuch des Pionierleiters* (Berlin: Neues Leben, 1952), 523.

13. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51(2) (2012), 193–220, here 209. See further the Introduction to this book.
14. 'Hausherren der nächsten 50 Jahre . . . die Bürger des künftigen sozialistischen Deutschlands', as stated in 'Der Jugend Vertrauen und Verantwortung: Kommuniqué des Politbüros des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands zu Problemen der Jugend in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik', *Neues Deutschland* 18(259) (21 September 1963), 1–3, here 2.
15. Juliane Brauer, '"Mit neuem Fühlen und neuem Geist": Heimatliebe und Patriotismus in Kinder- und Jugendliedern der frühen DDR', in David Eugster and Sibylle Marti (eds), *Das Imaginäre des Kalten Krieges: Beiträge zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Ost-West-Konfliktes in Europa* (Essen: Klartext, 2015), 163–186.
16. Fritz Seidenfaden, *Die musische Erziehung in der Gegenwart und ihre geschichtlichen Quellen und Voraussetzungen* (Ratingen: Henn, 1962), 149. The term 'artistic' education (*musische Erziehung*) was coined at the end of the 1920s by the sociologist Hans Freyer in *Über die ethische Bedeutung der Musik* (Wolfenbüttel: G. Kallmeyer, 1928).
17. *Denkschrift des Instituts für Musik-Erziehung an der Pädagogischen Fakultät der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg* (1950), 31, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, DR 2, 5972.
18. Deutsche Zentralverwaltung für Volksbildung in der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands, *Lehrpläne für die Grund- und Oberschulen in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands: Kunst- und Musikunterricht* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1 July 1946), 22.
19. Zentralrat der Freien Deutschen Jugend, *Handbuch des Pionierleiters*, 533.
20. Zentralrat der Freien Deutschen Jugend, *Handbuch des Pionierleiters*, 533.
21. Sieglinde Siedentop, *Musikunterricht in der DDR: Musikpädagogische Studien zu Erziehung und Bildung in den Klassen 1 bis 4* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2000).
22. E.H. Meyer and E. Ichenhäuser, *Grundsätze für Musikschulbücher* (1948), 24, Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, DR 2, 535.
23. Antifaschistisches Jugendkomitee Magdeburg, 'Magdeburg ruft seine Jugend', *Volkszeitung: Organ der KPD für die Provinz Sachsen* (25 August 1945), 3.
24. All information on Siegfried Köhler is taken from his estate as well as from Dieter Härtwig, 'Köhler, Siegfried', in Institut für Sächsische Geschichte und Volkskunde e. V. (ed.), *Sächsische Biografie*, revised by Martina Schattkowsky, www.isgv.de/saebi (date accessed 8 October 2014).
25. 'Zur Person, Schreiben vom Juni 1942', *Nachlass Siegfried Köhler*, Saxon State and University Library Dresden (SLUB), Kapsel 64.
26. See the estate of Siegfried Köhler in the Saxon State and University Library Dresden.
27. See Härtwig, 'Köhler, Siegfried'.
28. Alan McDougall, 'A Duty to Forget? The "Hitler Youth Generation" and the Transition from Nazism to Communism in Postwar East Germany, c.1945–49', *German History* 26(1) (2008), 24–46, esp. 37–38.

29. Edeltraud Schulze and Gert Noack (eds), *DDR-Jugend: Ein statistisches Handbuch* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), 158.
30. Köhler had already composed the song 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag' by the end of 1944. It was one of his Bannspielschar's favourite songs. But in the songbooks of the Soviet Occupation Zone and the GDR, it was always listed as having been composed in 1945. He revised the music of the song 'Jugend heraus' for the 1947 Second Parliament of Youth in Meißen.
31. 'Uns sind die Herzen so frei wie die Lerche hoch da droben. Und hell klingt unser Lied dabei, froh, aller Sorgen enthoben' (second verse of 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag').
32. 'Wir lieben das fröhliche Leben' was the title of a FDJ event in 1986 in the Palace of the Republic, which was named after the opening line of the song 'Jugend voraus'. 'Heut ist ein wunderschöner Tag' already belonged to the repertoire of folk songs. It can thus be found, for instance, in the songbook: Touristenverein Naturfreunde Österreich, *Wir lieben das Leben: Liederbuch der Naturfreunde* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1987), 25.
33. This claim is based on an analysis of 20 songbooks and music textbooks published between 1946 and 1956, although there were actually many more songs.
34. See Brauer, '"Mit neuem Fühlen und neuem Geist"'.
35. Herrmann Mattern, 'Redemanuskript' (1952), *Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Potsdam (DRA)*, DOK 1056.
36. Peter Stearns has established that in America, beginning in the 1930s at the latest, 'cheerfulness' and 'childhood' belonged together, because cheerfulness and happiness in childhood translated into success in adult life; see Peter N. Stearns, 'Defining Happy Childhoods: Assessing a Recent Change', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3(2) (2010), 165–186, esp. 173–177. See further Ute Frevert, Pascal Eitler, Stephanie Olsen *et al*., *Learning How to Feel: Children's Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (Oxford University Press, 2014), esp. 1–20.
37. Marina Balina and Evgeny Dobrenko (eds), *Petrified Utopia: Happiness Soviet Style* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), xv–xvi.
38. Catriona Kelly, 'A Joyful Soviet Childhood: Licensed Happiness for Little Ones', in Marina Balina and Evgeny Dobrenko (eds), *Petrified Utopia: Happiness Soviet Style* (London: Anthem Press, 2011), 3–18, here 8.
39. Kelly, 'Joyful Soviet Childhood', 9.
40. E.R. Müller: *Sonnige Jugend: Festgedanken und Feierstunden* (Berlin: Vorwärts, 1920), 3.
41. Müller, *Sonnige Jugend*, 3.
42. O.H. Hess, 'Jugend und Sozialismus', *Der Telegraf* (18 May 1946), not paginated.
43. Inge Lammel, 'Das Arbeiterlied', in Rüdiger Sell (ed.), *Kleine Liedkunde: Volkslied, Arbeiterlied, Chormusik, Pionierlied, Jugendlied, Sololied, Chanson, Singebewegung* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1988), 45–68, here 68.
44. Klaus, 'Der Fackelzug', *Neues Deutschland* 2(122) (29 May 1947), 3.
45. See Chapter 11.
46. William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 51–52.

47. Kay Kaufman Shelemay, 'Musical Communities: Rethinking the Collective in Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64(2) (2011), 349–390, here 364.
48. See Chapter 2 in this volume.
49. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time*, 52; Shelemay, 'Musical Communities', 363.
50. Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49(2) (2010), 237–265, here 240 (statement by William Reddy).
51. Plamper, 'The History of Emotions', 240 (statement by William Reddy).
52. Plamper, 'The History of Emotions', 240 (statement by William Reddy).
53. Dorothee Wierling, 'Youth as Internal Enemy: Conflicts in the Education Dictatorship of the 1960s', in Katherine Pence and Paul Betts (eds), *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 157–182.
54. See further Juliane Brauer, 'Clashes of Emotions: Punk Music, Youth Subculture, and Authority in the GDR (1978–1983)', *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order* 38(4) (2012), 53–70.
55. Bauman, *Socialism*, 17.

11

Inscribing War Orphans' Losses into the Language of the Nation in Wartime China, 1937–1945

M. Colette Plum

Stand up, stand up!
Children of the ancestral homeland, stand up![1]

These are the opening lyrics to one of the many songs taught to war orphans during China's War against Japan (1937–1945). Orphans in wartime children's homes were organized by teachers and child relief workers to sing patriotic songs collectively, to raise morale and to inspire the children to participate in what was known in China as 'the War of Resistance against Japan'. Orphans also sang patriotic songs on street corners as part of propaganda troops to inspire the masses to participate in the war effort and discourage collaboration with the Japanese. The rest of the lyrics of this particular song call the children to lead one another, hand-in-hand, to the battlefield, to fight the enemy and fight for their future freedom.

The children being rallied to 'stand up' were orphans: children who had been displaced from their primary emotional communities by the contingencies of war and were now being cared for in the newly created communities of wartime children's homes. But they are not called 'orphans' (*gu'er*) in this song, nor are they called 'refugee children' (*nantong*) or simply 'children' (*ertong*). They are 'children of the ancestral homeland' (*zuguo de haizimen*), an appellation used by Nationalist state builders to position orphans as children within an emerging emotional community of 'the family of the nation' and to elicit from them feelings of patriotism and national pride, a sense of obligation towards the nation, a willingness to be led and, above all, a sense of belonging.

Chinese child psychologists and child relief workers – who were agents of Nationalist state building – argued that addressing war orphans with familial terms such as this and the more frequently used term 'children of the *minzu* (national-race)' would help to neutralize any threats familyless children might pose to social stability and direct any 'excessive' rage, fear and grief they felt from their wartime losses into more productive emotions such as loyalty, an eagerness to sacrifice for the nation and ultimately towards revenge against the enemy.

The practice of organizing children into singing groups as a means of encouraging the development of particular emotions expressed in songs was not unique to wartime China. In Chapter 10, which discusses the early years of the German Democratic Republic, Juliane Brauer argues that group singing in socialist youth groups was an 'emotive' – a practice of 'doing' emotions – intentionally encouraged to elicit emotions favourable to the socialist state. Mobilizing war orphans to sing together as 'children of the *minzu*' functioned similarly as an emotive in wartime China, and was one of a set of practices institutionalized in China's wartime children's homes that directed displaced children to experience and express their emotions in new ways that were valued and validated by what became for them a new emotional community replacing the presumably more provincial and self-interested emotional ties they had previously experienced within the families and villages that they had lost. War orphans not only lost families to the travesties of war, but also fled for safety, leaving behind their primary emotional communities of surviving families, villages, neighbourhoods and schools, whose members shared common interests and values. Wartime children's homes were established by the state, whose agents actively sought to reshape the values and goals of children and their caregivers to better meet the goals of nation building.[2]

In order to better understand the diversity of China's emotional communities and how the Nationalist government sought to create a dominant emotional regime, it is first important to understand some key components of China's political and social situation at the time of Japan's invasion that challenged the Nationalist government in terms of forging a unified nation. First, a central aspect of the Nationalist Party's nation-building work prior to the war was establishing its legitimacy to rule the whole of China in the face of rival powers. Prior to Japan's full invasion in June 1937, China had been carved into numerous geopolitical regions with differing local and global interests. These included: treaty port cities occupied by Western imperialist nations; areas under the rule of the Nationalist government; areas controlled by

the Communist Party; and warlord regions. With the Japanese invasion, China's land mass was further divided into occupied areas controlled by Japan and unoccupied areas controlled by any of these other rival powers. Simply put, the Nationalist government was not the sole political and economic power capable of shaping the goals and affections of China's emotional communities.

Second, in addition to China's political factionalism, there was a great deal of cultural and linguistic diversity within what we now think of as the Chinese nation-state. Chinese expressions of attachment to place and community were articulated as feelings of affection for, belonging to and obligations within family, clan, village and region, but not as membership within a nation-state. Thus, a central concern of the Nationalist Party's propaganda machine was to supplant these competing emotional communities and to forge a shared national identity that transcended local interests, establishing the Nationalist Party as the rightful wardens of the national body and an object of loyalty and devotion.

Third, the full force of Japan's invasion of China which commenced in July 1937 was rapid, and utilized weapons technology and psychological tactics never before used against the Chinese population. In just five short months, Japan had successfully taken over all of China's eastern seaboard. Horror stories of the atrocities inflicted by Japanese troops against China's civilian population preceded military offensives and sparked a mass migration of the Chinese population the likes of which had never been seen before in human history.[3] The Nationalist state was thus dealing with a large displaced and floating population of potential citizens who had been severed from their former emotional communities, many of whom had not previously been under the direct rule of the state.

And, finally, the Nationalist government was keenly aware that there were rival political powers vying for the affection and loyalty of the population under its control. The frontlines of the war and the borders demarcating Nationalist, Japanese and Communist-held territories were continually shifting during the war such that spying and collaboration with 'the enemy' were a constant concern to Nationalist leaders. In occupied territories, the Japanese ruled via collaborationist regimes and enlisted the assistance of Chinese elites. Fearing the possibility of such collaborations, the Nationalist wartime propaganda machine worked exhaustively to elicit loyalty from the Chinese population, inspire the masses to sacrifice for the war effort and be on the watch for traitors and collaborators. All Chinese, including children, were viewed as possible traitors who might collaborate with either the Japanese or

the Communists, and who were in need of induction into the national body.

An essential piece of this nation-building work was replacing the affections and bonds that had been experienced within pre-war emotional communities with affections and bonds in newly created communities that were idealized as microcosms of the 'family of the nation'. Stearns and Stearns' concept of emotionology is useful for understanding the nation-building work that occurred with the state's restructuring of emotional communities. Emotionology is defined as an emotional standard being imposed by a dominant power, in part, via institutions.[4] In the case of wartime China, affection for 'the family of the nation' was a critical emotional standard imposed by the Nationalist state and its elite propaganda and policy shapers. This chapter examines one of the new communities where this emotional standard was cultivated: wartime children's homes, which were organized to address the needs of the large population of Chinese children who were separated from their families during the Japanese invasion. War orphans – lacking family ties and available for appropriation by the Japanese, the Communists and the Nationalists – became special targets for institutionalization. Orphans, displaced from family and regional ties and desperate for care, were deemed especially dangerous to social stability and at risk of becoming traitors or collaborators with the enemy, whether the enemy was the Japanese or the Communists.

This chapter argues that childcare and relief workers attempted to mitigate the perceived risks to social stability and nation building posed by family-less children by shaping their emotional experiences. By overwriting orphans' subjective experiences of wartime trauma and narrating these back to children using the language of nationalism, state-builders augmented subjective memories of trauma with collective narratives of national humiliation and suffering. Children's wartime anger, fear and grief were subsequently channelled into wartime propaganda activities in service of the goals of nation building.

Within wartime children's homes, children displaced from their primary emotional communities could be turned into citizens within new communities, with dispositions towards self-sacrifice, loyalty and a willingness to labour that might be mobilized to do the work of the nation. This chapter will first look at how new emotional communities were forged by reframing orphans from objects of pity and distrust to objects of affection and value, worthy of love and resource investment. The chapter then examines how emotional experiences and communities were shaped by child welfare workers within children's homes to better

create the dispositions deemed essential for a modern citizenry. Finally, this chapter argues that orphans forged emotional communities and honed emotional pathways within children's homes that were different from those encouraged by the official emotionology of the 'family of the nation'. Child survivors of war trauma utilized the language of nationalism to articulate more subjective narratives of survival, inclusion and redemption, giving meaning and purpose to their post-war lives.

From children of families to 'children of the *minzu*'

One cannot assume that war orphans will survive without a concerted and organized effort to care for them. Written accounts by relief workers and oral histories of survivors from this period speak of parents and relatives abandoning children on roadsides or throwing children overboard from boats as families escaped with throngs of other refugees.[5] Many children were separated from their families during air raids or ground troop invasions and were never reunited with them. Although some oral history participants who were orphaned during the war tell stories of receiving food from strangers on roadsides, others recount that they wandered about in populated areas for days, starving, before they were given care by formally established relief units.[6]

In the mass migration of refugees that accompanied the Japanese invasion, clusters of displaced and orphaned children on roadsides, bus stations, docks and street corners were a troubling sight to Chinese and international observers reporting on the invasion. There was a great deal of propaganda to convince the public that children were worthy of relief efforts and to then shape caregivers to work for the best interests of displaced children. Child relief leaders believed that both orphans and their relief workers needed to be taught to feel towards one another in family terms in order to ensure the orphans' best possible care. The training of child welfare workers involved nurturing emotional pathways of caregiving that tapped into cultural models of mothering, where caregivers (primarily women) were encouraged to be selfless and devoted to their charges. The trainers of childcare workers repositioned orphans from their previous status as other people's children to their new status as 'the nation's children'.

In her address to childcare workers in 1937, the writer, child relief advocate and head of a wartime children's home Jun Hui (1904–1981) utilized the term 'the nation's children' (*guojia de ertong*) to evoke a sense of selflessness and commitment on the part of childcare workers towards the orphans in their care:

> You should have an attitude of selflessness towards childcare. We are participating in childcare work and nurturing children for the national-race … They are all the nation's children … even if there are differences amongst children … childcare workers should not be partial.[7]

The primary emotional community for most Chinese children and adults in pre-war China was the family. Before the war, there were few cultural models for childcare workers and the public to relate to orphans beyond pity, indifference or suspicion. Child relief leaders who recruited and trained child rescue workers believed that in order to create a shared emotional community of affective ties mirroring those of kinship, the feelings of non-familial caregivers needed to be transformed into feelings of selflessness, commitment and affection. Wartime writings and public speeches attempted to cut against a perceived fear that orphans came from backgrounds that would make them less teachable and hence less valuable to the nation. The discourse created around war orphans attempted to make the reader sympathetic to their plight by eliciting feelings of nurturance and care. Maternal feelings of love and protection were most frequently mentioned, but sibling affections and obligations were also referenced as a way to conjure support for orphans. One article in a publication by the *Association of Jiangsu Province Refugee Committees* argued that safeguarding the 'lifeline of the national-race' (*minzu de mingmai*) meant regarding 'all the nation's children as our own sons and daughters, sisters and brothers and protect them in the same way, because not only are children our own sons and daughters and sisters and brothers, moreover, they are the sons and daughters of the national-race (*minzu*)'.[8]

Chinese child development specialists theorized that it was within families that potential citizens learned affection, loyalty and a sense of obligation within an established hierarchy – all of which could be channelled into loyalty and obligation towards the state. In an essay published in a 1938 collection on how to care for refugee children, Chen Heqin (1892–1982), the founder of child psychology in China, posits that parents are a child's first teachers of patriotism and nationalism: 'Parents should train children to have loving feelings towards others. People will only be able to love society and the nation if they developed loving feelings towards others when they were children.'[9] Deprived of love from family, orphans were at risk of being stunted in their ability to develop a love for the 'family' of the nation.

In the project of creating loyal subjects of the state, the family could also be an impediment to state goals. Families were where children might learn to love, but they were also sites for promoting narrow and selfish interests against the wishes of the state. On the one hand, orphans, being family-*less*, were lacking something of vital importance: without affective ties and a respect for hierarchies that come within filial relations, they might not be loyal or disciplined citizens. On the other hand, being family-*free*, they were manipulable: without the influences of and loyalties to the family, they could be utilized for the national purpose. Ideological work was therefore done to convince the public that children without families, lacking the emotional community of the family, were not as risky as previously perceived.[10]

One way of reframing the war orphan's value was to argue that wartime trauma created a unique emotional experience for orphans – an experience of 'pure hatred' – which would make them even more committed in the war against Japan than adults and which would make them more loyal subjects. Jun Hui argued that war orphans were less selfish and more loyal than adults precisely because of the trauma they had endured, making them a great asset to the nation:

> The artillery fire of the war has taken (today's children of the *minzu*) from schools, from street corners and from their mothers' arms and gathered them together in one place. Transient lives and the enemy's brutality have given them a profound understanding of the meaning of the war, they have more hatred for the enemy in their little pure souls than adults do. Their pursuit of truth and passion for realizing truth is greater than adults, and their individualistic worries are fewer than those of adults.[11]

From Jun Hui's perspective, all that was necessary in order to transform orphans from risks to assets was to give them training that would strengthen their resolve to fight the enemy and engage in the work of state-building: 'With proper training they will display a strength as great as anyone's strength.'[12]

Creating emotional pathways towards a loyal and labouring citizenship

Child relief specialists were at the vanguard in providing the training that would shape new citizens out of orphaned children and ideally transform what Chinese child development experts identified

as excessive feelings of fear, grief and rage into a desire for revenge and feelings of patriotism, loyalty, and a love of labour and enterprise that might better serve the Nationalist state. Wartime children's homes were not only institutions that cared for and protected children made vulnerable by wartime atrocities, they were also institutions for incubating emotional pathways deemed necessary to ensure that these children would be loyal citizens committed to doing the work of the nation.

This section will introduce three categories of practices utilized by child relief workers to shape the emotional experiences of orphans within wartime children's homes. These practices aimed at creating emotional pathways that would support the emotionology of the 'family of the nation' by cultivating patriotism, a strong sense of 'national consciousness' and a willingness to labour and sacrifice for the nation. These categories of practices included: re-exposing children to wartime trauma as a pathway towards a desire for revenge; creating new emotional communities of 'family' as a pathway towards patriotism; and training children to labour as a pathway towards a love for labour, cooperation and enterprise.

From subjective trauma to collective trauma: pathways towards revenge

Oral histories, memoirs, newspaper accounts and reports from child relief organizations reveal particular patterns to the trauma and dislocation that China's war orphans experienced. Many orphans arrived at the relative safety of wartime children's homes in China's unoccupied interior only after long, exhausting and traumatic exoduses from far-flung provinces, travelling for weeks or months on foot, boat and, occasionally, train. Some were survivors many times over, having fled the terror of aerial bombardments with throngs of other refugees, hiding from low-flying fighter planes reported to have strafed the fleeing civilian population with aerial fire; some forded or swam across rivers and streams to find themselves part of a small remainder of survivors standing on the opposite banks, their classmates or family members having drowned in the crossing; some had hidden for days out of fear of approaching ground troops, clustered with strangers in abandoned cellars or caves. Many of these children saw first-hand the carnage of war: the severed limbs of the wounded; the stunned and empty gazes of injured and dying soldiers; the corpses decomposing on the sides of roads.

One of the founding members of the *Wartime Association for Child Welfare*, Xu Jingping, described these children who clustered together in train stations and on street corners:

> Since most of the children were orphans who had lost everything, they had been eating discarded food and fruit rinds from trash-cans and they wore torn and dirty clothing. Some were naked from the waist down, and some children only had gunnysacks draped over their shoulders. At night, if they didn't sleep in some dilapidated temple, they passed the night beneath the eaves of a stranger's home.[13]

The war was not abstract to child survivors. Children's encounters with trauma and death were often personal and intimate: one oral history participant reported that he had climbed from a ditch in Anhui after an aerial bombardment to find his classmates strewn about with severed limbs, leaving him shocked by both the carnage and the fact that he was unable to bury his friends; another woke in the safety of her bed in a children's home, only to find she was sleeping with a corpse, as her bunkmate had died of cholera during the night.[14]

These losses were personal, but they were quickly incorporated by wartime propagandists and child relief workers into a collective national narrative that told the story of a beleaguered and weakened nation that would defy odds and overcome adversity to bring to life a New China. Orphans' subjective experiences of wartime trauma were narrated back to them using the language of nationalism, which augmented their personal memories of trauma with collective images of national humiliation and suffering as well as collective hopes for renewal and redemption.

The goal of infusing children with national and race consciousness appears throughout wartime education journals. For example, in an article on how to implement education for refugee children, one propagandist raised a concern that children in general should be indoctrinated with patriotism and nationalism to prevent their becoming traitors. Such education was carried out with the general public, both children and adults, and was called 'patriotism education' (*guoai zhuyi jiaoyu*) or 'national-race education', (*minzu jiaoyu*), but in wartime children's homes, such education was also termed 'revenge education' (*fuchou zhuyi jiaoyu*), highlighting the need to channel the orphan's potential rage over his or her losses into the more desirable emotion of fervent nationalism and a passion to avenge these losses.

Such training was carried out in children's homes in a variety of ways, the most memorable of which for oral history participants were the Mandarin grammar textbooks and the collective singing of War of Resistance songs. The following two lessons were frequently recited to me from memory by oral history participants and are reprinted in memoirs from this period:

> Lesson One: 'Fire, fire, fire. These fires are set by the Japanese devils.' '火, 火, 火, 东洋鬼子放的火.'
>
> Lesson Two: 'Blood, blood, blood. The blood that is flowing is the Chinese people's blood.' '血,血,血, 中国人民流的血.'

Orphans were frequently assembled to collectively sing songs that mourned the loss of Chinese territory, described Japanese atrocities and national humiliation, and celebrated belonging to the national family and race. They were also assembled to hear reports on wartime political affairs and military manoeuvres, where they were urged to remain ever conscious of the war and what was at stake for the nation.[15] One photo from this period shows a schoolteacher mapping out war manoeuvres on a blackboard.[16] The daily schedules in wartime children's homes also indicate a prioritizing of War of Resistance education. The Wuhan Number One Temporary Children's Home scheduled four hours every afternoon of War of Resistance education that included singing, reports on current events, listening to War of Resistance stories and lessons in first aid.[17]

Not only was resistance ideology inculcated via grammar texts, collective singing and daily lectures, but the very physical space in which children lived and studied was designed to provide them with reminders of the enemy presumed to lurk beyond the institution's walls and deemed responsible for the loss of their families and homes.[18] For example, children in the Wuhan Number One Temporary Children's Home were divided into ten grade levels, and each grade was denoted by one character. The characters, if strung together from the highest grade to the lowest, formed the sentence: 'The War of Resistance will be fought to the end for final victory' (*kang-zhan-dao-di-zheng-qu-zui-hou-sheng-li*).

The classroom walls and layout of the buildings were also designed to bring images of the battlefield into the classroom:

> On the walls of the classrooms were pictures of airplanes and bombs and field artillery, as well as notices for children about education and

> standards for hygiene. And on the two outside walls hung drawings of the enemy massacring children.[19]

Given the circumstances that led war orphans to become wards of the state, they were presumed already to fear the enemy and be eager for protection. But fear was also believed to be accompanied by rage, and the rage of orphans was viewed as something that could either be destructive to nation-building projects or constructive, depending on how it was channelled. The early childhood specialist Lu Zhuanji identified excessive rage as a psychological abnormality in orphans: a symptom of their war trauma. But he also argued that the orphans' rage, if properly channelled by caregivers, could serve to shape the war orphan into a potent tool against the enemy and an asset to the nation:

> During wartime, children suffer from the aggression of the invading enemy, and for this reason they can develop reactions of intense rage. This kind of rage can give rise to a spirit of retribution and revenge and the consciousness of dying for the cause of justice and righteousness. In this case, because it is the invading Japanese who have precipitated the reaction of intense rage in children, the fact is that it is an extremely good teaching opportunity and can increase children's race consciousness and develop children's patriotism . . . We must put children through a process of energetic training, to ensure that children's enraged psyches (*fennu xinli*) gradually transform into the happy and energetic ideology of being patriotic and loyal.[20]

The orphan's rage, if properly channelled, presented an opportunity for orphans to develop consciousness of the national-race and patriotism. But caregivers and propagandists also recognized that the orphan's rage, if fanned and given a public forum for expression, would provide a learning opportunity for the masses. Orphans were not just instilled with War of Resistance messages – they were also expected to play a role in propagandizing the need for resistance to the general population. Wartime newspapers reported stories such as that of the young girl Zhang Xiqiu, who, after a group of war orphans led a crowd of 1,000 spectators in a round of War of Resistance songs, told her story of escape from the enemy. Dressed in the white blouse and blue skirt which were standard issue in children's homes, Zhang reportedly moved the crowd with her words: 'If the Japanese enemy comes to occupy Wuhan, they

will take all of the children they have not yet killed and transport them to Japan, where they will become slaves.'[21]

In recounting her story, Zhang reconfigured her subjective losses of family and home as collective losses of compatriots and nation. The priorities of Nationalist wartime propaganda – the need to rally Chinese on the side of the Nationalists in the battle against Japan – demanded new fears that were incubated in and expressed by war orphans. The official ideology of resistance – circulated in wartime newspapers and in public speeches such as this one – layered a fear of abduction and enslavement onto the fear of bombs and bayonets. There is no historical evidence that Chinese children were abducted, exported to Japan and enslaved there, but such rumours became central in appeals to the population to join the war effort.

Orphans were viewed by the propaganda apparatus as having important symbolic value capable of moving the masses in ways which ordinary citizens and adult refugees could not, precisely because of their subjective vulnerability and their availability for appropriation. In a 1938 essay on how best to recruit women for resistance work, one of the founders of the *Wartime Association for Child Welfare* wrote of the special ability of war orphans to inspire participation:

> Especially organize children's propaganda troops and use their innocent and clever little voices to tell stories about children's calamities and say that they want help to find their paternal and maternal grandmothers and little sisters. Any propaganda group of this kind will be better able to tug at people's heartstrings, particularly women. Not only can this kind of children's propaganda troupe attend every rally, but they should also penetrate deeply into every family.[22]

Children's wartime fear and grief were channelled into wartime propaganda activities in the service of the goals of nation building. These activities included participating in singing troupes and street plays, hanging wall posters that bore witness to wartime trauma and giving testimonials to crowds about the hardships they endured.[23] The dangerous aspects of family-less orphans – whose fear and rage may have led to anti-social behaviour or even collaboration with the enemy – were believed to be mitigated by participation in wartime resistance work. Moreover, their status as war orphans, who had suffered losses presumably directly as a result of the Japanese invasion, gave them powerful

representational value in propagandizing the risks of allying with the enemy and not participating in wartime work.

'We were like one big family'

Childcare and teaching practices in wartime children's homes also tried to remedy the family-less state of orphans by creating alternative families within children's homes, with the aim of cultivating the affective ties and filial practices deemed necessary to develop patriotism. In an oral history, one children's home resident, Sun Xiaotang, recalled a family-like atmosphere where some of her teachers would tuck them in at night and sing songs; others would cook special dishes for picky eaters or for sickly children.[24]

Sun's favourite teacher was her geography teacher, whom she called 'Mama Wang' (*Wang Mama*). Mama Wang was respected as a gifted instructor who reportedly never used corporal punishment to discipline the children, but rather spoke to them with respect and reason. Mama Wang made a point of bringing students into the Wang family home, where they could relax and play in a family atmosphere. But there was something else noteworthy about Mama Wang: 'Mama Wang' was a man. His name was Wang Xuchen, and his wife, 'Li Mama' (*Li Linyun*), also worked at the children's home.

Alumni of children's homes consistently refer to their former teachers and caregivers as 'mama', regardless of the gender of the teacher or caregiver, and alumni of these homes refer to each other by the appropriate sibling terms.[25] One oral history participant stated that there was a saying in his children's home likening the institution to a family: 'The students are like siblings, the teachers are like the parents.'[26] Former children's home residents frequently refer to relations in the children's home as harmonious.[27]

Wartime children's homes also organized the living quarters to provide a home-like atmosphere (*jiatinghua*). Children lived in small units under the care of one adult, where they ideally shared daily household chores and produced food and goods collectively for the group's support.[28] An overview of the Beiquan Loving Children's Home includes a section on 'group living' (*qun*). Children are described as living 'as families do within society', caring for one another and helping out with such tasks as washing clothes, cooking, tending domestic animals, sewing and mending, and cutting each other's hair. Each day, after classes, the children were divided into groups of elder siblings and younger siblings in order to help each other with these tasks.[29] These family groups are

described as being a loving place where children could talk caringly with one another and participate in activities together.[30]

Children's homes offered Nationalist state builders an opportunity to create idealized emotional communities that were modelled after the ideal Chinese family system, viewed as a microcosm of a well-functioning state. In this system, affective ties within established hierarchies clearly defined the obligations and expectations of all members, who were motivated to work for the good of the collective. Wartime children's homes also offered Nationalist state builders the opportunity to encourage emotional experiences that mitigated against any narrow, tribal interests that might result from strong family attachments. Within wartime children's homes, the children were encouraged to make sacrifices for the nation and gain pleasure from hard work that would benefit the family of the children's home and ultimately the family of the nation.

Cultivating a love for labour

Education and training in children's homes capitalized on the familyless status of orphans, inculcating a level of self-sufficiency and commitment to production that would benefit the greater collective over the family collective – goals deemed absent in traditional Chinese family child-rearing practices. 'Labour education' (*laodong jiaoyu*) and 'production training' (*shengchan xunlian*) aimed to instil in orphans a 'love for labour' and a 'spirit of hard work', as well as a willingness to endure hardship without complaint (*keku nailao*).[31]

Labour activities made up the core of the daily schedule in wartime children's homes. In many institutions, the curriculum was structured with one-quarter of the time spent in classroom learning and the rest of the day devoted to various manual labour and agricultural activities.[32] Orphans participated in labour activities that required repetitive motion, technical skills and the ability to focus for long stretches of time, such as making straw sandals and weaving textiles.[33] Children also made cotton shoes – worn by students and staff, and sold on the local market – wove blankets and socks, and made rattan articles, tofu and lithographs.[34]

In a training manual for child welfare workers, one children's home director, Ma Beigong, pointed out that children originally did farm work in the fields 'to help their fathers and older brothers'. But he went on to argue that children are capable of more than agricultural labour and should be taught skills in handicraft production, wood working,

printmaking, cooking, textile production, blanket weaving, and anything else that might be considered 'arduous', but would help fight the enemy and build the nation. He also argued that such work would teach orphans to be self-sufficient, habituate them towards labour and teach them to cooperate with others.[35]

Child development specialists also believed that by engaging orphans in work, they could prevent 'excessive grief' from becoming a psychological abnormality that might impede orphans from carrying out tasks and being 'enterprising humans'. Lu Zhuanji encouraged caregivers not to allow children to waste their time grieving: 'Isn't it enough that their own bodies have experienced tragedies? But the dead are dead, and calamities are calamities. Not only is excessive grief useless for carrying out tasks, it can also harm your own good fortune.'[36] Lu prescribes constant activity, especially work, as a means of preventing children from feeling 'lonely' or 'bored' and thus heading off excessive grief.

During a time in which the Chinese state was marshalling all citizens to participate in nation-building work and productive activity, orphans' work within children's homes was thus viewed as an important practice for fostering a love for labour and a spirit of cooperation, as well as a means of preventing idleness and a lack of enterprise. Although child welfare workers justified orphans' labour in children's homes by comparing these production practices with children's work on family farms and within family handicraft industries, the goals of this labour were different from the seemingly provincial goals of family profit: to discourage emotions that might lead to inactivity or resistance; and to encourage emotions that would lead to cooperation, self-sacrifice and productivity for the nation.

Emotional communities and pathways towards redemption

Despite the many practices that aimed at creating emotional communities that mirrored those of an idealized Chinese family, orphans in children's homes still yearned for their families of origin. Wei Yongli tells of running away multiple times in search of his family, only to be returned to the children's home each time.[37] No attempts were made to keep surviving siblings together in children's homes. Wei described how he had escaped his hometown, in Anhui Province, along with his sister, who was a year older. They managed to remain together throughout their long journey to Chongqing, only to be separated from one another and placed in different children's homes in Sichuan, after which they lost contact. Wei tells of starting middle school in Chengdu three years

later and encountering his sister in the playground there. Rather than be elated to see one another, he and sister merely stared at one another, embarrassed: 'It had been so long, we were no longer like brother and sister, but were like a boy and a girl at school, too shy to speak to one another.'[38]

Political fighting between the Nationalists and the Communists and brutal purges of Communist cells by the Nationalists also caused division and violence within the 'family' atmosphere of children's homes. In oral histories and memoirs, survivors tell of progressive teachers, who were often favourite teachers, disappearing after purges of suspected communists by the Nationalist leadership.[39] One oral history participant reported that there were many underground Communist Party teachers at her children's home and one of them ratted out the others in what became such a large purge that the school was short-staffed and older children had to be used to teach the younger children.[40]

Recollections of the experience of family hierarchies also show cracks in the official emotionology of the nation as a loving family where agents of the state – acting as loving mothers – bestow affection and impartial care to all of the nation's children. Memoirs and oral histories suggest that child welfare workers were not always loving mothers trained in progressive childcare and education methods. Survivors frequently referred to kind and loving 'mamas' as those who did not use corporal punishment, implying that there were others who did. One survivor writes of a head of school who institutionalized corporal punishment in a particularly harsh and systematic manner. In one especially traumatic episode, he punished a disabled child by ordering the other students to strip the child of his pants and beat his buttocks. The students resisted carrying out the punishment, but the administrator stood there until they completed his order, at which point the students reportedly all cried on the field where their classmate had been beaten. The administrator was subsequently dismissed after student protests, but not before other such incidents had occurred, resulting in child injury.[41] Lin states that he includes this story in his history because he believes it is important to distinguish between those caregivers who genuinely helped orphans and those who harmed them.[42]

The primary emotional narrative in Lin's story is not one of a maternal bond forged by teachers, but rather one of loyalty, love and connectedness between orphans who shared hardship. These bonds operated as pathways, not always towards patriotism and loyalty to the Nationalist state, but sometimes towards resistance to illegitimate hierarchies such as that of the abusive headmaster and his reluctant students.

Oral histories and memoirs suggest that bonds between orphans also survived the Civil War (1946–1949) between Nationalists and Communists, and transcended the geopolitics of a Nationalist-controlled Taiwan separated from the People's Republic of China. Lin ends his narrative of the history of his children's home with a reminder that there are war orphans who reside on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, urging readers (assumed primarily to be alumni of wartime children's homes) not to forget their brothers and sisters separated from them via political divisions. Other orphans mention how their connections with other children's home alumni transcended the politics that divided survivors across the Taiwan Straits. One survivor from Anhui Province, who was relocated to Taiwan during the Civil War and spent the rest of his adult life there, said that he managed to maintain his Anhui accent to communicate with his former classmates and that he still considered himself a mainlander. It was the reunions with his 'brothers and sisters' from the children's homes that kept him returning to Sichuan.[43]

Despite apparent cracks in the official emotionology of the nation as a loving family, there are indications that practices within wartime children's homes succeeded in cultivating emotional pathways towards nationalism. Many child survivors state that loving experiences in children's homes nurtured their love of nation. In memoirs published in alumni journals, survivors often express their own history as a collective history of shared trauma that had significance within a longer trajectory of China's process of modernization and development. One survivor did archival research into the various funding sources and branches of wartime child welfare work, and ended his history with an expression of gratitude that all divisions of orphan relief work 'had the lofty spirit of stimulating the fostering of the glorious Chinese race for the future; all have brilliant chapters in history; all have obtained our respect and affection'.[44] Another survivor tells of how, after graduating from middle school with the support of the children's home, he passed the admissions test for the Government and Army School of Technology and ended up continuing to work there after he graduated, fulfilling his childhood dream from the children's home to 'contribute to the defence of the mother country'.[45]

There are also cracks in the official emotionology of the nation as a loving family, where members are cared for impartially and are given equal benefits as part of a collective. Memoirs are filled with gratitude for the opportunities granted by child welfare institutions that allowed survivors to achieve more personal accomplishments that they would not have received without their status as orphans. In contrast to the wartime

articulations of terror of abductions by the enemy, survivors credit their time in the children's home as saving them from another fate – not from possible enslavement in Japan, but from lives lacking in education and opportunity as ordinary members of Chinese society. Many child survivors credit the children's homes for providing them with education and employment opportunities they would not have had access to in their previously impoverished or underclass lives, as well as habits and mindsets – such as punctuality, cleanliness and industriousness – that helped them succeed as adults.[46]

One oral history participant speaks of his five years residing in a wartime children's home as laying the foundation for his future:

> I truly cherish the brief experience of my years during the flames of war, which really formed the foundation for my life course. I can say one thing . . . every time I have encountered setbacks and hardships, I can attribute my success to my school-mothers – the teachers from the No. 2 Children's Home. My five years in the children's home truly fostered in me the courage to face hardship and the spirit to endure difficulties, a thrifty and simple way of life, and the ability to stand on my own and be self-sufficient. This is the most precious treasure in my life and the thing that I take the most pride in.[47]

Some survivors credit their daily practices of labour with developing not a love for labour, but dispositions for carrying out difficult professional tasks. In his memoir, Jin Jingshan credits the long hours he spent making shoes as a child with his developing the discipline to do other detailed tasks that require diligence and focus:

> From the time I was small I didn't have a mother or father and nothing fun. I was wild in nature, but this kind of labour changed me from a wild child into a family-member . . . and from someone who could not sit still into someone who can sit for a long period of time. In my 80s I edited a volume called 'An Overview of Chinese Culture' . . . If it weren't for my making straw shoes 50 years ago this would never have been published . . . The discipline required for making straw shoes was the same discipline that was required for editing books.[48]

Interestingly, Jin Jingshan associates his ability to labour with his full transformation into a 'family member' and credits this membership with his ability to make a contribution to society. In a country where

the orphan had historically receded from the public view or had been the object of pity and mistrust, war orphans were given a unique offer: a place in the collective, a political identity and a position of respect. The official emotionology of the War of Resistance aimed to elide children's grief and harness their traumatic memories into wartime propaganda, labour and self-sacrifice that favoured the collective narrative over subjective experiences of losses. But the personal emotional bonds and experiences in wartime children's homes also created pathways for orphans to feel value, respect and a hope for the future even as they utilized the language of the family of the nation to articulate their self-worth.

In his overview of the Beiquan Loving Children's Home, a teacher tells the story of another teacher hitting a child because he was not listening. The child went to the school headmaster and said: 'Chinese people don't hit other Chinese people. Isn't it wrong for you to hit me?' In another instance a teacher was going to hit a child and the child said: 'You can discipline me, but don't hit me.'[49] The author goes on to say that it was because these children reminded their caregivers that they were compatriots that instances of corporal punishment were rare in this school.

The presence of this nationalistic narrative in the Beiquan overview about the lives of war orphans is telling because it is precisely through the narrative of the orphan as sharing a bond with other Chinese that the author elevates the orphan's worth. In these stories, nationalism – the consciousness of being Chinese in a collective of other Chinese – was used as a redemptive narrative for war orphans, an identity shoring up their self-respect. The children opposed to being beaten were not saying that it was wrong for adults to hit children, nor did they say that it was wrong for people to hit other people. Rather, this narrative framed their objections as Chinese nationals: it is wrong for Chinese to hit other Chinese. It was within this narrative of nationalism that the author, reader and children themselves were presumed to know, given their membership in this collective, that war orphans should not be struck. These children were protected within their identity as national subjects and citizens, and derived and articulated worth from this.

Conclusion

China's war orphans, displaced from their primary emotional communities, presented an opportunity for the Nationalist state to create new

emotional communities and experiences that could shape the loyalties and nation-building contributions of idealized citizens. Child welfare workers attempted to mitigate the perceived risks posed by family-less and traumatized children by forging new emotional ties, experiences and practices within wartime children's homes. Orphans' subjective experiences of wartime trauma were narrated back to them using the language of nationalism, which augmented children's subjective memories of trauma and loss with collective images of humiliation and suffering. The ultimate objective of these new emotional communities was to create loyal and productive citizens, but oral histories and memoirs suggest that there were cracks in the official emotionology. Orphans were not always treated as 'children of the *minzu*' and the family-like atmosphere of children's homes could also be a place of abuse and political persecution. Oral histories and memoirs also suggest that child survivors created alternative emotional communities that transcended the family of the nation and geopolitical conflicts. Orphans reinterpreted emotional practices and nationalist narratives in more subjective ways that not only demanded their treatment as 'children of the *minzu*', but also redeemed them from their previously dangerous status as orphans to those worthy of respect for their post-war contributions, giving meaning and purpose to their trauma and recovery.

Notes

1. Xi Xinghai, 'Qilai ba! Qilai ba! Zuguo de haizimen, qilai ba!' ['Stand Up! Stand Up! Children of the Ancestral Homeland, Stand Up! A Song Written for the War'], *Yaolan (The Cradle)* 2 (1995), 31.
2. Barbara Rosenwein defines 'emotional communities' as 'social groups that adhere to the same valuations of emotions and how they should be expressed' and as 'groups of people animated by common and similar interests, values, and emotional styles and valuations'; Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory* 49(2) (2010), 237–265, here 253. See also Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845.
3. On refugee flight, see Stephen MacKinnon, 'Refugee Flight at the Outset of the Anti-Japanese War', in Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon (eds), *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001), 118–134; R. Keith Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness: Refugees during the Sino-Japanese War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
4. See Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90(4) (1985), 813–836.

5. See Wu Yanyin, 'Shishi jiuji ji jiaoyang nantong de yuanze yu yaodian' ['Principles and Essentials in the Rescue and Care of Refugee Children'], in Duli Chubanshe (ed.), *Nanmin ertong de jiuji yu jiaoyang* [*The Rescue and Care of Refugee Children*] (Chongqing: Zhengzhong shuju zong zazhi tuiguangsuo [Central Publishing House Magazine Popularization Division], 1938), 26.
6. Interview with Wu Dehui, Chengdu (4 October 2002). Pseudonyms are used for oral history participants unless otherwise indicated by the author.
7. Jun Hui, 'Xiegei nantong baoyu gongzuozhe' ['Letter to Childcare Workers Working with Refugee Children'], *Funü Shenghuo* [*Women's Life*] 6(9) (1938), 91. Reprinted in Jin Futang (ed.), *Kangri fenghuo zhong de yaolan* [*The Cradle during the Flames of the War of Resistance*] (Beijing: Zhongguo Funü Chubanshe [China Women's Press], 1991), 90–91.
8. Fan Renyu, 'Zenyang cong liuwang zhuandao jiuwang?' ['How Do We Go from Being in Exile to Being Saved from Extinction?'], *Nanmin Zhoukan* [*Refugees Weekly*] 5 (12 May 1938), 3.
9. Chen Heqin, 'Zenyang jiao xiaohaizi' ['How to Teach Children'], in Duli Chubanshe (ed.), *Nanmin ertong de jiuji yu jiaoyang* [*The Rescue and Care of Refugee Children*] (Chongqing: Zhengzhong shuju zong zazhi tuiguangsuo [Central Publishing House Magazine Popularization Division], 1938), 50–51.
10. For more on the state's uses of family-free children, see M. Colette Plum, 'Orphans in the Family: Family Reform and Children's Citizenship during the Anti-Japanese War, 1937–1945', in James Flath and Norman Smith (eds), *Beyond Suffering*: *Recounting War in Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 186–206.
11. Jun Hui, 'Xiegei nantong baoyu gongzuozhe', 91.
12. Jun Hui, 'Xiegei nantong baoyu gongzuozhe', 91.
13. Xu Jingping, 'Huiyi zhanshi ertong baoyuhui' ['Remembering the Wartime Association for Child Welfare'], in Futang Jin (ed.), *Kangri fenghuo zhong de yaolan*, 242.
14. Interviews with Wu Dehui, Chengdu (4 October 2002); Li Hua, Chengdu (3 October 2002).
15. Interview with Dong Baorong, Chengdu (14 October 2002); Jing, 'Wuhan di yi linshi baoyuyuan kaimu yi pie' 武漢第一臨時保育院開幕一瞥 [An Overview of the Opening of Wuhan's No. 1 Temporary Children's Home]. *Funü Wenhua Zhanshi Tekan* 婦女文化戰時特刊 (*Women's Culture: Special Wartime Edition*, no. 11, 1938), 15; Jiang Kaixin, *Shijie hongshizihui Beiquan ciyouyuan gaikuang* [*A Survey of the International Red Cross Beiquan Loving Home for Children*] (Beiquan: Shijie Hongshizihui [International Red Cross], 1942), 21. This book can be found in Chongqingshi Dang'an guan [Chongqing Municipal Archives].
16. Beijing baoyusheng lianyihui [Beijing Friendship Association of Alumni from Wartime Children's Homes] and Luo Guangda (eds), *Fenghuo yaolan: Zhongguo zhanshi ertong baoyuhui tupianji* [*Cradle in the Flames of War: Pictorial Collection of the China Wartime Child Welfare Committee*] (Shenyang: Meishu Chubanshe [Fine Art Press], 1996), 61.
17. Jing, 15.
18. Yuan Zengxin, 'Shilun zhanshi ertong baoyuyuan zhong de kangri fuchou jiaoyang' ['Regarding War of Resistance Revenge Education in Wartime

Children's Homes'], *Baoyusheng Tongxun* [*Newsletter for Children's Home Alumni*] 1 (1997), 16–18.
19. Jing, 15.
20. Lu Zhuanji, 'Zhanshi ertong de yanghu wenti' ['Problems with the Care of Children during Wartime'], *Dongfang zazhi* [*Eastern Miscellany*] 36(1) (1939), 82.
21. 'Ertong jiuji ertong: Jiuji ertong jietou xuanchuan diyiwan' ['Children Rescuing Children: The First Evening of Child Refugee Street-Corner Propaganda'], *Xinhua Ribao* [*The China Daily*] (23 August 1938), 3A.
22. Shen Zijiu, 'Jiuji ji jiaoyang nanmin ertong de xuanchuan' ['Propagandizing about Refugee Children Rescue and Care'], *Nanmin ertong de jiuji yu jiaoyang* [*The Rescue and Care of Refugee Children*]. Published in Duli Chubanshe [Independent Press] (ed.), *Zhanshi zonghe* [*A Collection of Wartime Writings*], 2nd edn (Chongqing: Central Publishing House, 1938), 21.
23. Interview with Wei Yongli, Chengdu (26 April 2002); Mao Gulan (interview, 6 October 2002) recollected participating in plays, including one called *Baimao nü* [*White Feather Woman*]. Han Lifeng (interview, 13 October 2002) also recollected participating in plays and said students often wrote and directed plays themselves. Tao Rusheng (interview, 21 May 2002) recalled older students singing songs and performing plays on street corners. Sun Xiaotang (interview, 21 May 2002) recalled participating in plays and singing troupes. Dong Baorong (interview, 14 October 2002) recalled that he would travel several kilometres from the children's home to local villages as part of children's propaganda troops to sing and perform propaganda plays for villagers.
24. Interview with Sun Xiaotang, Chengdu (21 May 2002); Wei Fuyuan, Chengdu (interview, 26 April 2002) mentions calling male teachers 'mama' and teachers cooking special foods for sick students. Mei Wuli, Chengdu (interview, 20 September 2002) also mentions special foods cooked for her; Li Hua (interview, 3 October 2002) also mentions special foods cooked for her. Han Lifeng, Chengdu (interview, 13 October 2002) mentions teachers tucking students into bed at night and sharing meals with them.
25. Interviews with Wei Yongli (26 April 2002); Dong Baorong (14 October 2002); Han Lifeng (13 October 2002).
26. Interview with Wei Yongli (26 April 2002). Han Lifeng (interview, 13 October 2002) also used this same metaphor to describe the relationship between teachers and students, explaining that teachers tucked students in bed at night as a parent would.
27. For example, Tao Rusheng (interview, 21 May 2002), recalled that 'the entire children's home had an atmosphere of mutual understanding and everyone got along harmoniously like one big family'. In his memoir, Ou Yanghao writes that they were 'like one big family' and this allowed orphans to 'shake off their loneliness' (*baituo guji*); Ou Yanghao, 'Nantong de xin, cimu de qing' ['The Hearts of Refugee Children, the Love of Caregivers'], *Baoyusheng Tongxun* [*Newsletter of Children's Home Alumni*] 1–2 (2002), 47.
28. *Ertong Baoyu* [*Child Welfare*] (Nanjing: Xingzhengyuan Xinwenju [Nationalist Executive Yuan's News Bureau], 1947), 5–7.
29. Jiang Kaixin, *Shijie hongshizihui beiquan ciyouyuan gaikuang*, 14, 21b.
30. Jiang Kaixin, *Shijie hongshizihui beiquan ciyouyuan gaikuang*, 14.

31. Zhanshi Ertong Baoyuhui Zhejiang Fenhui [Zhejiang Branch of Wartime Children's Homes] (ed.), *Zhanshi ertong baoyuhui zhejiang fenhui zhounian teji* [*Special Anniversary Publication of the Zhejiang Branch of Wartime Children's Homes*] (Jinhua, Zhejiang: n.p., 1939), 12, 4. This book can be found in Stanford University, Hoover Archives.
32. For more on child labour in wartime children's homes, see M. Colette Plum, 'Lost Childhoods in a New China: Child-Citizen-Workers at War, 1937–1945', *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 11(2) (2012), 237–258.
33. Jin Jingshan, 'Chuanliuyuan de laodong jiaoyu' ['Labor Education in Sichuan's No. 6 Children's Home'], *Baoyusheng Tongxun* [*Newsletter for Children's Home Alumni*] 4(13) (1997), 25.
34. Jin Jingshan, 'Chuanliuyuan de laodong jiaoyu', 25.
35. Ma Beigong, *Zhanshi ertong jiuji zhi lilun yu shijian* [*The Theory and Practice of Chinese Wartime Child Relief Work*] (n.p.: *Zhongguo Zhanshi Ertong Jiuji Xiehui* [China Wartime Child Relief Committee], 1940). This book can be found in Hoover Library C-3578.
36. Lu Zhuanji, 'Zhanshi ertong de ying yang wenti' ['Nutritional Problems of Wartime Children'], *Dongfang Zazhi* [*Far Eastern Miscellany*] 36(1) (1 February 1938), 82.
37. Interview with Wei Yongli, Chengdu (26 April 2002).
38. Interview with Wei Yongli, Chengdu (26 April 2002).
39. Interview with Mei Wuli, Chengdu (20 September 2002). See also Lin Dedao, 'Sichuan fenhui Diliu Baoyuyuan jieshao' ['An Introduction to the Sichuan Chapter, Number Six Children's Home'], *Baoyusheng Tongxun* (*Newsletter for Children's Home Alumni*) 4(13) (5 December 1997), 2.
40. Interview with Mao Gulan, Chengdu (October 2002).
41. Lin Dedao, 'Sichuan fenhui Diliu Baoyuyuan jieshao', 2.
42. Lin Dedao, 'Sichuan fenhui Diliu Baoyuyuan jieshao', 4.
43. Interview with Bai Xianfeng, Chengdu (20 September 2002).
44. Wu Nansheng. 'Yantao zhanshi ertong baoyu yundong lishi de wo jian' ['A Discussion of My Views on the Wartime Child Relief Movement'], *Yaolan* [*The Cradle*] 1 (1995), 9–10.
45. Interview with Wu Dehui, Chengdu (4 October 2002).
46. Interview with Mei Wuli, Chengdu (20 September 2002).
47. Interview with Dong Baorong, Chengdu (October, 2002).
48. Jin Jingshan, 'Chuanliuyuan de laodong jiaoyu', 24–25.
49. Jiang Kaixin, *Shijie hongshizihui beiquan ciyouyuan gaikuang*, 42b.

12

Everyday Emotional Practices of Fathers and Children in Late Colonial Bengal, India

Swapna M. Banerjee

The ideological discourse on family that emerged in nineteenth-century Bengal was cemented, as Pradip Bose has argued, by 'the new idea of childhood', with the implication of 'more intense emotional ties between parents and children within the family and a weakening of ties with relatives outside the immediate family'.[1] Indeed, India's encounter with the West through British colonialism produced a climate that fostered a new group of intelligentsia in the nineteenth century who questioned the past and envisioned a series of socio-cultural practices that pertained to men, women and children in the domestic domain. Bengal, with Calcutta (now Kolkata) as the imperial capital until 1911, was particularly prolific in spawning this social group, known as the *bhadralok* or the 'respectable' middle class, who envisioned a new model of womanhood, family and children.[2] As progenitors of ideas of a new nation, these early intellectuals left ample documents of their emerging notions of an ideal family and the roles of the 'new woman' as an ideal mother, with clear-cut instructions on how to raise children.

In contrast to the bulk of the South Asian literature that is directly concerned with 'new women' and motherhood, this chapter engages with the question of fatherhood and the praxis of paternity. Nestled within the larger social community of the family, fathers and children of *bhadralok* families, represented 'emotional communities' engaged in various forms of sociability, interactions and transformations expressed through varying emotional practices.[3] This chapter argues that a specific group of educated Indian men, the *bhadralok*, along with their commitment to companionate marriage and progressive social reforms,[4] were also invested in positioning themselves as caring and responsible

fathers – a position that became central to their self-fashioning as 'modern' citizen-subjects. By foregrounding children and fathers of the *bhadralok* community and their emotional experiences of love, affection, anger and despair, it tracks the practices of fatherhood in late colonial Bengal and interrogates whether the role of fathers became a vector of masculinity for the colonial middle class. It examines reminiscences of childhood and perceptions of fathers through the eyes of children. The emphasis on these emotion-rich experiences is not to claim that distinctly 'new' emotions unfolded in father–child relations; however, the retelling of varied emotions through 'memory-work' suggests their importance in defining filial relationships in colonial India. The objective here is to explore the formulations and expressions of paternal authority in a changing socio-cultural milieu that brought about transformations in late colonial filial relations among the burgeoning middle class.

Historical actors and their emotions are contingent on socio-economic, cultural and temporal factors. Rajat Kanta Ray emphasized the importance of *sthana* (place), *kala* (time) and *patra* (dramatis personae) as the 'crucial context for understanding the precise meanings and expressions of human emotion'.[5] Ray explored emotions through literature and 'not on the basis of the letters and diaries of contemporaries', which in the context of India are 'not easy for the scholar to procure and utilize'.[6] However, historian Tapan Raychaudhuri has drawn on personal narratives to argue that altered conjugal relationships in colonial Bengal were suffused with a different kind of emotion emanating from the perceptions and sensibilities of the colonial era.[7] Curiously enough, in their analysis of the mental world of nineteenth-century historical actors, both Ray and Raychaudhuri stayed away from engaging with the current historical literature on emotions that has significantly bolstered our understanding.[8] Ray's work, in turn, is also given short shrift in the emerging scholarship.[9] Attending to the practices of everyday life of fathers and children from colonial Bengal, this chapter seeks a common ground between the theoretical literature and the works of scholars like Ray, who suggested the use of more intimate sources for understanding familial relationships.

The father and the child, given the extreme variability of Indian families, are plural and unstable categories representing shifting sets of ideas developed over a period of time, and are contingent upon class, caste, socio-cultural, ethnic, regional and religious backgrounds.[10] In Indian history and culture, it was not always biological fathers who wielded ultimate authority. Families subscribing to different monastic lineages

and religious affiliations often attributed 'fatherhood' to the spiritual *gurus*. In extended multi-generational households, the oldest male member of the family was, and often still is, considered the paterfamilias.[11] In the Indian epic *The Mahabharata*, Bhishma, the celibate hero, was the 'father' of the two clans, the Pandavas and the Kauravas, who were engaged in 'righteous' warfare. Moreover, pre-colonial Indian literature portrayed fathers, biological or not, as sombre and respectful, but also as victims of their own passions and environment with their follies and weaknesses. In contrast, women as mothers, daughters, wives and sisters from late medieval or early modern India appeared as strong figures. The male protagonists of the populist Bengali *Mangal Kavyas* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were much less developed as characters than their female counterparts.[12]

The role of biological fathers arguably assumed a heightened importance in the colonial era within the newly envisioned family structure pivoting on men, women and children. But fatherhood also had a figurative meaning, referring to the leadership roles in an incipient nation. Children too were figured to represent future generations. Moreover, the enactment of fatherhood can be approached on two levels: the enunciative, expressed through a variety of pedagogical and normative literature; and the performative, revealed in daily interaction with children in real life. The focus of this chapter is on the performative aspects of fatherhood and the attendant emotions expressed in everyday encounters between fathers and children. It relies on biographical and autobiographical narratives of well-known figures of a reformed Hindu community originating in nineteenth-century Bengal – the Brahmos – who were engaged in progressive social reforms and literary activism, thus setting the standards of a modern, hegemonic middle-class culture. Accounts recalling moments of child–father relationships reveal that the literate male members of the higher echelon of society, the fathers discussed here, played critical roles in training and socializing children. Since autobiographies held 'a peculiarly significant place in the inauguration of new forms of social life' among the Bengali middle class, we will use them as primary sources not for their 'authenticity', but as media of representations, with all their complexities that offer myriad possibilities of reading and interpretation.[13] Emotional practices of parents and children recounted in this literature were endowed with distinct meanings at specific historical moments of the Bengali 'modern' and represented a collective psychology that involved 'not only feeling but also doing'.[14] The notion and practices of the Bengali 'modern' rested on Western-style education, the proliferation of print culture,

encounters with ideas of Western liberalism, and new urban professions. The new institutions and ideologies, combined with the Indo-Islamic influences of the past, ushered in altered sensibilities that were reflected in parent–child relationships and affective behaviour. The transformations within the household were dependent on age, class and gender hierarchies, but were also entangled with questions of inheritance, property rights and economic ties.

The emotional practices of fathers represented in personal narratives are especially relevant as expressions of manhood if viewed against the politics of colonial masculinity. Mrinalini Sinha has long demonstrated the implication of masculinity in the unfolding of British colonial policies and their ramifications in the lives of the Indian population, particularly among the Bengalis, who interacted with the British most heavily as officials in the imperial administration.[15] 'Colonial masculinity', explained Sinha, 'was organised along a descending scale.'[16] Following the Rebellion of 1857–1858 and the transfer of power of India from the East India Company to the British Crown, the crisis in colonial administration was reflected in shifts in practices and in the ordering of social hierarchy along gendered stereotypes. While high and low-ranking British officials and non-officials represented different degrees of the 'manly Englishman', the politically self-conscious, educated Indians did not share the virile masculinity of the British; instead, they embodied an 'unnatural' or 'perverted' form of masculinity.[17] The most typical representative of this group of Indians were the middle-class Bengali Hindus, who were described as 'effeminate *babus*' or dandies.[18] Humiliated and deprecated in the public domain of governance and administration, these men sought refuge within the realm of the household surrounded by family and friends and it is within the domestic domain that they asserted their sovereign status by extending their dominance and authority over subordinate members.[19]

Following Sinha, a growing scholarship on South Asia framed masculinity in public, national, imperial, pre-colonial and colonial contexts. Ruby Lal has indicated the supreme importance of fathers in daughters' lives.[20] But no one has yet linked the question of manhood with the role of fathers. How can we elide the role of fatherhood and parenting, and the way its affects and practices influenced bodily experiences, personality and culture in a meaningful and holistic discussion of masculinity? If '"masculinity" ... acquires its meaning only in specific practices',[21] this chapter underscores the dynamics of father–child relationships in Bengali households of the late colonial era that acted as a site for the parallel assertions of authority and manhood of the colonial subject.

Complicating the neat divide between the private and the public, the chapter examines fathers as products of the new political culture caught in a changing configuration of power both at home and the world. The crystallization of the cultural identity of the *bhadralok* as a new imperial social formation behoved them to adopt new practices of fatherhood and parenting. The wide gamut of emotions displayed in fatherly behaviour thus needs to be analysed in the changing context of the *bhadralok*'s roles as economic providers, decision makers, protectors and moral guides mobilizing the future generation.

Remembering fathers: the Tagores of Jorasanko

Psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar argued that in India the 'culturally prescribed pattern of restraint between fathers and sons . . . constitute[s] a societal norm. In autobiographical accounts, fathers, whether strict or indulgent, cold or affectionate, are invariably distant'.[22] The illustrious Tagore family of Jorasanko, Calcutta, with its wealth of autobiographical narratives, provides us with an excellent repertoire of evidence to engage with Kakar's thesis. The Tagores, as business partners with the British and through their leadership roles in new religious (Brahmo), cultural and nationalist movements, acted as major trendsetters and culture builders in colonial India.[23] The recounting of daily practices between fathers and children through three successive generations delineates changing emotions, from the redoubtable authority of the 'distant' patriarch to the playful father active in the everyday lives of children through love, affection and anger. The fathers and sons from the Tagore family were all important public figures with considerable social and cultural influence. Insights into their lives therefore shed light on the changing parent–child relationship in late colonial Bengal.

Accounts left by the two brothers, two leading public figures of nineteenth-century Bengal, Satyendranath (1842–1923) and Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), about their father Maharshi Debendranath (1817–1905) convey the sombre emotions filled with awe and respect associated with childhood memories of their father. Their father, son of Prince Dwarkanath, a leading business partner with the British, was a foremost leader of the reformist Brahmo Samaj, a religious association professing monotheism and playing a crucial role in social reform movements. The details provided by Debendranath's celebrated sons portrayed a father caught in the cross-currents of a colonial culture yet closely clinging on to his cherished values. The accounts help us locate the importance of the father in the family and the 'father' as

the pioneering leader of the Brahmo Samaj. Debendranath's second son, Satyendranath Tagore, the first Indian civil servant, a versatile scholar and an author, described his father as a 'conservative', but represented him with utmost reverence.[24] Satyendranath wrote the introduction to the translation of his father's *Autobiography* as 'a humble tribute' to his father's memory 'in the hope that it may reach a wider circle of readers than the original could possibly command'.[25]

Satyendranath provides his father's background and upbringing as the son of 'wealthy Dwarkanath Tagore whose lavish expenditure earned him the title of Prince'.[26] Debendranath grew up in pomp and luxury as a wilful young man until certain 'providential' occurrences 'wrought a change in him on his attaining manhood, and he felt within himself an awakening towards higher life'.[27] Emphasizing the achievement of his father as a spiritual leader of the Brahmo movement and as a paragon of moral virtues, Satyendranath presented his autobiography not for any 'stirring adventures or sensational incidents', but for its value in 'being a record of the spiritual struggle of a noble soul against early associations, conventionality, and family ties'.[28] It documented 'an illumined life struggling towards more light, and shedding its brilliance on all around'.[29]

A more full-fledged paternal image emerged from Satyendranath's polymath brother Rabindranath, poet, writer, artist, musician and the first Asian to win the Nobel Prize in Literature (1913). In his *Reminiscences* he devoted an entire chapter to his father and captured his earliest memories:

> Shortly after my birth my father took to constantly travelling about. So it is no exaggeration to say that in my early childhood I hardly knew him. He would now and then come back home all of a sudden, and with him came foreign servants with whom I felt extremely eager to make friends.[30]

Rabindranath never reached the immediate presence of his father and would only watch him from a distance from his hiding place at the head of the staircase. At the break of dawn, his father would sit on the roof, 'silent as an image of white stone, his hands folded on his lap'.[31] When his father came home, the entire house was 'filled with the weight of his presence'.[32] He remembered everyone being dressed up, everyone being alert; his mother supervising the cooking; the mace-bearer (Kinu Harkara) in his 'white livery and crested turban' being at his father's beck and call. He recalled that the children were asked to keep quiet lest they

disturbed their father's peace. He remembered himself and the other children moving slowly, talking softly and not even venturing to peek at their father.[33] Debendranath, indeed, had maintained distance from his 14 surviving children, who had grown up under the regime of servants, but he had made sure that his children had received a well-rounded education in languages, arts, humanities, physical and biological sciences, sports, music and wrestling.

Rabindranath's first close encounter with his father was at the age of 11, when they both travelled to the Himalayas. A commanding personality with a meticulous eye to detail, Debendranath had carefully chosen and ordered for his son a 'full suit of clothes' with a 'gold embroidered velvet cap'.[34] Rabindranath reflected: 'though nothing would induce him to put obstacles in the way of my amusing myself as I pleased, he left no loophole in the strict rules of conduct which he prescribed for me in other respects'.[35] Debendranath had entrusted Rabi with the responsibility of his cash-box, not a meagre charge for an 11 year old. Negligence on Rabi's part would surely have earned him a reprimand. As much as Rabi enjoyed his freedom from his school in Calcutta, his trip to the mountains followed a 'rigorous regime',[36] waking up before sunrise to learn his Sanskrit declensions, taking a shower in ice-cold water, hiking up the mountain ridges with his father, singing devotional songs for him and pursuing lessons in English, Bengali and astronomy.[37] Debendranath represented the classic 'absent' father, as John Tosh described in the context of Victorian England.[38] His occasional homecoming also reminds us of the 'ritual of return' among the Victorian fathers,[39] but the economic necessity of British middle-class fathers to work far away from home, although partly true in the case of Tagores, was not so pronounced in their written accounts. Debendranath would compensate for his absence from the family not so much through playfulness and gifts, but perhaps by taking his children along with him on a trip to the Himalayas.

The distance between father and son recalled here was bridged in later life through mutual affection and favour. Rabindranath's own son, Rathindranath, had been familiarized with his father's memories of childhood, and the relationship with Debendranath: 'My grandfather loved his youngest son and was delighted to discover unusual talent in him while still a boy. Probably for this reason he was very generous to him.' Rabindranath was given the 'most convenient and comfortable rooms in the family house' and when he was still dissatisfied with it, 'grandfather helped him to build a separate house for himself'.[40] According to this reminiscence of a reminiscence, Debendranath had entrusted

Rabindranath with the management of his estates, but he was such a 'strict disciplinarian' that on the second of every month, he wanted the accounts to be read out to him: 'He would remember every figure, and ask awkward questions whilst the report was being read.' Rabindranath had told his own children how he 'used to be afraid of this day of trial, like a school-boy going up for his examination. We children would wonder why our father was so afraid of *his* father'.[41]

The governing emotions that defined the relationship between Debendranath and his sons were awe and fear. Despite Debendranath's proclaimed other worldliness, he was remembered as controlling and authoritative in the way he conducted himself at home and with others. Rabindranath mentioned several times that Debendranath stood out from his countrymen as he had a 'well-defined code to regulate his relations with others and theirs with him'. People 'had to be anxiously careful' in their dealings with him.[42] It is plausible that Debendranath's supreme authority over his family members was heightened by his command of economic resources. If his masculinity was compromised as a colonized subject, he was the 'sovereign' in his familial set-up.

In fact, the domineering impact of Debendranath, as the patriarch in charge of family resources, cast its spell on Rabindranath's conjugal life. To manage his father's estate, Rabindranath was often stationed in various places in eastern Bengal and Orissa, away from his wife and children, and he had very little freedom in manoeuvring his personal priorities. As much as Rabindranath, as a modern man, wanted to be in the company of his family, he still had to yield to the command of his father. In 1891, he wrote to his wife, Mrinalini Devi (1872–1902):

> If you are already on your way, I shall see you when I am in Calcutta this time. I shall try to arrange for you to come with me to Orissa . . . *I have already told father what I want to do, I think he understands. I may get my way if I talk to him once or twice more – still it is best not to raise our hopes*.[43]

In several letters Rabindranath expressed his desire to be close to his wife and children, but he was left completely at the discretion of his father. This domination of the father over the conjugal life of the son was a common experience. In his autobiography, Sivnath Sastri, a nineteenth-century Brahmo reformer and writer from Bengal, recounted his difficult relationship with his father who forced him to abandon his first wife for tenuous reasons and marry a second time.[44] These instances exemplify the power of the patriarch and the contingent nature of masculine

authority, even as an adult husband. The hierarchical power structure in the family and the culture of deference to elders subdued the generational conflict between fathers and sons.

Yet in Rabindranath's assessment, his father had never stood in the way of his independence as a child. Debendranath was not deterred by the danger of his son making mistakes; he had not been alarmed at the prospect of his son encountering sorrow. 'He held up a standard, not a disciplinary rod',[45] an expression closely akin to the Unitarian description of fathers.[46] The influence of Christianity, particularly that of the Unitarians, on the Brahmos, was well known and was evidenced by the supremacy of the father, attendance at Sunday schools and engaging in prayers.[47] Debendranath's guiding principles were reason and conscience – an influence of post-Enlightenment philosophy – but he vehemently opposed any direct Christian influence in his life and works. To defray missionary attacks on the Brahmos, he wrote *Brahmo Dharma Grantha*, a theistic manual of religion and morals.[48]

Debendranath's performance as a father conformed with Kakar's description of the distant relationship between fathers and sons.[49] From the portrayal by his two sons, Debendranath emerged as a public leader of a newly formed community, as the head of the household and as an active biological father. Debendranath, according to the appraisal of his children, fulfilled the new role model of the concerned yet controlling 'modern' father, not only of his 14 children but of the Brahmo community as well. Through his daring renunciation of Hindu ritual practices at the death of his own father Prince Dwarkanath, in his delegation of responsibilities to his children, and in giving children their freedom to choose and make decisions, we witness the birth of new parental practices based on newly acquired values and sensibilities. Interestingly, Debendranath's own *Autobiography* hardly recounted his own role as a father of 14 children or experiences with his own father who bequeathed to him an enormous debt and the responsibility of a large family business that he ungrudgingly handled in a judicious manner. Interestingly, Debendranath's *Autobiography* commenced with celebrating the memory of his paternal grandmother who left a profound spiritual influence on him. Then he dwelt on his role as a renouncer and a spiritual leader, the image that he was eager to convey to the world; however, the authority he commanded over his family, the awe and fear that he generated in everyone's minds could be gleaned only from the reflections of his sons, remembering their childhoods. He had a removed physical presence in his children's lives, but his commanding personality had hovered over them. Yielding to extreme deference verging on fear, the sons maintained the public persona of the father by carefully

shelving any outburst of anger, love or hatred. They did not openly discuss their father's control over the family estate and the way he conducted business in real life. Examples from his sons' generation depart from the practices of Debendranath and attest to more intimate parental interactions.

Rabindranath Tagore and his children

The emotional component between Rabindranath Tagore and his children was significantly different from what he experienced with his father Debendranath. Rabindranath was an affectionate and playful father who mused over his joy and sorrow with his children. Scholars have demonstrated the effects of Victorian ideology and ideas of chaste 'Hindu' womanhood in conceptualizing the 'new woman' in colonial India. But the literature has glossed over the traces of Victorian influence in the making of the modern Indian man. Rabindranath Tagore was a classic example displaying Victorian and Indian sensibilities in his ideas and practices.[50] As a celebrated subject of a new modernity, to make his living and fulfil his missions, Rabindranath led an itinerant life like his father Debndranath. We have no access to Debendranath's emotions in his own writings, but Rabindranath's letters written to his wife Mrinalini Devi reveal not only their conjugal intimacy but also his deep affection for his children and wife.[51] On his way to England in August 1890, he wrote to his wife from the ship:

> On Sunday night, I felt my spirit leave my body to come and see you. I saw you sleeping on one side of the large bed, next to you were Beli and Khoka [their eldest daughter and son, Madhurilata and Rathindranath]. I caressed you and whispered in your ears, '*Chhotobou* [My Little Wife], please remember that on this Sunday night I left my body to come and see you. I shall ask you on my return from England if you saw me too.' Then I kissed Beli and the baby, and returned.[52]

Another letter written in 1890 captured how Rabindranath and his sister-in-law Jnadanandini Devi (the wife of Satyendranath Tagore, who we encountered earlier) carefully picked out clothes for his wife and daughters before his departure to England. Rabindranath selected a bright red sari and a 'border' for his elder daughter Bela (aka Madhurilata) while his sister-in-law selected 'a blue and a white one'. Rabindranath mused: 'I hope Rani [Renuka] likes it – the fusspot that

she is. Does she ever ask for me? Who knows how grown Khoka [his son, Rathindranath] will be when I see him on my return . . . I am sure he will not recognize me. I may turn into such a sahib that none of you may recognize me.'[53]

We find in these expressions not the philosopher-poet, but an anxious father deeply in love with his children and wife,[54] a picture missing in his childhood experience. Rabindranath's engagement as a father continued through every step of his children's life. As torn as he was in his later life about early marriages and women's oppression by men, he did not deviate from the prevalent practices of his time, as is discussed more fully in Chapter 3. He married off his daughters Madhurilata (Bela) and Renuka (Rani) at the ages of 14 and 12 respectively and justified himself on the grounds that given the uniqueness of the Tagores in social and cultural matters, early marriage would facilitate his daughters' integration with their in-laws more easily. After leaving Bela at her husband's home for the first time, he dealt with his parting pains in a letter to his wife, written in 1901, explaining their decision to marry off their daughters:

> We must forget our own joy and sorrow where our children are concerned . . . We must make room for them so that they can mould their lives in their own way. Yesterday, my mind went back to Bela's childhood time and again. I raised her with such loving care. I remember how she would play with the pillows in bed and jump on to the little toys that came her way . . . I remembered how I used to bathe her in our Park Street house, and when we were in Darjeeling how I used to wake her up and feed her with warm milk in the nights. Those early days of having her so close keep haunting me.[55]

Losing a daughter by early marriage – or later by children's deaths – reveals in writing the grieving heart of a loving parent, signalling a shift in generations and paternal behaviour, with concomitant changes in the emotional experience of filial relations. Unlike his father Debendranath, who omitted his wife and children from his autobiography, Rabindranath's gestures symbolized the intimate partnership of a companionate marriage, and a fatherhood that the modern *bhadralok* cherished and championed in their lives. In this changed conjugal relationship, the wife/mother was not solely responsible for the bodily care of children, thus blurring the gendered division of labour among couples. For fathers like Rabindranath, in addition to economic sustenance and protection, parental responsibilities included providing emotional

support based on 'guidance, tenderness and pity', resonating Unitarian principles.[56] It is worth noting that following his wife's death in 1902, Rabindranath single-handedly took care of his five children and often of their spouses, through their joys and sorrow, life and death.[57]

But how did Rabindranath's children perceive him as a father? A letter written to Rabindranath by his youngest daughter Mira Devi (1894–1969), when she was a little girl, was filled with stories of her dolls and toys. The letter testifies to the closeness she enjoyed with her father.[58] Rabindranath's son Rathindranath provides us with a more detailed picture by conveying 'glimpses of some aspects' of his illustrious 'father's personality' that were 'not dealt with by his biographers'.[59] Rabindranath was remembered as a down-to-earth parent whose august personality did not stand in the way of his relationship with his children. His friendly approach was recalled through his attempts to introduce his children to the many worlds of practical learning, such as allowing them to handle a precious heirloom clock from his grandfather, Prince Dwarkanath, and teaching them how to wind it. He also nurtured affectionately the literary and artistic talents of his nephews and nieces. Rathindranath noted:

> Father never treated any of his children harshly, nor did he, on the other hand, lavish sentimental affection upon them. I do not remember any occasion when Father subjected any of us to physical punishment. Temperamentally it was impossible for him to use violence. During all the years of my boyhood and youth, only thrice have I seen him get really angry with me.[60]

Neither temperamental nor effusive, Rabindranath was nevertheless a strict disciplinarian and subjected his son Rathindranath to rigorous training and hardship.[61] Moreover, Rabindranath as a public intellectual was equally committed to the causes of children and implemented serious educational reforms and curriculum in his newly opened school in Santiniketan.[62] He also played a pioneering role in the world of children's literature.[63] In his private life, as a loving husband and father, he emerged as a supreme role model displaying complex emotions of love, affection and trust in a distinctly different fashion from his father Debendranath. His attitude, behaviour and practices closely adhered to the model prescribed in the Brahmo household compendium, *The Duties of Women* (1890), which scripted the duties of husband, wife and children in a paradigmatic nuclear family in late colonial India.[64] Rabindranath's ideas and actions reconciled the instructions of the

normative texts with his everyday practices of a father and husband. As Tosh pointed out in the context of Victorian fathers, his grieving or loving tenderness for his wife and children did not compromise his manliness.[65] As an iconic cultural figure, he received tremendous awe and respect from his children, but as a father he was always their close companion. Generational conflict or economic dependence and support did not surface in his children's recollections.

The exclusive status of the Tagores admittedly kept them far removed in their manners and practices from ordinary people. Rabindranath's example as a hands-on father and husband would also be hard to match among the population at large. Yet, as influential members of the educated community, they profoundly shaped *bhadralok* culture. To complicate the emotional schema of father–child relations, let us consider examples from two other important Brahmo families, not as powerful and illustrious as the Tagores, but which played crucial roles in the cultural life in colonial and post-colonial Bengal.

Beyond the Tagore fathers and children

Premankur Atorthi (1890–1964), an important writer, playwright and director, whose lifetime largely coincided with that of Rathindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Rabindranath's son, offers us a different portrayal of father–child relationships. In contrast to the Tagore children, Atorthi positioned himself as a risk-taker and a deviant in his long autobiographical novel *Mahasthabir Jatak* (3 vols, 1944–1954). Under no pressure to carefully guard the image of an aristocratic family, Atorthi's candid narrative capturing his caring yet temperamental father was closer to the emotional experiences of ordinary people. The conflict between generations and the socio-economic reality that were avoided in the Tagore narratives were palpable in those of Atorthi. He recalled the memory of an exceedingly strict father who often flew into a rage and threatened that his son would 'be beaten to death' for acts of disobedience. This image quickly switched to an overbearing yet nurturing father who himself warmed up the milk and handed out the bowls to his three sons. He took his sons – nine, five and four year-olds – for a walk in the streets of late nineteenth-century Calcutta and introduced them to the educational landmarks in the city. Unable to attain higher education owing to his adverse family situation, Atorthi's father instilled in his boys the values of hard work, studies, prayers and discipline, hoping that they would bring his dreams to fruition.[66] The experiences between fathers and sons reveal an emotional intimacy where the father voluntarily shared his

feelings and convictions. Atorthi chronicled not only the towering and generous personality of this whimsical yet high-minded father, but also his frequent outbursts of uncontrolled anger, subjecting his sons to brutal corporeal punishment for the slightest offence. We must note here that Atorthi did not have a female sibling, so it is hard to determine what his father's position would have been with regard to a daughter. For Atorthi's father, shaming, strictness and austerity were all part of the healthy rearing of children, imparting to the latter a superior, moral education. Nowhere in the text did Atorthi record that his father was suffering from a sense of guilt or remorse following his excessive anger; rather, softness and comfort always came from the mother, a female relative or a neighbour. Atorthi also recorded similar experiences in school in the inhumane beating he received at the hands of a British teacher who supposedly took 'great pleasure' in beating up native students.[67] The narrative chronicled many more deviant behaviours by the author and his friends and their encounters with the brutality of corporal punishment in school and at home. To what extent this culture at school had influenced practices at home awaits further research.

Atorthi's father, despite being prone to anger, was not typically the 'tyrannical' father described by Tosh.[68] His deployment of anger to exert authority could be idiosyncratic, but his lack of self-control was a sign of his own limitations. Although a member of the same reformist Brahmo community as the Tagores, he represented the aspiring middle class who struggled to make a 'respectable' living in the city. Unlike Debendranath or Rabindranath, he was not a leader who set norms for his family and followers, but he was determined to equip his sons with the necessary education and training so that they could lead a *bhadra* life. Harassed by the vagaries of life, Atorthi's father exerted his full-fledged masculine authority at home, particularly over his sons.

To complicate this narrative let us interrogate to what extent these behavioural patterns were gendered. Leela Majumdar (1908–2007), an outstanding female author, especially for children, belonged to the highly versatile and talented family of the elite Raychaudhuris, whose members through several generations had made pioneering contributions to the printing business and children's literature in colonial and post-colonial Bengal. In her autobiography *Pakdandi* (*The Winding Road*, 1986), Majumdar recalled that her childhood was spent in absolute bliss in the foothills of the Himalayas in north and north-eastern India. She wrote:

> in spite of having the supreme sense of happiness and security, my father was very strict. He had no doubt that severe spanking was

> absolutely mandatory to raise healthy children. My father was prepared to sacrifice everything for us; but he roared out so loud at the slightest acts of disobedience that our hands and feet froze. As a matter of fact, I never got along well with my father, and later in life we parted company forever. Whatever it was, as a child I used to avoid my father, but at the same time I had great respect for him.[69]

Majumdar's father was a representative of the successful Bengali middle class – he worked for the colonial government, was posted in different locales within India and harboured sensibilities that constituted the notion of *bhadra* (respectability). Leela vividly recalled the intensity of the slap that her father inflicted on her when she chewed on a plum stone that she picked from his empty plate. She also recounted his superb physical strength, extraordinary courage and sportsmanship, qualities that were highly valued by Indian men, especially in the face of British criticism. Her uncle (her father's elder brother), who actually raised her father, also nurtured a similar belief towards spanking, but he spared the girls. Leela's father did not. Leela narrated instances of playfulness that her father exhibited towards children, but the children never overcame the distance that grew out of extreme fear of their father's anger, temper and punishment. It is striking how anger and conflict in filial relationships featured prominently in Atorthi and Majumdar's narratives. The authors' expressions were likely less inhibited because of their families' lesser status relative to the Tagores.

Another important area of focus should be on how children were positioned in the narratives. The 'story-telling children' recounting austere, sanctimonious, playful and caregiving fathers were active constituents of the emotional expressions defining filial relationships. If anger was recalled as the dominant emotion among most fathers expressing authority and control (with the exception of Rabindranath Tagore, whose display of anger has not been recorded in the sources examined), the response that it elicited from children was that of fear. Yet fear alone could not keep the youthful impulses under control. Both Atorthi and Majumdar were risk-takers in several instances – Atorthi's delinquent behaviour in school and Majumdar's choice of her marriage-partner as a young adult are pertinent examples. Their deviant acts challenged the ordained behaviour expected of them by their parents. By transgressing the boundaries, they were at risk of being subjected to brutal physical and moral punishment and, in extreme scenarios, of losing their relationships with their fathers, as in the case of Leela Majumdar. Majumdar so frankly recorded the fall-out possibly because she was able to break away from the socio-economic control of her father.

The moral universe, which the fathers created and the mothers adhered to, subjected children to strict disciplinary codes. Violation of those norms established children as autonomous subjects exerting their agency, albeit exposing themselves to the risk of physical and moral chastisement. But in the context of India, physical punishment of children by fathers, apparently missing in the accounts of the Tagores, was entirely within the range of permissibility.[70] The dominance of the father, in particular, was established through disciplining both the mind and the body of the child. Physical punishment was considered therapeutic to remedy the ills that plagued the character, the 'prison of the body'.[71] The moral anxiety expressed in advice literature also sanctioned anger as a corrective to 'deviant' behaviour and we witness its manifestations in child–father interactions.[72] The evidence presented in this chapter was not just intrinsic to colonial Bengal. Autobiographies from all across India, including those of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, recorded rage and anger of fathers. We may infer from this that filial fear, but also defiance, were defining experiences of colonial Indian childhood.

Conclusion

The affective bond between fathers and children was not new, but the changing practices of emotional intimacies in filial relationships debunk the stereotype of distant Indian fathers. The chapter has aimed to foreground a changing context in which the dominant emotions of affection, anger, fear and despair were deployed. June McDaniel has argued that in Bengali aesthetic and devotional traditions, 'emotion is not a passive response but an active Eros, involving meaning, beauty, and creativity, which structures both self and world'.[73] More importantly, as Reddy has pointed out, emotions are not *sui generis* and they emerge as a result of 'an interaction between social organization and cultural form' and the human capacity to feel.[74] If thought and emotion are embodied and only understood in their social context,[75] the emotional practices that this chapter has recounted were embedded in the specific social settings (*sthana*), at the specific historical moments (*kala*), and were performed by the specific individuals (*patra*) that Rajat Ray has emphasized in his works. The selective examples from a specific community demonstrate not just 'collective feelings', but also a range of 'collective practices' of child rearing, and therefore also collective experiences of childhood that evolved through successive generations over a period of time.[76]

The fathers and children discussed here were products of colonial education and culture. Expressions of affection, outrage, restraint or effusiveness with children and the corresponding emotions of awe, happiness, fear and defiance map the dominant texts of behaviour of fathers and the emotional expectations and experiences of children. Between them, fathers and children defined and defied the norms in an altered socio-cultural scenario. Middle-class fathers and their children represented an 'emotional community' that was constitutive of the reigning patriarchy, charting the 'dominant norms of emotional life' and new emotional possibilities for children.[77]

Male members of the Indian intelligentsia were as invested in the ideas and practices of fatherhood as they were instrumental in formulating new visions of women and motherhood. The performance of fatherhood was an equally important component of the same patriarchy that had subjugated women to new ideological parameters at the close of the nineteenth century.[78] The fathers, as literate members of the middle class, were at risk of criticism by the colonial government. But paternal expressions of love, protection, control and discipline acted as an attribute and vector of colonial masculinity. The emotional practices of fatherhood translated the rhetoric of manhood into reality within the domain of the familiar and the intimate. Fatherhood enabled Indian men to redeem their precariousness and exert their masculinity in the hierarchical power relationship with women, servants and especially children in the negotiated space of the home. But these experiences, far from being universal, were contingent upon the specific contexts of marriage, social status and institutions within which they were enacted. The tension between fathers and children involved aspirations and expectations around notions of respectability of a new social formation closely linked to an imperial culture. The pleasures, pangs and anxieties of fatherhood were rooted in the larger political-economic and socio-cultural forces that shaped the practices of everyday life and, of course, children's emotional upbringing.

Notes

1. Pradip Kumar Bose, 'Sons of the Nation: Child Rearing in the New Family', in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 118–144, here 118, 119.
2. The engagement with family, women and children was evident beyond Bengal. For the Hindi-speaking belt, see Shobna Nijhawan, 'Hindi Children's Journals and Nationalist Discourse (1910–1930)', *Economic and Political Weekly* 39(33) (14 August 2004), 3723–3729.

3. The term 'emotional community' is used after Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107(3) (2002), 821–845.
4. See Rochona Majumdar, *Marriage and Modernity: Family Values in Colonial Bengal* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).
5. Rajat Kanta Ray, *Exploring Emotional History: Gender, Mentality and Literature in the Indian Awakening* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003), viii.
6. Ray, *Exploring Emotional History*, 324.
7. Tapan Raychaudhuri, 'Love in a Colonial Climate: Marriage, Sex and Romance in Nineteenth-Century Bengal', in *Perceptions, Emotions, Sensibilities: Essays on India's Colonial and Postcolonial Experiences* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 65–95.
8. Some critical works in the field are: William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History'; Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review* 90(4) (1985), 813–836.
9. William M. Reddy, *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia, and Japan, 900–1200 CE* (University of Chicago Press, 2012); Margrit Pernau, 'Male Anger and Female Malice: Emotions in Indo-Muslim Advice Literature', *History Compass* 10(2) (2012), 119–128. These works do not refer to Ray.
10. For the polysemic nature of Indian families, see Sylvia Vatuk, '"Family" as a Contested Concept in Early Nineteenth-Century Madras', in Indrani Chatterjee (ed.), *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), 161–191.
11. Indrani Chatterjee, *Forgotten Friends: Monks, Marriages, and Memories of Northeast India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013).
12. Swapna M. Banerjee, 'Debates on Domesticity and the Position of Women in Late Colonial India', *History Compass* 8(6) (2010), 455–473.
13. Sudipta Kaviraj, 'The Invention of Private Life: A Reading of Sibnath Sastri's Autobiography', in David Arnold and Stuart Blackburn (eds), *Telling Lives in India: Biography, Autobiography, and Life History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 83–115, here 84.
14. Rob Boddice, 'The Affective Turn: Historicizing the Emotions', in Cristian Tileagă and Jovan Byford (eds), *Psychology and History: Interdisciplinary Explorations* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 147–165.
15. Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester University Press, 1995).
16. Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*, 2.
17. Indira Chowdhury, *The Frail Hero and Virile History: Gender and the Politics of Culture in Colonial Bengal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).
18. Chowdhury, *Frail Hero and Virile History*, 2.
19. Partha Chatterjee, 'The Nation and its Women', in *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton University Press, 1993), 116–134; Tanika Sarkar, *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001).

20. Ruby Lal, *Coming of Age in Nineteenth-Century India: The Girl-Child and the Art of Playfulness* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).
21. Mrinalini Sinha, 'Giving Masculinity a History: Some Contributions from the Historiography of Colonial India', *Gender and History* 11(3) (1999), 445–460, here 454.
22. Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World: A Psycho-analytic Study of Childhood and Society in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981), 131.
23. Blair B. Kling, *Partner in Empire: Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).
24. Debendranātha Thākura, *The Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, translated from the Bengali by Satyendranath Tagore and Indira Devi (Calcutta: S.C. Sarkar and Sons, 1994), vi.
25. Thākura, *Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, iii.
26. Thākura, *Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, iii.
27. Thākura, *Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, iii.
28. Thākura, *Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, xvii.
29. Thākura, *Auto-Biography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*, xvii.
30. Rabindranath Tagore, *My Reminiscences* (London: Macmillan, 1917), 67.
31. Rabindranath Tagore, *My Life in My Words*, Uma Das Gupta (ed.) (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2006), 28.
32. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 70.
33. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 70.
34. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 77.
35. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 78.
36. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 101.
37. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 89–91.
38. John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 82–83.
39. Tosh, *Man's Place*, 84.
40. Rathindranath Tagore, *On the Edges of Time* (Kolkata: Visvabharati, 1958), 148.
41. Tagore, *On the Edges of Time*, 148–149.
42. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 77.
43. Rabindranath Tagore, *Chitthi Patra*, vol. 1 (Kolkata: Visvabharati, 1966), 28–29, emphasis added.
44. Shibnath Sastri, *Atmacharit* (Kolkata: Signet Press, 1952).
45. Tagore, *My Reminiscences*, 95.
46. Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers (eds), *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 18.
47. Lynn Zastoupil, 'Defining Christians, Making Britons: Rammohun Roy and the Unitarians', *Victorian Studies* 44(2) (2002), 215–243; Peter van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton University Press, 2001); David Kopf, *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind* (Princeton University Press, 1979).
48. Debendranath Tagore, *Brahma Dharma* (Kolkata: Brahmo Samaj, 1848).
49. Kakar, *The Inner World*, 113–139.
50. Tosh, *Man's Place*, 86–87.
51. For Tagore's ideals of love, see Sudipta Kaviraj, 'Tagore and Transformations in the Ideals of Love', in Francesca Orsini (ed.), *Love in South Asia:*

A Cultural History (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 161–182; Samir Dayal, 'Re-positioning India: Tagore's Passionate Politics of "Love"', in *Resisting Modernity: Counternarratives of Nation and Masculinity in Pre-independence India* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), 69–108.

52. Tagore, *Chitthi Patra*, 11–12.
53. Tagore, *Chitthi Patra*, 13–15.
54. For parallels, see Tosh, *Man's Place*, 83.
55. Tagore, *Chitthi Patra*, 67–69.
56. Broughton and Rogers, *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*, 18.
57. Of Rabindranath's five children, only his eldest son Rathindranath and youngest daughter Mira Devi survived.
58. Mira Devi, *Smritikatha* (Kolkata: Visvabharati, 1975), 7–8 (the manuscript of the handwritten letter is attached as a preface to the collection of essays).
59. Tagore, *On the Edges of Time*, preface (not paginated).
60. Tagore, *On the Edges of Time*, 149.
61. Devi, *Smritikatha*, 19.
62. Kathleen M. O'Connell, *Rabindranath Tagore: The Poet as Educator* (Kolkata: Visva-Bharati, 2002).
63. See Gautam Chando Roy, 'The Pathshala and the School: Experiences of Growing up in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Bengal', in Rajat Kanta Ray (ed.), *Mind, Body, and Society: Life and Mentality in Colonial Bengal* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 195–231; Tanika Sarkar, 'The Child and the World: Rabindranath Tagore's Ideas on Education', in *Rebels, Wives, Saints: Designing Selves and Nations in Colonial Times* (Kolkata: Seagull, 2009), 268–98.
64. Judith E. Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learned When Men Gave Them Advice* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2004).
65. As a philosophical and 'romantic' poet deeply committed to arts and humanities, Rabindranath was often criticized for being effeminate, but he himself never felt demeaned or threatened by such attributes. For Victorian fathers, see Tosh, *Man's Place*, 100.
66. Premankur Atorthi, *Mahasthabir Jatak*, vol. 3 (Kolkata: De's Publishing, 1964), 7–8.
67. Premankur Atorthi, 'Satyabadi' ['One Who Always Says Truth'], *Mouchak* 15(5) (1924, Jyaistha, 1331 BS), 66–72.
68. Tosh, *Man's Place*, 79–101.
69. Leela Majumdar, *Pakdandi* (Kolkata: Ananda Publishers, 1986), 5–6.
70. For the idea of physical punishment, see Bose, 'Sons of the Nation', 134–136.
71. Bose, 'Sons of the Nation', 135.
72. Pernau, 'Male Anger and Female Malice'.
73. June McDaniel, 'Emotion in Bengali Religious Thought: Substance and Metaphor', in Joel Marks and Roger T. Ames (eds), *Emotions in Asian Thought: A Dialogue in Comparative Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 39–63, here 54.
74. Reddy, *Making of Romantic Love*, 348.
75. Monique Scheer, 'Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And is that What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion', *History and Theory* 51(2) (2012), 193–220.
76. See Boddice, 'Affective Turn'.

77. Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: Journal of the History and Philosophy of the Emotions* 1(1) (2010), www.passionsincontext.de/index.php?id=557 (date accessed 25 June 2015). According to William Reddy, dominant norms of behaviour are prescribed by 'emotional regimes'; Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 129.
78. Chatterjee, 'The Nation and its Women'.

13

Anti-vaccination and the Politics of Grief for Children in Late Victorian England

Lydia Murdoch

This chapter sets out to explore the public and explicitly political forms of mourning for children in nineteenth-century England, using the protest movement against compulsory smallpox vaccination for infants as a case study. In Victorian England, grief took on new communal forms often associated with the body and material culture. For example, Jay's *London General Mourning Warehouse* on Regent Street opened in 1841, providing elite mourners with fashionable clothing and setting off a commercial industry. It was here that wealthy women could purchase black mourning dresses from the required 'list of silks, crapes, paramattas, cashmeres, *grenadines*, and *tulles*' to meet the latest fashions that changed, according to Jay's, 'not only every month, but well-nigh every week'.[1] Less well-off women resorted to pawnshops, borrowed dresses or dyed one of their own black out of respect for the dead.[2] The private emotional state of bereavement for the Victorians typically took public and visible, physical forms, epitomized but by no means monopolized by the 'halo of commercial grandeur' within Messrs. W. Jay and Company's expanded shop.[3] Funerals became grandiose affairs, from the state service marking the Duke of Wellington's death in 1852 (where the hearse alone cost £11,000) to working-class burials that nearly always left surviving family members in debt.[4] Post-mortem photographs marshalled the latest technology to provide what for many families would be their only keepsake image of those who passed. Deborah Lutz examines other tangible, physical relics – including hair jewellery, locks of hair and death masks – that Victorians used to evoke the emotional connections between the living and the dead.[5] After Prince Albert's death in

1861, Queen Victoria had at least eight pieces of jewellery made including his hair as she entered what would be an extreme and unusually extended period of mourning.[6] Criticism of increasingly ostentatious and expensive mourning rituals emerged as early as the 1850s and gained following through organizations such as the *Anti-Mourning Association* (founded in 1866) and the *National Funeral and Mourning Reform Association* (founded in 1875). Until the massive upheaval of the First World War, however, most Victorians sought comfort by expressing their grief and respect for the dead in visible forms often worn on the body or enacted in space through processions and public gatherings.[7]

Although most histories of death and the Victorians focus on adults, dying remained throughout the nineteenth century an experience largely associated with the young. By the end of the century, deaths of infants under one year old still made up one-quarter of all deaths in England and Wales. Even as the general death rate declined, infant mortality remained high with roughly one out of every seven children dying before reaching their first birthday.[8] Recent scholarship on parental bereavement during the nineteenth century has done much to address what José Harris identified in 1993 as 'a phenomenon that still awaits imaginative historical reconstruction'.[9] M. Jeanne Peterson offered one of the earliest accounts of elite Victorian parents struggling with the death of children in her analysis of the gentry couple Catherine and Archibald Tait, who lost five of their seven children to scarlet fever in 1856 – a case that Pat Jalland developed in detail in her foundational work *Death in the Victorian Family* (1996).[10] Moving from elite to working-class families, Ellen Ross and Julie-Marie Strange have shown how working parents also deeply grieved the deaths of children in ways that voiced the language of fatalism and resignation, but also expressed 'profound sorrow'.[11] What these and other recent works on child mortality share is a common rejection of earlier theories claiming that high child death rates discouraged parents from developing affectionate bonds with children or from mourning their deaths.[12] These emerging studies of child death also primarily concentrate on private forms of grief within families, particularly parental bereavement.[13] Mourning for children, however, took on ever more prominent public forms as childhood came to be redefined during the nineteenth century as a life stage associated with innocence, domesticity and protection.

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, anti-vaccinationist protesters integrated familiar communal mourning rituals into their political demonstrations in order to oppose what they interpreted as unjust class-based laws and to affirm their rights as English citizens,

and their children's rights as putative citizens. Political demonstrations in the form of funeral processions, black-bannered handbills and even post-mortem photographs of children directly brought modes of mourning into the public political realm, allowing working-class women, men and children a voice in shaping national debates.[14] By openly – and controversially – referencing their grief over children in public protests, the anti-vaccinationists illustrated Susan Matt's and Peter Stearns' point that: 'Choosing to express or repress a feeling . . . can be an explicitly political act.'[15] Judith Butler has likewise stressed how public forms of mourning shape awareness of political communities by marking particular lives as having value – and, by extension, representing generally unspoken views about which lives are not publicly valued. Writing in response to public reactions in the United States following 11 September 2001, Butler remarked that 'some lives are grievable, and others are not; the differential allocation of grievability that decides what kind of subject is and must be grieved, and which kind of subject must not, operates to produce and maintain certain exclusionary conceptions of who is normatively human', and thus who is deemed deserving or undeserving of full legal and political rights.[16] In the nineteenth-century context, public demonstrations of grief also served as markers of individual claims to citizenship and rights, for both working-class adults and their children.

Late Victorian anti-vaccinationists sought to employ the political potential of mourning rituals to communicate suffering and injustice particularly related to the protection of child life. Their protests reveal how child life became 'more grievable' (drawing on Butler's terminology) over the course of the nineteenth century as the ideal of childhood gained prominence and took on new meanings.[17] By the century's end, the ideal childhood was increasingly understood as a time of education and play rather than work and discipline.[18] Parental affection for children was certainly not new, but modern concepts of childhood brought greater political prominence to arguments of child preciousness and loss. In response to rallying cries to protect the young, grief for those who died prematurely arose as a major theme and mode of expression in many Victorian political debates, ranging from child labour laws to urban health and sanitation reforms to the abolition of slavery and Britain's role as an imperial power.[19]

By appealing to emotions of grief and rituals of mourning for children newly understood as precious, anti-vaccinationists enacted political protest in a new key, while drawing upon a long tradition of street activists, including opponents of the New Poor Law (1834), Chartists,

members of the Salvation Army and suffragists. The anti-vaccinationists' actions demonstrate how emotions tied to childhood, particularly the protection of child life and the mourning of child death, emerged as crucial markers of political legitimacy by the late nineteenth century – and also underscore how political arguments appealing to shared mourning elicited attack. Anti-vaccinationists have often been dismissed, both by their contemporaries and by historians, as one-issue, misguided quacks, who impeded medical discoveries that ultimately led to the eradication of smallpox – a disease that in the early nineteenth century remained one of the greatest threats to child life.[20] However, by appealing to public appreciation of child life along with widely accepted communal forms of expressing grief in the context of political protest against the state, anti-vaccinationists disrupted the existing 'emotional regime', William Reddy's term for the 'normative order for emotions' that is essential to 'any stable political regime'.[21] Public grief for children, presented as having been harmed by state vaccination policies, thus questioned the very meaning of the nation and asserted a greater political voice for working-class men and women, while at the same time forcefully expressing the sanctity of individual child life as an end in itself.[22] Thus, public mobilization of grief for dead children emerged as a powerful statement of working-class and women's political rights, as well as of the importance of safeguarding children from avoidable suffering.[23] At the same time, the explicitly political and public expressions of mourning sparked controversy and ultimately reinforced widespread representations of the anti-vaccinationists' marginality and even inhumanity. The political and public expressions of mourning for children proved so new that they created a backlash from critics, who not only lambasted the anti-vaccinationists' scientific arguments, but also decried their public displays of emotion vulgar and inauthentic.

'Murdered by Compulsory Vaccination': political demonstrations of mourning

In her expert history of the English anti-vaccination movement, Nadja Durbach argues that opposition arose against state vaccination policies largely because of the class-based nature of the legislation, in addition to continued medical and religious resistance to the use of the cowpox vaccine developed by Edward Jenner in the 1790s.[24] The 1853 Vaccination Act required the vaccination of all English and Welsh infants within three months of birth. Popular resistance increased significantly after the 1867 Act enforced compulsory vaccination more rigorously

by appointing public vaccination officers and increasing penalties for non-compliance. Private doctors who served wealthier clients generally preferred using calf lymph for the vaccine matter, but public vaccinators relied mostly on arm-to-arm vaccination.[25] Opponents of this method objected to the possible transmission of blood diseases, including erysipelas and in extremely rare cases syphilis, and to the widespread practice of harvesting vaccine lymph supplies directly from the cowpox pustules of recently vaccinated children. Fear proved a main driving force behind the movement, since the actual threat of dying from diseases transmitted by arm-to-arm vaccination remained very low. Yet political inequalities also fuelled opposition to compulsory vaccination as adults objected to what they took as insufficient regard for the lives of working-class children as well as to the use of class-based methods of enforcing the law. Parents who refused to vaccinate their children could be fined up to 20 shillings – a punishment that, after 1867, could be imposed repeatedly until the child reached the age of 14. Working-class parents who were unable to afford fines as well as court costs risked having their household goods seized and sold at public auctions and, if fines remained unpaid, were liable to be sentenced to up to two weeks' imprisonment. Durbach details the growth of the anti-vaccination movement, so that in Leicester, the centre of protest, some factories closed for the 1885 national anti-vaccinationist demonstration.[26] The government eventually created a clause for conscientious objection to vaccination in 1898, which in 1907 could be granted by a simple oath before a local magistrate or justice of the peace, thereby effectively undoing compulsory vaccination in England and Wales.[27]

Victorian journalists and writers often characterized the anti-vaccinationists as a fringe movement, but Durbach underscores their deep ties with other working-class groups, particularly labour, Protestant dissenters and women's rights campaigners.[28] Grief for dead children gave women – especially mothers – a new political voice to speak on issues of individual rights, child custody and bodily autonomy that proved central not only to the anti-vaccination movement, but also to a host of other nineteenth-century reforms, including earlier opposition to the New Poor Law, the campaign to repeal the Contagious Diseases (CD) Acts (1864, 1866 and 1869) that introduced state medical regulation of prostitution, and women's suffrage. Many prominent women who opposed compulsory vaccination also served as leaders of the women's movement; these included activists such as Frances Power Cobbe (1822–1904), Josephine Butler (1828–1906), Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy (1833–1918), Ursula Bright (1835–1915),

Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929), and, most of all, the working-class suffragist Jessie Craigen (1834/1835–1899). The prominent anti-vaccinationist Mary Hume-Rothery (1824–1885), daughter of the Liberal Member of Parliament Joseph Hume, highlighted these connections in her pamphlet *Women and Doctors: Or, Medical Despotism in England* (1871). The work presented a broad call for Englishwomen's rights in areas ranging from women's suffrage to higher education and control over childbirth and reproduction. Hume-Rothery condemned both the Vaccination Acts and the CD Acts for overturning traditional English liberties and creating a political structure 'under which free-born Englishwomen can no longer call their bodies or their babes their own'.[29]

In the midst of the growing women's suffrage movement and the campaign against the CD Acts, which Parliament suspended in 1883 and repealed in 1886, anti-vaccinationists held a series of controversial demonstrations that drew upon Victorian mourning culture to present parental bereavement as an explicit form of political protest. On the late afternoon of 5 August 1884, just hours after the Marquis of Salisbury brought petitions to the House of Lords demanding the repeal of compulsory vaccination laws, the 'House of Commons was assailed . . . by an extraordinary procession of petitioners'.[30] A brass band playing the 'Dead March' from Handel's *Saul* led the procession. Expressions of grief over dead children and the preciousness of infant life, however, remained the centrepiece of the parade. The band was followed by a group of six women wearing mourning dress, each holding a baby in her arms, riding aloft a carriage and pair – the typical sort of passenger carriage used for funerals. While it was not unusual for working-class women to join funeral processions, the mere presence of these female mourners challenged earlier strictures against upper- and middle-class women attending funerals.[31] Jalland notes that as late as 1870, *Cassell's Household Guide* cautioned elite women not to follow the example of the poor by allowing women at funeral services, where they too often 'interrupt and destroy the solemnity of the ceremony with their sobs'.[32] It was more accepted for elite women to attend services and processions by the 1890s, but only if they kept their grief contained – exactly what the anti-vaccinationists refused to do. The women protesters sang along with the band as they distributed handbills embellished with black mourning borders. The leaflets explained that the demonstrators came before the House of Commons in response to 'the child of a couple living in Peckham [who] had been vaccinated, and three weeks later died of erysipelas'.[33] Banners stated the case more forcefully: 'Murdered

by Compulsory Vaccination.'[34] Demanding the repeal of the Vaccination Acts, the protesters ended their circular with 'an appeal to the working women of South London to join in this demand of the Legislature'. Several of the regional newspapers that widely reported on the procession alongside updates of General Gordon and the Siege of Khartoum spitefully suggested that 'the appeal seemed to have fallen on deaf ears, the working women being probably otherwise engaged'.[35] The anti-vaccinationists did not go completely unheard, however, for that evening the group of women demonstrators interviewed the Liberal Member of Parliament for Stockport, Charles Hopwood, 'in the outer hall of the House of Commons'.[36]

By publicly bringing women's grief for children through the streets of London and into the House of Commons (albeit restricted to the 'outer hall'), the protesters sought to gain recognition and blame the State for harming children. The strategic use of a funeral procession – including mourning dress and Handel's 'Dead March', first performed at the King's Theatre in 1739 and by this time regularly used in State funerals – brought attention to the deaths of children that anti-vaccinationists claimed went unrecognized by the government. The use of widely shared visual and musical mourning customs may have raised sympathy for grieving parents. But protesters also hoped that the appeal to emotion would highlight what they claimed the government overlooked: the supposedly deadly effects of the Vaccination Acts on individual working-class children.

The processional banner declaring 'Murdered by Compulsory Vaccination' drew upon the movement's established rhetoric. In 1879, the *London Society for the Abolition of Compulsory Vaccination* cited a parliamentary report from the previous year to conclude that '25,000 children are slaughtered annually by diseases inoculated into the system by vaccination' and that 'a far greater number are injured and maimed for life by the same unwholesome rite'.[37] Mary Hume-Rothery used similar rhetoric in her pamphlet, *150 Reasons for Disobeying the Vaccination Law, by Persons Prosecuted under it* (1878), which reproduced statements taken mostly from police court reports. The case of Charles Washington Nye of Chatham, imprisoned eight times for disobeying the Vaccination Acts, opened the document with the declaration that 'he lost two children, murdered by vaccination at one time'.[38] Subsequent entries reported cases of children 'injured', 'damaged', 'ruined', 'poisoned', 'killed' and 'murdered'. James Button, a farmer from Norfolk, declared: 'I cannot suffer my children to be vaccinated until I can allow my conscience to brand me as a murderer.'[39] The funeral

procession of August 1884 and following protests took this rhetoric to the streets. By February 1885, *The Vaccination Inquirer* printed lyrics for a 'Vaccination-Funeral Ode' to be sung to the tune of 'Hark the Herald Angels Sing':

> They have slain our bonny boys;
> Festered o'er their infant joys.
> Swine that rend us from our pearls,
> They have slain our little girls. –
> Vaccination, skin and bone,
> Laughs upon his gory throne.[40]

Once again using familiar genres for new purposes, protestors transformed the popular Christmas carol into an eight-verse testimony that portrayed innocent children in gruesome danger.

Anti-vaccinationists thus reinforced notions of childhood innocence, but within the populist framework of classic Liberalism stressing individual rights and liberties.[41] Proponents of vaccination, going back to the initial global campaigns to transmit Jenner's cowpox vaccine in the early nineteenth century, drew upon emerging ideals of childhood innocence as well. Supporters of vaccination argued that the procedure not only saved lives, but also protected innocent children and promoted parental domestic affection. Doctors and government officials held up vaccination policies in England and the Empire as primary evidence of progress and universal humanitarianism, while at the same time glossing over the practical inequalities inherent in these very programmes: the main subjects used to carry the live vaccine across the globe tended to be working-class, orphaned, 'mixed-race' or colonial children treated as subjects of the State rather than as citizens.[42] When late nineteenth-century anti-vaccinationists appealed to notions of childhood innocence, their aim was to challenge the increasing interventionist powers of medical authorities and the State – Mary Hume-Rothery's *Medical Despotism* – characterized most of all by the CD Acts and Vaccination Acts. The class-based nature of the Vaccination Acts encouraged anti-vaccinationists to overlook the vast number of lives saved through medical advancement and instead focus on the threat to personal rights and bodily autonomy. In their formulation, the medical State threatened rather than protected innocent children; it was the 'swine' that killed 'bonny boys' and 'little girls', destroying 'infant joys', all the while mocking the people as a tyrant from 'upon his gory throne'. The anti-vaccinationist understanding of the child also

associated childhood innocence with individual rights and liberties – the foundations of liberal citizenship.

By the 1880s, Jessie Craigen underscored children's new status as citizens as she emerged as a key organizer of local anti-vaccinationist protests. Craigen had already established herself as a temperance reformer, a campaigner against the CD Acts and vivisection, as well as a radical-liberal leader of the women's suffrage movement who spoke at national women's meetings by the early 1880s. Her background as a child actor in pantomime and her working-class associations ultimately caused middle-class suffragists to marginalize her contributions.[43] Yet Sandra Stanley Holton shows how, despite women's differences, Craigen sought unity among suffragists by stressing women's and children's shared suffering through what Craigen termed 'mother love', although she herself remained childless and unmarried.[44] By the autumn of 1883, the anti-vaccinationist press recognized Craigen as a rousing speaker at outdoor meetings around London, where she joined others in calling for the repeal of the Vaccination Acts.[45] In the spring and summer of 1884, she travelled beyond the capital to speak before audiences of over 1,000.[46] By August, the Marylebone Police Court fined her for holding several meetings before 'large audiences in Primrose Hill Park on compulsory vaccination'.[47] She directly engaged parents who disobeyed the law and was likely a main organizer of the August 1884 anti-vaccination funeral procession to Parliament. She published a letter in *The Vaccination Inquirer* recounting the specific case of the Peckham infant, Mary Ann Maria Phillips, who died from erysipelas following vaccination. 'The point I wish to call attention to is this', wrote Craigen:

> that even were the security against small-pox real (which it is not), yet that security ought not to be obtained by the legal slaughter of a minority of children who perish under the lancet. Each citizen has an equal right with all others to protection for life and health, and the State has no right to force destruction, or the rule of destruction, on any, even for the supposed benefit of all.[48]

As a suffragist, Craigen used grief for children to raise questions of rights and to emphasize how all lives within the political body deserved equal recognition and protection. Her argument gave new status to children by stressing the value of the individual child life and claiming that even infants held the fundamental rights and liberties of citizens.

Through her words and her actions, Craigen underscored the political importance of parental – paternal as well as maternal – grief as an

emotional reminder of the individual rights of children and their parents. In the months following the August 1884 demonstration, she led a number of processions celebrating the release of anti-vaccinationists imprisoned for refusing to pay fines – a common tactic among anti-vaccinators.[49] Henry Crisp, a shoemaker, spent two weeks in Holloway Gaol and emerged as a model of loving fatherhood and a spokesman for individual rights.[50] He opposed compulsory vaccination on the grounds that 'having lost one child, killed by vaccination, [he] refused to be accessory to the murder of another'.[51] Upon his release, Craigen met him outside Holloway in an 'open carriage'. She passed out handbills in the streets and gave a 'vigorous speech' against the Vaccination Acts before joining a procession of at least ten other carriages led by a band to Crisp's home at Walthamstow.[52] In November, she joined a similar procession at Eastbourne honouring the release of Mrs Meredith from Lewes Prison. Craigen 'was foremost among the speakers, and was everywhere cheered to the echo', her words no doubt contributing to the 'sympathy' several members of the local town council expressed for the event.[53] Two months later, hundreds of people assembled at Eastbourne to oppose the auctioning of goods seized by police from locals who refused to pay fines for non-compliance with the vaccination laws. The *Sussex Daily News* reported that Craigen 'harangued the multitude from a carriage in front of the police-station' – revealing how controversial her public presence, speech and demeanour remained even in this overall positive account. Craigen 'quoted statistics' in support of her cause, but most of all appealed to the authenticity of anti-vaccinationists' emotions regarding the value of children. According to the newspaper: 'She called upon Eastbourne ratepayers not to vote for Guardians who would not promise to respect the feelings and opinions of the anti-vaccinators.'[54] She went on to link the cause of women's and children's suffering with the need for suffrage, declaring: 'I am only a poor woman. If women have no votes they have voices; and God has given me powers of speech to advocate the cause of the poor, down-trodden, and oppressed' (loud applause).'[55]

On Saturday, 20 December 1884, Craigen organized another more elaborate anti-vaccination demonstration in the form of a funeral procession – this time crossing from the East End to the West End of London. The march followed the death of a specific child for whom anti-vaccinationists contested the physician's officially reported cause of death. 'An infant killed by vaccination in Hackney was certified by the medical attendant as having died of scarlet-fever and whooping cough', reported the *Vaccination Inquirer*, 'although there were no

signs of eruptive fever, nor did the mother ever hear the child cough.'[56] Demands for an inquest into the child's cause of death had been denied. Opposed by the law and by medical authorities, Craigen 'took the matter up'; she appealed to shared forms of grief and mourning to bring the anti-vaccinationist cause – and specifically the testimonies of women and mothers – before the public.[57] Moving from East to West London, the procession 'passed through the principal streets, attracting great attention', bringing the subjective world of emotion and feeling into public display as a core political message of the movement.[58] The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* identified the Anti-Vaccination Society's tactics as a form of 'street realism' that took the group's 'claim that the enforcement of the law of vaccination is a direct source of infant mortality' and 'embodied it into a series of demonstration funerals'.[59] The funeral march aimed to mark what otherwise remained silenced or denied: the intrinsic value of individual child lives harmed by compulsory vaccination and the rights of working-class parents and children.

The order of the procession across London reinforced this association between the increasing preciousness of child life and assertions of working-class political rights. First came the band riding in an open brake carriage as they played the 'Dead March' from *Saul*. Next to the driver along the carriage side, a woman supported a large placard with the message: 'To the memory of a child killed by Act of Parliament.'[60] An open hearse drawn by two horses followed the band. It carried the child's small white coffin – the typical colour reinforcing youthful innocence – encircled with wreaths. Finally, there were 'a number of mourning coaches filled with women in black, and a banner inscribed, "In memory of 1,000 children who have died this year through vaccination"'.[61] Countering the law and medical authorities, anti-vaccinationists gave a central place to child sufferers and the women who mourned them. Craigen sought wider public sympathy for children and the grief felt for their loss by appealing to the music, language and modes of embodied mourning. The funeral demonstrations appealed to shared mourning practices to uncover what the anti-vaccinationists termed harmful injustice of the law that sacrificed helpless children. By placing women mourners as the core participants in the processions, Craigen gave voice to working-class women like herself, including the otherwise unheeded Hackney mother who had never heard her child cough, but remained unable to overturn the official cause of death.

However, the majority of newspapers responded by challenging the very feelings and emotions that Craigen sought to reveal and uphold

as legitimate sources of political authority. *The Globe*, one of London's oldest evening papers and a strong critic of the anti-vaccinationists, declared the procession to be an 'outrage', a 'hideous spectacle' of 'revolting character'.[62] It decried the inauthenticity of emotion in what it understood to be a moment of theatricality, rather than what the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* had termed 'street realism'. Craigen's efforts were called 'a mock funeral procession', which presented 'caricatures of a most solemn and most saddening religious ceremonial'. Rather than conveying sincere grief, the women of the mourning carriages made 'pretence to be overcome with woe'. *The Globe* concluded: 'It would be a waste of time and trouble to appeal to the feelings of people who get up such shameful exhibitions as this shocking burlesque. They cannot have any feelings, or they would not so flagrantly violate the most elementary principles of public decorum.'[63] *The Globe*'s insistence that mourning for children should remain private and that such public, explicitly political referencing of grief must necessarily be inauthentic highlighted the newness of the anti-vaccinationists' tactics. Craigen sought to give voice and visual representation to the otherwise ignored bereavement of parents whose children died following vaccination in an effort to question the Vaccination Acts. But critics of the movement stressed that the anti-vaccinationists' grief, like their scientific knowledge, was a false vulgarization. By condemning the procession as a 'burlesque', *The Globe* not only declared the protestors' grief to be false, but also suggested that such demonstrations ridiculed sincere emotion. The reference to burlesque – a form of theatre popular with working-class audiences – also reinforced the marginality of working-class anti-vaccinationists and implicitly denied their claims to the essential sovereignty of the child.

It was particularly the public display of emotion used for political purposes – the bringing of working-class protests and female mourners into the thoroughfares of London's West End – that riled the newspaper to appeal to the law as a power that might prevent such demonstrations in the future in order to 'uphold public decency'. Otherwise, *The Globe* claimed: 'West-end streets will soon be utterly unfit for persons of any refinement or feeling to walk or drive through.'[64] Regional papers echoed *The Globe*'s condemnation of the anti-vaccinationist tactics. *Berrow's Worcester Journal* declared that the 'burlesque recently enacted by them in the West End streets of London was as disgraceful as it was scandalous'. The newspaper singled out the women's 'mock grief' as 'really disgusting' and supported *The Globe* in arguing that such a 'revolting sight' should have been 'instantly stopped by the police authorities'. 'The vaccination alarmists might at least be content with

their private "public" meetings', it wrote, 'without outraging the feelings of the English people by ridiculing the most solemn of our religious rites.'[65] Gauging the 'feelings of the English people', of course, cannot simply be done by a review of press reports. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, one of the country's leading papers that expressed greater support of the anti-vaccinationist cause, underscored the mixed crowd response to the demonstration by writing that a bystander who condemned the procession as a '"ghastly blasphemous parody" was at once set upon by half a dozen women, which showed that the anti-vaccinationists had their sympathisers distributed freely abroad amongst the crowd'.[66] Such disputes in the streets and in the press over whether the funeral procession marching from East to West London was an act of realism or a burlesque parody suggest that much more was at stake than the standards of public emotion. By openly mourning the Hackney child's death, the anti-vaccinationists questioned the official cause of death (prioritizing a mother's knowledge over a medical certificate) and moreover asserted the grievability of this individual child's fatality – a public mourning that, as Judith Butler stresses, brings political recognition.

'Children's Day': the national anti-vaccination demonstration

Three months later, on 23 March 1885, anti-vaccinationists organized the national demonstration at Leicester attended by at least 20,000 marchers.[67] The procession was followed by evening meetings at the Temperance Hall and another the next morning for delegates, including Craigen, who came as a representative of the *South London Women's Liberation League*.[68] Countering earlier charges of theatricality and insincerity, organizers wrote in February that the parade would have 'music and banners, and illustrations realistic and pathetic' in order to combat the 'conspiracy of silence'.[69] Again, protestors incorporated public displays of grief and mourning for dead children and anxiety for endangered children into the procession. Along with displays of 'furniture seized for blood-money', a model of Holloway Prison, a horse and cow representing the sources of vaccination, and even an effigy of Edward Jenner hanged from a borrowed gallows and scaffold, there was 'a well-appointed hearse, with a child's coffin inscribed, "Another victim of vaccination"'.[70] The *Daily News* reported that 'a real coffin for a child, covered with wreaths' was carried on a 'carriage bier, and followed by mourners'.[71] Banners also highlighted women's grief with statements

such as 'Rachels are weeping for their children all over the land' and 'The mothers of England demand repeal'.[72] One life-size visual reproduced an image familiar in the anti-vaccination press: 'a skeleton vaccinating an infant in its mother's lap, while a policeman grips her uplifted hand – the mother's face being full of agony and the babe's face of infantine unconsciousness – while the skeleton and the officer of the law are grinning with horrid expressiveness'.[73]

Along with these representations of child death and parental bereavement, however, the Leicester procession also incorporated living unvaccinated children as displays of health and symbols of liberty. One eyewitness wrote to the *Vaccination Inquirer*, 'Leicester, Monday, 23rd of March, 1885, will be a golden date on the page of memory, a birthday of liberty. It should be known as the Children's Day'.[74] Many young participants were the children of the 5,000 individuals who at the time of the demonstration had been summoned for non-compliance with the vaccination laws.[75] The children marched together as a group following four other 'detachments': parents who had 'suffered terms of imprisonment', those from whom police had seized household goods to cover fines, those who had paid fines and members of the Boards of Guardians who refused to enforce the compulsory laws.[76] The *Vaccination Inquirer* heralded the 'large deputations of the five or ten thousand "infantile law-breakers," to whose honour the day was devoted, looking so fresh, and wholesome, and free from blemish, that many and many a warm heart must have cursed the horrid tyranny which threatened them with a peril worse than an enemy's siege of Leicester'. These children, with 'bright, happy faces', joined in 'waving their own tiny bannerets and cheering with delight', as 'mothers at upper windows clasping their infants' looked on.[77] The children's contingent put the new nineteenth-century ideal of childhood on display in the flesh. The innocence, happiness and health of child marchers became equated with English liberty, just as expressions of mourning for premature child death stood for State tyranny.

Moreover, the national rally at Leicester gave children a direct political voice as citizens in the making. Youthful demonstrators not only served as material evidence of healthy, happy and innocent children uncontaminated by vaccination, but also acted as political agents by marching in their own contingent, by carrying banners and by cheering on the crowds of onlookers. Child participants in the march became 'infantile law-breakers' in their own right. No longer merely the objects of political debates, these infant and youthful protesters began to take on the role of active citizens.

Conclusion

Emotions related to child life and child death served as essential aspects of the late Victorian anti-vaccination movement, as well as of the broader working-class and women's rights campaigns associated with it. Anti-vaccinationists drew upon common mourning rituals to gain a political voice for themselves and a political status for children. By publicly and repeatedly integrating funeral processions, mourning dress and music into their political demonstrations, protestors –including the many women and men who were still denied suffrage – expressed their sense that the Vaccination Acts harmed individual children and that the State should not overlook these lives. That these tactics sparked such an intense backlash from the press suggests they marked a notable disruption of the 'emotional regime', not only by bringing grief for children into public view for political purposes, but also by politicizing the child in a radical new way. Yet, ultimately, the successful undoing of compulsory vaccination following the 1907 Act rested not upon scientific arguments, but on the conscientious objection of parents who testified to the sincerity of their beliefs and the sanctity of their children. By the early twentieth century, both the new ideal of happy, unblemished childhood, full of sovereign potential, and public expressions of grieving following child death would become lasting components of political culture.

Notes

1. Richard Davey, *A History of Mourning* (London: Jay's, 1889), 95. I am grateful for comments and suggestions on this chapter from Nadja Durbach, Andrew Evans and Stephanie Olsen. I also thank the Elinor Nims Brink Fund of Vassar College for its generous support of this research.
2. Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870–1918* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 193; Julie-Marie Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain, 1870–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 118–120.
3. *Ladies' Blackwod's Magazine*, as quoted in *Notices Historical and Miscellaneous Concerning Mourning Apparel, &c. in England* (London: n.p., 1850), 33.
4. On Wellington's funeral, see Gerhard Joseph and Herbert F. Tucker, 'Passing On: Death', in Herbert F. Tucker (ed.), *A Companion to Victorian Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 110–124, here 119; John Wolffe, *Great Deaths: Grieving, Religion, and Nationhood in Victorian and Edwardian Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 28–55. While James Curl and others have focused on the extravagance of working-class funerals, Julie-Marie Strange argues that such accounts have been 'mythologized' and that 'the definition of working-class death custom in terms of social status alone is unhelpful'; see James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1972); and Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain*, 99.

5. Deborah Lutz, 'The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39(1) (2011), 127–142; Deborah Lutz, *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).
6. Lutz, 'Dead Still Among Us', 132. On the unusual nature of Queen Victoria's mourning, see Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 318–121.
7. On the effects of the First World War on mourning, see David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain', in Joachim Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1981), 187–242. Jay Winter explores how traditionalist modes of mourning remained influential and took on new meanings during the First World War. See Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).
8. Anthony Wohl, *Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 11; Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 120.
9. José Harris, *Private Lives, Public Spirit: A Social History of Britain, 1870–1914* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 54, quoted in Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 124.
10. M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 108–115; Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 119–142.
11. Ross, *Love and Toil*, 189–194; Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain*, 230–62, quotation 261.
12. In *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), Lawrence Stone argued that high child mortality rates limited parental affection for children. Linda A. Pollock was one of the first scholars to challenge this view in *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1983). See also Robert Wood, *Children Remembered: Responses to Untimely Death in the Past* (Liverpool University Press, 2006); Anthony Fletcher, *Growing Up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600–1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 81–93.
13. Leonore Davidoff offers an important exception in her chapter on sibling death in *Thicker than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 308–334.
14. For an example of children's post-mortem photographs used for the anti-vaccinationist cause, see William J. Furnival, *Alleged Vaccinal Injuries: Illustrated* (Stone: William J. Furnival, 1907).
15. Susan J. Matt and Peter N. Stearns, introduction to *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 1–13, here 5. In making this general point, Matt and Stearns are referring specifically to the work of Nicole Eustace and William Reddy. See Nicole Eustace, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 11; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 124–125.
16. Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), xiv–xv.

17. Butler, *Precarious Life*, 30.
18. For general overviews of the history of modern childhood, see e.g. Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500* (London: Longman, 1995); Peter N. Stearns, *Childhood in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
19. Lydia Murdoch, '"The Dead and the Living": Child Death, the Public Mortuary Movement, and the Spaces of Grief and Selfhood in Victorian London', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, special issue on child death edited by Kathleen Jones, Lydia Murdoch and Tamara Myers (forthcoming, 2015); Lydia Murdoch, '"Suppressed Grief": Mourning the Death of British Children and the Memory of the 1857 Indian Rebellion', *Journal of British Studies* 51(2) (2012), 364–392.
20. See Susan Pedersen, 'Anti-Condescensionism', review of *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853–1907*, by Nadja Durbach (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), *London Review of Books* 27(17) (1 September 2005), 7–8.
21. Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 124, 129.
22. The nation and the State in this sense do not imply established 'forged' entities, but rather, in Antoinette Burton's words, 'something *always* in the process of *becoming* . . . as an historically pliable ideal always being performed through repetitive and ritualized acts, but never fully achieved'. Burton is applying the work of Bernard S. Cohn and Greg Dening as well as Judith Butler; Antoinette Burton, 'Who Needs the Nation? Interrogating "British" History', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 10(3) (1997), 227–248, here 237, emphasis in original.
23. For a discussion of the emotional cultures of working-class history in the context of nineteenth-century America, see Thomas C. Buchanan, 'Class Sentiments: Putting the Emotion Back in Working-Class History', *Journal of Social History* 48(1) (2014), 72–87.
24. Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853–1907* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).
25. Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 3. Durbach notes that, after 1871, parents who failed to return their children to the public vaccinator to supply lymph could be fined 20 shillings.
26. Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 43–44.
27. Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 190.
28. Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 41–47.
29. Mary Hume-Rothery, *Women and Doctors: Or, Medical Despotism in England* (Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son, 1871), 16.
30. 'Our London Letter', *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent* (6 August 1884), 2; 'House of Lords', *The Times* (6 August 1884), 6.
31. Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 221; Strange, *Death, Grief and Poverty in Britain*, 123–124.
32. 'Death in the Household', *Cassell's Household Guide: Being a Complete Encyclopaedia of Domestic and Social Economy, and Forming a Guide to Every Department of Practical Life*, vol. 3 (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1869), 344–346, here 344, quoted in Jalland, *Death in the Victorian Family*, 221.
33. 'Our London Letter'.

34. *National Anti-Compulsory Vaccination Reporter* (September 1884), 198, quoted in Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 63.
35. 'Our London Letter'. For other regional reports, see 'London Correspondence', *Western Times* (6 August 1884), 4; 'A Novel Deputation', *Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire* (9 August 1884); 'A Sensational Deputation', *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette* (6 August 1884), 3; 'Correspondence', *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* (7 August 1884), 3; 'Anti-Vaccination Demonstration', *Western Mail* (7 August 1884); *Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (8 August 1884); 'Summary of the Week's News', *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicester Mercury* (9 August 1884), 3; 'News in Brief', *York Herald* (9 August 1884), 11; 'Notes of the Week', *Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald* (12 August 1884), 3.
36. *Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (8 August 1884).
37. 'How Parents May Protect Their Offspring from the Dangers and Injuries of Vaccination', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 1 (April 1879), 14.
38. Mary Hume-Rothery (ed.), *150 Reasons for Disobeying the Vaccination Law, by Persons Prosecuted under it* (Cheltenham: George F. Poole, 1878), 3.
39. Hume-Rothery, *150 Reasons for Disobeying the Vaccination Law*, 4.
40. 'Vaccination-Funeral Ode', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (February 1885), 206.
41. On the Old Liberalism of anti-vaccinationists, see Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 69–90.
42. Lydia Murdoch, 'Carrying the Pox: The Use of Children and Ideals of Childhood in Early British and Imperial Campaigns against Smallpox', *Journal of Social History* 48(3) (2015), 511–535.
43. Sandra Stanley Holton, 'Silk Dresses and Lavender Kid Gloves: The Wayward Career of Jessie Craigen, Working Suffragist', *Women's History Review* 5(1) (1996), 129–150. See also Sandra Stanley Holton, 'A "Strange, Erratic Genius": Jessie Craigen, Working Suffragist', in *Suffrage Days: Stories from the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Routledge, 1996), 49–69.
44. Jessie Craigen, as quoted in Holton, 'Silk Dresses and Lavender Kid Gloves', 134.
45. 'Miss Craigen's Meetings', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 5 (October 1883), 148.
46. 'The Right Hon. James Stansfeld, M.P.', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (April 1884), 12; 'Miss Jessie Craigen in Primrose-Hill Park', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (August 1884), 91.
47. 'Miss Jessie Craigen in Primrose-Hill Park'.
48. Jessie Craigen, 'A Peckham Disaster', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (September 1884), 116.
49. Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 50.
50. On anti-vaccinationists' appeal to masculine ideals and nurturing fatherhood, see Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 55–60.
51. 'Mr. Henry Crisp, of Walthamstow', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (October 1884), 131.
52. *North Western Gazette*, as quoted in 'Mr. Henry Crisp, of Walthamstow'.
53. 'Demonstration at Eastbourne', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (January 1885), 193.

54. *Sussex Daily News*, as quoted in 'Demonstration at Eastbourne', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (February 1885), 210.
55. *Sussex Daily News*, as quoted in 'Demonstration at Eastbourne', 210.
56. 'A Procession across London', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (January 1885), 193.
57. 'Procession across London'.
58. 'Anti-Vaccination Demonstration', *York Herald* (27 December 1884), 8.
59. 'London Letter', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (22 December 1884), 2.
60. 'London Letter', 2.
61. 'Procession across London'; Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 63.
62. 'What are We Coming to!', *The Globe* (22 December 1884), 1.
63. 'What are We Coming to!'.
64. 'What are We Coming to!'.
65. 'London Letter', *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (27 December 1884), 4.
66. 'London Letter', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (22 December 1884), 2.
67. 'Anti-Vaccination Demonstration at Leicester', *The Times* (24 March 1885), 10. Durbach cites estimates of crowds of between 80,000 and 100,000; see Durbach, *Bodily Matters*, 51.
68. 'Evening Meeting', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 7 (April 1885), 6; 'Conference of Delegates', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 7 (April 1885), 14.
69. 'Notes of the Month', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 6 (February 1885), 197.
70. 'The Procession', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 7 (April 1885), 5; 'The Leicester Demonstration', *Vaccination Inquirer and Health Review* 7 (April 1885), 4.
71. 'Anti-Compulsory Vaccination Demonstration at Leicester', *Daily News* (24 March 1885), 6.
72. 'The Procession', 4.
73. 'The Procession', 4.
74. 'The Procession', 4.
75. 'Anti-Vaccination Demonstration at Leicester.'
76. 'Anti-Compulsory Vaccination Demonstration at Leicester.'
77. 'The Procession', 5.

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