'Handicapped': Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and the Provision of Youth Movement Activities for Disabled Children in the North of England, 1907-1970.

Grace Chapman

Copyright Statement

Abstract

In the last three decades, the historiographies of Scouting and Guiding have developed to explore gender differences, citizenship, imperialism, internationalism, and identity. Often absent from these studies, however, is the place of disability. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to tackle the omission of forgotten disabled young people in histories of the largest youth movements the world has ever seen. Exploring from their beginnings in 1907 to changing disability policies in 1970, the primary goal of this research is to uncover what provision was available and the limitations surrounding its delivery.

In no way does this thesis aim to chart the entire history of disabled involvement, but it covers five important themes that help to illuminate this wider history. Citizenship, transnationalism, collective identity, adult leadership and institutional permeability and segregation are all familiar themes to disability historians, but they are used here to explore the participation of disabled young people within Scouting and Guiding. Focusing primarily on the north of England, it uses local, regional, national, and international sources, from both movements, personal collections, institutional schools, and hospitals, alongside material culture and photographs to reveal hidden narratives. Throughout these narratives, the importance of gender, disability categorisation and the structure of the movements in overall delivery of youth movement activity for disabled young people, are brought to the forefront of discussion. Ultimately, this thesis will argue that the ideals projected by the central members of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were not always the reality of the ground level provision for disabled young people.

Acknowledgements

Originally, when I started writing this thesis, I wanted to say in my acknowledgements that I did this all by myself and include a large image of my face and my cat. However, upon reflecting over these past four years I simply cannot do that. This thesis has been shaped by so many people, and a twenty-three-year-old fluffy support cat, whom without, I would not be writing this today. Firstly, I would like to thank my family, friends, and various colleagues for trying to understand an experience they have no desire of ever undergoing to cheer me on. There is not enough space in the entire 80,000 words to reference everyone who has encouraged me over the last four years, but a special mention must be made to my favourite twins, Lily and Alex Vaughn whose steadfast support, coffee breaks and uncouth wine/cocktail nights got me through some of the darkest moments. To Laila, Amy and Meg, my high school friends who always had prosecco on hand and Katherine Bradley, my best friend and biggest cheerleader, who genuinely listened to my research, wanted to know what I had found, and believed that what I had to say was worthwhile and important. To Gemma Sedman, Alice Roper, Lizzie Pybus and Katie Oliver who have supported me not only through my PhD years but my entire seven years at Huddersfield University. A big thank you to my Auntie Gill, stepdad Kel and sister, Eleanor for your never-ending encouragement, and to my partner Kieran, who has had more faith in me than anyone I have ever met, danced in the kitchen with me and made me believe I could finish this work even when I was crying into wine on the sofa. In addition, I simply could not write this without thanking my Mum for supporting me to the end of the earth to make sure I achieve everything I ever want. You are a true inspiration.

Secondly, I would like to thank those at Girlguiding and The Scout Association for their help trawling through archives and offering up their precious documents, memorabilia, and indeed memories. A special mention to Angie Goddard, at the WYSholme activity centre and archives, who has helped me across these past four years rooting through material, backing exhibitions and public history projects, and providing incredible sources that have helped shape this thesis. Also, to the Economic History Society who funded a vital research trip, the Huddersfield University Library Staff and the Manchester University Archives and John Rylands Special Collections staff who have been incredible.

Finally, to Huddersfield University for funding this thesis and all the staff and post graduate students at the University, and beyond, who have positively impacted my work and post graduate life. From those that sat through painful progression vivas, to those that cornered me in corridors to see how my research was coming along and forced me to speak about it, to those that read horrific pieces of work and offered nothing but positivity and constructive feedback, I could not be more grateful. A big thankyou to Dr Vikram Visana for trawling through drafts and offering insightful advice and guidance, and reading this whole thing cover to cover. However, my biggest thank you goes to my main supervisor Dr Rob Ellis. You have been a source of unwavering support, not only throughout my PhD but my undergraduate years also. Offering endless constructive criticism, positivity, and inspiration, you ignited my passion for disability history, helped me down my public history career path, and made me believe I could achieve things I truly thought were unachievable. You have inspired me in ways you could never imagine, fought for me, made me believe in myself and helped shape me into an individual I am proud to have become. Without you there would be no thesis, and that I truly believe.

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Abbreviations

WAGGS	World Association of Girl Guide and Girl Scouts
WOSM	World Organisation of the Scout Movement
BP	Baden Powell
BNA	British Nationality Act
LEA	Local Education Authorities
VAD's	Voluntary Aid Detachments
A.C.C.	Assistant County Commissioner
M.D	Mentally Deficient

Key Legislation Referred to in this Thesis

1893 Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act

1899 Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act

1907 Education (Administrative Provisions) Act

1913 Mental Deficiency Act

1914 Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act

1918 Education Act

1928 Representation of the People's Act

1948 British Nationality Act

1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act

1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act

1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act

Introduction

The most popular youth movements the world has ever seen, the Boy Scouts, originating in 1909, and the Girl Guides, 1910, aimed to provide citizenship training and recreational pursuits for young people. While they were not the first youth movement in existence, with the Boys' Brigade formed in 1883, they were the first to include disabled young people in their ranks. This was not planned, with a firm ideal of able-bodied members set by Lord Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the movements. At the inception of the Scouts, Baden-Powell had 'but one type of boy in mind – the average healthy youngster, sound in mind and limb, a boy with a lively imagination who could join in wholeheartedly in the manifold activities presented to him in *Scouting for Boys.*'[1] This ideal resonated across Scouting materials, yet handicapped boys were still included within the movement. Blind, deaf, "physically handicapped", epileptic, "invalid", "backward", and "mentally deficient" children, throughout the twentieth century, were incorporated into the movements through the 'Extension' section in Guiding, and the 'Handicapped' section in Scouting.

Despite the 'ideal' set by Baden-Powell, the inclusion of boys falling short of these requirements did happen and was encouraged. It was stated that

> 'the great Scout Brotherhood is for all boys – those that are handicapped as well as those that are fit. No matter what affliction besets a boy, whether he be blind, or deaf and dumb, a cripple, or doomed to a lifetime as a helpless invalid, or in other countries if he be afflicted with that dread disease of leprosy, he still has one thing in common with his brothers who are normal – the brotherhood of Scouting, with its many resources to help through dull days and its many opportunities of proving that every boy can become a useful member of the community, whatever his handicap.'[2]

This contrasting quote from the ideal, specified above, begins to show how complex Handicapped Scouting and indeed Extension Guiding was.

Focusing on the north of England, this thesis highlights local differences and hidden histories of disabled scouts and guides that would otherwise be lost in a national narrative. It explores the issue of these previously silenced histories and the factors that effected the participation of disabled young people in the Scouts and Guides. Investigated through themes of citizenship, transnationalism, identity, leadership and the segregation and permeability of institutions, this thesis in no way means to chart the history of the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Girl Guides but reveal a forgotten element of these popular youth movement histories. To begin with, this introductory chapter will discuss the origins of the Handicapped Scouts and the Extension Guides,

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[1] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 240.
[2] Ibid.

following a brief introduction to both movements. This will include discussions on Post Guides and Scouts, groups made specifically for those members who were house bound, which will help to situate examples of this division used within this thesis. Secondly, the historiography of Scouting and Guiding will be discussed, exploring key themes that have emerged including gender and citizenship. This will then lead on to discussions of disability histories and mental health histories in terms of both schooling and institutionalisation. Highlighting the historiography of special school provision and institutionalisation is essential at this stage, to situate where Scouts and Guides operated and the fields volunteer coordinators had to navigate in terms of setting up, running, and sustaining provision. After exposing gaps within current research, this chapter will then move on to reveal the methodology of the thesis and source material used, before finally stating the thesis outline.

The Origins of the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides

Both movements were formed by Baden-Powell, as brother and sister movements. Considered a military hero for his role in the defence of Mafeking, Baden-Powell was featured in local and national newspapers such at the *Manchester Guardian,* for his military work, which made him a household name.[3] Following his army career, he became vice president of the Boys Brigade in 1903, and subsequently published *Scouting for Boys,* a magazine highlighting his training ideals.[4] Following the success of his literature, Baden-Powell held a trial camp on Brownsea Island, Dorset, in 1907, where boys participated in camping, woodcraft and observation. From then on, the Boy Scouts were born. Headed by Baden-Powell himself, and the Girl Guides, headed by his sister Agnes, followed by his wife Olave, both organisations were formed as leisure outlets and methods of citizenship training.[5] While the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts catered for girls and boys aged 11-15, the Brownies (formerly Rosebuds), originating in 1914, and Wolf Cubs, 1916, provided programmes for children aged 7-10 and the Rangers (Guiding), 1916, and Rover Scouts, 1918, for those aged fifteen and over. Both youth movements aimed to be 'non-military, non-political, non-class and non-interdenominational; open to all who could subscribe to the promise to do their duty to God, their country and their neighbours.'[6] Originally reflecting contemporary Edwardian fears of racial degeneration,

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[3] Anon. (1900, May 4). The War. *Manchester Guardian,* pp. 5-6.

[4] Warren, A. (2008, September 23). *Powell, Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-, First Baron Baden-Powell* [Web log post]. Retrieved from https://www-oxforddnb-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30520?rskey=PkFqoG&result=7#odnb-9780198614128-e-30520-div1-d216198e590. [last accessed 20/08/2019].

[5] Warren, A. (2011, January 06). *Powell, Olave St Clair Baden- [née Olave St Clair Soames], Lady Baden-Powell* [Web log post]. Retrieved from https://www-oxforddnb-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-30779?rskey=PkFqoG&result=5. [last accessed: 20/08/2019]

[6] Anon. (1929, June 13). 50,000 Boy Scouts in Camp. *The Times.* p. 13.

questionable moral behaviour, and imperial fragility, with the primary aim to train Britain's youth to be physically fit, healthy, and ready to defend their Empire, these objectives changed as the social, political, and economic climate of the country developed.[7]

While there are no shortages of origins stories, current narratives from the likes of Baden-Powell, other contemporaries, those working for the associations in the modern day, and academics have not discussed the origins of the Handicapped and Extension sections.[8] Expanding these works to include discussions on the birth of the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides reveals hidden minority histories that have not previously been of interest to the academic world, associations themselves, and inaccessible to wider society.

Both branches were developed on an ad hoc basis by members of the public, educational establishments, and people within the organisations. The Girl Guides named their section for the disabled the 'Extension Section'. Listed in several publications, the Extension Section of Guiding was outlined, at the 1957 Centenary Rally, as:

> 'Ranger and Guides companies and Brownie packs for:
> (a) The Blind (in schools, institutions, workshops, hostels, unattached and Post companies).
> (b) The Deaf (in schools, institutions, missions, homes and Post companies).
> (c) Mental Defectives (in schools, institutes and colonies).
> (d) Mental Hospital patients.
> (e) Epileptics (in colonies, schools and homes).
> (f) Physically handicapped (in hospitals, sanatoria, convalescent and cripple homes, special schools and guilds and unattached companies and packs for the physically handicapped).
> (g) Post Rangers, Guides and Brownies (cripple, invalid, deaf or blind girls living at home or in institutions where there is no company), by whom Guiding is done through the post, in the form of a company meeting, or pack letter.
> (h) The educationally Sub-normal (in schools).'[9]

Although published in 1957, these outlines had been present since the early twenties, developing into official guidance and policy as the century progressed. Provision for disabled girls has always been referred to as the Extension Division, most likely due to the intervention of high ranks of

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[7] Smith, M. (2006). Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, Colonial Life, and National Strength. *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies, 12* (1), 52-63. Retrieved from http://rc4ht3qs8p.search.serialssolutions.com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/. p. 56. & Beaven, B. (2005). *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 97.
[8] The Boy Scouts Association. (1930). *The "Gilcraft" Series No. 8*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 11-15. & Scout Association. (2006). *An Official History of Scouting*. London: Hamlyn. & Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. p. 12-16. & Springhall, J. O. (1971). The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908–1930. *International Review of Social History*, *16*(2), 125-158. doi:10.1017/S0020859000004065. p. 128-135. & Cohen, S. (2012). *The Scouts*. London: Bloomsbury. p. 4-11.
[9] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1957). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North West Centenary Rally 11/05/57*. p. 39.

Guiding earlier in the movement's life. Comparatively, Scouting obtained and used many names for its section including 'Handicapped', 'Specials' and 'Special Tests' units, with the suggestion to call them 'Specials'[10] being proposed by Baden-Powell in 1928.

Across this thesis, the term 'Handicapped Scouting' has been used due to its prevalence in documents when compared to the other terms that were primarily present in interwar correspondence. These occurred mainly between Baden-Powell and other contemporaries, such as Dr Durward, a scouter at Brockley Hill Orthopaedic Hospital in Stanmore, Middlesex. In 1935 Baden-Powell wrote to Durward stating that ''Special Tests' was a bad name and conveyed nothing to outsiders nor to the boys themselves'[11] despite naming the branch himself seven years prior. He went on to add that he 'always, in speaking of the Branch, called it the 'Handicaps' which [conveyed] something of the idea of it.'[12] Undoubtedly, this shows the complexity of the changing naming conventions of the Handicapped Scouts, as even the leader of the association was unable to confirm the branch's title.

The variations in names were reflected in the wider organisations. Both the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts are known and have been known by several operational names. Currently known as The Scout Association (informally Scouts) and Girlguiding, the original names at the inception where The Boy Scout Association and The Girl Guide Association. Colloquially, the movements have been referred to as the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Scouts, Guides, Scouting and Guiding and have therefore been used interchangeably throughout this thesis. The difference between these naming variations and the branches for disabled young people, however, is that there were no regional challenges to name changes.

Discussions of the Extension and Handicapped branches names were not isolated to the central ranks within the inter-war years. In the north, the Manchester Handicapped Sub-Committee minuted, in 1946, that the 'desirability of changing the name to the "Alternative Test Department" was also put before the meeting; but nothing of merit for or against.'[13] Whilst the department was never renamed, the discussion in the north shows that the name of the branch was not fully accepted, suggesting why multiple names appear in different source material. To further this, discussions of renaming the division at the local level bring to light a key theme throughout this

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[10] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (10/06/1928). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[11] Baden-Powell to Dr Durward. (17/10/1935). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[12] Ibid.
[13] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 26/03/46.*

thesis, that the regional and grassroots members of the organisation did not always follow the ideals set by the central organisation members. It is likely this stemmed from the grassroots origins of the movement, and its unofficial beginnings.

The nature of the branches' beginnings caused confusion surrounding inception dates. In Guiding, for example, the press reported different dates of origin. The *Daily Mail,* in 1938, stated Extension Guiding 'had been formed in 1920'[14] providing groups within special education institutions for disabled girls. A sub-section of the Extension Section, The Post Guides, was reported to be started four years later in 1924.[15] Discussed in the next section, this division was created for girls to engage in Guiding through correspondence, hence the name 'Post Guides'. A Post Guides report in *The Times,* in 1925, stated the branch 'started in 1921 with only one child,'[16] contesting the 1938 *Daily Mail* report. The lack of an official date cements the argument that this branch was the product of grassroots activity, rather than top down, with no official documentation pinpointing its origins. This underlying reason for confusion was also apparent in Scouting. In 1934 *The Times* reported 'the branch first took concrete form in 1927.'[17] However, The Yorkshire School for the Blind's troop was formed in 1926, with units being reported across different institutions nationally from 1915.[18]

Difficulties around formal guidance was due to the sporadic nature of unit setups. In 1926, a letter from Sir Stephen Montagu Burrows to Baden-Powell, highlighted the bottom up nature of Handicapped Scouting, writing 'when Scouting was started, the inclusion of Disabled boys was not contemplated.'[19] Born in 1856, Burrows was a professor in modern history and the son of Captain Montagu Burrows, also a British historian.[20] Holding a peerage to the House of Lords, Burrows was a member of the upper-class society that dominated the upper ranks of the movement.[21] There is little biographical information on Burrows, yet his work within the Scouts is well documented in Baden-Powell's correspondence collection, from 1924 until Burrow's death in 1935. Baden-Powell asserted to Burrows that the branch formed 'sporadically without any propaganda.'[22] Reports were limited

[14] Anon. (1938, December 8). Disabled Girl Guides. *Daily Mail,* p. 3.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Anon. (1925, October 13). The Post Guides' Movement. *The Times,* p. 19.
[17] Anon. (1934, September 29). Disabled Boys as Scouts. *The Times*. p. 10.
[18] J Coohran Henderson to Baden-Powell. (08/09/1915). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]
[19] Burrows to Baden-Powell (n.d). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. p. 2.
[20] National Portrait Gallery. (n.d). *Sir (Stephen) Montagu Burrows (1856-1935), Professor of Modern History*. Retrieved from https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp102620/sir-stephen-montagu-burrows. [last accessed 25/08/2019]
[21] The Peerage. (2019). *A Genealogical Survey of the Peerage of Britain as well as the Royal Families of Europe*. Retrieved from http://thepeerage.com/p65619.htm. [last accessed 25/08/2019]
[22] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (1926). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers//lord-baden-powell-papers/ , [last accessed, 11/06/2018]

during the twenties, but in 1926, Baden-Powell's communication revealed that 'without any special organisation'[23] there were '115 Troops or Patrols of physically defective, epileptic, deaf and dumb, blind and mentally deficient boys together with a number of Troops connected with Institutions for juvenile delinquents.'[24] By 1932, a figure of 4,740 disabled Scouts was recorded, which, when compared to the complete census showing 2,039,349 members in 1931, was relatively low.[25] Whilst low in comparison, the absence of these individuals from history is still a significant minority missing from the historical record.

These figures show that Handicapped Scouting was, by 1926, operating on a significant basis without central governance, which indicates the information published in the 1934 *Times* report was incorrect. Contesting information throughout the period was undoubtedly due to lack of central control, influenced purely by regional resources. In Manchester, for example, the Manchester Jewish Fresh Air Home and School, reported in 1923 that a 'new and thrilling activity [was] the "Scout movement," entirely initiated and organised by the children themselves.'[26] Not only do school reports show regional differences, they highlight variations on an individual group level, proving provision was not coordinated by the association, but based purely on the initiative of an individual in the school, an adult in the community, or the children themselves. The impact of this for disabled children meant limited access, not only at the outset, but across the entire period.

Despite Baden-Powell's awareness of Handicapped Scouting from the First World War, it was not until August 1926, that Burrows was officially appointed 'Specials Commissioner' for the Handicapped Section.[27] Correspondence from Baden-Powell to Burrows stated 'I wanted to ask whether, with your great interest in the crippled Scouts, you would care to give us a hand in developing this branch of our Movement by acting as Commissioner for physical and mental defectives.'[28] A commissioner within Scouting and Guiding was, and still is, an individual responsible for a certain element of the programme, training, or general running of an aspect of the movement. His appointment signalled the first official involvement of the central organisation, eleven years after

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Anon. (1934, September 29). Disabled Boys as Scouts. *The Times*. p. 10. & Scouts. (2004). *The Passing Years Milestones in the Progress of Scouting*. Retrieved from https://members.scouts.org.uk/documents/About/history/fs295306.pdf. [last accessed: 24/06/2019]

[26] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/30/2/3, (1923). *Jewish Fresh Air Home and School, Second Annual Report, March 31st 1922-March 31st 1923*. p. 11.

[27] J. Coohrane Henderson to Baden-Powell. (08/09/1915). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers//lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]

[28] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (04/08/1926). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers//lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]

initial reports, to structure Handicapped Scouting. Burrows' role was one that involved promotion, visiting groups across the country, and deciding what elements of the scheme disabled boys should/should not access.[29] On Thursday 6th October, it was advertised in the *Radio Times* that Burrows would appear on the radio at 18:45 to discuss 'Scouting for the Disabled.'[30] Alongside his public relations role, he also supported those at the grassroots. In 1932, for example, he published *Scouting with a Handicap*, an instruction manual for working with disabled boys. The manual has not been found in collections alongside Handicapped Scouting papers, memorabilia, or literary collections, which suggests its reach was limited. Despite this, the text does evidence attempted guidance and central control from the Boy Scouts. The creation of the text, by Burrows, shows he fronted Handicapped Scouting in much the same way Baden-Powell did for the entirety of the movement.

Like Handicapped Scouting, the active role of the chief Guide, Olave, in Extension Guiding, was minimal, if not non-existent. Due to the continuous closure of the central Girlguiding archives, because of premises and archivist problems, correspondence collections have been unavailable throughout the period of research to highlight whether Olave's involvement paralleled Baden-Powell's in Scouting. However, there are records highlighting Olave's visits to disabled units across the country and the globe, discussed further in Chapter Two. Records of British engagement are apparent from the interwar period, with the *Times* reporting, in 1925, that 'Lady Baden-Powell, Chief of the Girl Guide movement, was present on Saturday afternoon at a gathering of Post Guides, held in the Swedish Hall, Harcourt-Street, [London].'[31] This report highlights Olave's awareness of extension units, but it is not indicative of her input, or lack of input, at any level of Extension Guiding. Mirroring Scouting, the lack of evidence surrounding Olave's involvement signifies the reliance of local resources in the creation, development, and maintenance of the Extension Section. Most evidence and discussion in this thesis explores institutional units through schools, hospitals and other places and spaces these young people were sent, yet there were branches of the Handicapped and Extension sections that catered for young people who were disabled in their own homes. In order to fully understand provision, it is imperative to also note the origins and development of this section also.

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[29] See, for example, Anon. (1927, September 30). Programmes for Thursday, October 6. *Radio Times,* p. 24. & Baden-Powell to Sir Montagu Burrows. (04/08/1926). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018] & Sir Montagu Burrows to Baden-Powell. (c. 1927). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]
[30] Anon. (1927, September 30). Programmes for Thursday, October 6. *Radio Times,* p. 24.
[31] Anon. (1925, October 13). The Post Guides' Movement. *The Times*, p. 19.

Post Guides and Scouts

Post Guiding and Scouting was created for those children with disabilities who were unable to
attend an active or institutional unit. The section was defined in the Yorkshire West Riding North
West Centenary Rally brochure, in 1957, as:

> 'Rangers, Guides and Brownies (cripple, invalid, deaf or blind girls living at home or in
> institutions where there is no company), by whom Guiding is done through the post, in the
> form of a company meeting, or pack letter.'[32]

Recognised under the Extension section from 1932 onwards, the official inception date is debated.
Scouting followed a similar scheme but this was not developed until 1930.[33] In 1926, It was
explained in the *Manchester Guardian,* that there was a 'fortnightly letter, written by the captain
and lieutenant and sent round to the patrol leaders, who in turn forward copies to each member of
their patrols.'[34] This created a system that resembled 'chain mail' where girls would disseminate
information to one another depending on their rank within the group. Each 'company' (group of
Guides) was headed by a captain and lieutenant. Depending on the number of girls in each company
would depend on the number of patrols. Each patrol had a smaller number of guides, usually five,
which had a member assigned as leader.

In comparison to Guiding, Scouting's Post programme offered 'monthly suggestions for self-training
through the post.'[35] This meant boys received letters less frequently than girls, as well as placing an
onus on carrying out activities for themselves, rather than with the aid of other scouts or leaders.
While advertised as a solution for all boys and girls who could not access an extension or
handicapped unit, for one reason or another, correspondence makes it clear that this was a last
resort, with face-to-face training being the preferred method by both associations. In 1930 a letter
from Burrows to a County Commissioner, a member of the association in charge at county level,
regarding the training of a disabled boy sheds light on this viewpoint.

> 'The next step will probably be to ask your consent to the appointment of a County Post
> Scoutmaster for your County, and he would be the person to ascertain whether local help is
> available for the training of the disabled boy, or whether training by correspondence is the
> only possible course.'[36]

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[32] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1957). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North West Centenary Rally 11/05/57.* p. 39.
[33] Burrows to County Commissioner. (April 1930). Cited on BYU Library, available at
https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[34] Anon. (1925, November 9). Post Guides: REACHING THE INVALID GIRL. *The Manchester Guardian,* p. 4.
[35] Fisher, C. (1930, February 5). What "Post Scouts" Are. *Daily Mail.* p. 17.
[36] Burrows to County Commissioner. (April 1930). Cited on BYU Library, available at
https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

Training through the post, then, was not a preferred method, and was to only be undertaken if it was 'the only possible course.' The fact it was planned and delivered on a regional basis, coordinated by different people, rather than being controlled by a national body, indicates it was run in a similar way to active and handicapped Scouting. This, much like Scouting in institutional and community units, led to limitations which are explored across this thesis.

Evidence of letters sent in Post Scouting and Guiding has been difficult to access with records not kept by regional bodies or in the accessed personal collections. That being said, the *Manchester Guardian* highlighted the contents of the letters sent in the 1925 article.

> 'In the letter there is usually a story designed to assist in character-training and intelligence. There is a section devoted to badge work or to handicrafts. There is a section dealing with health and nature; and a game, or some sort of competition, with a picture or a poem to inculcate a love of beauty, and a joke or two, to make the recipient of the letter laugh.'[37]

The description here, reveals that the scheme aimed to cheer the girls up, as well as develop their skills to fulfil the 'aim of producing in the end useful and efficient citizens,'[38] that overarched the entirety of the Guiding movement. For those children with disabilities who were not attending an institution, or who returned home from the holidays, social isolation has proven to have been prominent in their lives, due to a lack of leisure activities and relationships.[39] These letters aimed to tackle this, however their reach is difficult to measure.

Reports of Post Scouting and Guiding prior to the Second World War were limited, more so in the case of the Scouts. The lack of source material regarding the Scouting section, makes it hard to equally assess the branches alongside each other. The gaps in source material, however, does indicate that Guiding promoted the Post Guides to a much greater extent, actively seeking out individuals to be part of the section. In 1960, the Guiding West Riding North West annual report stated numbers were 'very low in the Post Guide Company, and any girls, who [were] permanently or temporarily inactive, would be welcomed.'[40] This showed that Guiding in West Yorkshire not only wanted to make the Post unit successful, but appealed to both temporarily and permanently disabled girls, was something that did not correlate with the actual reports of the units in the North. In 1931 there was a request that any leader, who knew a Guide was going to be ill for more than six months, inform the County Post Secretary so that the girl could be transferred to a Post unit and

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[37] Anon. (1925, November 9). Post Guides: REACHING THE INVALID GIRL. *The Manchester Guardian,* p. 4.
[38] Voeltz, R.A. (1992). The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27* (1), 627-638. doi: 10.1177/002200949202700404. p. 635.
[39] Anderson, E.M., Clarke, L., & Spain, B. (1982). *Disability in Adolescence*. London: Methuen & Co. p. 61&75.
[40] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Twelfth Annual Report, The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North-West*, *1959-60.* p. 16.

then automatically transferred back once they had recovered, to make sure that they did not lose 'ground or interest'[41] in the programme. This was still the case in the 1960s, as the West Riding North West Post unit reported that 'two active guides were attached as they had been confined to their homes through illness.'[42] This brought the unit total to three, all of whom had previously been active Guides. Across the period, then, Post Units were regularly used for those girls who were temporarily disabled, as an interim measure, rather than the permanently disabled.

The reasons behind this use are unclear, partially due to the lack of source material. What is clear however is the categorisation of disabled children that the movements aimed to serve. Both schemes primarily targeted those children who were classified as 'invalid', meaning they were house bound and as the associations saw it had no other 'source of outside interest.'[43] In addition to those deemed 'invalid' reports have indicated those with other disabilities were accepted. In 1925 Miss Joan Raxworthy, the secretary of the Post Guides, was quoted in *The Times* referring to blind children having received their letters in Braille and that the post units were 'able to accept any child, with the exception of the mentally deficient.'[44] Despite this inclusion statement, apart from those deemed mentally deficient, reports across the north of braille letters, or indeed those with other disabilities partaking in the scheme, were non-existent.

The lack of advertisement outside the association itself could go some way to explain these difficulties, especially in Guiding. Prior to 1930 there were reports published in both regional and national newspapers relating to the Post Guides, demonstrating that during the 1920s the Association was taking active steps to recruit from outside the membership pool. In 1925, the *Manchester Guardian* published a large article about the Post Guides, stating it gave 'the chance of being almost if not quite like every other girl.'[45] Promotion continued with figures being published in *The Times* highlighting that the branch was growing, not only in Britain, but also across the Empire; 'To-day there were between four and five hundred children in the movement, in addition to a certain number in the Dominions.'[46] This promotion aimed to highlight the success of the division and encourage girls who could not access an Extension unit to join. While other 1920s articles mentioned the Post Guides and their work, post 1930 there was no reference of the branch nor its

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[41] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1931). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North West, Thirteenth Annual report.* p. 13.

[42] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *Fourteenth Annual Report Yorkshire west 1961-62*. p. 16

[43] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1928). *The Girl Guides, Yorkshire, West Riding, North, Tenth Annual Report*. p. 12.

[44] Anon. (1925, October 13). The Post Guides' Movement. *The Times,* p. 19.

[45] Anon. (1925, November 9). Post Guides: REACHING THE INVALID GIRL. *The Manchester Guardian*, p. 4.

[46] Anon. (1925, October 13). The Post Guides' Movement. *The Times,* p. 19.

work in public. From 1930, the section was mainly advertised internally through association reports and materials circulated at Guiding events, such as rally programmes and commemorative publications. Public reach was therefore limited, explaining the lack of permanently disabled girls and girls who had not been a member previously who were registered as Post Guides. When compared to the source material for those members in institutions, Post Guides and Scouts have significantly less accessible material, meaning analysis across this thesis focuses primarily on Extension Scouts and Guides within institutions. References to Post Scouts and Guides serve as a starting point into the investigation and are used throughout to support the five factors across the five chapters.

Historiography

Due to the size and popularity of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, much youth movement scholarship has centred around these organisations. Academics have analysed these associations in various ways; however, disability has been absent from most studies. Key topics such as gender, citizenship, and internationalism have been pinpointed through research as central to the associations. These themes all resonate with those emerging in this thesis.

Changing gender roles in twentieth century Britain were key to developing the Guiding and Scouting programmes. Tammy Proctor has shown that associations believed 'boys needed to learn masculinity and girls were to absorb lessons of appropriate femininity, and both needed role models of the same sex.'[47] Similar arguments have been made in historiographical works exploring various elements of Scouting and Guiding's histories.[48] The nature of the movements, in that they were brother and sister organisations, means gender as a focus or sub-focus of analysis is often important when studying both movements side by side. This has been evidenced in both Proctor and Sarah Mills' work, with Mills exploring ways in which girls challenged the feminine activities laid out in Guiding texts during the early years of the associations' histories.[49] She then compared these with Scouting resources and analysed the way girls attempted to interact with the Scouts.[50] Engagement

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[47] Proctor, T.M. (2009). Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. xxvi-xxxviii). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. xxxv.

[48] DENNY, K. (2011). Gender In Context, Content, And Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks. *Gender and Society, 25*(1), 27-47. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25789920 & Chalmers, G., & Dancer, A. (2007). Art, Boys, and the Boy Scout Movement: Lord Baden-Powell. *Studies in Art Education, 48*(3), 265-281. doi: 10.2307/25475829. & Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000.

[49] Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls? Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342. p. 547.

[50] Ibid.

with gender themes is not surprising due to the segregated nature of the association and their gendered aims. Even works covering just one movement regularly engage with themes of masculinity and femininity, especially when exploring activities, developments, and when placed in wider social context, such as Girl Guide duties during World War One.[51]

While gender is centred as a category of analysis among many historiographical works, some researchers have used sub-themes, such as economics to discuss the gendered nature of the associations. Kristine Alexander, for example, highlighted the fact that inadequate family funds meant girls within Guiding were unable to access association films, magazines and radio programmes, as well as difficulties attaining uniforms and participating in the trips.[52] These economic restrictions were echoed by Jim Gledhill and Proctor, who focused on accessing uniforms and financial difficulties in sustaining membership of the movements through the subscription payments.[53] Studies focusing solely on Scouting have also discussed finances. Again, these have concentrated on membership access and class analysis evidenced in John Springhall's work, which explored the prohibitive nature of the Scouts for the working classes because of the uniform and membership costs.[54] Due to the centrality of gender, to the movements and wider research, it is essential to uncovering histories of disabled people within both associations.. Gender has therefore been used to analyse several elements of the Scouts and Guides programmes across this thesis, including citizenship.

Sian Edwards has focused much of her research around citizenship in youth movements, arguing that Scouting and Guiding had gendered expectations of citizenship and measured it through badges and tests.[55] In this thesis, badges are discussed in the context of identity, but it is key to note that citizenship was at the heart of the movements, incorporated into identity symbols such as uniforms and badges, alongside their activities, texts, and training schedules. Its breadth has attracted much

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[51] Voeltz, R.A. (1992). The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27* (1), 627-638. doi: 10.1177/002200949202700404. p. 628.
[52] Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 56.
[53] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 71. &
Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 110.
[54] Springhall, J. O. (1971). The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908–1930. *International Review of Social History*, *16*(2), 125-158. doi:10.1017/S0020859000004065. p. 158.
[55] Edwards, S. (2020). 'Doing nature' and Being a Guide: The Problem of the Town Guide in the British Girl Guides Association, 1930–1960. *History of Education Review, 49*(1), 45-65. https://doi.org/I 10.1108/HER-06-2019-0022. p. 48 & 60.

scholarship, however, there are yet to be works focusing solely on the role citizenship played within the Extension and Handicapped Divisions.

Eleana Albarrán argued that in Mexico the Scouts transcended the traditional definitions of citizenship, providing a global forum for young people to connect international and national identities.[56] Not all scholars, however, have linked these key themes, with transnationalism being a relatively recent trend within youth movement historiography. Focus on imperialism and internationalism, and how the programmes reflected these ideas, has dominated a significant proportion of academic research.[57] These debates have primarily concentrated on the inter-war period, placing changes in the context of the First World War, most prominently in relation to shifting social attitudes including cooperation and pacifism.[58] While both imperialism and internationalism have been a primary focus within international historiography, members in the highest ranks of both associations, such as Baden-Powell, wished to expand training on a global scale, exporting their ideas across the world. Edwards has highlighted the need for further studies of a transnational nature, to build upon this theme and uncover debates beyond imperial versus international.[59] This thesis begins to meet that need, bringing to light the hidden histories of disabled young people in the process.

The only academic works focusing solely on handicapped provision have been in relation to the Boy Scouts, more specifically, exploring learning and physical disabilities. Andy Stevens uncovered the changing attitudes within the associations, arguing that Scouting aimed to integrate disabled boys into mainstream activities rather than following the segregated trends of wider institutional provision.[60] Although Stevens concentrated primarily on those with learning difficulties, and those

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[56] Albarran, E. J. (2015). Boy Scouts under the Aztec Sun: Mexican Youth and the Transnational Construction of Identity, 1917-1940. In R. Jobs, & D. Pomfret (Eds.), *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*. (pp. 45-69). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 65.

[57] Please see: Johnston, S. (2015). Courting Public Favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. & Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. p. 15-16. & Warren, A. (1986). Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40. In J . M. MacKenzie (Ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (pp. 232-253). Manchester: Manchester University Press. & Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. & Pryke, S. (1998). The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement. *Social History, 23*(3), 309-324. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/4286517.

[58] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting Public Favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 508.

[59] Edwards, S. (2018). *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside: Creating Good Citizens, 1930-1960*. New York: Springer Publishing. p. x.

[60] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 282.

residing in mental institutions, his analysis of the reality of provision at the ground level was somewhat lacking. Building upon his research, this thesis aims to untangle the provision offered from what was advertised and discussed at the central levels of both associations, to what was provided on the ground. Despite the limitations of his research, Stevens provided a starting point and a glimpse into the provision for those with disability, when others have paid little interest.

Developing Stevens initial research, O.P Goyle explored the Boy Scout's provision for those with physical disabilities only. Providing an assessment on Scouting for/with physically handicapped boys in the twentieth century, by looking at the progression of the movement's disability policies on an international scale, Goyle failed to recognise the complexity of the association, trying to offer a global view of the Boy Scouts provision for the disabled, without in-depth detail and contextual localised disability history. It was argued that disabled scouts were viewed 'as a problem'[61] and needed a special programme to participate in activities.[62] This thesis challenges Goyle's initial assessments, whilst providing the much-needed contextual information to understand the Boy Scouts and Girl Guide's position on the international stage. Furthermore, by limiting his study to one categorisation of disability, Goyle was unable to provide a comprehensive picture of provision. Disability categorisation is imperative to understanding the differences in programme delivery across the twentieth century, and something that will be grappled with in this thesis.

When considering the Extension Division in Guiding, research has been even more limited. Official publications, such as Alison Maloney's *Something for the Girls,* have discussed elements of the Guiding Extension Division, mainly their activities.[63] Nevertheless, methods or experiences have yet to be reviewed in any detail. Maloney's text was commissioned by the association to shine a positive light on the work that had been done by Guiding between 1909 and 2009. Her discussion into the Extension section specifically, skirted over any debate surrounding inclusion, merely stating Guiding ensured provision was made and that girls could complete badges through adapted tests.[64] Omitting the difficult debates that were had internationally, nationally, regionally and sub-regionally shows that this work cannot be considered a starting point into discussions, rather an acknowledgement that the section existed as well as promotional material for Guiding's inclusivity.

While academic research on the Girl Guides has had no specific dedication to disability, a small proportion of scholars have mentioned the Extension Division in passing. One of the main influences

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[61] Goyle, O.P. (2004). *Understanding And Scouting With Physically Handicapped*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House. p. 165.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Maloney, A. (2009). *Something for the Girls: The Official Guide to the First 100 Years of Guiding*. Constable & Robinson: London.
[64] Ibid. p. 32.

in Girl Guiding historiography, Alexander, referred to Extension Guiding in her book *Guiding Modern Girls.* Specifically studying the interwar years, the theme of disability was largely absent, with Alexander showing girls were included and offered adapted tests to reduce the need for physical movement, specifically for maternal and domestic tasks, but taking analysis no further.[65] Following this, Edwards referenced difficulties faced by Extension Guiding in relation to camping.[66] These piecemeal mentions of Extension Guiding highlight that academics were and are aware of the division, but have chosen to neglect this aspect of history in favour of other themes such as internationalism, in the case of Alexander, and rurality in the case of Edwards. Though these experiences have largely been ignored this is not because they existed in a vacuum.

Being a guide or scout was part of the wider experiences of special education and recreation in twentieth century Britain. Special educational provision will be covered in more detail in each chapter, but it is important to note that special schools in the north of England provided both the venues and young people for many of the Guiding and Scouting groups. Without an understanding of this provision, it is difficult to see how these youth movements worked in the lives of the children participating. Schooling for disabled children was largely segregated, categorised based on disability, and access was not universal. Legislation entitling disabled young people to an education began at the end of the nineteenth century under the Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act 1893. This specifically related to blind and deaf children, leaving those categorised as physically handicapped, feebleminded or mentally deficient without a right to schooling. Education was largely offered through blind and deaf asylums. For the blind, this included occupational trades such as 'basket-making, boot and shoemaking and repairing, brush making, furniture-making and French-polishing, chair-seating, mattress-making, round and flat machine-knitting, mat-making, and weaving,'[67] supplemented with core curriculum subjects, such as writing, reading and arithmetic. For those who were deaf, schools reported teaching these core curriculum subjects, as well as placing prominence on swimming and other sporting activities.

For children with physical disabilities, learning disabilities, epilepsy or tuberculosis, their right to education came slightly later in 1899 with the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act. This, like the 1893 act required parents to ensure these children were receiving an appropriate education. By 1914 local authorities were empowered to make appropriate provision

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[65] Alexander, K. (2017). *Guiding Modern Girls.* Vancouver: UBC Press. p.57 & 66.

[66] Edwards, S. (2020). 'Doing nature' and Being a Guide: The Problem of the Town Guide in the British Girl Guides Association, 1930–1960. *History of Education Review, 49*(1), 45-65. https://doi.org/I 10.1108/HER-06-2019-0022. p. 54.

[67] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/7/39/2, (1935). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind, Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts 1934/35*. p. 12.

and in 1918 all children with disabilities deemed 'educable' had to receive education from the Local Education Authority (LEA). This statutory provision created a platform for both the Guide and Scout organisations to take their programmes to institutions. For those with physical handicaps, the range of schooling differed. Some children were educated in hospitals, some in residential schools for physically handicapped children, sanatoriums if they had tuberculosis, or in open air schools.[68] The type of subjects and amount of schooling depended on the child's medical conditions as well as their physical handicaps. For those with learning difficulties, the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act meant Local Education Authorities had to 'ascertain and certify which children aged seven to 16 in their area were 'educable defectives' and which were 'ineducable defectives.''[69] These categorisations determined what education a child would receive.

The education system largely influenced Guiding and Scouting provision for the disabled making historical debates relating to its development relevant to the context of this thesis. These discussions have been turbulent, especially in relation to disparities surrounding segregation. Differing motives for different groups contributed to this disparity, with facilities for those who were blind or deaf, for example, often being much more advanced, preparing young people for employment.[70] Julie Anderson has argued this was due to earlier education legislation for blind and deaf children, but schooling for these children occurred well before legislative provision.[71] Schooling was provided for the blind in Britain since the establishment of The Liverpool School for the Indigent Blind in 1791. Originally founded by a group of male Liberals, many of whom had visual impairments, the aim of the school was to teach the children to be independent through teaching trades, a method which was replicated in other blind schools during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Motives surrounding provision differed, from the fight for the right to education, as with the Liverpool School, compassion and philanthropic principles of wealthy benefactors, the belief facilities were a safer environment for those with visual impairments and the need to teach individuals to be independent to ensure they were not a burden on the state as adults.[72] When comparing the

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[68] Jarrett, S. (2012). *Disability in Time and Place*. Retrieved from https://historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/research/disability-in-time-and-place-pdf/. p. 37. [last accessed: 24/08/2020]

[69] Rieser, R. (2014). Inclusive Education: A Human Right. In M. Cole (Ed.) *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexuality, Disability and Social Class.* (3rd ed.). (pp. 190-216). London: Routledge. p. 195.

[70] Anderson, J. (2011). *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 21.

[71] Ibid. p. 20.

[72] Oliver, M., Sapey, B., & Thomas, P. (2012). *Social Work and Disabled People* (4th ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 125.

segregation of the blind children to those deemed to be backward or mentally deficient, there are distinct differences.

Segregated education for backward and mentally deficient children, surged after the 1910s. This was partially fuelled by the fear of the "feebleminded".[73] Mary Dendy, one of the leading eugenicists of the early twentieth century, saw the segregation of those classed as 'feebleminded', later referred to as mentally deficient, as scientifically moral, protecting both society and themselves from their menace.[74] Firstly, it was suggested crimes would decrease, secondly, room would be made in the gaols and workhouses, and finally, it would prevent their 'condition' from being passed to future generations.[75] Modern historical learning disability studies, focusing on the Edwardian period, tend to explore the impact of eugenics on disability policy. Lindsay Burch and Susan Patterson, for example, noted how 'eugenics advocates regularly invoked "the feebleminded" as a great menace to civilization'[76] to justify their motives. The four pillars of the Eugenics Education Society, founded in 1907, were 'sterilization, marital regulation, birth control and segregation of the unfit'[77] to prevent degeneration of the population. These values heavily influenced national policy and education. Some children accessed special classes, some stayed in mainstream education, but the vast majority were sent to institutions or left unable to access education all together.

The eugenicist thinking, researched by many disability scholars, is often regarded as one of the main factors in the expansion of institutionalisation.[78] Subsequent research, however, has turned to the roles of families. Jan Walmsley concluded that 'poverty, moral worth, respectability or otherwise of the family and employability of the person were factors influencing decisions to institutionalize young women.'[79] This was supported by Anne Borsay who agreed that some families saw disability as shameful, meaning children were marginalised within the family.[80] Borsay took this further, exploring the financial strain that caring for a disabled person at home placed upon the family, due

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[73] Winzer, M. A. (1993). *The History of Special Education: From Isolation to Integration*. Washington D.C: Gallaudet University Press. p. 314-320.

[74] Jackson, M. (1996). Institutional Provision for the Feeble-Minded in Edwardian England: Sandlebridge and the Scientific Morality of Permanent Care. In A. Digby & D. Wright (Eds.) *From Idiocy to Mental Deficiency: Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities* (pp. 161-183). Abingdon: Taylor and Francis. p. 162.

[75] Ibid. p. 161.

[76] Burch, S. & Patterson, L. (2013). Not Just Any Body Disability, Gender, and History. *Journal of Women's History, 25* (4), 122-137. doi: 10.1353/jowh.2013.0060. p. 124.

[77] Borsay, A. (2005). *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750*. New York: Palgrave McMillan. p. 102

[78] Rieser, R. (2014). The Struggle for Disability Equality. In M. Cole (Ed.) *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexuality, Disability and Social Class* (3rd ed.) (pp. 159-189). London: Routledge. p. 179.

[79] Walmsley, J. (2005). Institutionalization: A historical perspective. In K. Johnson & R. Traustadóttir (Eds.) *Deinstitutionalization and people with intellectual disabilities: In and out of institutions* (pp. 50-64). London: Jessica Kingsley. p. 59.

[80] Borsay, A. (2005). *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750*. New York: Palgrave McMillan. p. 180.

to the restricting employment opportunities of household members.[81] Eugenics, then, was a factor in influencing the making of the policy, but other social factors, including those relating to the wider family, helped to push people into institutions, making the extension sections of Guiding and Scouting viable. This push for segregation, however, was not only from those worried about the impact the feebleminded would have on society, or family decisions, but also the fact some schools refused to take those with disabilities.[82] Grounds were made based on disruption to other pupils, however issues with staff training, attitudes, and the inability to effectively deal and teach these children all contributed to their exclusion.[83]

Discussions into special schooling are part of the wider historiography of disability and learning disability historiography. This thesis spans both fields, meaning an understanding of the way disability has been academically approached is needed to contextually frame the research. Two main models have been developed to help frame disability studies. The first, the medical model, viewed disability as limiting the individual, and justified research to find treatments and cures.[84] This was the predominant model throughout the twentieth century until the 1980s, when there was a shift in medical education and a movement to community care.[85] The medical model can be seen to have links to the Handicapped and Extension Divisions, due to the focus on their disabilities when exploring activities. The second model of study is the social model. This 'tends to focus on the obstacles that prevent people with disabilities accessing and using the tools of modern life'[86] and, as a corollary, a link can be drawn to integration when thinking about the associations and disability. While the social model is widely accepted, it is still challenged. One of these challenges related to viewing normality as a social construct, and therefore not stopping discrimination from the wider public.[87] This means that while the social model is useful in academic terms, the reality of linking it to

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[81] Ibid. p. 181.
[82] Winzer, M. A. (1993). *The History of Special Education: From Isolation to Integration*. Washington D.C: Gallaudet University Press. p. 314.
[83] Anderson, J. (2011). *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 19. & Copeland, I. C. (2001). Integration versus segregation: the early struggle. *British Journal of Learning Disabilities, 29*(1), 5-11. doi: 10.1046/j.1468-3156.2001.00082.x. p. 9-10.
[84] Drum, C.E. (2009). Models and Approaches to Disability. In C. E. Drum, G. L. Krahn, & H. Bersani (Eds.) *Disability and Public Health* (pp. 27-44). Washington D.C.: APHA Press. p. 28.
[85] Green, S.E., Darling, R.B., & Wilbers, L. (2012). Has the parent experience changed over time? A meta-analysis of qualitative studies of parents of children with disabilities from 1960 to 2012. In B. Altman & S. Barnartt (Eds.) *Disability and Intersecting Statuses (Research in Social Science and Disability, Volume 7)* (pp. 97-168). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited. p. 101 & 102.
[86] Corbett, A. (2016). Social Exclusion of People with an Intellectual Disability: A Psychotherapist's Perspective. In R. Jackson & M. Lyons (Eds.) *Community Care and Inclusion for People with an Intellectual Disability* (pp. 76-86). Edinburgh: Floris Books. p. 77.
[87] Green, S.E., Darling, R.B., & Wilbers, L. (2012). Has the parent experience changed over time? A meta-analysis of qualitative studies of parents of children with disabilities from 1960 to 2012. In B. Altman & S. Barnartt (Eds.) *Disability and Intersecting Statuses (Research in Social Science and Disability, Volume 7)* (pp. 97-168). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited. p. 163.

wider social activity is somewhat limited, due to preconceptions rooted in the public and their treatment and views towards those with additional needs. Despite this, many scholars have used or referenced the models when researching disability in a historical context.

These histories have predominantly focused on institutionalisation, isolation and segregation with many themes overlapping with the historiography of mental health. While this is a separate field of study, arguments from this scholarship are taken and used due to the way Scout and Guide leadership categorised disability and included those in mental hospitals. Many discussions, reviewing conditions and treatment, have centred around the intervention of medical professionals in the lives of those with disabilities, especially in childhood histories. Borsay, for example, argued that disabled children were construed 'as permanent objects of professional intervention' which 'inhibited family attempts to shape alternative definitions of their lives.'[88] This overarching power of the medical professionals in the twentieth century was again referenced by Pamela Dale, as she argued that the interwar health visitors identified children as disabled and forced them to be diagnosed and seek medical treatment, rather than being offered a service in their homes.[89] These points very much demonstrate that a medical model of disability was present in twentieth century Britain, with Gareth Milward arguing '"disabled" was and is a status ascribed to certain individuals in specific circumstances, controlled by the medical profession.'[90]

Covered in greater detail in Chapter Four, medical intervention has been a theme that has dominated much of the scholarship relating to disabled children but has yet to be discussed in relation to youth movement provision. Angela Turner, for example, has stated that 'medical understandings of disability continued to dominate policy'[91] both in terms of education and integration. The control of the medical establishment links to Foucault's theory of the 'medical gaze', where the individual's body is separated from their identity as the physician finds the best treatment for the condition, or in this case disability, having total control and authority.[92] This is key when

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[88] Borsay, A. (2015). From Representation to Experience: Disability in the British Advice Literature for Parents, 1890-1980. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 87-102). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 93.

[89] Dale, P. (2015). Health Visiting and Disability Issues in England before 1948. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 117-130). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 219.

[90] Millward, G. (2015). Social Security Policy and the Early Disability Movement--Expertise, Disability, and the Government 1965-77. *Twentieth Century British History, 26*(2), 274-297. doi:10.1093/tcbh/hwu048. p. 281.

[91] Turner, A. (2015). Education, Training and Social Competence: Special Education in Glasgow since 1945. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 159-172). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 160.

[92] Foucault, M. (1973). *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited. p. 89.

studying the medicalization of disability and the impact on children across the twentieth century in relation to their experiences across all areas of life, including access to Scouting and Guiding.

Despite this focus on medical dominance, a second wave of research has emerged exploring how those with disabilities resisted or rebuffed the dominant narrative of institutionalisation.[93] Most relevant to this thesis is the theme of permeability. Discussed in depth in Chapter Five, ways in which people moved both inside and outside the boundaries of special schools, hospitals and other institutional facilities is imperative in understanding Scouting and Guiding provision but has yet to be placed within this context. Conversations surrounding activities outside institutional spaces began towards the end of the twentieth century. These, however, did not explore the extent of provision, or the varying ways in which permeability worked. Joanna Thomas and Frank Ryan, for example, mainly researched the institutionalised behaviour of those who left hospitals and the limited opportunities available to them.[94] While not all recent academic works have engaged in this second wave of research, links between communities and institutions have been emphasised.[95] This has included both visitors inside institutional walls, such as clergy members and those offering recreational activities, like the Scouts and Guides volunteers, and extra-institutional provision such as events in the local communities, church services and walking parties.[96] This thesis draws on both the first and second wave of disability history, exploring how institutionalised children accessed opportunities from Scouting and Guiding both within their institutional boundaries and outside of them, as well as revealing how disabled young people engaged with the associations' ideals.

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[93] Walmsley, J. (2006). Ideology, Ideas and Care in the Community, 1971-2001. In J. Welshman & J. Walmsley (Eds.) *Community Care in Perspective: Care, Control and Citizenship* (pp. 38-58). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. & Jarrett, S. (2016). The History of Intellectual Disability: Inclusion or Exclusion?. In R. Jackson & M. Lyons (Eds.) *Community Care and Inclusion for People with an Intellectual Disability* (pp. 21-30). Edinburgh: Floris Books. p. 22. & Chupik, J. (2006). Fires Burning: Advocacy, Camping and Children with Learning Disabilities in Ontario, 1950-1990. In D. Mitchell, et al. (Eds.) *Exploring Experiences of Advocacy by People with Learning Disabilities*. (pp. 119-127). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. & Kauppinen, L., & Jokinen, M. (2013). Including Deaf Culture and Linguistic Rights. In M. Sabatello, & M. Schulze (Eds.) *Human Rights and Disability Advocacy*. (pp. 131-145) . Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. & Goodley, D. (2003). Against a politics of victimisation: disability culture and self-advocates with learning difficulties. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 105-130) . London: Routledge.
[94] Ryan, J. & Thomas, F. (1987). *The Politics of Mental Handicap* (revised ed.). London: Free Association Books. p. 69.
[95] Rolph, S. (2006). The Role and Perspectives of Families. In J. Welshman & J. Walmsley (Eds.) *Community Care in Perspective: Care, Control and Citizenship* (pp. 173-186). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 173.
[96] Mooney, G., & Reinarz, J. (2009). Hospital and Asylum Visiting in Historical Perspective: Themes and Issues. In G. Mooney, & J. Reinarz (Eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*. (pp. 7-30) . Amsterdam: Rodopi. & Jarrett, S. (2012). *Disability in time and place*. Retrieved from https://content.historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/research/disability-in-time-and-place.pdf [last accessed 25/05/2021] & Ellis, R. (2013). 'A constant irritation to the townspeople'? local, regional and national politics and london's county asylums at epsom. *Social History of Medicine, 26*(4), 653-671. doi:10.1093/shm/hkt002. & McCrae, N., & Nolan, P. (2016). *The Story of Nursing in British Mental Hospitals: Echoes from the Corridors*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Methodology

As brother and sister movements, the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides provide the perfect subject for comparative analysis. The centrality of masculinity and femininity to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides has yet to be discussed in relation to the experiences of disabled young people. The prominence of gender ideals in the programmes and literature of both associations means that it needs to be investigated in the context of Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding, to establish how these programmes translated for those with disabilities. Even though this is covered specifically in Chapter One, it is impossible to separate gender from other themes occurring across this thesis due to its prominence in the programme, values of those in charge at central and regional levels, and the gender values held in wider society and within institutions themselves. For this reason, gender, as a category of analysis, is present throughout chapters, specifically adding to Joan Scott's argument surrounding the way gender intersects with other key categories of analysis, namely class and race.[97] Scott did not include disability as a theme within her research, but her assertion that the interconnection between the individual and social organisation is essential to understanding how gender works is recurrent when thinking about the way gender works and changes with disability.[98] Much like class and race, society's relationship with disability did not stay static throughout the period. The connection between gender and disability therefore shifted between 1907-1970 with changes in society relating to disability reflecting in how gender worked for these young disabled people and the ways they could attain feminine or masculine status.

Covering the period 1907-1970, this thesis begins at the very start of the movements' histories as well as the increased interest socially in disabled children. In 1907 Baden-Powell's Boy Scout test camp was launched and the Education Act empowered local authorities to provide free medical care alongside medical inspections for children during their schooling. These inspections allowed authorities to identify disabled children in ways that were previously unachievable due to a lack of trained medical professionals in schools and an organised government interest in the health of children. Being able to track the number of disabled children allowed authorities to gather data on disabilities and, in turn, plan for what they deemed to be appropriate schooling provision. By starting at this point, the entirety of planning and delivery can be explored, from origins of the associations and their context within a changing landscape of care for disabled children, through to the

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[97] Scott, J. W. (1986). Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. *The American Historical Review, 91*(5), 1053-1075. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1864376.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A10ec41821a49d912a18fdebaded6f3e5. p. 1054.
[98] Ibid. p. 1067.

introduction of the 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act and the movement towards integration in an official capacity.

Jessica Chupik has argued that it was not until the later 1970s that those with intellectual disabilities were accessing community activities at a higher rate than in institutions, however, the beginnings of this provision can be seen in the period leading up to 1970.[99] This therefore allows this thesis to chart histories across changing social, political and economic fields prior to sizable changes across larger levels of society such as education, other youth activities and movements, including the Boys Brigade, and the medical and social care sectors. This is not to say that the histories of those involved in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides post 1970 do not deserve to be heard, but merely that this thesis is the starting point of those wider discussions.

Due to the lack of research on Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding, there are no regional studies. Stevens has been the only academic to dedicate a legitimate study to Handicapped Scouting, which focused on national policy, rather than regional or international experiences.[100] Extension Guiding, on the other hand, has never been situated as the basis of study, meaning no regional, national, or international scope exists to build upon. Concentrating on the north of England, in particular Yorkshire, Lancashire and Greater Manchester, these hidden histories will be situated within wider national context, as well as exploring transnational histories in Chapter Two. By bringing these methods of study together, experiences of disabled young people, in the north, are better analysed due to the comparatives of national and international narratives. Ultimately, this approach to regionality emphasizes differing provision, the extent of which, would not be realised otherwise.

When considering the approach to disability across the thesis, it is important to recognise disability definitions have and do vary across academic works. Topliss highlighted the difficulties in agreeing to a definition of disability due to difficulties in society of constituting what is 'normal', and secondly whether people are disabled by disease or by environmental and personal factors.[101] Although the 'models' of disability have grappled with some of these issues, scholarship has still discussed the

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[99] Chupik, J. (2006). Fires Burning: Advocacy, Camping and Children with Learning Disabilities in Ontario, 1950-1990. In D. Mitchell, et al. (Eds.) *Exploring Experiences of Advocacy by People with Learning Disabilities*. (pp. 119-127). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. p. 121.
[100] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 282.
[101] Topliss, E. (1975). *Provision for the Disabled*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 18-19.

medicalisation of disability and its influence in defining what disability is.[102] When exploring the definition of disability within the realm of the social model, Mike Oliver listed three criteria:

> '(1) they have an impairment;
> (2) they experience oppression as a consequence; and
> (3) they identify themselves as a disabled person.'[103]

While these criteria are useful for ensuring agency in histories and disability studies, researching a period beyond living memory, with very few written sources from a disabled person's viewpoint, makes this an unworkable definition for this thesis. Instead, disability, within the realm of this research, is based upon the definition created and used by the Scouts and Guides leadership during the period. This includes blind, deaf, physically handicapped, backward, feebleminded, mentally deficient, epileptic, and other long-term health conditions.

The language used within Scouting and Guiding's definition differs from that deemed acceptable today. Across the twentieth century, language changed as medical, political, and social advances highlighted issues with their use. Terms throughout this thesis, including 'handicapped', 'cripple', 'feeble-minded', 'mentally deficient', 'backward', 'invalid', 'mongol' and 'sub-normal', are in no way meant to cause offence to readers, but place debates within historical context. The terms used within the Guiding and Scouting definitions of disability refer to those with both permanent and temporary disabilities. The lack of study into disability within these movements means this new working definition of disability is needed to uncover histories that have been hidden, omitted, and continuously overlooked by academics in the past. This will be done by using a range of both written and visual sources.

Sources

Historically, documents relating to disabled children have silenced the experience of the child and focused predominantly on medical and educational professionals and parents.[104] Sources used throughout this thesis do little to challenge this dominant narrative, however by carefully reading institutional sources, combined with the press and external association and organisation reports, the experiences of those involved in the Extension Guides and Handicapped Scout are revealed. Mike Mantin has described reading sources in this way as granting agency.[105] This is a complex statement

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[102] Benjamin, C. (2005). The Stigma of Congenital Abnormalities. In T. Mason & (et. AL) (Eds.) *Stigma and Social Exclusion in Healthcare* (pp. 63-75). London: Routledge. p. 62.

[103] Oliver, M. (2009). *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 90.

[104] Borsay, A. & Dale, P. (2015). Introduction: Disabled Children - Contested Caring. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 1-14). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 6.

[105] Mantin, M. (2012). The Question of Oralism and the Experiences of Deaf Children, 1880-1914. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850-1979* (pp. 59-72). London: Routledge. p. 71.

due to the lack of direct engagement with disabled children. The aim of many of these sources was to record experiences, however, this was alongside additional aims including promotion, attracting funders, fulfilling legislative requirements, and following programmes set by schools, hospitals, and the youth movements themselves, which make granting any agency problematic.

Oral testimony has only shed light recently on lived experiences towards the end of the twentieth century.[106] Though the use of oral histories could go some way to combatting problems with agency, realistically, discussions into experiences of Guiding and Scouting in the twentieth century could not cover the entire period in question. A fair proportion of this thesis is now beyond living memory, meaning the testimony would only cover a percentage of the timeframe and comparisons to earlier dates would be difficult to make, aside from written material. To span the range of children who were categorised by the association and the period, the decision has therefore been made to focus on written sources, supplemented by images and material culture.

Predominantly, written sources in this thesis include official publications from the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides such as annual reports, regional reports, books, pamphlets, and leaflets. These were the sources most frequently deposited across local authority and association regional archives, and therefore provide a large amount of material for this thesis. While these sources undoubtedly form the backbone of this research, they are supplemented by a wealth of other material including personal and group logbooks, regional and sub-committee minutes, programmes, and private correspondence between various members of differing ranks, including Baden-Powell. These sources span the entirety of the period, however there are some archive silences in document collections from 1907 through to 1970.

One reason for this is the retirement of Baden-Powell from Scouting at the 1937 fifth World Scout Jamboree. Upon this resignation his private correspondence collection ceased. These silences are problematic when exploring adult attitudes and indeed personal thoughts of high-ranking members, however ideals of the association can still be revealed through official documentation such as annuals, published books, and national reports. School and hospital reports, regional annual reports, commissioner correspondence and minutes have still been used to analyse attitudes and opinions of those adults within the movement regarding disability. Furthering this, the use of sources external to the association such as school and hospital reports and documents from other organisations, such as colleges, have provided different perspectives from those that facilitated the movements, shedding

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[106] Rolph, S., & Walmsley, J. (2015). Oral Histories and New Orthodoxies: Narrative accounts in the history of learning disability. In R. Perks, & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The Oral History Reader*. (3rd ed., pp. 656-673). London: Routledge. p. 656-657.

light on their activities, values, and limitations. Intertwining these sources with those from official Scouting and Guiding representatives assists in revealing the differing attitudes at various levels and, in turn, how this affected provision for disabled young people. This helps to untangle the ideals set by professionals and officials and the reality of provision at the ground level.

Adding to both important viewpoints, newspapers have been used to explore public opinion and the dissemination of information in relation to Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding. Both national and regional press have been drawn upon to explore links between regional and national narratives to compare the experiences in the north with those across the country. Most of these newspapers have been digitised and accessed through the *Gale* database. Though concerns have been raised surrounding the exclusion of sources from databases and issues with copyright of material, using these sources digitally increases speed of research due to keyword searching functions and improves access due to the ability to search remotely rather than visiting archives.[107] Furthermore, discussions from both Bob Nicholson and Adrian Bingham assert that researchers exploring the nineteenth century are better placed to use digital newspaper archives due to a greater amount of digitised material, compared with 'fragmented' sources from the twentieth century.[108] Although undoubtedly a negative, issues with fragmented source material have been apparent across this thesis and the use of a variety of sources from a variety of places have been used to mitigate this and explore hidden histories.

Throughout the period, the type and style of newspaper articles changed, as well as the overall landscape of the press. These developments occurred partially due to the reliance on advertising to fund them.[109] Appealing to a wider audience, differentiating from the politically aware, white, male reader that dominated the Victorian newspaper audience, the focus to attract women heightened to encourage companies promoting domestic products to purchase advertising space.[110] Even though the transition to mass consumerism in the post-war period allowed newspapers to capitalise on society's desire for "things" and companies needs to advertise products, the trend to appeal to a wider audience can be seen well before 1945. Within this context, reports on Scouts and Guides, prior to the Second World War, aimed to reach a wider audience both nationally and regionally.

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[107] Nicholson, B. (2013). THE DIGITAL TURN: Exploring the Methodological Possibilities of Digital Newspaper Archives. *Media History, 19*(1), 59-73. https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2012.752963. p. 61.
[108] Ibid. & Bingham, A. (2010). The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians. *20th Century British History, 21*(2), 225-231. https://doi.org/10.1093/tcbh/hwq007. p. 226.
[109] Bingham, A., & Conboy, M. (2015). *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*. (1st New ed.). Oxford, England: Peter Lang Oxford
[110] Ibid.

Despite the generic reports on Scouting and Guiding increasing, stories of the Extension and Handicapped Divisions diverged from the typical reports found in newspapers across the twentieth century. Reporters broadened their articles, and drew attention to social problems from chronic sickness, to imperfect physical physiques, homosexuality in the 1950s, and the permissiveness of the 1960s, yet accounts on disability specifically were few.[111] The reports that were produced usually fell into themes of health, fund-raising and charity, and personal interest stories.[112] Often they presented disabled people as helpless and pathetic or as objects of ridicule.[113] Limitations surrounding the frequency and lack of agency within these pieces were prominent, but they did make disabled young people visible in the public realm. Similar problems surrounding the lack of disabled voice and visibility of disabled young people have carried through to the twenty first century. Kate Ansell has discussed the 2015 Damien Hirst Spastic Society statue in London and public response to its instillation.[114] Viewing disabled people as oddities, noted through the use of selfies around the statue, is comparable to the way newspaper reports documented the activities of young disabled people in the twentieth century. However, these reports did not connect with everyone due to the choice of publications available. Readership varied per newspaper, meaning, even though mass readership was established by this period, circulation of Guiding activities was limited to the readership of that news outlet.

The primary newspapers used throughout this thesis are the *Times,* the *Daily Mail,* and the *Guardian,* known as the *Manchester Guardian* prior to 1959. Readership of these newspapers varied due to the political stance of the publications, which often aligned with class. However, editors were careful to not alienate potential readers due to the tendency to read more than one title, with one copy being shared with, on average, three people.[115] The *Times* largely attracted a middle to upper-class audience, being a broadsheet newspaper that during the Victorian period largely focused on politics. These stories changed during the twentieth century, although the paper continued to be aligned to the Conservative Party. This meant the way the editors reported on disability related to these values, the most obvious example being the reporting on global expansion in the early and inter-war years.[116]

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[111] Bingham, A., & Conboy, M. (2015). *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*. Oxford, England: Peter Lang Oxford. doi:10.3726/978-3-0353-0700-9. p. 150.
[112] Barnes, C., & Mercer, G. (2001). Assimilation or Inclusion?. In G. Albrecht, K. Seelman, & M. Bury (Eds.) *Handbook of Disability Studies*. (pp. 515-534). London: Sage. p. 519.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ansell, K. (2015, July 11). Viewpoint: Does this Spastics Society Statue Start the Right Conversations?. *BBC News.* https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-ouch-33440475 [last accessed: 06/04/2021].
[115] Bingham, A., & Conboy, M. (2015). *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*. Oxford, England: Peter Lang Oxford. doi:10.3726/978-3-0353-0700-9. p. 166.
[116] Anon. (1925, October 13). The Post Guides' Movement. *The Times,* p. 19.

Laura Beers has discussed the readership of the *Daily Mail,* stating that during the inter-war period the publication had a broader-class appeal than towards the end of the century when its readership aimed at lower class groups, classified as a right-wing tabloid.[117] It aimed to appeal to a mass audience publishing interest stories alongside right-wing views. In relation to disability during the twentieth century these stories largely projected a self-help image of Extension Guiding and Handicapped Scouting, in that young people were participating in activities directly supported by right-wing individuals due to their health benefits. The *Guardian* had a largely progressive, left-wing readership throughout the century, with a northern focus prior to 1959. This meant that portrayals of disability were likely to be positive, looking at work local and national organisations were doing to support those with disabilities. Prior to 1959 these stories were largely localised to the north, similar to other local newspapers that have also been used. These papers also had political stances, alongside localised readerships which ultimately influenced the stories they printed.

Scholarship surrounding photography as a historical source is a new and emerging field. Improvements in cameras and development techniques meant photographs could be taken in a variety of places with relative ease towards the middle of twentieth century. These places included various educational and medical institutions for disabled young people, yet their use in historical works focusing on disabled young people have been particularly few. Previously, academic works have suggested photographs have the capacity for deception due to staging, ultimately projecting the photographers gaze.[118] Over the last decade academics have tried to challenge these arguments, with Wendy Luttrell suggesting that 'photography can also redirect, contest and unlock the gaze'[119] of difficult to reach histories. The topic of disabled children is unarguably one of these histories. Exploring different narratives of disabled scouts and guides has been suggested by Alexander as essential to revealing a wider range of young people involved in the movement.[120] This undoubtedly includes disabled young people. Using images from newspapers and other media outlets, official association photographs published in reports, school and education images and photographs deposited in archives, the representation of these children through visual sources can be seen through several lenses.

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[117] Beers, L. (2010). *Your Britain*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. p. 16.
[118] Thompson, P. (2008). Children and Young People: Voices in Visual Research. In P. Thompson (Ed.), *Doing Visual Research with Children and Young People* (pp. 1-20). Oxen: Routledge. p. 9.
[119] Luttrell, W. (2010). 'A Camera is a Big Responsibility': A Lens for Analysing Children's Visual Voices. *Visual Studies, 25*(3), 224-237. doi: 10.1080/1472586X.2010.523274. p. 224.
[120] Alexander, K. (2012). 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),* 132-145. p. 142.

While debates surrounding photographs and photographers have continued, some scholarship has shifted to place emphasis on how images are analysed rather than how they were took.[121] Not only have researchers focused on analysis of the image content, but also the way in which the photographs were produced and used.[122] When exploring this in the context of institutions, discussions using photographs have centred upon the development of the institution and the way in which they 'reflected and reinforced a variety of social, political, medical and educational beliefs about people with learning disabilities.'[123] In the same book, Dorothy Atkinson, Mark Jackson, and Jan Walmsley suggested more use of photographs would help to counter the narrative that is drawn from professional and family sources and shift towards individual experience.[124] This thesis therefore uses images throughout its chapters to not only illustrate examples, but to highlight the experiences of those young people involved in the association.

These sources, like written documents, are handled with care, which means debates surrounding the photographer, staging and reason for the images are taken into consideration. While debates have centred around source accuracy and ways to mitigate these problems, the use of photographs provide an opportunity to visualise activities and experiences described in written sources, as well as highlighting experiences that are not always documented through logbooks and reports. Providing an opportunity to investigate the world of Extension Guiding and Handicapped Scouting, the omission of this source material would hinder the uncovering of the narratives, as well as hiding those directly involved. Like photographs, the role of material culture in the exploration of these histories cannot be ignored.

Naturally, works on badges and uniforms as key elements have referenced the material culture of both movements.[125] Despite its importance, its use as a source to directly analyse themes in academic works has been somewhat minimal. This was evident in Jim Gledhill's work who explored Guide uniforms in relation to financial difficulties of members and uniform's role in collective

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[121] Tinkler, P. (2013). *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research*. London: Sage. & Salkeld, R. (2014). *Reading Photographs: An Introduction to the Theory and Meaning of Images.* London: Bloomsbury. p. 73. &
[122] Wells, L., & Price, D. (2015). Thinking about Photography. In L. Wells (Ed.), *Photography: Critical Introduction* (5th ed., pp. 1-74). Oxen: Routledge. p. 43.
[123] Jackson, M. (1997). Images from the Past: Using Photographs. In D. Atkinson, M. Jackson, & J. Walmsley (Eds.) *Forgotten lives: Exploring the History of Learning Disability* (pp. 65-74). Kidderminster: BILD. p. 68.
[124] Atkinson, D., Jackson, M., & Walmsley, J. (1997). Introduction: Methods and Themes. In D. Atkinson, M. Jackson, & J. Walmsley (Eds.) *Forgotten lives: Exploring the History of Learning Disability* (pp. 1-20). Kidderminster: BILD. p. 6.
[125] For example: Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. & Proctor, T.M. (2002). Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939. In W. Parkins (Ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Berg.

identity.[126] Gledhill's uniform analysis came from written documents rather than analysis of the uniforms themselves. He also explored badges, however, this was done primarily in relation to the programme, rather than the way in which the objects became integral to the identity of the Guides.[127] This lack of engagement with material culture suggests that historians have been and are uncomfortable dealing with it.[128] When using material culture in disability histories, Tara Brabazon's argument that it can have democratic potential is put into perspective, demonstrating experiences that were not always documented through written sources.[129] Seen as a living connection to history, objects help to fill gaps and increase understanding of hidden histories.[130]

In this thesis material culture is used to support written documents and images, rather than being the focus of analysis. This follows the pattern of much historical work using objects as a supplementary source, if used at all.[131] The primary examples used are uniforms and badges which were integral to the movements' identities, programmes, and ethos'. Without considering these sources, the experiences of those disabled children involved in the movement would still remain partially hidden, due to information specifically relating to the Extension and Handicapped Sections the sources contain. This is undoubtedly due to the integral part material culture plays and played in the shaping of human experience.[132]

Thesis Outline

By exploring the provision of Scouting and Guiding for disabled young people from 1907 to 1970, this thesis draws on the key elements of the Scouting and Guiding programmes and how they transpired into the programmes for the Handicapped and Extension Divisions. The first theme discussed is citizenship which sat at the centre of Scouting and Guiding. Framing both programmes, and being the driving force behind the movements' expansions, the concept was at the heart of the Handicapped and Extension sections also. Drawing on and building upon key works by Edwards, Warren and Mills, this chapter aims to expand these works to explore the physical fitness within

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[126] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 71.

[127] Ibid. p. 69.

[128] Riello, G. (2013). Things that Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Narratives. In K. Harvey (Ed.) *History and Material Culture* (pp. 24-46). London: Routledge. p. 25.

[129] Brabazon, T. (2006). Museums and Popular Culture Revisited. *Museum Management and Curatorship. 21* (4), 283-301. p. 284.

[130] Gentry, K. (2014). 'The Pathos of Conservation': Raphael Samuel and the Politics of Heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies, 21* (6), 561-576. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2014.953192. p. 564.

[131] Berry, H. (2013). Regional Identity and Material Culture. In K. Harvey (Ed.) *History and Material Culture* (pp. 139-157). London: Routledge. p. 139.

[132] Harvey, K. (2013). Introduction: Practical Matters. In K. Harvey (Ed.) *History and Material Culture* (pp. 1-23). London: Routledge. p. 3.

citizenship and in turn where disabled young people fit within these ideals.[133] Although citizenship developed across the twentieth century, from an abstract set of ideals to official policy and law, it remained and remains today a central pillar of both associations. Themes of gender, eugenics and war are used to investigate citizenship within Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding, revealing the expectations and reality for disabled members. Reviewing how these young people were expected to strive for 'good citizenship', while comparing the exclusions published in Scouting and Guiding materials for those with disabilities, highlights the sliding scale of the concept when placed in the context of disability.

Following this, the framework of transnationalism is used to explore the complex entanglement of internationalist and imperialist goals, policies, and beliefs of both associations. Focusing on the international connections built, developed, and maintained by Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding, key differentiations between opportunities for disabled members and active members are revealed. This builds upon the very limited historical works exploring transnationalism in the Scouts and Guides, with Albarrán's study on transnational Scouting in Mexico being one of the only accessible works.[134] Transnational Scouting evidence is significantly more prominent across source material than Guiding for a variety of reasons, including an accessible central Scouting archive and extant local logbooks. This disparity causes the chapter to focus predominantly on the transnational Scout experience, using Guiding intermittently throughout the chapter to highlight differentiation. First exploring the association standard of international connections, followed by transnational disabled opportunities through jamborees, international camps and agoons, the limitations within these transnational events are revealed. These activities evidenced local involvement on a national scale, but there were regional initiatives to develop transnational experiences. These included key schemes such as pen pals and visits, which emphasised regional and sub-regional disparities. Lastly, this section will explore *Braille Pie,* a text aimed at connecting blind scouts across the globe. This publication is used as a case study in this discussion, bringing themes of global political histories, language and touching upon blind agency in relation to the Empire.

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[133] Edwards, S. (2020). 'Doing nature' and Being a Guide: The Problem of the Town Guide in the British Girl Guides Association, 1930–1960. *History of Education Review, 49*(1), 45-65. https://doi.org/I 10.1108/HER-06-2019-0022. p. 48 & 60. & Warren, A. (1986). Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40. In J . M. MacKenzie (Ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (pp. 232-253). Manchester: Manchester University Press. & Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x.

[134] Albarran, E. J. (2015). Boy Scouts under the Aztec Sun: Mexican Youth and the Transnational Construction of Identity, 1917-1940. In R. Jobs, & D. Pomfret (Eds.), *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*. (pp. 45-69). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

The third chapter unveils collective identities of disabled scouts and guides through ideological and material markers. Key features of the movements including the Promise, a vow that was and is made by every member upon joining, uniforms, the class awards and merit badges are explored. Arguing that one solo collective identity for both movements was unattainable, this section uncovers the sub-identities that were developed by both movements in relation to disability. Moving on to discuss the need for adapted badge tests, this chapter builds upon Steven's argument that scoutmasters devised their own tests for disabled boys.[135] Centring discussions on the importance of local level leaders in the delivery of initiatives and policies to foster collective identities, this section progresses discussions in preceding chapters of the differing experiences of disabled scouts and guides depending on local attitudes and provision and the ways in which the ideals of the associations transpired in reality. This builds upon works already published by the likes of Gledhill and Mills who focus on the uniforms within the movements.[136] Like the vast majority of works, disability has yet to be explored within this context.

While themes of citizenship, transnationalism and collective identities highlight how disabled Scouts and Guides were included in the movement, both within their institutions and more widely, the fourth chapter explores the roles adult leaders played within this inclusion. Proctor, Gledhill and John Gillis have all explored the background of the leadership ranks, agreeing the upper ranks were limited to middle and upper class membership.[137] Scholars, however, have failed to explore how changing roles within society affected the appointment of leaders and how, as a corollary, this affected those members with handicaps. Furthermore, the role of the educational and medical establishments was imperative in the success and failure of leaders within institutional settings and is therefore discussed in its own section. Exploring key roles and responsibilities of adult leaders in the creation, maintenance, and success of Scouting and Guiding units, key changes across society, such as both World Wars, are analysed within this context, highlighting restrictions both within and outside the associations control. Placing these limitations within the handicapped divisions, additional issues are revealed, including stigma and the role of the educational and medical establishments in the recreational activities of their students and patients.

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[135] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534.
[136] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. & Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls?Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342.
[137] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 106. &
Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 70. &
Gillis, J.R. (1974). *Youth and History*. London: Academic Press. p. 146.

The fifth, and final, chapter in this thesis, explores both the permeability of institutions and the segregation young people faced in the context of Scouting and Guiding. Investigating institutional, inter-institutional and most predominantly extra-institutional provision, this chapter challenges, to an extent, the dominant narratives of isolation and seclusion.[138] Discussing different ways disabled Scouts and Guides mixed with their disabled and non-disabled peers, through activities outside institutional boundaries, such as camps and competitions, differences in delivery at a local level are revealed. Several factors that influenced provision, such as philanthropy, logistical issues, such as transport, and drawing on themes of from Chapter Four on the dependency of voluntary adult support, are brought to the forefront of the debate when presenting extra-institutional activities for disabled young people. Like all the chapters across this thesis, this final chapter uses extra-institutional histories to measure the ideals set by the association compared to the reality of delivery at a regional and sub-regional level.

Ultimately, this thesis contests Goyle's global perspective of Handicapped Scouting by arguing that provision by the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, for disabled young people, differed on regional, and sub-regional bases meaning that the ideals set by the association were not always translated into reality.[139]

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[138] Goodley, D. (2003). Against a politics of victimisation: disability culture and self-advocates with learning difficulties. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 105-130). London: Routledge. p. 116. & Oliver, M. (2009). *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 53.

[139] Goyle, O.P. (2004). *Understanding And Scouting With Physically Handicapped*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.

Chapter 1
Citizenship: A Key Pillar of Scouting and Guiding

Carey Watt has argued 'the body Baden-Powell associated with bad citizenship, was fundamentally unhealthy.'[1] This contention creates instant problems when discussing the role of disabled Scouts and Guides considering the 'whole object of the Chief Scout's suggestion [when establishing the Scouts] in 1907 was the development of good citizenship in Great Britain.'[2] Citizenship became a key pillar of the organisation, forming part of its ethos. Reiterated across the twentieth century, in 1926, the publishing of *Girl Guiding the Official Handbook,* authored by Baden-Powell stated, their aim was 'CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS HAPPY CITIZENSHIP.'[3] When trying to conceptualise the notion, three branches have been highlighted as crucial: status, rights, and identity.[4] These dimensions have intertwined to form the basis of society's understanding of citizenship. Now used as a legal term across the world, to assert boundaries, its use across the twentieth century was largely different. In Britain, it developed from an abstract set of ideals, moulded to fit individual organisations, political values, and social problems, to a legal set of principles used to identify and categorise people across the country, Empire and later the Commonwealth.

The abstract nature of the citizenship concept, throughout the century, was apparent when explored through the lens of Scouting and Guiding. Initially, citizenship values within the organisations were moulded by Baden-Powell from contemporary anxieties surrounding young people and their abilities to defend the country, Empire, and contribute productively to society.[5] Eduard Vallory, for example, explored citizenship within Scouting, arguing its primary principle was to guide boys to make 'positive and conscious' contributions to society.[6] Expanding on this, Sarah Mills, highlighted training related primarily to developing good character and health.[7] This focus has been echoed across other research, with the religious, militaristic and educational strands being incorporated into the

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[1] Watt, C. (2009). "No Showy Muscles": The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India. In N. R. Block & T. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 121-142). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 133.

[2] The Boy Scouts Association. (1930). *The "Gilcraft" Series No. 8.* London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 12.

[3] Baden-Powell, R. (1926). *Girl Guiding The Official Handbook*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 5.

[4] Jayal, N. G. (2013). *Citizenship and its Discontents*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. p. 8.

[5] Rosenthal, M. (1986). *The Character Factory*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers. p. 11.

[6] Vallory, E. (2009). Status Quo Keeper or Social Change Promoter? The Double Side of World Scouting's Citizenship Education. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 207-222). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 221.

[7] Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x. p. 125.

programme by 1910.[8] While these desires occurred throughout the period, outcomes changed dependant on the social and political climate. For example, focus on militaristic archetypes were dropped after the First World War due to the rising sense of pacifism across society.[9] Furthermore, the use of gender models was constant throughout the century, in relation to citizenship. However, these principles changed in line with society's shifting relations and expectations. Academic debates on the topic have been present for decades, but discussions relating to the citizenship of disabled members have yet to be explored in either organisation. This absence of disabled young people from historical studies raises questions as to what extent they were considered citizens by leadership within the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

This chapter will therefore discuss citizenship as a key ideological concept upon which the Scout and Guide movements built their programmes. First, insights into how definitions changed over time, and how these were applied to special schools and hospitals, are revealed. These changing definitions provide initial context as to how the standards emerged within Scouting and Guiding, and why they were accepted by the educational and medical fields. Following this, the movements' citizenship values and policies will be discussed. Exploring how these standards were disseminated across the associations stresses the importance of identifying experiences at the local level. Focusing on the north of England, with concentrated attention on Greater Manchester, this section and wider chapter draw on regional academic studies to help explain increased source material from this region. This is also the case when considering gender within the wider theme of citizenship.

While twenty-first century gender studies have focused on non-binary approaches, considering multiple gender identities, this chapter and wider thesis, uses a masculine and feminine binary gender system due to the activities, segregation, and beliefs of the movement.[10] Throughout the twentieth century, the binary system developed and shifted as societal changes influenced how individuals viewed gender. These changes will be used to explore how citizenship was used and developed by Scouting and Guiding leadership from 1907-1970. Being the only youth movements, which provided training for those with disabilities, it is crucial to understand how and where these young people fit within the associations' concepts of citizenship. This then leads to a discussion on

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[8] Warren, A. (1986). Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920. *The English Historical Review, 101*(399), 376-398. doi:10.1093/ehr/CI.CCCXCIX.376. p. 390.

[9] Johnston, S. (2014). Courting public favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88* (241), 508-529. doi: 10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 508.

[10] Please see: Richards, C., Bouman, W. P., & Barker, M. (2017). *Genderqueer and Non-Binary Genders*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. &

Vincent, B. (2020). *Non-Binary Genders: Navigating Communities, Identities, and Healthcare*. Bristol: Policy Press. &

McNabb, C. (2017). *Nonbinary Gender Identities: History, Culture, Resources*. London: Rowman & Littlefield.

the 'ideal scout', an image developed and promoted by the Scout Association in the early twentieth century. Exploring ideals of physical fitness, and the impact this had upon disabled members being able to attain the active citizenship standard, this section then progresses to discuss inter-war eugenic influence and the role of both World Wars in the construction of citizenship values within the organisations. Summing up, this chapter ultimately argues that citizenship, within Scouting and Guiding, was a sliding scale of ideals, with those with disabilities never able to achieve the associations' idyllic model. [11]

Shifting Definitions of Citizenship

Strictly speaking, until 1948 there was no legal classification of what it was to be a British citizen.[12] Before the establishment of the British Nationality Act (BNA), British subjecthood was used as a term of definition. Differences between these notions were primarily down to "subjects" being considered a lower status to the nation, rather than actively engaging in society.[13] As Hannah Weiss Muller has identified, subjects often laid claim to political and legal rights under a monarch in the early modern period when the concept was initially used on a global scale.[14] Nonetheless, by the nineteenth century, it was defined that anyone born on British or British territory soil was a subject.[15] The decision by the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides to use citizenship instead of subjecthood in their programme, relates to an ethos of self-making and self-development and their mission to grow the movements on a global scale (see Chapter 2). Unlike subjecthood, citizenship, prior to the BNA, allowed greater freedom in characteristics used to classify who constituted a 'citizen'. This allowed individuals, groups, and political bodies to define the term in their own ways, to mirror their own goals, achievements, mission statements and activities, which was apparent in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

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[11] Please see: Proctor, T.M. (2002). Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939. In W. Parkins (Ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Berg. & Proctor, T. M. (2009). *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts.* Santa Barbra: ABC-CLIO, LLC. & Springhall, J. O. (1971). The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908–1930. *International Review of Social History*, *16*(2), 125-158. doi:10.1017/S0020859000004065 & Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. & Warren, A. (1986). Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40. In J . M. MacKenzie (Ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (pp. 232-253). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
[12] Karatani, R. (2004). *Defining British Citizenship: Empire, Commonwealth and Modern Britain*. London: Frank Cass. p. x.
[13] Weiss Muller, H. (2017). *Subjects and Sovereign: Bonds of Belonging in the Eighteenth-century British Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 4.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Karatani, R. (2004). *Defining British Citizenship: Empire, Commonwealth and Modern Britain*. London: Frank Cass. p. 41.

The freedom surrounding what constituted a 'citizen' is how Scouting and Guiding leadership were able to mould an ideological, changing concept of citizenship throughout the twentieth century. Even after legislation surrounding citizenship was introduced in Britain and the wider Commonwealth groups using ideological definitions, including Scouting and Guiding, continued to do so.[16] This was made easier due to the changing relationship between the individual and the state. Mass immigration and the welfare state meant legal frameworks changed, but the way people interacted with citizenship in the post-war period is more important to understand citizenship within the associations.[17] Childhood rights were omitted from legal definitions, but they were seen as citizens in training, aiming to meet the legal, social, and cultural ways to be a citizen. Matthew Grant described these as legally being a citizen, such as owning a passport, being able to function in society socially, and being able to understand popular culture or be aware of oneself as a citizen.[18] This, again, poses problems for those with disabilities as a definition, but does suggest why the movement placed such a strong emphasis on actively partaking in society. The use of social definitions of citizenship, rather than legal, by the associations, illuminates the differing ways citizenship was used across the twentieth century, and how these uses did not always align within government, social groups, and organisations. Exploring how citizenship was used as a theme across schools and special institutions reveals how it interwove with childhood training and, in turn, how association programmes were applied to contemporary situations and advocated by educational and medical professionals, despite the lack of legal conceptualisations of the topic in relation to children and young people.

During the period of Scouting and Guiding's creation, contemporary fears surrounding poor physical and moral health of young people played a key role in the development of notions of citizenship. The Edwardian 'national efficiency' movement, for example, gained popularity following the South African War. Focused on physical fitness, journalists called for its use due to fears surrounding other

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[16] Legislation included 1948 British Nationality Act, the 1962 Commonwealth immigration Act and 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act. Please see: Karatani, R. (2004). *Defining British Citizenship: Empire, Commonwealth and Modern Britain*. London: Frank Cass. p. 116. & Smith, E., & Marmo, M. D. (2014). *Race, Gender and the Body in British Immigration Control: Subject to Examination*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 24. & Ho, J. (2015). *Nation and Citizenship in the Twentieth-Century British Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 117. & Spencer, I. R. G. (2002). *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*. New York: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203437032. p. 134. & Consterdine, E. (2017). Community Versus Commonwealth: Reappraising the 1971 Immigration Act. *Immigrants & Minorities, 35*(1), 1-20. doi:10.1080/02619288.2016.1241712. p. 2. & Travers, M. (1999). *The British Immigration Courts: A Study of Law and Politics*. Bristol: Policy Press. p. 12. & Lister, R. (1990). *The Exclusive Society: Citizenship and the Poor*. London: CPAG. p. 62.

[17] Grant, M. (2016). Historicizing Citizenship in Post-War Britain. *The Historical Journal, 59*(4), 1187–1206. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X16000388. p. 1189.

[18] Ibid.

European economic and military powers.[19] The movement was vast, aiming to organise and restructure all aspects of public life, including Government, under scientific lines, whilst harmonising the Empire through effective business methods.[20] Whilst the programmes influenced public life in different ways, the effect on young people was felt through various youth movements, including the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.[21]

Much like the Scout and Guide programmes more generally, including handicapped and extension groups, the concept of efficiency resonated differently at different local levels dependant on the views of those organising activities. One-way national efficiency differed across the programmes was that concerns over productivity were largely male dominated. Advocates of national efficiency omitted to discuss women as a wasted resource both politically and economically.[22] Despite concerns over the programme, the phrase was largely abandoned after the early 1920s, with research showing it failed to deliver on its overall promise for many reasons.[23] These included being a top-down movement, sometimes treating the working class with brutality, as well as ignoring women in their plans.[24] The rise and fall of ideas such as national efficiency, within the realms of citizenship, highlight how malleable it was, which is precisely why it could be offered on a sliding scale within the Scout and Guide movements.

Child Citizenship: Training within Schools and Special Institutions

The lack of legality surrounding childhood citizenship, means children's rights were indirectly given to them through their legal guardians.[25] While Ruth Lister has referred to parents and carers as these legal guardians in the post-war period, institutionalised children throughout the twentieth century received these rights through the schools that housed them.[26] Schools, both special and state, had used citizenship to structure aspects of their training since the beginning of the century. This was evident through the prominence of physical training in schools, which allowed the promotion of health and fitness to young people through their educational environment. In 1909, the British Board of Education issued *The Syllabus of Physical Exercises for Schools.* The first line of the syllabus stated, in 'issuing a new and revised edition of their Syllabus of Physical Exercises, the Board of

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[19] Searle, G. R. (2003). The Politics of National Efficiency and of War, 1900-1918. In C. Wrigley (Ed.) *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. (pp. 56-71). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. p. 56-57.
[20] Ibid. p. 57.
[21] Dedman, M. (1993). Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme,1904-1920. *Twentieth Century British History, 4* (3), 201-223. p. 221.
[22] Searle, G. R. (2003). The Politics of National Efficiency and of War, 1900-1918. In C. Wrigley (Ed.) *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. (pp. 56-71). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. p. 68.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Lister, R. (1990). *The Exclusive Society: Citizenship and the Poor*. London: CPAG. p. 62.
[26] Ibid.

Education [wished] to emphasise their sense of the great importance of this branch of public education.'[27] Attributing physical fitness to effective intellectual training, and placing it as a subject of 'national importance,'[28] the syllabus was developed from the first 1904 issue aiming to tackle poor public health through the state school system.

Attempts were made to secure physical training for children up to the age of 16 by Viscount Hill in his bill to the House of Lords on behalf of the Hygienic League in September 1909.[29] This was a direct response to the physical deterioration highlighted by the Interdepartmental Committee of 1904.[30] Despite advocation for physical training in schools, these bills were unsuccessful. While the focus on military drill played a part in their rejection, pressure from working class families for their children to attain employment from a young age and contribute to the household income, meant an increase in their school hours due to physical education was largely unpopular.[31] Although physical training in schools was debated in the first decade of the twentieth century, it had been carried out in the late nineteenth century in schools, both state and special, across Britain.[32] The significance of state intervention in the early twentieth century, with regards to physical education, indicated the need and desire to improve the physical condition of young people. This need went beyond individual desires of the middle and upper classes, revealing its key position in citizenship across sectors of society.

Similar themes were also apparent in schools for blind, deaf and dumb, physically handicapped, those deemed backwards, feebleminded and even those with long-term health conditions. In 1920, for example, the Greengate Dispensary open air school, in Manchester, claimed 'that the training adopted [had] been more than justified, and that it [had] sent forth useful and effective citizens.'[33] The Dispensary was a charitable organisation which aimed to 'provide medical advice and help for the poor of the immediate neighbourhood by means of a general dispensary, and to make an attempt to alleviate the physical and mental deficiency of crippled children by affording the medical treatment and educational training.'[34] Its position as an open air school followed the national

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[27] University College London. (1911). *The syllabus of physical exercises for schools 1909*. p. 1. [Available at: https://wellcomelibrary.org/item/b21291056#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=8&z=-0.2974%2C0.4034%2C1.5947%2C0.8069. Last accessed 30/11/2020].
[28] Ibid.
[29] Penn, A. (2013). *Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism*. London: Routledge. p. 148.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Kramarae, C., & Spender, D. (2004). *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*. London: Routledge. p. 510.
[33] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/33/1/9, (1920). *Annual Report of the Greengate Dispensary 1920*. p. 5.
[34] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/33/1/3, (1911). *Annual report of the Greengate Dispensary 1911*. p. 4.

expansion of this type of special schooling during the interwar period, which aimed to remove those considered 'sickly' and malnourished to what were deemed healthy environments.[35] These schools operated in the open air meaning children were taught outside and all activities were carried out in the fresh air in 'natural' environments. The expansion of this system meant disabled young people were accessing education at higher rates than ever before.[36] Run and sponsored by middle class individuals, ideals centring around 'useful and effective citizens' at Greengate were unsurprising.

Rhetoric of 'useful' and 'effective' was present across many social projects aiming to train young people. Seventeen years later, in 1937, Henshaws School for the Blind stated in their centenary souvenir brochure that they prepared children 'to become good citizens.'[37] Although the School did not expand upon what they believed to be a 'good citizen' within the publication, its focus, as part of educational training, shows ideals spanned decades in Mancunian society. The mirroring of the wider curriculum indicated a belief that those with disabilities could make a positive impact upon society, as active citizens should. This assertion is supported by research arguing special education was seen as the only way to turn dependant disabled children into effective, productive members of society.[38] Even though special education played a large part in the shaping of disabled young people, extra-curriculars, such as Scouting and Guiding, have been omitted from these discussions and were undoubtedly an important aspect of citizenship training within an institutional setting. Despite this importance, access to teaching within special schools was not equal for all groups (see Introduction).

For those deemed mentally defective, there was debate surrounding suitability for educational training that occurred from the very beginning of the period. In 1912, the Hull Education Authority adopted recommendations from a Birmingham report on the feeble-minded. The committee felt 'much time and money [were] being wasted in Special Schools by attempting to train a large number of the mentally defective to live as ordinary citizens.'[39] This report emphasizes difficulties when exploring citizenship among a broad range of disabled young people due to differing prejudices surrounding their disabilities. Although stigma surrounding individuals considered mentally defective and feebleminded in Scouting and Guiding is covered at length in Chapter Four, provision within the associations for these young people continued to be advocated. Furthermore, despite the Education

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[35] Anderson, J. (2011). *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 20.

[36] Oswin, M. (1998). A Historical Perspective. In C. Robinson & K. Stalker (Eds.) *Growing Up with Disability* (pp. 29-42). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. p. 35.

[37] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/39/3 (1), (1937). *Centenary Souvenir June 1837-June 1937*. p. 23.

[38] Winzer, M. A. (1993). *The History of Special Education: From Isolation to Integration*. Washington D.C: Gallaudet University Press. p. 327.

[39] Hull History Centre, DDSY2/1//41/447, (1912). *Hull Education Committee, City of Birmingham report on the promotion of legislation for the feeble-minded, (adopted by the Hull Education Authority, 7/3/1912).* p. 3.

Authority report, indicating those deemed mentally defective should not receive similar education to state schools, there was still focus on correcting behaviour that lingered until the end of the period.[40] The emphasis on rectifying the behaviour of 'mental defectives' linked directly to citizenship due to the need to conform to the standards of wider society, to support the nation, Empire and later Commonwealth. Directly connected to the aims of those in the upper ranks of the Scouts and Guides, it is clear to see how the associations were perceived to complement special educational training for the disabled in some cases (see Chapter Four). While political and social definitions of citizenship changed across the period, these were rarely discussed in relation to children's rights and responsibilities. Using the Scouts and Guides to analyse the changes and developments, in relation to disabled young people, makes exploring the concept ever more significant.

Citizenship in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides

Definitions of citizenship have been proven to change throughout the twentieth century, yet the concept remained a central component to the ethos of both the Scouts and the Guides, enforced by movement leadership. In the *Policy, Organisation and Rules of the Boy Scouts Association*, the primary aim of the association was listed as 'to develop good citizenship among boys by forming their character.'[41] This sentiment was reflected across Guiding also. In 1917, for example, *The North Devon Journal* reported that 'THE MAYOR said the aim of the Girl Guides movement was to develop good citizenship among the girls.'[42] Almost a century later, the 2015 edition of the Guiding charter echoed this philosophy, stating the Guide's mission was to promote 'the instruction of girls of all classes in the principles of discipline loyalty and good citizenship.'[43] Indicating the centrality of the concept to the movement, throughout history, explains its importance in the historical narrative of Guiding, as well as Scouting. Despite its fluidity throughout the twentieth century, and abstract nature prior to 1948, the overarching philosophy within the associations was left relatively unchanged; to contribute to society in a useful and positive way.[44]

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[40] Turner, A. (2015). Education, Training and Social Competence: Special Education in Glasgow since 1945. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 159-172). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 166.

[41] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/2/4, (1959). *The Policy, Organisation and Rules of the Boy Scouts Association*. p. 5.

[42] Anon. (1917, October 25). Girl Guide Movement. *The North Devon Journal,* p. 5.

[43] The Guide Association. (2015). *The Guide Association Royal Charter and Bye-Laws*. [Royal Charter and Bye-Laws]. p. 1.

[44] Vallory, E. (2009). Status Quo Keeper or Social Change Promoter? The Double Side of World Scouting's Citizenship Education. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 207-222). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 221.

This citizenship model fed from the origins of the Scouts and Guides. Unlike Scouting, the beginnings of the Girl Guides stemmed from female demand after initial Scouting activities were published and held. Ideals derived directly from those involved in the original formation of the Scouts to the grassroots birth of Guiding, meaning the overall citizenship goals embedded in both organisations, despite clear gender boundaries, mirrored one another. Fear surrounding British young people's inability to defend the country due to poor public health was at the forefront of the associations' foundations.[45] The problem was particularly evident in inner city locations with around seventy per cent of residents being constituted as 'seriously unfit'.[46] When exploring this directly in the north of England, Manchester was the primary city location to spark debates surrounding the matter.[47] This was due to the extreme poverty levels within the city, which affected living conditions and access to leisure opportunities prior to the Second World War.[48] The focus on urban poverty was highlighted during and following the South African War. It has been argued this key event caused a turn within British society and Government, from one of confidence in the power of the Empire to one of paranoia of its fragility.[49] Baden-Powell's direct role within the War, made him aware of the poor physical health of young men attempting to join the military, and the subsequent effect poor health had on the ability to succeed in the South African War effort. The inability of men with poor health to join military service led to questions of citizenship qualities and how to be a productive member of society.

During the Edwardian period, the National Service League argued for compulsory military service for British men. Claiming that national service would counteract the degeneration seen in inner city Britain, the group gained in popularity and momentum due to their patriotic nature, directly linking to combatting contemporary fears of racial degeneration and inadequate citizenship through military service.[50] The group saw the Boy Scouts as a potential vessel for the promotion of their values, despite Baden-Powell and Scouting elites wishing to stress the non-militaristic nature of the association.[51] Baden-Powell did so in the belief that military drills removed a boy's initiative and

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[45] Dedman, M. (1993). Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme,1904-1920. *Twentieth Century British History, 4* (3), 201-223. p. 221.

[46] Pryke, S. (2001). The Boy Scouts and the 'Girl Question'. *Sexualities, 4*(2), 191-210. doi: 10.1177/136346001004002005. p. 205.

[47] Heggie, V. (2008;2007;). Lies, Damn Lies, and Manchester's Recruiting Statistics: Degeneration as an "Urban Legend" in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 63*(2), 178-216. doi:10.1093/jhmas/jrm032. p. 3.

[48] Davis, A. (1992). *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester 1900-1939*. Buckingham: Open University Press. p. 14.

[49] Savage, J. (2007). *Teenage: The Creation of Youth Culture*. London: Penguin Books. p. 84.

[50] Barczewski, S., Eglin, J., Heathorn, S., Silvestri, M., & Tusan, M. (2015;2014;). *Britain Since 1688: A Nation in the World*. London: Routledge. p. 196.

[51] Prior, C. (2013). *Edwardian England and the Idea of Racial Decline: An Empire's Future*. London: Palgrave MacMillan UK. p. 88.

ability to develop their self-reliance.[52] Despite official anti-militaristic values, it has been argued that many middle-class Edwardian parents signed their sons up to the Scouts, due to their own militaristic perceptions of the movement.[53] This was done primarily due to fears of military decline within Britain, supporting the assertion that physical and military degeneration were considered important to middle-class society. Issues surrounding this decline, explored by the National Service League, led to the physical culture movement gaining popularity, offering advice around exercise and diet which could be taken advantage of in urban environments.[54] While investment in physical fitness, health, and diet was advocated by the Boy Scouts, and Girl Guides, issues surrounding moral degeneration also factored into their discussions and ideas of citizenship.

Edwardian contemporaries believed that inner city developments were the cause of moral degeneration, as well as physical, within British young people.[55] Vanessa Heggie has rightly pointed out that degeneration was a ubiquitous term making it problematic as a category of analysis, yet it was a term used to describe racial, physical and moral decline throughout the period.[56] Drawn from the Victorian era, middle classes targeted the aristocracy due to perceived slipping of moral standards.[57] The early twentieth century saw this change, with the working classes becoming the focus of degeneration. Although the Boy Scouts were stressed as a classless movement, with no specific classes targeting as the subjects of degeneration, moral virtues were promoted to tackle the inner-city moral deviancy, where many of the working classes resided.[58] Reporting on these social issues in *The Scouter,* scouting leadership cemented their mission for moral and well as physical improvement.

> 'The moral effects of this background are evil in the extreme and are producing boys who are highly strung, whose sense of beauty is starved and warped, and whose imagination runs riot. Surrounded by low ideals in the home, they naturally lack the noble motives which govern Christian life. Jolly millers, they care for nobody, no not they, and nobody cares for them.'[59]

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[52] Ibid. p. 87.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Watt, C. (2009). "No Showy Muscles": The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India. In N. R. Block & T. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 121-142). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 123.
[55] Pryke, S. (2001). The Boy Scouts and the 'Girl Question'. *Sexualities, 4*(2), 191-210. doi: 10.1177/136346001004002005. p. 205.
[56] Heggie, V. (2008;2007;). Lies, Damn Lies, and Manchester's Recruiting Statistics: Degeneration as an "Urban Legend" in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, 63*(2), 178-216. doi:10.1093/jhmas/jrm032. p. 2.
[57] De Venanzi, A. (2008). Social Representations and the Labeling of Non-compliant Youths: The Case of Victorian and Edwardian Hooligans. *Deviant Behavior, 29*(3), 193-224. doi:10.1080/01639620701498885. p. 21.
[58] Kestner, J. A. (2017). *The Edwardian Detective: 1901-15: 1901-15*. London: Routledge.
[59] The Boy Scouts Association. (1944). *"The Scouter" Digest*. Kent: Stanhope Press Limited. p. 222.

Aiming to tackle these concerns, those at high levels of Scouting fed into contemporary anxieties about urban living arrangements.[60] Despite the focus on this urban working-class environment, membership to the movement was largely drawn from the middle-classes, questioning how effective their methods at tackling inner city degeneration were.[61]

Several methods were trialled by Scouting leadership to centre moral training within the programme and ensure self-improvement and create model citizens.[62] One way in which they attempted to do this was through single sex activities.[63] The rationale behind this activity stemmed from concerns surrounding sexual deviancy, a contemporary concern during the early twentieth century.[64] The use of both physical and moral deterioration, in the conceptualisation of citizenship, was evident in Baden-Powell's draft of the *Boy Scouts and Citizenship* booklet for the 1920 Scout jamboree in London. Writing that the 'ultimate aim [was] character training'[65] confirmed the balance between these two pillars, which was followed up in the policy booklet that was reprinted across Scouting literature in the twentieth century. In 1965, for example, the yearbook of the Oldham Boy Scouts Association used text from policy documents to explain its mission. Stating that the organisation was 'training them in habits of observation, obedience and self-reliance – inculcating loyalty and thoughtfulness for others – teaching them services useful to the public, and handicrafts useful to themselves – promoting their physical, mental, and spiritual development'[66] shows how important these concepts were in the development of the citizenship within the Association. Not only exposing important qualities, the use of this text within the Oldham publication provides evidence of how central ideas were taken and developed by local members.

When exploring the dissemination of information, including values and policies, across the movement, differences at local levels, and even sub-local levels appear. Research has shown the

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[60] Griffin, C. (2004). Representations of the Young. In J. Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, & R. Flynn (Eds.) *Youth in Society* (2nd ed.) (pp. 10-18). London: Sage. p. 12.

[61] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting Public Favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 529.

[62] MacDonald, R. (1993). *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*. London: University of Toronto Press. p. 164.

[63] Pryke, S. (2001). The Boy Scouts and the 'Girl Question'. *Sexualities, 4*(2), 191-210. doi: 10.1177/136346001004002005. p. 207.

[64] Thomson, M. (1996). Family, Community and State: The Micro-Politics of Mental Deficiency. In A. Digby & D. Wright (Eds.) *From Idiocy to Mental Deficiency: Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities* (pp. 207-230). Abingdon: Taylor and Francis. p. 210. & Cook, H. (2012). Emotion, Bodies, Sexuality, and Sex Education in Edwardian England. *The Historical Journal, 55*(2), 475-495. doi:10.1017/S0018246X12000106. p. 1-2 & Garrett, M. P. (2004). *Social Work and Irish People in Britain: Historical and Contemporary Responses to Irish Children and Families*. Bristol: Policy Press. p. 28.

[65] The Scout Association Heritage Collection, Gilwell, TSA_PER_122_1_1_47_1-2, (1920). *Founder--publications--Boy Scouts and Citizenship.* p. 30.

[66] Oldham Local Studies and Archives, L40667, (1965). *Oldham Boy Scouts Association, Yearbook 1964-65.* p. 3.

rapid spread of the Scouts in its early years went some way to explain these differences.[67] Without a clear, concise doctrine, individual scout groups were acting on their own beliefs, with public political demonstrations banned in the movement after a group of Scouts, in 1912, attended a protest supporting Bonar Law in Belfast.[68] This event emphasised the grassroots lead in many of the activities due to the lack of preparation at central levels to deal with a vast global organisation. The banning of political demonstrations within the movement suggested this was not a quality considered as desirable within the Scouting citizenship framework, despite being considered an attractive middle-class male characteristic in the early twentieth century. These contradictory values add to Eduard Vallory's research surrounding citizenship.[69] Showing that Scouting's principals of brotherhood and non-discrimination were often incompatible with community, institutional and personal beliefs, supports the argument that citizenship was a complex notion that was moulded by different institutional groups to meet their own aims, even on a local level.[70]

Dissemination of citizenship information was also evident in Guiding. Local publications picked up on national rhetoric of citizenship, with the 1936 West Riding South County Rally booklet highlighting the 'chief aims of the movement [were]: - To promote healthy and useful citizens.'[71] This was repeated in 1944 as the *Yorkshire (West Riding South), Castleford, Souvenir Handbook,* stated the 'aim of the Girl Guides Association [was] the development of citizenship among girls.'[72] The need to 'produce healthy, happy, helpful citizens, of both sexes'[73] was referenced even in the post-war period showing this was a theme that resonated across the whole period for both organisations. Throughout this thesis it is argued grassroots members dictated much of the programme, causing different experiences, for different young people, in different areas, but exploration into citizenship highlights the values at the centre of the movement were broadly kept and adhered to by members across various localities throughout the period. This acceptance by members was due to the fact they were the key founding pillars of both organisations, woven into the ethos of what it meant to

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[67] Prior, C. (2013). *Edwardian England and the Idea of Racial Decline: An Empire's Future*. London: Palgrave MacMillan UK. p. 86.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Vallory, E. (2009). Status Quo Keeper or Social Change Promoter? The Double Side of World Scouting's Citizenship Education. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 207-222). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 217.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1936). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire (West Riding South) County Rally, Doncaster Race Course, 25th July 1936*. p. 13.

[72] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1944). The Girl Guides, Yorkshire (West Riding South), Castleford, Souvenir Handbook. p. 5.

[73] Baden-Powell, R. (February 1957). To my Brother Scouters and Guiders. *The Guider, 44* (2), p. 35.

be a member. While the aims of the associations were essentially the same, citizenship principles for each organisation differed due to one main reason: gender.

Gender Ideals

The use of gender as a key identity marker of who could attain citizenship is complex when exploring disability within both associations. The projection of masculinity across Scouting, hoping to restore 'physical and moral fitness'[74] of the male youth, and femininity within Guiding, again partially based surrounding health and fitness, questions how far those who were unhealthy could succeed in active citizenship. The policies to build 'strength of character as well as of body in building healthy, happy, hardworking and helpful citizens'[75] were contradicted when those with disabilities were included. This means although gender played a large role in framing citizenship, within Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding, questions surrounding disability, gender and citizenship are more complex.

The initial development and programming of both associations were based on Edwardian gender constructs. Mills, who has explored both gender identities and citizenship within the organisations, argued both movements attempted 'to construct fixed gender identities through an institutional setting.'[76] These fixed identities were exhibited through key characteristics. In Scouting, masculine identity markers were 'personal initiative, self-control, self-reliance, with a sense of honour, duty, service, [and] responsibility.'[77] The association stated that these qualities were 'the basis on which a proper manhood [could] be built'[78] and fell in line with the contemporary hegemonic standard. It has been argued this was reinforced through Scouting activities, with badges indicating key pursuits boys should have strived to master (see Chapter Three).[79] The focus on specific masculine pursuits correlates with research arguing society believed it was promoting weak and effeminate men, which Baden-Powell aimed to combat through 'manly' ventures.[80] These values were exuberated through the centrality of loyalty to country, worldwide brotherhood, and self, placing service at the forefront

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[74] Bannister, C. (2014). 'Like a Scout Does... Like a Guide does...': The Scout or Guide Camp's Lessons of Identity. In S. Mills & P. Kraftl (Eds.) *Informal Education, Childhood and Youth: Geographies, Histories, Practices* (pp. 36-47). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 37.

[75] Baden-Powell, R. (1932, February 2). In The Service Of Others. *The Times.* p. 13.

[76] Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls?Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342. p. 540.

[77] The Boy Scouts Association. (1930). *The "Gilcraft" Series No. 8*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 13.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Denny, K. (2011). Gender in Context, Content, And Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks. *Gender and Society, 25*(1), 27-47. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25789920. p. 35.

[80] Beaven, B. (2005). *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 96.

of the masculine ideal. This paralleled wider masculine inter-war values of service to country and family.[81] Nevertheless, these service focused aims continued well beyond the inter-war years.

Although participation levels in Scouting differed across the country, and period, notions of gender within the association remained relatively stable throughout Britain. In 1954, the Wakefield division disclosed that their 'aim was to instil character into the young man of the future, and by character was meant the spirit of manly self-reliance.'[82] This 'manly self-reliance' was not officially removed from the handicapped branch as a key characteristic, with independence being stated as important for blind boys in particular. This was evidenced in *Scouting Achievements,* where it was believed Scouting was successful with blind boys in particular because it gave them an outlet to 'prove their independence.'[83] Evidence across the whole of the handicapped section is not comprehensive in relation to independence, yet rhetoric of disabled boys 'becoming useful and worthy citizens'[84] resonates across *Scouting Achievements* and wider association literature, including the *Gilcraft Series,* a set of publications released on various subjects, such as 'tracking', aiming to act as guides alongside the Scout handbook. This indicates the quality of independence took on a masculine value within the organisation.

Mirrored in wider society, male citizenship, by the post-war period, focused on employment and supporting the family, while female citizenship revolved around the home and welfare of children.[85] When considering female citizenship within the Guide Association, similar gender constructs were used with slight alterations. Guiding claimed to have taught girls to live their 'life on the same ideals as the Scout, while developing the character and talents useful to a woman.'[86] These talents were described as 'care of children, simple nursing and first aid, cooking and sewing.'[87] The intertwining of these ideals, then, show that some of the masculine traits seen in Scouting, such as independence, were relevant to Guiding's gendered model, but that key feminine skills were needed to become the perfect female citizen within the context of Guiding.

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[81] Tebbutt, M. (2012;2017;). *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 27.

[82] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, C944/1/1, (1954). *Minute book: West Yorkshire Scout Council executive committee 1949-1968*. p. 83.

[83] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 256.

[84] Ibid. p. 246.

[85] Giles, J. (2002). Narratives of Gender, Class, and Modernity in Women's Memories of Mid-Twentieth Century Britain. *Signs, 28* (1), 21-41. doi: 10.1086/340907. p. 35.

[86] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1944). *The Girl Guides, Yorkshire (West Riding South), Castleford, Souvenir Handbook*. p. 5.

[87] Ibid.

Scholars including Tammy Proctor and Sophie Wittemans have all argued domesticity and the maternal function of women were prominent in the citizenship Guiding aiming to create.[88] This was reinforced in literature produced outside the association, highlighting the perception of the gendered citizenship within wider society. In 1917, for example, The *North Devon Journal* reported on the Girl Guides stating:

> 'the aim of the Girl Guides movement was to develop good citizenship among the girls, moulding their characters, teaching them service and handicrafts useful to the public and themselves, by promoting physical development, and making them capable of keeping good homes.'[89]

The *North Devon Journal* revealed that while the Girl Guides taught 'handicrafts useful to the public and themselves' they were key in being able to keep a 'good home', falling in line with the dominant feminine typecast of the early and mid-twentieth century. This was replicated across the Extension Section, with reports from Stanley Royd Mental Hospital showing girls were 'sewing patches for a trail.'[90] The following year, the guides were said to have 'inspected samplers for stitchery'[91] as well as partaking in other activities such as bed making, health lessons and working towards their homemaker badges.[92] This suggests separate spheres, a Victorian ideology, which placed men within the public realm and women firmly in the home, carried through to the twentieth century influencing the type of citizenship promoted by both organisations in the active and disabled divisions.[93] While gender within the Handicapped and Extension divisions have been omitted from previous studies, it has been argued that paradigms of gender in the mid-twentieth century were essential to the movements' ideologies, with the Guides ultimately training women for the home

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[88] Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. &
Proctor, T.M. (2009). Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. xxvi-xxxviii). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. &
Wittemans, S. (2009). The Double Concept of Subject and Citizen at the Heart of Guiding and Scouting. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 56-73). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
[89] Anon. (1917, October 25). Girl Guide Movement. *The North Devon Journal,* p. 5.
[90] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1941). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire. p. 5.
[91] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1942). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire. p. 69.
[92] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1941-1944). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire.
[93] Smith, M. (2006). Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, Colonial Life, and National Strength. *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies, 12* (1), 52-63. Retrieved from http://rc4ht3qs8p.search.serialssolutions.com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/. p. 53.

and domestic sphere, even though they offered opportunities outside the realm for leisure activities.[94]

These leisure activities outside the home broke the dominant gender narrative, allowing girls to experience war work, bush craft, and other pursuits which were traditionally considered masculine. The guides at Stanley Royd Mental Hospital, along with their standard feminine activities, reported tracking in patrols, observation, and in 1944 that the 'Guides met outside, gathering wood as they went, then made fires; three fire lighting tests were passed. Sausages were cooked on peeled sticks – and thoroughly enjoyed.'[95] The allowance of these activities within the official programme was partially due to the independent nature in which girls attempted to access the Scouts prior to the creation of the Girl Guides.[96] Michelle Smith argued their official formation emerged from concerns surrounding female participation in Scouting and its potential to act as a deterrent for male membership, as well as possibly hindering the effort to instil manliness.[97] Despite the creation of the Guides, research has shown when girls were barred from Scouting, many carried on accessing activities through their male family members.[98] The engagement with these 'manly' activities, then, were already in motion prior to the Girl Guides' establishment, meaning the sister movement had to incorporate the activities young girls and women wished to access, in order to attract them and offer a reasonable alternative to unofficial Scouting.

The model of femininity used within the movement was developed in a way to appeal to contemporary young women, seen in *The Western Times*. In 1915, a report on the changing female role, and Guiding's role within this, stated that in 'the older days a girl was taught that her whole duty centred in herself … her ideal was to be a fragile flower to be protected'[99] but that women were 'rebelling against the false position in which [they] had been forced'[100] and claiming 'the right to develop [their] individuality.'[101] Referencing wider issues across society, such as the suffrage movement, this report offered Guiding as a solution to the problems. Stating 'the object of

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[94] Edwards, S. (2017). *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside: Creating Good Citizens, 1930-1960.* Gewerbestrasse: Springer Publishing International AG. p. 32.

[95] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1944). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire. p. 95.

[96] Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls?Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342. p. 543.

[97] Smith, M. (2006). Be(ing) Prepared: Girl Guides, Colonial Life, and National Strength. *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies, 12* (1), 52-63. Retrieved from http://rc4ht3qs8p.search.serialssolutions.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/. p. 53.

[98] Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls?Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342. p. 544.

[99] Anon. (1915, June 7). Girl Guides: A Great Rally at Exeter on Saturday. *The Western Times,* p. 2.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

becoming a Girl Guide was that the girl might thereby become a better woman, more capable, more sympathetic, more efficient for any situation in which she might find herself'[102] the paper placed Guiding as a key movement to develop female citizenship in a controlled environment, despite arguments that there were contradictions within its feminine values.[103] These contradictions linked directly towards the pursuits the Guiding central ranks promoted in their programme, combined with the need to create mothers and homemakers for the Empire.

While several gender messages were reinforced intentionally, through the separation of movements and key principles, Kathleen Denny argued many were supported unintentionally through messages in handbooks, the key texts girls used to navigate the programme.[104] These books contained badges they could work towards as part of their programme, and although discussed at length in Chapter Three, Denny's arguments surrounding their echoing of feminine pursuits throughout the period are important to recognise from the outset.[105] Furthering this observation, it was argued that Guiding advocated an 'I will try', rather than an 'I will' attitude, which stressed the indirect expectations of femininity within the Girl Guides.[106] Although handbooks were explored in the United States, these observations were paralleled in Britain and occurred from 1909 through to the post-war period.

Gender ideals, then, were engrained within the movement's structures and programming from the outset. This inevitably translated to the Handicapped Scouts section and the Extension Guides, yet not everyone was able to fulfil the 'masculine' and 'feminine' ideals pushed out by the central ranks.

'The Ideal Scout' and the Perfect Guide

While gender has served as a key defining feature of both Scouting and Guiding, contributing heavily to their respective citizenship models, it has been neglected within the small percentage of studies exploring Scouting for and with disabled young people.[107] When investigating gender within the

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Warren, A. (1990). 'Mothers for the Empire'? The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939. In J. A. Mangan (Ed.) *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism* (pp. 96-109). Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 101.
[104] Denny, K. (2011). Gender in Context, Content, and Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks. *Gender and Society, 25*(1), 27-47. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25789920. p. 38-41.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid. p. 39.
[107] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. &
Goyle, O.P. (2004). *Understanding and Scouting with Physically Handicapped*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House. &
Borman Fink, D. (2000). *Making a Place for Kids with Disabilities*. Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group. (Focusing on the United States only).

context of Handicapped Scouting, issues relating to hegemonic masculinity question the extent to which disabled boys could attain the citizenship promoted in Scouting. The Scout handbook stated that the programme and Scout laws were a 'direction to Manliness.'[108] As will be shown in more detail in Chapter Three, Handicapped Scouts were often involved in reduced programmes, with activities been omitted and adapted. Considering these adaptations questions how masculine a handicapped Scout could be and, in turn, how successful in citizenship training. In 1927, for example, Sir Montague Burrows, the Commissioner for the Handicapped Scouting division (see Introduction), wrote to Baden-Powell stating it had been argued by members of the movement 'that physical perfection [was] more important in the boy's case.'[109] This statement was made in relation to accessing the top award in Scouting, when debate circulated between Scouters, the central organisation, and branches of Scouting overseas (see Chapters Two and Three). Burrow's correspondence indicated that opportunities for physically disabled scouts to attain citizenship status was more difficult than guides due to the prominence placed upon physical prowess in male citizenship compared to female citizenship.

Exploring the significance of the 'Ideal Scout' statue at Scouting headquarters in Gilwell Park, Mills concluded that despite the openness of the Movement, the statue immediately positioned some individuals, such as girls, as incompatible with the Boy Scouts.[110] Seen in Figure One, the statue was donated to Gilwell park, Scouting's headquarters, in 1966 by the American Scout Association. Being erected in the post-war period shows the continuity of those physical perfection ideas that were so prominent in the inter-war correspondence. It is one of eighteen around the world, with the original, unveiled in 1937, residing in Philadelphia. By labelling the statue the 'Ideal Scout', the association created an 'other', excluding anyone who did not fit into the mould of the statue. While Mills did not expressively link this statue to those with disabilities, only stating the exemplary scout was physically able, the premise is the same.[111] Expanding on her research, the statue reveals the place of disabled boys within the association through the lens of the Scouting elite. The statue is able bodied and physically fit, deeming those with disabilities as incompatible and unable to truly become a Boy Scout. Although given as a gift, its labelling and placing within the national headquarters, demonstrates its relevance to the values of the elite Scouting members. When viewed in the context

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[108] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/7/1, (c. 1939). *The War Service Scouts Handbook*. p. 20.
[109] Burrows to Baden-Powell. (1927). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. p. 3.
[110] Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x. p. 126.
[111] Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x. p. 126.

of the wide encompassing brotherhood, aiming to be available to all, offering equal opportunities and embracing difference (see origins in the Introduction) difficulties arise. That being said, the dedication of a national, and attempts at an international (See Chapter 2), branch of the movement to disabled Scouting, shows that while there was a model standard, held by the association at a central national level, which attributed to citizenship, this did not lead to overall exclusion for those that did not fit the image.

Figure One, Image of the 'ideal scout' statue at Gilwell Park. Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:WSJ2007_Gilwell_Park_Discovery_Ideal_Scout.JPG. (2007).

Key texts, during the period, demonstrate how disabled members could achieve Scouting's model of citizenship. In 1920, six years prior to the official inception of the 'Specials Units', also known as the Handicapped Division, the basis of a book was submitted to Baden-Powell from a local Scoutmaster, Sidney Scovell, who had been working with physically disabled boys for five years. The aim of the

book was to instruct leaders on how to teach Scouting to physically disabled boys.[112] Baden-Powell expressed enthusiasm for the pamphlet, stating in a letter that 'I am sure that this pamphlet will be of the greatest value to Scoutmasters taking up this work and should be such an encouragement as should bring about a big development of Scouting and its joys among our less fortunate brothers.'[113] Although Baden-Powell was enthusiastic about the idea, the General Purposes Committee, a sub-committee who, in addition to other subject matters, discuss/discussed 'policy and procedures for the effective administration of Scouting,'[114] believed the publication was a good idea but there was no 'hope of making it a financial success.'[115] There were fewer disabled boys involved in the movement, meaning publishing specific texts was not economically viable. This led to a lack of tailored support surrounding active citizenship training. The Scout Association agreed to publish the title as a pamphlet, if Scovell undertook the publication cost himself.[116] Highlighting the reliance on individuals at the grassroots levels to aid with Handicapped Scouting in forms greater than simple Scouter duties, shows the limitations throughout the section. Despite the initial need for private investment for the publication, the Association agreed to sell 100 copies of the publication through their Equipment Department and pay upfront for the costs once they had been printed.[117] This gesture implied they were keen to distribute and promote the text to those who were wanting to run troops for the physically disabled but unwilling to take on the financial commitment as they did with other Scouting literature.

Contesting the views from rhetoric of masculinity and perfection across Scouting publications, this pamphlet shows that those with physical disabilities were able to join and encouraged to do so. R.S. Wood, a Scouting commissioner who spent time running Gilwell park, described the pamphlet as having the main intention 'to show what can be done with unfit boys, and to encourage the right sort of man to take up work of this kind.'[118] The booklet therefore aimed to expand the section and promote the benefits of Scout work with the physically disabled, with the hope of expanding the movement. Despite this, labelling the boys as 'unfit' illustrates the perception of physical disability

[112] Scovell to Baden-Powell. (06/02/1920). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[113] Baden-Powell to Scovell (29/03/1920) cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[114] Scouts. (n.d). About the General Purposes sub-Committee. Retrieved from https://members.scouts.org.uk/cms.php?pageid=281. [last accessed, 08/07/2019]
[115] Association Member to Miss Nugent. (08/04/1920). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[116] Scovell to Commissioner for Publicity. (06/02/1920). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[117] Unnamed Commissioner to Scovell. (22/07/1920). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[118] R.S.Wood to Everett. (29/04/1920). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

within the association. Showing the boys were not viewed as equals, confirmed the difficulty of achieving active citizenship, despite the support of publications and Scouters. While there was a focus on the limitations of disabled scouts, the Commissioner did highlight inclusion. Although this could contest Carey Watt's argument that Baden-Powell's ideal Scout had 'a healthy and active body'[119] the views of the upper ranks and discussions surrounding the publishing of the pamphlet suggest that those in the Handicapped Division could never attain a 'good citizenship' standard. However, it does show they could attempt to try and better themselves through the training programme. Furthering this, the inclusion of those with disabilities was on a much-reduced scale, and not necessarily large enough to contest the view that masculinity and physical perfection were key across the movement, making these boys imperfect Scouts and therefore imperfect citizens.

Themes of imperfection can be seen across both written sources and material culture, but this did not mean exclusion from the programme. Desires to train those deemed handicapped to become better citizens, shows that the need for perfection was not imperative when becoming a member. In the 1943 edition of *The Scouter,* the official magazine for Scouting, an article was released on physical fitness and the current training regime for Scouts. The report called for a modification of training, aiming for a more inclusive programme, stating 'what we want is a democratic plan of training which can be done anywhere, by anybody, of any age, whether whole or handicapped.'[120] This is a clear example of attempted inclusivity. Illustrating the organisation's desire to get all boys involved in the activities, despite them not being viewed as 'whole', counters the exclusionary practice argued by Mills.[121] The use of the word 'whole' indicates these boys were not full citizens, but could take part in the training and attempt to achieve that status despite their disability.

The rhetoric used prior to 1945 carried over to the post-war period. In 1955, for example, the *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy* leaflet stated, 'Scouting can do a wonderful job to help these youngsters to develop into more confident, happy and useful citizens.'[122] Confidence has been considered a masculine trait in both the historic and contemporary world, but the use of the word 'useful' highlights continuity between the beginnings of the movement and the post-war period in

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[119] Watt, C. (2009). "No Showy Muscles": The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India. In N. R. Block & T. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 121-142). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 126.
[120] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, 27D98/4/3, (1943). *The Scouter*, Headquarters gazette of the Boy Scouts Association, September 1943, Volxxxvii no. 9. p. 146.
[121] Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x. p. 126.
[122] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (c. 1955). *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy (Boy Scouts International Bureau).* p. 3.

terms of ideal citizenship.[123] Although legally definitions of citizenship had changed, with an emphasis on rights, rather than duties, this was not reflected in Scouting literature or rhetoric. The need to be useful was also evident in Bob-a-Job week launched in 1949, where Scouts based in urban locations were encouraged to raise money for the organisation by completing odd jobs, including domestic tasks. Discussed by Mills as 'a change in how the organisation constructed Scouts as useful to the British public,'[124] diverging from references to strength and the adventurous outdoors, the extension of this argument to disabled scouts was non-existent. When exploring this concept within extant sources, it was not reported. This change in terms of domesticity and masculinity was therefore not afforded to handicapped scouts through Bob-a-Job Week, but it was reported that Henshaws were teaching housecraft and cookery to boys and girls in 1965.[125] There were no reports stating similar activities prior to 1965, nor after, which makes it difficult to assess its longevity or centrality to training, but does indicate that domestic tasks were also stressed as important for boys outside Bob-a-Job for those children who were blind. Changes also echoed across wider society, with Laura King arguing that 'men were becoming more active family members and embracing their family activities as part of their identities.'[126] These activities by no means equated to the domestic tasks undertaken by females within the household but did include taking an interest in children and babies.

The inability for disabled children to participate in Bob-a-Job week means that handicapped scouts were somewhat absent from changing definitions of masculinity within the organisations and wider society. This therefore meant they were unable to fully participate in the change, meaning the narrative of masculine citizenship in handicapped scouting existed outside the realm of shifting masculine identities in what it took to be the 'ideal scout', like those described by Mills. While institutional organisations aimed to train disabled young people to participate in activities experienced outside of the institutional environment, including Scouts, Guides and homecraft, the likelihood of these individuals experiencing independent life outside of the institutions was minimal. Blind institutions existed for adults as well as children, and for those not residing in these facilities,

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[123] Donnelly, K., & Twenge, J. M. (2016;2017;). Masculine and Feminine Traits on the Bem Sex-Role Inventory, 1993–2012: A Cross-Temporal Meta-Analysis. *Sex Roles, 76*(9-10), 556-565. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0625-y. p. 562.

[124] Mills, S. (2014). Youth on streets and Bob-a-Job Week: urban geographies of masculinity, risk, and home in postwar Britain. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 46*(1), 112-128. https://doi.org/10.1068/a45400. p. 122.

[125] Henshaws Institution for the Blind. (1965). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st March 1965.* p. 6.

[126] King, L. (2013). Now You See a Great Many Men Pushing their Pram Proudly: Family-Orientated Masculinity Represented and Experienced in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain. *Cultural and Social History, 10*(4), 599-617. https://doi.org/10.2752/147800413X13727009732281. p. 600.

there was a view that support would be needed from elsewhere. So, although changes in masculinities have been seen in the post-war period, the translation of these into institutional environments were somewhat slower, and reported on less frequently, due to private operations and sporadic extra-institutional provision (see Chapter Five). This ultimately impacted the ability of these young people to access the status of 'ideal scout' as well as blurring the lines of what the 'ideal scout' was during the post-war period.

It is important to recognise that limitations to the construct of the 'ideal scout' were not just applicable to those with disabilities. Many young people would not have conformed to the mould emanated by the association, nor excelled in physical training as the movement desired, or the domestic tasks set in Bob-a-Job Week. This did not lead to the revoking of memberships, with the idea being to strive for the perfection promoted in Scouting literature and by those in leadership positions. While this idea was the same in the Handicapped Scouting branch, one key difference was that these young people could never achieve the ideal due to their disability, no matter how well the training was applied.

This limitation was the same in Guiding. The mere use of the terms 'active' and 'extension' to describe the differing sections implied those in the 'extension division' were not actively participating in the programme but attempting the training in some way to try and achieve the perfect standard. Much like Scouting, rhetoric of 'physical development' has appeared in official documents and press reports, highlighting an aspiration to help girls 'develop emotionally, mentally, physically and spiritually so that they can make a positive contribution to their community and the wider world.'[127] Ideas of physical development tie closely to research on the feminine body during the interwar years, that physical activity and maintaining a healthy, active body was a key aspect of femininity. [128] While academic works have not referenced those with disabilities to this effect, from the Guiding texts, as well as evidence of health lessons and exercise within institutional units, it was clearly important to the Extension Division, and therefore disabled young women too.[129] Unlike Scouting, Guiding publicised their extension division in official material indicating disabled girls could meet the feminine citizenship criteria advocated by the association.

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[127] The Guide Association. (2015). *The Guide Association Royal Charter and Bye-Laws*. [Royal Charter and Bye-Laws]. p. 2.
[128] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I. (2011). The Making of a Modern Female Body: Beauty, Health and Fitness in Interwar Britain. *Women's History Review, 20* (2), 299-317. doi: 10.1080/09612025.2011.556324. p. 300.
[129] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1941-1944). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire.

In 1934, a programme for the Yorkshire Rally in Wetherby stated 'children deprived of their normal heritage of health and strength, handicapped in the race of life by a physical defect, children who are blind, deaf and dumb, or mentally deficient children, need Guiding and Scouting quite as much, if not more, than the normal child.'[130] The language used within the publication, shows the social attitudes and mindsets of those adults in the upper ranks of the movement surrounding physical fitness and health. Lexis such as 'handicapped in the race of life', suggests those with disabilities were viewed sympathetically, whilst framing them as disadvantaged and the 'other'. These feelings were present across a vast amount of Guiding and Scouting texts in the inter-war years, showing those with disabilities could never conform to the perfect 'guide' or 'scout' image, but could participate with the aim of achieving some form of active citizenship. During this period, the influence of the eugenic movement, most active across western society in the inter-war period, was present in many disability policies. The association did not directly connect with the British Eugenics Society, but indirect influences impacted citizenship policies, affecting those with disabilities and their ability to achieve the rank of 'ideal scout' or perfect guide.

Eugenics: Direct and Indirect Influences on Citizenship Policies and Ideals

Eugenic thinking gained momentum in Edwardian Britain, with the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act making institutional provision for those classed as 'moral defectives' or feeble-minded'. The attitudes and thinking behind this act are key to understanding outlooks towards disabled children, especially those with what we now know as learning disabilities. The British Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, whose report informed the 1913 Mental Deficiency Act, were set up to find suitable treatment for those not covered by the Lunacy Acts.[131] It is believed that eugenic theory, encompassed in 'Social Darwinism', was key in the values of the Commission, as the Lunacy Acts were not applicable to those with 'moral afflictions' who were considered social problems.[132] Issues with morality often centred around sexuality, with unwed mothers, especially unwed teenage mothers, causing moral panic throughout the twentieth century, sometimes leading to institutionalisation.[133] While this may seem unconnected to citizenship within the associations, research has shown that a healthy mind and strong morals were essential in the creation of a good

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[130] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1934). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire (West Riding North) County Rally Wetherby Race Course. 30th June, 1934*. p. 9.
[131] Owen, J. (1996). *Social Darwinism and Social Policy: The Problem of the Feeble-Minded, 1900-1914* (PhD Thesis). University of London, London. p. 125.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Thane, P., & Evans, T. (2012). *Sinners? Scroungers? Saints?: Unmarried Motherhood in Twentieth-Century England*. Oxford: OUP Oxford. p. 84.

citizen, both within Scouting and society wide.[134] Following this argument does suggests that those with weak morals fell short of attaining active citizenship. Furthermore, although they could be trained to overcome their 'affliction', those described as feeble-minded, mentally deficient, or defective could never attain full citizenship status due to their disability, illustrating the difference between disability and social issues which often intertwined during the period. These attempts at solving social problems were echoed in Scouting and Guiding. Though not explicitly eugenicist in the motives of the central ranks, and those involved in delivery, similar tones on physical fitness, health and strength were repeated. These notions were also advocated across special education as a means of recovery and development.

The education of those with disabilities, learning disabilities in particular, across special schools in Britain, highlight eugenic beliefs and concern regarding the population. Reports from the East Riding medical officers stated there had 'been many more children found to be epileptic or so mentally defective as to be unable to profit by the Education of an ordinary school.'[135] One medical officer wrote that in '1903 the East Riding Education Authority agreed to send those children who were reported as Blind, Deaf, Epileptic or Mentally defective to special schools.'[136] The evidence seen here shows eugenic concerns and the impact, especially for those with learning disabilities, due to the belief these children could detrimentally harm the education of others, polluting the next generation of active citizens. Colin Barnes has argued that Eugenic fears were evidenced in education through the introduction of the IQ test in 1910 to determine whether a child was educable or not.[137] For those deemed ineducable, exclusion from mainstream school was inevitable, leaving institutional provision as the advocated option. This argument was explored further, with research concluding that the histories of disability are largely those of 'incarceration and segregation.'[138] The incarceration of those with disabilities in institutions essentially stripped them of their citizenship as they were not viewed as productive individuals.

Within these institutional environments, there were contradictions within Scouting and Guiding policy. Aiming to train young people to be productive beings within society became irrelevant when they were directly excluded from society behind institutional walls. The evidence of extra-

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[134] Watt, C. (2009). "No Showy Muscles": The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India. In N. R. Block & T. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 121-142). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 133.
[135] The Treasure House, Beverley, CCER/5/10/1, (1910). *East Riding County Council, Reports of the School Medical Officer 1908-17*. p. 23.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Barnes, C. (1991). *Disabled People in Britain and Discrimination: A Case for Anti-discrimination Legislation*. Bloomsbury: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers. p. 19.
[138] Hughes, B. (2002). Disability and the Body. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.) *Disability Studies Today* (pp. 58-76). Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 71.

institutional activity across this thesis varied in success (see Chapter Five), meaning a large percentage of disabled members engaged with the movement behind institutional boundaries. This engagement included attempts at tackling contemporary social problems through training, by stressing the importance of productivity to the nation and Empire. When involving those with disabilities, in this activity, the associations directly tackled those deemed part of the social problem by contemporaries concerned with the feeblemindedness and the decline in social behaviour. The belief that those considered degenerates were breeding at a much faster rate than those who were strong and smart fuelled fears surrounding those with learning disabilities, making them part of the target group from eugenicists in Edwardian Britain.[139] When exploring eugenic sentiment within the associations, there are no obvious signs of engagement, with training to 'live as ordinary citizens' advocated for those deemed feebleminded. While opinions of committees, and other individuals seem to have done little in affecting the citizenship training the boys and girls received from the movements, they do express ways in which values relating to eugenics, in the early period of the movement, were present when discussing opportunities for children with learning disabilities.

Attitudes surrounding feeblemindedness in the England prior to the First World War signify elements of progression within the movements. Being the only youth movements available for children with disabilities, Scouting and Guiding presented a progressive ethos seen through Burrows correspondence in 1926, which stated 'none of the other "rival" organisations have taken any steps in that direction.'[140] In this letter, Burrows was referring to other youth organisations not admitting those with disabilities. Although seemingly progressive, through the suggestion that these children could attain full citizenship, rhetoric of citizenship appeared in medical and educational texts and reports for the disabled with no relation to either movement. The Greengate Dispensary, for example, referenced both 'useful' and 'effective citizens' in its reports.[141] The language used echoed that of Scout and Guide national and regional literature. In 1934, a booklet from the Yorkshire Guiding County Rally, discussed Extension Guiding. It stated, 'that in most cases the child can be made a useful member of society.'[142] This, much like other association literature, highlighted the ability of those with disabilities to strive for the ideal.

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[139] Paul, D.B. (1995). *Controlling Human Heredity: 1865 to the Present*. New Jersey: Humanities Press. p. 4.
[140] Burrows to Baden-Powell. (08/08/1926). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[141] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/33/1/9, (1920). *Annual Report of the Greengate Dispensary*. p. 5.
[142] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1934). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire (West Riding North) County Rally Wetherby Race Course. 30th June, 1934*. p. 9.

In the 1932, the British Eugenic Society's membership peaked meaning eugenic rhetoric was still very much present.[143] Creating 'useful' citizens was echoed across the Society's literature, due to the mass unemployment of the Great Depression, which has been argued by Searle as one of the main factors the eugenic movement resurged after its decline in the 1920s.[144] Although Guiding and Scouting seemed to resonate with eugenic ideas, plans behind these sentiments did not match eugenic proposals, with confidence in the ability of disabled young people to become useful always present. The similarity of these ideals could be down to the membership demographic of the Scouting and Guiding elites. These members were not necessarily eugenicists, but the academic principles of the 'science' of eugenics attracted similar upper-middle class supporters. This demographic match meant individuals would have moved in similar circles, were affected by similar issues, and engaged in ideas stemming from the main eugenic principles relating to active citizenship. Even though eugenics contributed to the concept of citizenship prior to the Second World War, in certain areas of society, both World Wars developed what was expected of young people regarding being a successful citizen and in turn how those with disabilities could achieve this standard.

World Wars and the 'Ideal' Scouting and Guiding Citizen

Membership to both organisations did not increase dramatically until 1916. The influence of the First World War on the programmes help to identify activities young people wished to access and how this fell in line and changed definitions of citizenship. In 1914, for example, the Guiding census reported 40,000 registered guides, rising to 70,000 in 1918.[145] It has been argued that both associations' roles in the war effort increased the membership as they allowed for new, role breaking activities for girls and new opportunities for boys.[146] Girls assisted in the fields, industry and worked for MI5 delivering messages across London, as well as raising money to contribute to the war effort.[147] Boys acted as air raid wardens, coast-watchers and messengers alongside many other civic duties.[148] The increase in membership, in correlation with the change in programme and duties, demonstrates the attitudes and desires of young people in Britain in the early twentieth century and activities they wished to access from a youth group. For girls in particular, both World Wars provided

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[143] Searle, G.R. (1979). Eugenics and politics in Britain in the 1930s. *Annals of Science, 36* (2), 159-169. doi: 10.1080/00033797900200461. p. 160.

[144] Ibid. p. 162.

[145] Voeltz, R.A. (1992). The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27* (1), 627-638. doi: 10.1177/002200949202700404. p. 627.

[146] Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. p. 71.

[147] Hoggard, L., 2010, Apr 13. Carry on camping. *The Independent*, 2. ISSN 09519467.

[148] Dedman, M. (1993). Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme,1904-1920. *Twentieth Century British History, 4* (3), 201-223. p. 218.

new opportunities that had previously been considered inappropriate for females. These pursuits often needed physically fit bodies, excluding Guides with disabilities, and curbing their opportunities to develop their citizenship skills.

The physical activities undertaken by Guides during both wars exhibited how citizenship changed in the first half of the twentieth century depending on social circumstances. Scholars have reported that during the First World War, Guides acted as Volunteer Aid Detachments (VAD's) working as orderlies and maids, among other civil duties, all requiring a level of physical fitness.[149] These activities were considered as central to the war effort, and a marker for those that were active useful citizens during a period of turmoil. There were no reports of extension guides helping as VADs, in the fields or any civic roles, with many institutional reports during the periods ceasing. Although this suggests an inability to constructively contribute to society, and therefore Guiding's active citizenship, the suspension of activities for disabled children during wartime was not uncommon. During the Second World War, The Cripples' Help Society, a Manchester based charity now known as Disabled Living, which promoted kindness to animals and fellow citizens, suspended many of its activities. In 1946 their council reported that they were 'particularly pleased to note the revival of the Manchester Rotary Club Christmas Party, which had been suspended for six years of war.'[150] Gaps in reports, publications and correspondence during the war years suggest the postponement of Guiding activities within institutions and wider Extension Guiding. The likelihood of activity suspension, or at the very least absence from the war effort work, indicated these girls were not seen as being able to participate in 'active' citizenship. Instead, they were viewed as separate from active Guides, which Baden-Powell, in 1915, stated were aiming 'to prove themselves equal to their destiny, and by every means place citizenship upon a higher and more secure plane.'[151] While there were multiple reasons for the absence of those with disabilities in war activities, including adult leadership (see Chapter Four) the need for physical and mental fitness to be an active citizen played a key part.

Much like the Girl Guides, the Boy Scouts participated in war time activities that required a healthy body. Hegemonic masculinity was present in their war service schemes, playing on notions of active citizenship and its connection to be an ideal male. During the First World War, the Government were 'asking for more Scouts, and for still more, to come and help in the different jobs, so that men

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[149] Voeltz, R.A. (1992). The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27* (1), 627-638. doi: 10.1177/002200949202700404. p. 629.
[150] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/8/23, (1946). *Forty-ninth Annual Report 1945-46 of The Cripples' Help Society and Third Annual Report of the Incorporated Society*. p. 13.
[151] Anon. (1915, June 7). Girl Guides: A Great Rally at Exeter on Saturday. *The Western Times,* p. 2.

[could] be released and sent to the front!'[152] These roles included 'orderlies, guards, despatch runners and nurses or to give air raid warnings.'[153] The rhetoric applied by the Government was used again in the Second World War, but this time under the banner of the War Service Scouts. The scheme is said to have been taken up by 75,000 Boy Scouts. It encompassed activities such as guarding telegraph lines and culverts, as well as running messages and watching for spies.[154] Due to the nature of these tasks, boys with disabilities were actively excluded from the War Service Scouts. *The War Service Scout Handbook* explicitly stated, 'War Service Scouts [could not] do their job unless each fellow is physically fit and capable of considerable endurance.'[155] The focus on physical fitness throughout both World Wars confirms that those with disabilities struggled to integrate into elements of the movement, unable to fulfil the changing citizenship concept during war time, despite inclusive statements made about disability across the ranks.

The Handbook went on to state that as 'a War Service Scout you must be able to see and hear well, and indeed smell well, for you may have to use your sense of smell in finding an enemy by night.'[156] Again, reiterating the unsuitability of disabled boys to become a War Service Scout, boys were excluded through essential service scout criteria, rather than explicit statements against the Handicapped Scouting branch. Although official literature for the Scouts regularly invoked sentiments of physical prowess, with the Altrincham Boy Scouts Association, in 1936, stating that they had 'given the matter close attention during the past year,'[157] they never stated that those who did not conform would be excluded. This sets the War Service Scouts branch of the association apart from the wider Scouting movement, as one that actively excluded those who were not physically fit. The differences in requirements for these scouts highlighted a break from the wider peacetime narrative that those with disabilities could aspire to be effective citizens even though they could never achieve it. Due to this change in requirements, the Service Scouts emanated the very nature of citizenship as a changing concept throughout the twentieth century. The direct link to citizenship

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[152] Baden-Powell. (1919). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[153] Springhall, J. O. (1971). The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908–1930. *International Review of Social History*, *16*(2), 125-158. doi:10.1017/S0020859000004065. p. 151.
[154] Anon. (2014, July 30). WW1: Lingfield scouts guarded telegraph lines and watched out for spies. *East Grinstead Courier and Observer.* Retrieved from https://search-proquest-com.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/docview/1549563238?pq-origsite=summon
[155] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/7/1*,* (c. 1939). *The War Service Scouts Handbook*. p. 18.
[156] Ibid. p. 22.
[157] Trafford Local Studies Library, TAL 396.43 ALT, (1936). *Altrincham and District Boy Scout Association Annual report 1936*. p. 3.

training suggests differentiation from other exclusionary practices that have regularly been attributed to stigma.[158]

Exclusion of Handicapped Scouts from war service was attributed to their physical inability to undertake the required duties, as those with certain disabilities could not climb buildings to watch for fires or undertake certain manual tasks. As the Scout motto was to 'be prepared' for war and peacetime, the Association knew, either consciously or unconsciously, that those with disabilities could not achieve this standard as they could not carry out the tasks they needed to 'be prepared' for. The difference in tasks during war and peacetime highlights that the meaning of citizenship changed, along with who could access that ideal status. Despite inabilities to join the War Service Scouts, therefore limiting standards of citizenship, there were methods in which scouts aided in the war effort that did not require peak physical and mental fitness. In Bolton, for example, waste paper was collected by scouts.[159] Throughout the Second World War civilians were encouraged to recycle waste paper in particular due to war time shortages.[160] Incentives were offered by publishing companies to help encourage recycling across the country such as prizes of free cinema and football match tickets.[161] While these activities attempted to fulfil the active citizenship promoted in Scouting literature and activities during wartime, the impact, reach, and participation was severely reduced when compared to War Service Scout activities and other civic duties. In addition, although it is plausible to believe Scouts within handicapped units aided the war effort through these adapted activities, the acute lack of source material compared to active Scouting, indicates this participation would have been minor.

Although notions of citizenship shifted during the wars, notions of masculinity were always present. The Service Scouts played on these notions, attempting to appeal to the masses. Literature from the branch, praised the boys for taking up the tasks and reminded them why they were becoming War Service Scouts: 'REMEMBER! You gang fellows are out to make yourselves fit and tough to take on the jobs the less-fit and untrained blokes are too weak to do.'[162] These reminders reinforced the importance of the strong, dominant male who was in control and able to fulfil his duty. Across the 1930s mass unemployment reduced the need for male physical labour, which meant physical war

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[158] Please see, Thunem, J. (1966). The Invalid Mind. In P. Hunt (Ed.) *Stigma: The Experience of Disability* (pp. 47-57). London: Geoffrey Chapman. & Goffman, E. (2006). Selections from Stigma. In L. J. Davis (Ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 131-141). London: Routledge. & Coleman, L.M. (2006). Stigma: An Enigma Demystified. In L. J. Davis (Ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 141-152). London: Routledge.

[159] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (1965). *Bolton Scout Group (19th) 50th Anniversary Jubilee 1965*. p. 1

[160] Thorsheim, P. (2015). *Waste into Weapons: Recycling in Britain During the Second World War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. p. 190.

[161] Ibid. p. 190-191

[162] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/7/1, (c. 1939)*. The War Service Scouts Handbook*. p. 25.

work validated masculinity lost throughout the latter part of the interwar years.[163] The need for physical prowess and large masculine bodies throughout the Second World War placed value upon hegemonic masculinity, entwining fitness with national prowess, a concept which was emanated through the Service Scouts.[164] Naming those who were unable to join the branch as weak, undermined their masculine identity, verifying that those with disabilities could never achieve the same level of citizenship as those who were able-bodied or without learning disabilities, as they were too weak to protect the country during a time of need. The language and ideas used in official publications highlighted that these views of masculinity radiated across the country, influencing provision for disabled children in the north through the versions of masculine citizenship promoted and developed.

During the inter-war period a focus on health, fitness and the body saw a surge in fitness movements, groups, and clubs across society, with a focus on leading a healthy, active life.[165] By the Second World War, the government was taking measures to address anxieties surrounding physical fitness. In 1937 they launched the national fitness campaign, which targeted the health and fitness of children through regular exercise and drill. The attitudes seen across the government, and wider society, in terms of health and fitness were present within Service Scout literature.[166] The handbook stated, 'blood thrives on simple good food, plenty of exercise, plenty of fresh air, cleanliness or body *inside* and out, and proper rest of body and mind.'[167] Focus on both the mind and body indirectly excluded those with disabilities from this branch as they do not conform to the 'ideal' candidate for the service. The ability of those adults in powerful positions to produce literature and set guidelines for membership demonstrates that attitudes of the time were key not only in creating an exclusive membership, but in influencing those working within the organisation and those wishing to join.

When comparing the Service Scouts to the Handicapped Division, the delivery of the programme was still largely down to members at the grassroots level. However, in the case of the Service Scouts, the criteria of who were suitable for the role was led by the central association, clearly outlined in the handbook which differs from membership entry coordinated at the local level by adults (explored further in Chapter Four and Five). This supports the notion that citizenship was a sliding

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[163] Pattinson, J., McIvor, A., & Robb, L. (2017). *Men in Reserve: British Civilian Masculinities in the Second World War* (1st ed.). Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 151.

[164] Dworkin, S. L., & Wachs, F. L. (2009). *Body Panic: Gender, Health, and the Selling of Fitness*. New York: New York University Press. p. 84.

[165] Macdonald, C. (2013). Body and Self: Learning to be Modern in 1920s-1930s Britain. *Women's History Review, 22*(2), 267-279. doi:10.1080/09612025.2012.726115. p. 270.

[166] Ibid. p. 271.

[167] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/7/1, (c. 1939). *The War Service Scouts Handbook*. p. 22.

scale, with only some young people being able to achieve full status within the eyes of the associations.

Conclusions

Citizenship, across the period, was both abstract and complex. Prior to 1948, it was defined by different associations, groups, and individuals to suit their own ethos and missions. This was the case in both the Scouts and the Guides. Loyalty, duty, and service, as well as a focus on physical fitness were all factored into the associations' views on citizenship, stressed through their official publications, mission statements, correspondence, and rallies. Aside from these universal factors, specific gendered values were used to define 'good female' and 'good male' citizens. These largely conformed to society's gender values, with domesticity being paramount for females and strength, resourcefulness, and service as key for males. Both boys and girls within the Handicapped and Extension Divisions were expected to conform to these expectations to attain a level of citizenship suitable for a Boy Scout or Girl Guide. Difficulties arose when attempting to conform to these, as the main aims largely supported hegemonic gender ideals, focusing on healthy bodies, minds, and the ability to support and raise a family. Despite this, there were breaks from the norm, within the Guiding programme in particular, which allowed young girls and women to participate in 'manly' pursuits. Although new activities were offered, the association largely framed itself within feminine ideals to confirm to societal standards and gain the approval of parents and key stakeholders to spread its vision. When exploring the notion of an 'ideal' Scout or Guide the concept of citizenship cannot be removed or ungendered. This causes difficulties when factoring in disability.

Themes of physical perfection and fitness cast both 'Specials' and 'Extensions' as unable to ever reach the active citizenship promoted by Scouts and Guides. Despite this, messages promoted by the association constantly stressed the key work that was being done to ensure these children were 'useful' within society. Although male domesticity was promoted in the post-war period, specifically with Bob-a-Job Week, this narrative is difficult to reveal within handicapped scouting, although rhetoric of usefulness was still used within the division. This suggested that they could aspire to meet the associations' active citizenship standards, even if they could never conform to them, or participate, completely. These messages often echoed eugenic sentiments; however, no direct eugenic actions were ever taken, with positive messages largely being cascaded surrounding disability and citizenship. Despite suggestions that disabled members could become worthy citizens, this was disputed during both World Wars when extension guides, and handicapped scouts were excluded from the War Service Scouts and Guiding relief work. Pitched as key to social responsibility and, within the Scouts, essential to manliness, the differences between war and peacetime citizenship were exaggerated, creating a sliding scale. While, across the period, those with

disabilities struggled to attain the level of citizenship desired by the central ranks of the associations, adults in both the Scouts and Guides strove to develop their work with disabled young people through their respective sections. The citizenship messages cascaded to the grassroots level were largely adhered to across local and regional boundaries, which help protect and promote the ethos of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides as developing useful and worthy civilians. This blanket acceptance of ideology across the association was not something replicated in other aspects of the movement, including international relations.

Chapter 2
Forging Transnational Connections Between Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides

In 1936, the Boy Scouts published a commemorative souvenir booklet for their Northern Counties Jamboree at Raby Castle. The booklet highlighted that the main purpose of the Jamboree was 'to thrust into contact other Scouts with brother Scouts of widely different outlook, and so enlarge the viewpoint of all.'[1] It was believed that only then could the Association 'bring home to them the important fact that they [were] members of a world-wide Brotherhood.'[2] Similar rhetoric was present across Guiding material, with a 1934 Wetherby Country Rally booklet stating 'we may carry away with us a vision of the boys and girls of the world linked together in the fellowship of one family, whose aim is to Be Prepared for the Service for Others.'[3] Guiding mirrored Scouting's belief of a world-wide family sharing ideas, building connections and promoting equality. However, Kristine Alexander has shown that some were more equal than others with race often used as the primary category of analysis.[4] Despite this, disability has been largely overlooked in transnational histories of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. This chapter will rectify this, revealing how concepts of the worldwide brother and sisterhoods translated to Extension Guiding and Handicapped Scouting.

Prior to the emergence of transnational studies in the 1990s, world history was often used to describe events relating to individual nations and tended to focus on North America and Europe.[5] Interest and methodological approaches to the movement of people, ideas, things and institutions, encouraged researchers to expand analysis beyond national enquiries and boarders.[6] Although in its

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[1] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, BDP24/7/5/2, (1936). *Northern Counties Jamboree, Raby Castle, August 1-9, 1936 Souvenir Booklet*. p. 5.

[2] Ibid.

[3] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1934). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire (West Riding North) County Rally Wetherby Race Course. 30th June, 1934.* p. 29.

[4] Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 48

[5] Iriye, A. (2012). *Global and Transnational History: The Past, Present, and Future*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 11.

[6] Jobs, R. I., & Pomfret, D. M. (2015). The Transnationality of Youth. In R. I. Jobs, & D. M. Pomfret (Eds.), *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 7. & For histories of disability, mental health and/or institutions please see: McCarthy, A. (2018). Madness, Transnationalism, and Emotions in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century New Zealand. In M. Rembis, C. Kudlick, & K . E. Nielsen (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Disability History*. (pp. 293-306). Oxford: Oxford University Press. &
Ernst, W. (2013;2012;). *Colonialism and Transnational Psychiatry: The Development of an Indian Mental Hospital in British India, c. 1925-1940.* London: Anthem Press.
For youth histories please see: Fuchs, E., & Vera, E. R. (2019). *The Transnational in the History of Education*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. &

infancy, transnationalism has begun to be employed as a key category of analysis in both youth and disability histories. *Guiding Modern Girls,* for example*,* by Kristine Alexander draws together themes of internationalism and Empire exploring the possibilities and limits of these concepts and ways in which guides were expected to engage with them.[7] Focusing on gendered pursuits as well as camps, Alexander discussed interwar activities and policies asserting that cooperation and 'friendliness' were key Guiding goals.[8] Other scholars have similarly explored reasons for these goals, with Victor Bailey and Paul Wilkinson having asserted that the horrors of the First World War caused changes in the policies and behaviours of both associations, but especially the Scouts.[9] Arguing the members in charge of the Boy Scouts shifted from a policy of intense imperialism, often portrayed through militaristic behaviours, to a policy of internationalism, the movement was marketed as a 'world-wide Brotherhood'[10] to emphasise their international image.[11] The concept of internationalism was both a set of ideals, seen in Daniel Groman's research on international societies, claiming that citizens were starting to find common interest with people across the globe.[12] In addition, the marketing strategy emphasised a culture of pacifism in Britain, which was mirrored by the Boy Scouts to ensure growth and popularity.[13] However, Glenda Sluga believed that this was occurring before the popularity of pacifism after the First World War, with the creation of several international groups including the International Co-operative Alliance (1895) and the International Council of Women (1888) at the end of the nineteenth century.[14] When exploring this in the Scouting context, Scott Johnston claimed the internationalism fostered by the Boy Scouts was essentially an accident.[15] This will be challenged during this chapter using international activities as a point of reference.

Jobs, R., & Pomfret, D. (2015). *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. &

Honeck, M., & Rosenberg, G. (2014). Transnational Generations: Organizing Youth in the Cold War. *Diplomatic History, 38*(2), 233-239. doi:10.1093/dh/dhu011.

Feldman, C. J. (2009). *"We are the Mods": A Transnational History of Youth Subculture*. New York: Peter Lang.

[7] Alexander, K. (2017). *Guiding Modern Girls.* Vancouver: UBC Press. p. 164-192.

[8] Ibid. p. 165.

[9] Bailey, V. (1982). Scouting For Empire. *History Today,* p. 5-9. p. 8. & Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. p. 15.

[10] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, BDP24/7/5/2, (1936). *Northern Counties Jamboree, Raby Castle, August 1-9 1936 souvenir booklet*. p. 5.

[11] Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. p. 16.

[12] Gorman, D. (2012). *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 2.

[13] Bailey, V. (1982). Scouting For Empire. *History Today,* p. 5-9. p. 8.

[14] Sluga, G. (2013). *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. p. 11&14.

[15] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 508.

Whilst the Girl Guides were viewed as less militaristic, imperialistic tendencies were still seen across their policies in the early years. Scholars such as Alan Warren have analysed Guiding's role in relation to the imperial world, highlighting that the movement was training 'mothers for home responsibilities in England and within the Empire.'[16] Historiography, such as Warren's, tends to chart progression from a movement dominated by imperialist notions to one more open to different world views and cultures, but the reality was not this simple. Exploring the associations in a transnational context helps to root out this timeline of progression and allow deeper analysis into changing and intertwining policies and actions, at central and grassroots levels. This chapter will therefore focus on the transnational connections built between disabled Scouts and Guides from the beginnings of the movement in 1907 to the end of the period in question, 1970, to address the transnational research gap in disability youth history.

Beginning with the organisations' central ideals of idea exportation across the globe, the use of high-ranking association documents and actions of the Chief Scout and Chief Guide will reveal the official aims of both movements in relation to international connection and how those with disabilities fit within this image. Following this, jamborees and agoons, the primary methods of engaging scouts and guides from around the world in international 'friendship', are critically analysed, discussing their impact, accessibility, and overall success, or otherwise, in creating, developing, and sustaining the worldwide brother and sisterhood for disabled scouts and guides. The press is used within this section to explore how youth movement activity was reported to wider society. The aim here is to build on Kristine Alexander's work, that shows that the coverage of the Girl Guides in 1920s and 30s popular press 'still bore traces of older, more conservative and hierarchical ways of thinking.'[17] Examples directly exploring press perceptions of international events are missing from current Scouting and Guiding analysis, especially that of disability, which means, until now, it has been a rich, untapped resource to explore this element of the associations.

Moving on, local case studies focusing on the north of England are used to map the successes and failures of the associations in providing a transnational experience for handicapped scouts and extension guides at a local level. Revealing pen pal schemes, along with visitation of international units to Britain, limitations surrounding access to these schemes and differentiation between opportunities for active units and within Handicapped/Extension units are uncovered. Reoccurring

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[16] Warren, A. (1990). 'Mothers for the Empire'? The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939. In J. A. Mangan (Ed.) *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism* (pp. 96-109). Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 101.
[17] Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 53.

themes of the prominence of provision for the blind, leads on to the closing section of the chapter focused solely on blind communication. *Braille Pie*, a magazine created, developed, and distributed by British blind scouts overseas is used as a key case study to discover how association media was used to develop transnational relationships. Crucial themes of language, agency and world histories are applied to contest O.P Goyle's research that handicapped scouts were a 'problem' in need of a special programme to civilise them.[18] Ultimately, this chapter exposes the varying types, and varying successes, of transnational connections created, developed and maintained by the Scout and Guide Associations for and by their disabled members, at the same time as uncovering the importance of disability categorisation when tied up in complex imperial and international policies.

Transnationalism: Scouting and Guiding Central Ideals

Much like citizenship seen in Chapter One, internationalism formed a central part of Scouting and Guiding ideals. Promoted heavily from the inception of the movement through to the end of this study and beyond, both associations aimed to create world-wide brother and sisterhoods through various methods, reporting frequently in their own publications their aspirations and achievements. In Scouting, this brotherhood meant being 'a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class, or creed, the other may belong'[19] and the Guiding sisterhood 'a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide.'[20] While Guiding's definition omitted categories of whom Guides should be sisters to, being all encompassing, Scouting's explored country, class, and creed. This excluded disability, despite the Handicapped Scouts being in existence for over thirty years prior to the publication above. However, the absence from discussion does stress the lack of its importance to the association when considering factors of inclusion. Seemingly, focus was centred on bridging class divides, differing religious backgrounds, and nationality, rather than disability. More than likely, this was due to the lack of planning within the Handicapped Scouts, as well as the lack of knowledge surrounding the branch of the movement within the top ranks. Despite no acknowledgment of disability within the official brother and sisterhood definitions, association publications did discuss the importance of international idea dissemination to their overall central ideals. Ideals, which those with disabilities were expected to follow.

At the outset, it is important to recognise the shifting views behind the Scouts' and Guides' world roles. The first official Girl Guide book exploring the role of the association within the Empire, *How*

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[18] Goyle, O.P. (2004). *Understanding And Scouting With Physically Handicapped*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House. p. 165.

[19] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/2/4, (1959). *The Policy, Organisation and Rules of the Boy Scouts Association*. p. 5.

[20] WAGGS. (n.d). *THE ORIGINAL PROMISE AND LAW*. WAGGS. https://www.wagggs.org/en/about-us/our-history/original-promise-and-law/. [last accessed: 08/09/2020].

Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire, was published in 1912. The authors of this book, Baden-Powell and his sister Agnes, had imperial motives, stating if 'every citizen of the Empire were to make herself a really good, useful woman, our nation would be such a blessing to the civilized world, as it had been in the past, that nobody would wish to see it broken up by any other nation.'[21] Nonetheless, the idea of creating young, civilised women to save the Empire, meant these girls were supposed to act as examples to other nations, sharing ideas on how to act as 'really good, useful' women. Differing from later examples of international statements, such as the 1968 *A Handbook for Guiders: Ranger Guide Service Section*, which stated, 'Guiding welcomes members of all the great religious communions of the world, and because of this, Guide Associations in other lands vary slightly in their wording and interpretation of the Promise,'[22] shows a change towards an acceptance of changing cultural difference, rather than a desire to export British values across the world. While several developments in international relations, discussed throughout this chapter, caused changes to fluctuate across the twentieth century, the transnational nature of the movement in 1970 did differ from the initial inception of the movement.

Throughout the period, international connections were placed as important to not only the spread and development of the movement, but to ensuring guides, and in Scouting, scouts, experienced the programmes in the way the associations wished. The Guide Association asserted that '[much] of the strength and appeal of Guiding [laid] in the fact membership [was] world-wide,'[23] which, as Tammy Proctor has pointed out, was due to the availability of their literature across the globe, promoting global expansion and acceptance.[24] This can be seen within the Extension Section through the availability of material which allowed those within institutions across the globe to follow the programme. Like Guiding, Scouting was also keen to discuss the benefits of being world-wide. *The Gilwell Book,* a text discussing the benefits of Gilwell Park, the 'home' of Scouting (see Chapter One), stated the park had played a key part in the 'encouragement of International Scouting and in helping both men and boys of different nationalities to come together and understand each other.'[25] The emphasis on understanding one another focused on the sharing of ideas across borders. Despite the ideal discussed by the associations, researchers have highlighted downfalls to the programme. Scouts in Mexico, for example, were provided opportunities for travel that were only usually

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[21] Baden-Powell, R. & Baden-Powell, A. (1912). *How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. p. 147.

[22] Carter, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Ranger Guide Service Section*. London: The Riverside Press, Ltd. p. 51.

[23] Ibid. p. 60.

[24] Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. p. 149.

[25] Anon. (1930). *The Gilwell Book.* (2nd ed.) London: The Boy Scouts Association. p. 45.

available through the military. [26] However, once at international Scouting events, they were

expected to conform to native tropes imposed by western nations, rather than the modern Mexican

culture developing in the twentieth century.[27] While Mexican handicapped units were omitted from

the discussion, likely due to their non-existence, issues with conforming to British and other western

stereotypes impacted the effectiveness of idea sharing and connection building for those from less

developed countries. Despite these difficulties that emerged in developing countries, international

relations were still promoted as key to the programme.

While national texts reveal attempts by the association to encourage the exportation of anglo-

centric views at the local level, the Scouting and Guiding elite also took matters into their own

hands. Baden-Powell and his wife, Olave, toured various countries where Scouting and Guiding had

been established, as well as those where they wished to see movement expansion. This was usually

in relation to the active sections, but the promotion of, and connections within the Handicapped and

Extension departments, did occur as part of their visits. In December 1929, for example, Baden-

Powell embarked on a tour of the West Indies, with one of his aims being to promote the

Handicapped Scouts, and to identify any provision for disabled boys.[28] Historically, analyses of the

British Empire, and in turn the Caribbean, have excluded disability from their frameworks, meaning

the majority of this history is hidden.[29] This makes it difficult to assess where Scouting fit within

institutional provision, despite Baden-Powell's regular world tours, lecturing and visiting Scout

groups to promote the Movement.[30] However, studies have shown that a substantial amount of the

children with disabilities were male, with learning, speech and hearing impediments.[31] Factors

contributing to the institutionalisation of these children varied from negative family perceptions, to

poverty and family sizes.[32] The difficulty of contextualising Scouting within this region is magnified by

Baden-Powell's assertion there was little scope for expansion of the disabled branch due to the very

limited institutional care provided. In a letter to Montague Burrows, Commissioner of the

Handicapped Division, Baden-Powell wrote, in his 'tour of the West Indies [he] did not find any

[26] Albarran, E. J. (2015). Boy Scouts under the Aztec Sun: Mexican Youth and the Transnational Construction of Identity, 1917-1940. In R. Jobs, & D. Pomfret (Eds.), *Transnational Histories of Youth in the Twentieth Century*. (pp. 45-69). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 62-63.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Burrows to Baden-Powell. (15/12/1929). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

[29] Cleall, E. (2016). Jane Groom and the Deaf Colonists: Empire, Emigration and the Agency of Disabled People in the late Nineteenth Century British Empire. *History Workshop Journal,* (81), 39-61. https://doi.org/:10.1093/hwj/dbv037. p. 41.

[30] Springhall, J. O. (1971). The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908–1930. *International Review of Social History*, *16*(2), 125-158. doi:10.1017/S0020859000004065. p. 134.

[31] Schmid, K., Vézina, S., & Ebbeson, L. (2008). *Disability in the Caribbean: A Study of Four Countries: a Socio-demographic Analysis of the Disabled*. Herndon: United Nations Publications. p. 28.

[32] Ibid.

Physically Defective Troops nor were there apparently any institutions for such boys, beyond asylums for the insane and at Trinidad one for lepers.'[33] Not only showing the international scale of the movement, and the desire to create connections for the disabled overseas, but the differing global attitudes, in terms of disability, and the impact this had on institutional provision were illuminated, and in turn Scouting's ability to access these groups of young people.

Further correspondence whilst in the West Indies proved Baden-Powell wished to see the expansion of the 'Specials' overseas, by stating that he 'thought Scouting would have been a tremendous blessing for them.'[34] His language and motivations mirrored the paternal missionary-style activities seen in the justification for Empire expansion, further complicating entwined ideals of internationalism and imperialism.[35] Baden-Powell's correspondence illustrated his views on how the Specials branch was aiding those with disabilities across the world, and his confidence in the training system. While he believed it would be a 'tremendous blessing', issues with disabled citizenship training in the colonies were not addressed. A white, western, male point of view in terms of citizenship dominated the programme (see Chapter One) which was not always easily transferable into different cultural climates, even without considering disability, ultimately leading to a limited reach.

Values were implemented and developed in terms of citizenship, with those conforming to the values engaging with desired principles. No society had or has one set of unchanging values, but the imposing of British principles among native peoples caused resentment towards authorities due to their insensitivity.[36] By the 1920s Britain had a functioning institutional programme for children with disabilities, made possible due to the series of legislation making schooling for disabled children compulsive (see main Introduction). Nevertheless, British colonies, dominions, protectorates, and dependencies, did not follow these same policies. Missionaries played a large part in the development of the Empire, hoping to civilise indigenous populations. Initial observations by missionaries in colonies, such as India, viewed disabled natives as part of the 'heathenism' they wished to treat through missionary activity.[37] Although authorities implemented western values into governance, anti-imperialist sentiment was present within British territories throughout the twentieth century. The vast difference in cultural identities between native populations and

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[33] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (21/03/1930). Cited on BYU Library, available at
https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[34] Ibid.
[35] Lewis, D. S. (1987). *Illusions of Grandeur: Mosley, Fascism, and British Society, 1931-81*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 183
[36] Levine, P. (2013). *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset* (2nd ed.). Harlow, England: Pearson. p. 86.
[37] Cleall, E. (2012). *Missionary Discourses of Difference: Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840-1900*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 81.

exported Britons was felt Empire wide, and in relation to Scouting and Guiding with Southern Rhodesian Scouts refusing to play their part in ceremonies which supported the Empire in the 1950s.[38] The Empire was a vastly different place in the 1950s when compared to the 1930s, when Baden-Powell actively pursued international Handicapped Scouting, yet the turbulence of contesting British values was seen across the period in questions (1907-1970).

Anti-imperialist groups were largely fragmented, which often rendered their attempts at change ineffective.[39] Whilst the Scouts did not operate in naivety to these views, Baden-Powell believed the Empire was a 'model for world integration and peace.'[40] Anglocentric policies prevailed in many areas, which often affected the lives of disabled children. In Kenya, for example, it has been argued by Fikru Negash Gebrekidan that due to the positive reception of eugenics in the colony, there was little interest in investing in education of native children, let alone providing special schools for those with disabilities, due to the belief they were inferior.[41] There was provision made in Kenya on a charitable basis. The Thika Salvation Army School for the Blind, for example, was founded in 1946, by the Salvation Army, and provided education for those with visual impairments. When compared to India, this missionary provision, for the blind, was significantly later with the first Indian school for the blind being founded in 1887. State intervention in India, was non-existent prior to 1947 independence.[42] The differences in ruling authorities across the Empire shaped how these children lived, and their access to education and leisure opportunities. While western medical transnational communication networks were well established by the beginning of the twentieth century, the lack of international Handicapped Scouting connections across the colonies, suggests these channels were not utilised effectively to spread the programme, most likely due to their western focus.[43]

Though cultural differences could explain the reason for the lack of provision in the Caribbean, Baden-Powell did explore past provision on the Islands, with the conclusion that Scouting had been tried and had fallen through 'because the boys had no spirit left to take up the work.'[44] Echoing

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[38] Parsons, T. (2014). *The Second British Empire: In the Crucible of The Twentieth Century*. London: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 163.

[39] Mackenzie, J. M. (1999). The Popular Culture of Empire in Britain. In J. M. Brown, & W. M. Roger Lewis (Eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*. (pp. 212-231). Oxford University Press. p. 218.

[40] Ibid. p. 224.

[41] Gebrekidan, F. N. (2012). Disability Rights Activism in Kenya, 1959–1964: History from Below. *African Studies Review, 55*(3), 103-122. doi:10.1017/S0002020600007228. p. 107.

[42] Chander, J. (2014). Self-Advocacy and Blind Activists: The Origins of the Disability Rights Movement in Twentieth-Century India. In S. Burch, & M. Rembis (Eds.) *Disability Histories*. (pp. 364-380). Urbana: University of Illinois Press. p. 365-366.

[43] Ellis, R. (2020). *London and its Asylums 1888-1914: Politics and Madness.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 168-175.

[44] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (21/03/1930). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

colonial attitudes that natives of the colonies were lazy, and in need of civilizing, Baden-Powell transferred his colonial values onto disabled native children.[45] Differing educational and medical provision for handicapped young people would have ultimately determined the suitability of Scouting in the West Indies, rather than the boys' 'spirit'. The lack of enthusiasm in Baden-Powell's reports to restart Handicapped Scouting showed that although the association portrayed an inclusive programme, and attitude, in Britain and other European countries in relation to disability, those values could not always be transported and successfully implemented around the world. There was, undoubtedly, differing reasons behind its constraints, including limited views on development and practical processes, and a lack of understanding surrounding different disability policies and practices around the globe.

Much like Scouting, Guiding's Chief Guide, Olave Baden-Powell embarked on tours around the world to develop the movement's reach and engage with guides across the globe. Comparative reports revealing Olave connecting with extension units are unavailable. There are images of the Chief Guide meeting with Extension Guides across the world.[46] This photograph shows Olave visiting physically handicapped guides in Brazil. Equating this visit to Baden-Powell's is somewhat difficult due to developments in international transport links between the 1930s and 1950s. In the 1930s long distance travel was mainly done via ships.[47] Tourism was mainly seen domestically with rail travel reaching its peak in the 1930s and both bus and coach travel expanding after the First World War.[48] However, by the 1950s passenger travel by air was beginning to become more accessible to wealthier individuals.[49] This access suggests Olave's visits in the 1950s would have been significantly easier and less time consuming than Baden-Powell's travels in the thirties, and may be one reason why she travelled further afield. Furthermore, the 1950s saw developments politically, socially, and economically from the economic depression of 1930s through the Second World War. In 1950s Brazil, educational provision for disabled children was often inaccessible, with legislation only coming into place in 1961 through the Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional which guaranteed their education, where possible, in a general state school.[50] Prior to this Act, the period in which the image of Olave was taken, the government passed resources to private companies to support special

[45] Smith, L. (2014). *Insanity, Race and Colonialism: Managing Mental Disorder in the Post-Emancipation British Caribbean, 1838-1914*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan Limited. p. 12.
[46] Movimento Banderirante Sao Paulo. (1959). *Visita da Lady Olave ao Brasil* [Photograph]. Movimento Banderirante Sao Paulo. http://www.bandeirantesp.org.br/historico.php [last accessed 15/07/2021].
[47] Lickorish, L. J., & Middleton, V. T. C. (2010). *British Tourism* (3rd ed.). London Routledge. p. 2-3.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid. p. 90.
[50] Dellangelo, L. G. V. (1994). Brazil. In M. A. Winzar, & K. Mazurek (Eds.), *Comparative Studies in Special Education*. (pp. 100-120). Washington D.C: Gallaudet University Press. p. 108.

education, as well as relying on philanthropic activity.[51] This makes it even more difficult to determine the extent of Extension Guiding in Brazil due to the discoordination of institutions responsible for these children.

While comparisons are difficult to make, the image of Olave Baden-Powell, in Brazil, shows the global nature of the Extension Section in the 1950s.[52] This global expansion was reported in the *Times,* nearly thirty years prior, in an article on the Post Guides, the division for handicapped children in their own homes. It was reported that 'there were between four and five hundred children in the movement, in addition to a certain number in the Dominions.'[53] As there were no combined reports on Guiding and Scouting figures, it is difficult to compare the spread of Handicapped Scouting across the globe due to differences in national reporting methods. Despite key ideals being promoted by elite members around the world and through association publications, there were limits to the implementation of these ideals.

World Organisation of the Scout Movement (WOSM) and the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts (WAGGS)

Scouting spread across the world with 30 countries involved by 1920, and 105 running the programme by 1935.[54] The spread of Scouting was vast, which sparked the creation of World Organisation of the Scout Movement (WOSM). WOSM aimed to promote the principles of Scouting whilst facilitating the development and expansion of the association across the globe.[55] Despite its all-encompassing aim, the International Council was predominantly made up of US and British representatives.[56] This brought challenges of equality that were felt across the Empire and Commonwealth when people of colour attempted to join the movements on an equal footing.[57] While the council's membership could suggest why the WOSM's had slow growth, there were several factors in play. Rhodesia, now known as Zimbabwe, for example, established their Scouting

[51] Ibid. p. 107.
[52] Movimento Banderirante Sao Paulo. (1959). *Visita da Lady Olave ao Brasil* [Photograph]. Movimento Banderirante Sao Paulo. http://www.bandeirantesp.org.br/historico.php [last accessed 15/07/2021]
[53] Anon. (1925, October 13). The Post Guides' Movement. *The Times,* p. 19.
[54] Vallory, E. (2009). Status Quo Keeper or Social Change Promoter? The Double Side of World Scouting's Citizenship Education. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 207-222). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 209. & Scouts. (2014). *World Scouting*. [Leaflet], p. 3-5.
[55] World Scouting. (2013). *World Scouting*. World Scouting. https://www.scout.org/node/67. [last accessed: 15/01/2021].
[56] Proctor, T.M. (2002). Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939. In W. Parkins (Ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Berg. p. 128.
[57] Ibid. p. 135.

groups from 1909 but did not join WOSM until 1980.[58] Reasons behind Rhodesia's delayed

membership of WOSM is unknown, but their joining date suggests significance in terms of their

relationship with the British Empire. Rhodesia was a key colony within the British Empire, only

receiving official independence from Britain in 1980.[59] The years prior saw a civil war and turbulence

relating to European forces within Africa.[60] The Rhodesian Boy Scouts were not isolated from these

events, with leaders setting up a segregated "African branch" with separate commissioners and

programmes.[61] Issues within the country and with the wider world powers show why Rhodesia

excluded themselves from World Scouting membership. The decision against joining WOSM, would

have meant Rhodesian international Scouting connections were weaker than those who held

membership due to the decreased training opportunities, communication, and access to WOSM

events were international connections were made.

Motivations for joining WOSM differed. Some countries were physically unable to become members,

such as Soviet Union countries, due to political beliefs and societal differences. This impacted

international connections, excluding vast proportions of the world from accessing Scouting

networks. Armenia, for example, began Scouting in 1912, but did not join WOSM until 1997. [62] As

Armenia was part of the Soviet Union, from 1922 until its dissolution in 1991, Scouting and Guiding

was prohibited, in favour of the Soviet Youth Pioneers.[63] WOSM figures do not highlight a ban on

Scouting across the Soviet Union, but the joining of several eastern European countries in the 1990s

supports primary documentation that Scouting ceased across the USSR in the twentieth century and

recommenced in the early nineties. Differing ideological beliefs blocked transnational connections,

but this was not the route cause. In 1935, out 105 countries registered to Scouting, only 32 were

members of WOSM.[64] The difficulty in connecting with Scout groups across the globe was made

evident in July 1935, when Gibb wrote 'I have now correspondents amongst blind Rover Scouts in

India, and many other places, but, so far, none in S. Africa.'[65] While South Africa was one of the first

countries in the British Empire to establish Scouting, the association did not join the World

Organisation until 1937.[66] This could be blamed for the lack of correspondents, yet one of Britain's

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[58] Scouts. (2014). *World Scouting*. [Leaflet]. p. 5.

[59] Holland, R., Williams, S., & Barringer, T. (2013). *The Iconography of Independence: 'Freedoms at Midnight'*. London: Routledge. p. 89-90.

[60] Frame, J. (2018). *The Rhodesian Civil War (1966-1979)*. London: New Generation Publishing.

[61] Parsons, T. (2004). *Race Resistance and The Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa: In British Colonial Africa* (1st ed.). Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. p. 210.

[62] Scouts. (2014). *World Scouting*. [Leaflet]. p. 3.

[63] Sloan, B. (1992, March). Scouting Flame Rekindled in Eastern Europe. *Scouting,* p. 42.

[64] Scouts. (2014). *World Scouting*. [Leaflet], p. 3-5.

[65] Harold Gibb to Baden-Powell. (27/07/1935). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]

[66] Scouts. (2014). *World Scouting*. [Leaflet], p. 5.

strongest Scouting connections, India, was absent from WOSM membership until 1938.[67] Although this highlights the World Organisation was not imperative in making connections, as it's likely these were built through personal contacts and relations from others in the movement, the absence from the Organisation impacted the ability to create these networks.

The World Association for Girl Guide and Girl Scouts (WAGGS) was set up for very similar purposes. Established at the 1928 World Conference in Hungary, twenty-eight countries acted as founding members. Whilst WAGGS is still in existence today, it developed from the Imperial Council, the original Guiding body in charge of international, or in this case, imperial relations. The new association aimed to stress the symbiotic relationship between the western world and the colonies, rather than the past imperial sentiments.[68] This suggests an attempt at changing central ideals as the association wished to act as a vessel for transnational connections, aiming to promote events, camps, and the principle of sisterhood. When exploring the extent WAGGS influenced transnational development, within the extension division in the north of England, it is clear it was minimal to non-existent. The array of annual reports covering Yorkshire and other northern regions bare no mention of WAGGS or associated work until after 1975. This means the connection of local extension units to the WAGGS association would not have occurred and the international connection promoted by WAGGS would not have influenced or reached those involved at the ground level. This can be explored through international activities that were more often than not products of those outside of the World Associations.

International Camps, Jamborees and Agoons: The Merging of Ideal and Reality

The principles of international cooperation fostered in the worldwide brother and sisterhoods were nurtured, in reality, through camps, jamborees and agoons. Jamborees were, and still are, international camps that brought together members of the Scouts from across the globe in attempts to cultivate friendship, understanding and international links between different branches of world Scouting.[69] Despite jamborees being supposed to connect members from across the world, Johnston has argued that those attending had differing feelings towards their international 'brothers,' emphasizing that international values of cooperation and friendship may not have been the personal

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[67] Ibid. p. 4.
[68] Proctor, T.M. (2002). Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939. In W. Parkins (Ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Berg. p. 128.
[69] Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. p. 16. & Warren, A. (1986). Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40. In J . M. MacKenzie (Ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (pp. 232-253). Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 239.

experience felt by many attending the camp.[70] Nevertheless, they were well publicised to showcase the international strength and growth of the movement, hosting thousands of scouts from around the world.[71] In comparison, an Agoon was defined as an '[i]nternational joint gathering of handicapped Scouts and Scouters. It is a Greek word meaning collection or meeting. This name was given to the first meeting of the handicapped. So, Agoon means a jamboree of handicapped scouts.'[72] The principles of a jamboree, then, were applied to an agoon, but it was an activity exclusively for handicapped scouts, highlighting extra-institutional, international provision on a scale not seen by any other movement, organisation or administration across the early and mid-twentieth century.

Jamborees were the first of the international camps to be constructed, with the initial event being held at the London Olympia exhibition centre in 1920. Johnston has argued this event, in particular, represented the turning point where the policy of internationalism within the Scouts became an accidental reality.[73] However, the progression of this policy was not simple. Internationalist and imperialist policies and sentiments were entangled for the vast majority of the early twentieth century, and in some cases stretched beyond the Second World War. One primary example followed the Imperial Jamboree of 1924. Held in Wembley, the event focus was the British Empire Exhibition. It was attended by over 12,000 scouts from across the Empire and 'clearly imperial' in its nature.[74] Jiyi Ryu asserted that the Empire Exhibition served as publicity for the New Imperialism seen in the interwar period.[75] The Exhibition attempted to foster a sense of stability in a turbulent economic and political climate, following the First World War, while promoting core values of the British Empire.[76] According to the official guide, the Empire Exhibition aimed 'to stimulate trade, to strengthen the bonds that bind the Mother Country to her Sister States and Daughter Nations, to bring all into closer touch the one with the other, to enable all who owe allegiance to the British flag to meet on common ground, and to learn to know each other.'[77] The rhetoric used within this guidebook mirrored much of that used in Scout and Guide publications.

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[70] Johnston, S. (2014). Courting public favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the Accident of Internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88* (241), 508-529. doi: 10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 521.
[71] Wilkinson, P. (1969). English Youth Movements, 1908-30. *Journal of Contemporary History, 4*(2), 3-23. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/259659. p. 16.
[72] The Boy Scouts of America. (1970). World Scouting IQ. *Scouting, 58* (1), 52-52.
[73] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 520-522.
[74] Ibid. p. 522.
[75] Ryu, J. (2019). The Queen's Dolls' House Within the British Empire Exhibition: Encapsulating the British Imperial World. *Contemporary British History: The Production of Popular Culture and its Relationship to Conflict in Britain and its Empire since the Great War, 33*(4), 464-482. doi:10.1080/13619462.2018.1519433. p. 464.
[76] Ibid. p. 472.
[77] G.C. Lawrence. (1924). *The British Empire Exhibition 1924 Official Guide* [guidebook]. p. 13.

Baden-Powell promoted the Imperial Jamboree through tours in Canada and invited over twenty-five countries from across the Empire to attend.[78] Discussed by historians as imperial in nature, the Jamboree supports the argument that imperialism infiltrated British culture in complex ways, bringing anxieties surrounding nationhood and belonging.[79] These anxieties led to doubts surrounding the role of people with disabilities in the imperial world and how able they were able to fulfil imperial ideals. The principles of collective citizenship (see Chapter One), belonging, and patriotism were mirrored in Scouting transferring wider societal questions surrounding disability and belonging. Answers to questions as to whether those with disabilities belonged within the Empire were reflected in the absence of those with disabilities at the Imperial Jamboree. The physical exclusion of handicapped children suggested they did not fit imperial standards or belong to the brotherhood discussed so often in Scouting literature. This could also be seen in the immigration policies which restricted those with disabilities from relocation to other British colonial territories due to their 'unsuitability'.[80] Parallels were also often made by philanthropists, educational and medical professionals, officials and missionaries between those with disabilities and other races within the Empire, as people who were unable to help themselves and needed support of the motherland to do so.[81] It is clear from this representation that they were not viewed by the nation, widely speaking, as suitable for work within and for the Empire, and therefore unequal to their active peers. This could ultimately help to explain why they were absent from the Imperial Jamboree.

Nevertheless, there were attempts made at involvement for physically handicapped members. Advocated by Baden-Powell as inclusion, 'The Mafuzziwog Championship of Great Britain' was offered to British physically handicapped scouts as an opportunity to take 'their share in the Rally of the brotherhood.'[82] To participate in this competition, members had to design, build and paint creatures from bones, which were then displayed in an Imperial Jamboree exhibition, then later

[78] Sharma, T.C. (2003). *Scouting as a Cocurricular Activity*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons. p. 77.

[79] Proctor, T. M. (2002). *On my Honour.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Association. p. 96 & Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907−29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 520-522.
For arguments on infiltration into culture please see: Cleall, E. (2015). Orientalising Deafness: Race and Disability in Imperial Britain. *Social Identities, 21* (1), 22-36. doi: 10.1080/13504630.2014.995348. p. 25.

[80] Cleall, E. (2016). Jane Groom and the Deaf Colonists: Empire, Emigration and the Agency of Disabled People in the late Nineteenth Century British Empire. *History Workshop Journal,* (81), 39-61. https://doi.org/:10.1093/hwj/dbv037. p. 41.

[81] Cleall, E. (2015). Orientalising Deafness: Race and Disability in Imperial Britain. *Social Identities, 21* (1), 22-36. doi: 10.1080/13504630.2014.995348. p. 27.

[82] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (10/06/1928). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

auctioned off.[83] The advertisement for the competition highlighted key benefits for those participating, stating that the 'cripples [would] thus feel that, though unable to move, they [were] taking a definite part in the Jamboree with their brother Scouts.'[84] The idea of inclusion, presented here, shows that Baden-Powell believed it was important to incorporate the handicapped boys in the Jamboree, but not physically and only those members in Britain. While there are no extant documents explaining why this was the case, or why only physically handicapped scouts were offered the opportunity, it would be reasonable to assume that a lack of knowledge surrounding the needs of these children contributed to their physical exclusion from the Jamboree. Both direct and indirect segregation from physical spaces occurred across the twentieth century for all disabilities. Chris Philo explored this in relation to mental disabilities, arguing that spaces were manipulated to exclude those individuals.[85] This argument has been expanded to include all disabilities, with an assertion that even if children were not in institutions they were explicitly excluded from public spaces.[86] The exclusion of these children from the Jamboree, then, was not an unusual occurrence when placed in the wider context of the early twentieth century.

Despite this, the remote opportunity through the Mafuzziwog Championship reflected key Scouting values, implying that those in the Handicapped Division were held to the same standards in terms of their ideals and beliefs when involved in international activities. After the auction of their sculptures, it was stated the money earned would 'then contribute to help people worse off than themselves.'[87] The supported ideals here included involvement, internationalism, and charity. Whilst philanthropy was a key marker of Victorian youth work, it was less so in the Edwardian period.[88] Harry Hendrick argued that the creation of the Scouts and Guides did little to encourage the 'missionary zeal' that was attached to youth work in the Victorian era, but the principles of the association suggest this may not have been the case.[89] The Scouts promoted supporting those in worse positions than themselves throughout the twentieth century, and reflected Baden-Powell's Christian values, despite the association being inter-denominational and open to those from other faiths. Although

[83] Baden-Powell, R. (1924). *How crippled Scouts and Guides can join in the Jamboree*, cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[84] Advertisement for the Mafuzziwog Championship. (1924). cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[85] Philo, C. (1987). "Fit Localities for an Asylum": The Historical Geography of the Nineteenth-Century "Mad-Business" in England as Viewed Through the Pages of the Asylum Journal. *Journal of Historical Geography, 13*(4), 398-415. p. 403.
[86] Tisdall, E.K.M. (2003). A Culture of Participation?. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 19-33). London: Routledge. p. 27.
[87] Advertisement for the Mafuzziwog Championship. (1924). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[88] Hendrick, H. (1990). *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem 1880-1920*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 180.
[89] Ibid. p. 178.

the inclusion of these handicapped members in the competition did little to generate or contribute to personal international relationships, their involvement in the event shows these individuals were not completely hidden from the international landscape of the association. However, the remote contribution meant that the members involved could not speak or meet those travelling from overseas to be part of the Jamboree, which was a large part of the experience for those in active groups. To further this, as only physically handicapped units across Britain could enter the competition, there were further limits in terms of disability categorisation and locations. As international divisions could not contribute to the competition, the reach was stunted, and the ability to promote the handicapped division internationally restricted.

Limitations within this transnational inclusion can also be explored through personal correspondence. British Handicapped Division Scout Leader J. Buchanan, in a letter to Baden-Powell, stated 'it [was] a pity we were not painted to go en masse to see the Empire's wonders.'[90] Expressing a clear desire to physically attend the Imperial Jamboree with his troop of scouts, shows that exclusion from these events was not always due to economic deprivation or lack of leaders and support. In this case, the central association made no provision for those with disabilities, leading to their isolation. While the Mafuzziwog Championship gave the scouts a symbolic presence at the event, as well as education regarding the global nature of the movement, it cannot be considered an equal interaction and experience when compared to those who physically attended.

The Mafuzziwog Championship shows a transgression from evidence across the wider chapter, and historical narrative, that those with sensory disabilities received enhanced opportunities, with their 'undesirable traits' having less consequences than others.[91] The categorisation by Scouting, and indeed Guiding, leadership, occurred across the entire period and mirrored contemporary practice. Categorisation has been considered essential in ensuring disabled children (and others) received and receive the correct allocation of services and equal opportunities.[92] However, this categorisation assumes equality across the grouping.[93] Heather Keith and Kenneth Keith have argued that categorisation has dehumanized those with disabilities due to cultural constructs of what 'human'

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[90] J. Buchanan to Baden-Powell (20/06/1924). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[91] Coleman, L.M. (2006). Stigma: An Enigma Demystified. In L. J. Davis (Ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 141-152). London: Routledge. p. 142.
[92] Florian, L., Hollenweger, J., Simeonsson, R. J., Wedell, K., Riddell, S., Terzi, L., & Holland, A. (2006). Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Classification of Children with Disabilities: Part I. Issues in The Classification of Children with Disabilities. *The Journal of Special Education, 40*(1), 36-45. doi:10.1177/00224669060400010401. p. 36.
[93] Keith, H. E., & Keith, K. D. (2013). *Intellectual disability: Ethics, Dehumanization, and a New Moral Community*. Chichester, England: Wiley-Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781118606957. p. 4.

is.[94] Intelligence, for example, has been claimed to be a cultural concept created by humans to define what makes us who we are.[95] By using this as a defining characteristic of humanity raises issues when categorising those as 'mentally subnormal' or 'feebleminded' throughout the period. This extends to all aspects of disability, as categorisation was used for schooling, welfare provision and medical needs. The people categorised faced differing difficulties, with those with sensory disabilities often receiving greater opportunities in both education, social and life opportunities.[96] While the Imperial Jamboree contradicts this overarching narrative, offering provision only to physically handicapped members, it was, undoubtedly, an anomaly. The inability of other members within the Handicapped Division to enter the competition, and any disabled member being able to physically attend, indicated that, during the inter-war years, both imperialism and internationalism were valued significantly less in Handicapped Scouting than the active branches. The lack of engagement with these key principles reiterates the narrative that these young people held lesser status than their able-bodied peers within the association, during the pre-war and inter-war years, despite rhetoric of inclusion and value coming from the upper ranks of the movement and engagement in other opportunities outside institutional facilities (See Chapter 5).

While the 1924 Imperial Jamboree was limited in its reach to the Handicapped Division as a whole, subsequent jamborees made physical provision for handicapped members. Just five years later, in 1929, fifty thousand Scouts from across the world attended the World Jamboree held at Arrowe Park near Birkenhead, Merseyside. It was reported in the *Times* that there would be 'troops of blind, deaf, dumb and crippled members of the movement' present.[97] This report followed a larger trend of camp reporting in the newspapers seen throughout this chapter and in Chapter Five, but it was unusual due to the national audience of the paper. With the development of the railway networks, national newspapers were able to reach cities across Britain, making the need for local newspapers to report on national issues redundant.[98] Both national and local newspapers printed interest stories, but specific area stories were usually printed in the local press, tailored to a local audience, in order to drive sales and support regional advertising within the publication.[99] Both Scouting and Guiding camps, international or not, were usually reported in local press.

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[94] Ibid. p. 57.
[95] Ibid. p. xv.
[96] Topliss, E. (1975). *Provision for the Disabled*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 32. &
Oswin, M. (1998). A Historical Perspective. In C. Robinson & K. Stalker (Eds.) *Growing Up with Disability* (pp. 29-42). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. p. 29. &
Scott-Hill, M. (2003). Deafness/Disability - Problematising Notions of Identity, Culture and Structure. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 88-104). London: Routledge. p. 90.
[97] Anon. (1929, June 13). 50,000 Boy Scouts in Camp. *The Times.* p. 13.
[98] Hill, J. (2016). *The British Newspaper Industry: The Future of the Regional Press*. Springer: New York. p. 13.
[99] Ibid.

Although there were no exact figures to support the report in the *Times* as to how many boys with disabilities attended the Jamboree, they were involved to a greater extent than the Imperial Jamboree, being able to camp, use facilities and forge friendships with other boys from around the world. These boys were allowed to experience first-hand the internationalist ethos, as those present at the camp were able to physically connect, see, and meet others, taking part in the 'brotherhood'. Eight years later, in 1937, another World Jamboree was held where 25,000 scouts were in attendance. The *Hull Daily Mail* reported the figures, stating there were 'a total of 202 troops in all, including a troop of handicapped scouts.'[106] While the numbers involved show a change in terms of inclusive opportunities, there are important factors to consider. First, this camp only had, in attendance, one handicapped troop, compared to the minimum of four at the jamboree eight years prior. Secondly, the troops were made up of forty scouts, meaning there was a maximum of forty disabled scouts at the jamboree, making up just 0.16% of the attendance compared to 99.84% of abled bodied scouts. Therefore, when viewed within the wider context, the inclusion of these boys was minimal. This is further exacerbated when considering there was an upwards figure of 4,700 disabled scouts in Britain by 1937, meaning just 0.85% of the British Handicapped Scout division attended the jamboree. Despite these figures highlighting inclusion was limited for handicapped scouts in general, often international travel was limited to one troop of scouts, rather than a vast number from each country. This meant the limitations on personal international relationships were restricted for the majority of active scouts, as well as those who were handicapped.

Jamborees were the primary way scouts met scouts from other countries, but for disabled boys Agoons were tailored directly to them. The *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy* booklet produced circa 1955 listed, for 'the handicapped Scout there [were] two possibilities: the Jamboree and the Agoon.'[107] The option of the Agoon broadens the understanding of disability within the association from one of minimal inclusion outside institutional walls, to specialised international provision. 'The first Agoon came in 1949 and was held in Holland with the Dutch as hosts at a camp site at Lunteren.'[108] The origin of the Agoon was therefore much later than the Jamboree, demonstrating the changing landscape of provision for handicapped scouts. It was reported that 'twenty boys represented Great Britain and included past Infantile Paralysis cases, Tubercular Spine, Spastics, a

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[106] Anon. (1937, June 5). The World Jamboree. *Hull Daily Mail.* p. 2.
[107] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (c. 1955). *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy (Boy Scouts International Bureau).* p. 8.
[108] H, Collis, & F. Hurll, & R. Hazlewood. (1961). *B.-P.'s Scouts: An Official History of The Boy Scouts Association.* London: Collins. p. 214.

one-legged boy, deaf and dumb boys and partially sighted boys.'[109] Unlike earlier events, the Agoon looked to be widely comprehensive in terms of different groups of young people included. Activities such as campfires were reported to have taken place, alongside a visit from the Queen of Holland.[110] The event was reported to be 'quite out of the normal world of these youngsters'[111] as most had never travelled abroad or met other Scouts in this capacity previously.

Despite the panoptic promise of the Agoon, like the jamborees, there were limitations to their reach. The first agoon, held in Holland, saw only twenty Scouts from Britain travel, meaning the experience of making transnational connections, much like the jamborees previously were only open to a limited few. This limitation, when looked at in comparison to active Scouting, was shared. Attendee places, at the agoons, increased with every event. The Second World Agoon, held in 1953 at La Fresnaye camp site near Brussels, offered thirty-six places to handicapped British scouts. Again, much like the Imperial Jamboree where inclusion was limited based on top-down decisions, a meeting of the Handicapped Scouts Committee in Manchester described these places as an "allocation" from the central association organising the camp.[112]

In addition to limited places, costs were also a factor when exploring international travel. In February 1953 it was reported the cost of the Brussels Agoon had 'increased so that the charges [were] – under 18, £8. 10. 0. Adults £10.10.0.'[113] The costs were unattainable for a state educated handicapped scout to achieve, so charitable donations were often sought to fund places, explaining partially why only a few scouts travelled per trip. The 1953 agoon saw Neville Hornby, a handicapped scout from Manchester, attend. He was 'given £2 from the Association and £2 from his Group to assist with the expenses. It was agreed that he should be given £2 from the County Fund'[114] also. This showed the need for additional financial support, from various branches of the movement, indicating there were several reasons for limited places on top of the decisions from the central association. These limitations were also translated to international Guide camps in addition to specific differences.

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[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1952). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 07/11/52.*
[113] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 24/02/53.*
[114] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 23/06/53.* 1953

International Guide Camps

While Scouting made specific, official, international provision for boys with disabilities, from the interwar years, Guiding's attempt was somewhat different. The first Girl Guide World Camp was held at Foxlease, Hampshire in 1924. Mentions of extension guides attending this camp are non-existent in available sources, so evaluating provision at this event is difficult. However, transnational perspectives of Guiding's international ideology, is seen through Sallie Kussle's, a South African Guide, reminiscence of the event. Published in 1970, Sallie highlighted the exclusive nature of travel to Britain to partake in the camp, as leaders were 'asked to choose suitable Guides [and] Guiders to enter for a competition to choose a team to attend this Camp.'[115] Twenty-five girls were chosen from Oudtshoorn, in South Africa, to make the trip. Discussions surrounding 'suitability' were never recorded, but it is plausible to believe girls with disabilities were excluded from the suitable 'pool' who were entered into the competition.

The aim of the camp was set out to the girls during their stay by an unknown leader:

> 'When you each go back to your respective countries and homes, I want you to take this great message back with you of love, kindness and understanding if each one of you go out to give this message and to bring another girl into our great Guide Movement, then this Camp will have served its great purpose.'

The sentiment of this speech echoed international ideas discussed by Johnson in relation to the first Scout Jamboree of friendship, understanding and expansion.[116] However, activities that took place reiterated the imperial mission seen in earlier texts of both movements. Sallie recalled that some 'lucky countries were given the opportunity of hoisting the Flag. This was the Union Jack, as there was no World Guide Flag in those days.'[117] The use of the Union Jack at a supposed international, rather than imperial, event with fifty-two countries present shows clear colonial sentiment, rather than supposed equal friendship and acceptance. Mirroring Scouting's wrestle with international and imperial ideologies, it is difficult to identify a clear change from one mission to the other due to varying words and actions across the inter-war years. Although Guiding has received significantly less academic attention than Scouting in relation to internationalism, arguments have been made that the policy of internationalism was only partially successful.[118] The impact of this on extension guides

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[115] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1970). *Look Wide Jubilee Number, 1970 (Diamond Jubilee).* p. 32.

[116] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079.

[117] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1970). *Look Wide Jubilee Number, 1970 (diamond Jubilee).* p. 33.

[118] Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 57.

around the globe is difficult to measure, as details of international extension camps were only widely published after the Second World War.

The first surviving and accessible report of a British handicapped camp, in relation to the global movement, was the Bassenthwaite Lake camp in 1958. *The Manchester Guardian* reported that 'forty physically handicapped Rangers from Glasgow, Dunbartonshire, Cleckheaton (Yorkshire), Surrey, and East Yorkshire are in camp for a fortnight at Highham School, near Bassenthwaite Lake, Cumberland.'[119] The camp had 'been organised by the Commonwealth headquarters of the Girl Guide Association'[120] and it was reported there would 'be an open day-to-day for friends and visitors interested in the movement.'[121] While there was no mention of guides attending from overseas, the commonwealth division had organised the camp, meaning they were interested in involving handicapped girls internationally. This inclusion mirrored developments in organisations specifically designed for children with disabilities which targeted deficiencies in provision, allowing options for engagement outside the family home or school.[122]

Despite this, it has been argued choices available were still very similar to the interwar period but became official through the National Health Service and social care system.[123] The increasing provision was also apparent in the extra-curricular recreational services for disabled children. Opportunities for extra-institutional leisure activities (see Chapter Five), such as sport, with the introduction of the Special Olympics in the 1960s, were occurring more frequently. To retain membership, Guiding needed to match or offer similar opportunities. Like the Scouting Imperial Jamboree, thirty years earlier, the girls included at the Bassenthwaite Lake camp were only those who were physically handicapped. With no mention of blind, deaf, those described as backward, mentally deficient, or those falling under other categorisations on the extension division, such as epileptics or those with tuberculosis, attending the camp, limitations based on the categorisation of young people were evident.

Notwithstanding these limitations, two years later in 1960, an official Guiding document stated that the 'Guide Movement, with its world-wide membership, [offered] unequalled opportunities for

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[119] Our Special Correspondent. (1958, August 13). DISABLED SET AN EXAMPLE IN DETERMINATION: Success of international holiday camp. *The Manchester Guardian,* p. 3.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Borsay, A. (2015). From Representation to Experience: Disability in the British Advice Literature for Parents, 1890-1980. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 87-102). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 100.
[123] Race, D. G. (2007). *Intellectual disability: Social Approaches*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press. p. 193.

joining in International camps and visits to Guides abroad.'[124] These 'unequalled' opportunities were regularly reported for those in active units; however, it was not until after the period in question that handicapped members, in the north, were documented to be travelling overseas with the movement. Prior to this period, the difficulties in revealing narratives of disabled girls abroad adds to Kristine Alexander's assertion that many of these international events were often aimed at adult women, rather than the girls themselves.[125] Offered as opportunities to catch up with their global social networks, chances of travel were often limited to similar groups each time, affecting not only disabled girls but the wider membership.[126] The first report of international travel for extension guides was in 1974, when the *Girl Guides Association North East England Report* stated:

> 'The final highlight of our year was the Denmark trip when two of our girls – Florence Callaghan in a wheelchair and Susan Riversley, a registered blind girl, flew with their helpers, Mrs. Holdren and Fiona Mackay, to join 18,000 young people in one camp site in North Jutland.'[127]

There was no doubt that this was a large camp and that other disabled girls would have been present. However, for those in active Guiding, the first report in the West Yorkshire Archive's collection, 1961, reported that 'usual holidays abroad were enjoyed by several parties, Austria, Holland and Switzerland being visited.'[128] The fact these holidays were referred to as 'usual', showed that these were common occurrences for active guides. They were occurring prior to reports deposited in the collection, which makes it difficult to assert an absolute judgement on transnational inclusion for both active and extension guides across the twentieth century. That being said, local initiatives help to shed light on these transnational disability histories.

Local Transnational Case Studies

While agoons and international Guiding camps offered opportunities for disabled members to make connections across international borders, and build upon existing networks, there were limits to the events' reach and sustainability. Personal connections made at these camps are difficult to trace across historical material due to the lack of access to private correspondence. One way to explore links across borders, is through pen pals. Pen pals evidence transnational experiences at a local level, rather than the national, or large regional levels seen through the agoons and international camps.

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[124] The Treasure House, Beverely, DDX1546/5, (1960). *Booklet from the Jubilee Rally, Dalton Hall Beverley, Saturday 11th June 1960 for East Yorkshire Girl Guides*. p. 4.

[125] Alexander, K. (2017). *Guiding Modern Girls.* Vancouver: UBC Press. p. 176.

[126] Ibid.

[127] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1974). *Girl Guides Association North East England Report 1974*. p. 7.

[128] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1961). *Yorkshire Central 1961 Annual Report*. p. 30.

When placing this in the context of Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding, differing levels of success are seen. In 1960, the Guiding Yorkshire West region's annual report promoted their pen friend scheme, trying to recruit Guides to take up the opportunity. The report stated guides 'wishing for a pen friend should write direct to the Post Box Secretary, giving particulars about themselves.'[129] This scheme was available association wide, with over 900 guides being paired as pen pals in 1962.[130] Despite increased attention in the scheme, there were never any mentions of pairings specifically for girls with disabilities.

When explored in the context of Scouting, there is evidence that specific schemes for blind pen friends were created. At the Gilwell National Conference for Handicapped Scouts in 1946, it 'was announced that names of some boys of Worcester College had been passed on for a link-up in braille.'[131] This 'link-up', a connection between two groups to communicate as pen friends, was with blind scouts in Sweden who were hoping to bond internationally with other handicapped troops. The Swedish connection was mentioned at the Manchester Committee for the Handicapped Scouts at their 1946 August meeting. Mr Iveson, a local scouter, highlighted his ties with Swedish Scouting and the possibility of creating a pen pal scheme. Earlier that year Iveson had visited Sweden, with the minutes of the meeting stating that 'Mr Iveson gave a very interesting account of his visit to the Swedish National Camp at Granso in Sweden, and contacts he had made in regard to Handicapped Scouting.'[132] While the details of the 'link-up' are unavailable, connections made across borders were often achieved through adult leaders at international camps and training events.

Iveson showed that Jamborees, agoons and conferences, were not only held to celebrate the international nature of the movement but were imperative in driving local connections across borders. The position of these events in the effectiveness of local delivery, suggests the reliance on them caused inequalities for scouts wanting to access international opportunities. Access to these prospects were based on whether a local leader had attended a camp or conference and networked with handicapped group leaders or knew of leaders working with handicapped groups across the globe. In the Manchester case, the ability to offer this opportunity across the district was made

[129] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Twelfth Annual Report, The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North-West, 1959-60.* p. 18.
[130] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *The Girl Guides Association Annual Report 1962.* p. 15.
[131] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 23/10/46.*
[132] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 28/08/46.*

available due to the Handicapped Committee, which offered chances for local scoutmasters to share their experiences and opportunities.

The importance of Iveson's interest in developing links across nations was further evidenced through his article in the camp magazine, with the Committee reporting that Mr Iveson

> 'had contributed an article on the subject in the camp magazine and have been promised further information on Handicapped Scouting in Sweden by the Chief Scout of Sweden, and was arranging for further contacts between blind Scouts of that country and this by correspondence in braille in connection with which Mr James promised him assistance.'[133]

The reciprocity from another nation was therefore significant in the advancement of braille pen pals. In terms of this scheme, the ingenuity of individual members in both countries, rather than support from the World Scout Association or other official bodies, was the driving force behind its development. Whether this scheme was ever delivered is unknown, but, above all, it highlighted the differing possibilities at local levels for handicapped scouts due to the varying work carried out by local officials, rather than a coordinated effort at the central organisational level. The enthusiasm for internationalism in Manchester allowed for increased opportunities to forge international connections, but this success was not necessarily felt across the north of England.

The Boy Scouts did publish documents highlighting their own failures in terms of connections overseas. In 1930, the eighth book in the *Gilcraft Series* was released. This book was entitled *Boy Scouts* and covered a wide range of topics, including issues with rural environments. The text stated, 'in the country, Troops are scattered over a wide area and are not in a position to see very much of each other. They become somewhat isolated, grow up apart from the wholesome influence of other Troops and sometimes find it difficult to realise that Scouting is a world-wide Brotherhood.'[134] The publication pinpointed difficulties in placing the movement as 'world-wide' when carried out in the country. Sian Edwards has explored the role of the countryside in youth movement provision, arguing that the international aims of Scouting and Guiding were promoted as a supplement to national community rather than equal goals.[135] Despite the beginnings of rural research, countryside isolation has never been discussed in relation to the international affairs of these organisations. This rural seclusion was also addressed in *The Scouter,* with five issues highlighted as key:

> i.   'The limited number of boys in a village
> ii.   The limited number of leaders in a village.

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[133] Ibid.
[134] The Boy Scouts Association. (1930). *The "Gilcraft" Series No. 8*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 112.
[135] Edwards, S. (2017). *Youth Movements, Citizenship and the English Countryside: Creating Good Citizens, 1930-1960*. Gewerbestrasse: Springer Publishing International AG. p. 239.

      iii.   The distance involved in rural areas.

      iv.   The question of Headquarters.

      v.   Village exclusiveness.'[136]

The exclusiveness and distance all contributed to stifled transnational activity as these groups were unable to easily attend camps, meetings and events promoting international opportunities. These issues also translated directly to institutional units. Questions of limited boys, leaders, remote locations, and connections to central Scouting reveal reasons behind the minimal transnational Handicapped Scouting perspectives.

Reports for Extension Guiding, on the other hand, were present in varying degrees throughout the twentieth century. Yearly, regional reports were made aiming to promote the activities of the section to the wider movement. This was also the case with international activity reflecting the active division. In Yorkshire, annual reports highlighted struggles grasping the international side of the movement. In 1961, the region reported that 'Guiding on the international side seem[ed] rather limited in the County.'[137] It was suggested that members should make a 'real effort to interest more people in this most vital side of [their] work.'[138] Much like the pen pal scheme in Manchester, the difficulties seen in Yorkshire Guiding stem from the grassroots level. The report demonstrates the attempt at central intervention due to minimal international relations within the area. This was primarily down to the lack of drive from local guiders in accessing opportunities for their guides. In 1963 this was followed up once more, with the annual report maintaining there had been minimal holidays abroad that year.[139] The lack of enthusiasm for the international side of Guiding indicates the central associations attempt to push leaders to make connections was unsuccessful. Local level investment was therefore important in central transnational ideals to make them a success. In West Yorkshire, this was not the case, revealing one way in which local provision did not meet central standards.

While international travels to the continent and beyond were a large part of the movement's desires to create connections, inward travel of those from across the globe was also encouraged for abled-bodied girls. In 1961, it was reported that Guide groups 'were asked to give hospitality in Yorkshire to a party of 27 Finnish Guides and Rangers, 10 of them being entertained in and around Leeds.'[140] A report the following year in the Yorkshire West region stated, 'Shipley Guides entertained a group of

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[136] The Boy Scouts Association. (1944). *"The Scouter" Digest*. Kent: Stanhope Press Limited. p. 170.

[137] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1961). *Yorkshire Central 1961 Annual Report*. p. 30.

[138] Ibid.

[139] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1963). *Yorkshire Central 1963 Annual Report*. p. 17.

[140] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1961). *Yorkshire Central 1961 Annual Report*. p. 29.

German Guides in Camp and then in private homes.'[141] These activities were all seen as unsuitable for those in institutional educational provision or medical care, meaning the Extension Section was excluded from these events. Although stigma and a lack of understanding played a part in this restriction, the buildings these institutional guides lived in, and their operations, also played a role.

Barriers in the buildings themselves have been linked to confinement, isolation, and visiting limitations within institutional schools, long stay hospitals and asylums.[142] Bruce Lindsay explored visitors at the Norwich Jenny Lind Hospital for children, the second hospital in Britain solely for sick children, after St. Ormand Street, London. Providing long stay treatment for sick children, the hospital offered similar provision to those in the north delivering Scouting and Guiding as a recreational activity. Focusing on the first half of the twentieth century, he highlighted that many of the visitors appearing in the logbooks prior to 1914 were family relations, visiting as single individuals, rather than in groups.[143] While Lindsay explored overseas visitors, he concluded many of these were also familial relations to children within the hospital.[144] Exploration into international visits have begun to occur across the academic sector, highlighting a new narrative within institutional histories. Jonathan Reinarz has shown international visitors within institutions were an increasingly regular occurrence from the eighteenth century.[145] However, these visits were often organised tours of pioneering hospitals, at the end of which the visitors would return to their home countries to publicise what had been seen and share information. The development of international communication channels, to share ideas surrounding institutional provision, developed across the nineteenth century, with Rob Ellis stressing the transnational nature of psychiatric networks by the beginning of the twentieth century.[146] These networks led to developments in provision across the western world.

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[141] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *14th Annual Report Yorkshire West 1961-62.* p. 17.

[142] De Young, M. (2015). *Encyclopedia of Asylum Therapeutics, 1750-1950s*. Jefferson: McFarland. & Stevenson, C., & Mellon, P. (2000). *Medicine and Magnificence: British Hospital and Asylum Architecture, 1660-1815*. London; Yale University Press. &
Hamlett, J. (2015). *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725–1970: Inmates and Environments*. London: Routledge.

[143] Lindsay, B. (2009). Pariahs or Partners? Welcome and Unwelcome Visitors in the Jenny Lind Hospital for Sick Children, Norwich, 1900–50. In G. Mooney & J. Reinarz (Eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*. (pp. 111-130). Amsterdam: Rodopi. p 113.

[144] Ibid. p 113–114.

[145] Reinarz, J. (2009). Receiving the Rich, Rejecting the Poor: Towards a History of Hospital Visiting in Nineteenth Century Provincial England. In G. Mooney & J. Reinarz (Eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*. (pp. 31-54). Amsterdam: Rodopi. p 31.

[146] Ellis, R. (2020). *London and its Asylums, 1888-1914: Politics and Madness.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. p.166-167.

When exploring international visiting and transnational networks within twentieth century Yorkshire based schools, logbooks show this was limited, if not non-existent. During the inter-war period, the Sheffield Maud Maxfield School for the Deaf logbooks, reveal every visitor who interacted with students and visited the site. In 1925, the logbook read:

> '26th of Jan 1925, 13:40 – 'E Mquine + 30 students'
>
> 4th Feb 10;00 – 'J Chetwood + Students'
>
> 26th March 2:45 – C.BBailey [*sic*] (Lady Mayoress)
>
> March 11th 1926, 11:00, Students + J R Erving, The University of Manchester'[147]

The school did not host Guide and Scout clubs, but other activity or visiting of some sort would be expected when compared with other school reports in the surrounding areas. Their logbooks demonstrate visits were minimal, and those that did visit were normally on business with the school, or teacher training, rather than to visit the students for recreational activity or personal reasons. Travel radiuses of these visitors were also limited, with students attending from the University of Manchester, and local officials visiting only. Although school staff and medical experts could well have attended conferences and maintained their own networks outside of the national realm, developing the school's policies and activities, the direct impact upon the children seems somewhat limited.

The lack of visitors for recreational purposes, confirms that those children within special schools had fewer opportunities to engage with international peers of their own age and would not have the ability to host international visitors on a Guide visit programme unlike other young people. While this may have been down to inadequate facilities to host individuals on residential trips, such as limited beds, facilities and economic resources, the likelihood is that these visits were not considered from the adults in leadership positions or prohibited by the medical and educational staff (Chapter Four). Either way, social attitudes of these adults held prominence over other factors when examining access to internationalism within the movements. Furthermore, the views of disabled members are difficult uncover due to the lack of personal correspondence or documents relating to this pillar of the movements, including surviving pen pal letters. One way to explore the attitudes in the lower ranks is through publications created and printed by these members. The most prominent being *Braille Pie.*

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[147] Sheffield City Archives, CA35/930, (1925-1930). *Visitor Logbooks for the Maud Maxfield School for the Deaf*.

Braille Pie

In 1935, the creation of *Braille Pie* aimed to connect blind Scouts across the world. The idea was first proposed to Baden-Powell in 1933 by Rev. Harold Gibb, a newly appointed leader for blind scouts. Gibb expressed an interest in becoming a Scout leader for the blind in the thirties, after losing his eyesight serving as a chaplain in the First World War. The publication was released with these opening words:

> 'Be in near or remote in some out-lying post
> That your own Empire homestead may lie,
> Here we proffer a hand from the old Mother-land
> In the form of a home-made Braille pie'[148]

While Bernard Porter argued that by the 1930s the Boy Scouts had grown out of their imperialistic goals, due to their vast international scale, this publication used tropes suggesting otherwise.[149] The first three opening lines all referenced the Empire and use imperialistic language such as 'Mother-land'. This language reveals an insight into how those with visual impairments viewed the Empire after its territorial peak in 1920. At a time when the Empire covered 24% of the earth's total land mass, Scouting central leadership had already begun the move from the imperialist motives seen at the movement's inception to a focus on an international 'brotherhood'.[150] Despite these arguments of a shift in policy, it has been shown throughout this chapter, and other academic works, that Empire rhetoric was still very much present across Scouting and Guiding material as a motivation behind the citizenship training during this period.[151] *Braille Pie* demonstrates that this was the case well into the thirties, using the phrase 'Mother-land' to assert Britain's perceived superiority.

Imperialistic language, much like the Empire itself, constantly changed and evolved, with concepts shifting throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[152] Many contemporaries believed the imperial mission was one of an internationalist nature, confirming Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo and José Pedro Monteiro's argument that internationalism and imperialism were interconnected as concepts.[153] This built upon previous work, claiming that by the Edwardian period, imperialism

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[148] Scout Association. (1935). *Braille Pie*. [Magazine]. p. 1.

[149] Porter, B. (2004). *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 277.

[150] Sarkar, D. (2020). *Battle of Britain, 1940: The Finest Hour's Human Cost*. Barnsley: Air World. p. 63.

[151] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 508.

[152] Thompson, A. S. (2014). *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880-1932*. Oxford: Routledge. p. 16.

[153] Jerónimo, M. B., & Monteiro, J. P. (2017). Pasts to Be Unveiled: The Interconnections Between the International and the Imperial. In M . B. Jerónimo, & J . P. Monteiro (Eds.) *Internationalism, Imperialism and the Formation of the Contemporary World: The Pasts of the Present*. (pp. 1-30). New York: Springer. p. 2.

meant efficient organisation of the current Empire, rather than expansion into further territory.[154] The language used here, such as 'proffer a hand from the Mother-land' indicated a desire to organise groups across the current territories rather than expanding, while still using imperialist language. Empire focused language, used in a seemingly imperialist way, at the same time as attempting to pursue typically internationalist ideals, supports how complex these models are to utilize separately.

The use of imperialist and internationalist language in the publishing of *Braille Pie,* on an international scale, indicates the important role publications played in disseminating information and Scouting's beliefs across borders to blind members. Effective communication channels have been argued as paramount to ensuring policies and opportunities were promoted to the movement globally.[155] This has been proven through the varying opportunities across the north for those who were disabled, but also the wider movement. In those areas where communication was more effective, such as Manchester, opportunities were greater. *Braille Pie* allowed those who were blind to share ideas across the globe and broadcast information to other blind members. While ideas were exported through *Braille Pie* internationally, this was unilateral, with similar publications imported to Britain from around the globe in response to *Braille Pie*, or by any other initiative, non-existent. This was not unusual, with the aim of exporting British 'civilisation' to colonies still apparent in the early twentieth century.[156] Although originally termed 'betterment', 'improvement' or 'moral and material progress', the civilising mission was a means of justification for the expansion of the Empire within the European dialogue.[157] The implementation of western ideas into colonial governments, namely India, were seen as the best way to begin improvements of what was viewed as primitive oriental oppression.[158] Perceived superior knowledge of the British over their territories is evident in this Scouting publication offering guidance. At a time of waning imperial power across the 1930s, *Braille Pie* raises questions as to whether blind scouts and scouters in the home nations were aware of global power shifts and changing ideals. [159]

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[154] Thompson, A. S. (2014). *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c. 1880-1932*. Oxford: Routledge. p. 16.

[155] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 515.

[156] Smith, L. (2014). *Insanity, Race and Colonialism: Managing Mental Disorder in the Post-Emancipation British Caribbean, 1838-1914*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan Limited. p. 15.

[157] Mann, M. (2004). "Torchbearers Upon the Path of Progress": Britain's Ideology of a 'Moral and Material Progress' in India. In M. Mann, & H. Fischer-Tiné (Eds.), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission Cultural Ideology in British India*. (pp. 1-27). New York: Anthem Press. p. 4.

[158] Ibid. p. 9.

[159] Murphy, J. (2019). Populism and British Stories of Decline. *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 78*(3), 741-759. doi: 10.1111/ajes.12277. p. 742.

Political, economic, and social shifts were apparent throughout the Empire's history. During the 1930s, the period of *Braille Pie,* Britain struggled to keep hold of its territories, with a strong independence movement in India, and the ever-increasing problems in Ireland. In 1926, the Balfour Declaration was signed, meaning Britain had declared that South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia were independent nations and no longer tied to the Empire. While these events could pinpoint Empire decline, Peter Marshall has argued that by 1939 the British Empire was as big as it had ever been with the acquisition of some Middle Eastern countries.[160] Furthering this, Marshall also argued that British policies were still very much 'imperialistic', despite many of Britain's main dominions having been lost, or gaining momentum in independence movements.[161] These political events indicated decreased Empire stability, but the production of the magazine to connect those around the Empire in the 1930s, suggests that these changes did not resonate with the producers of the magazine, supporting Ward's argument that wider society was largely uniformed of the changes.[162]

Information dissemination surrounding Empire changes, and in turn changes to Scouting ideals and opportunities, to association members, were key to ensuring a cohesive set of publications. The Scouting publication landscape was complex. Created, commissioned, and edited by several different groups of people, the lack of a central matrix and official policies meant messages conveyed, especially in relation to the Empire, varied. *Braille Pie* evidences the attitudes and values of a certain group of blind Scouters in a single period across the twentieth century. Whilst not representing the views of the association, or indeed the blind members as a whole unit, the creation of the magazine was unique due to the perspective it allowed this group of people to share. In Gibb's correspondence with Baden-Powell, he stated 'we handicapped [blind] folk will appreciate making ourselves responsible for our own Magazine.'[163] The responsibility of the magazine, approved by Baden-Powell directly, indicated those with disabilities were not seen as a 'problem' that needed to be managed by a special programme, as O.P Goyle argued, but as a part of the movement that were able to create and manage their own material and contribute to the wider aims of the organisation; creating 'brotherhood'.[164] By 1910, Baden-Powell had updated the Scout law from one that defined brotherhood as solely crossing class boundaries, to one that transcended racial, class and religious

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[160] Marshall, P.J. (1979). The Decline of British Colonial Power. *India International Centre Quarterly, 6* (1), 28-38. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23001593. p. 28.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ward, S. (2001). *British Culture and the End of Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 13.
[163] Harold Gibb to Baden-Powell. (02/09/1933). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]
[164] Goyle, O.P. (2004). *Understanding and Scouting with Physically Handicapped*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House. p. 165.

belief.[165] Those with disabilities were not explicitly mentioned in the law, yet it was viewed that the law was all encompassing.[166] However, Goyle has claimed that it 'was Scouting for the handicapped, rather than Scouting with handicapped people.'[167] The authorship and direct control over the publication, explicitly agreed by Baden-Powell, suggests otherwise.

Limitations surrounding agency and *Braille Pie* have still occurred. The aim of the magazine, to share ideas transnationally, were limited through the overall mission of the Boy Scouts. In 1934, Baden-Powell had expressed an interest in making the magazine available overseas. He stated, in private correspondence to Gibb, he did not 'know how far foreigners use[d] the same Braille but it would be a grand thing if [he] could get in touch with some of the blind Scouts and Rovers overseas in the same way.'[168] The correspondence shows that motivations and plans were shaped by those in the central parts of the association to fit within wider Scouting goals. While those authoring, editing, and publishing the magazine essentially chose the scope and themes of the articles, their ability to make 'independent and autonomous choices'[169] were always limited by abled-bodied members at the top of the hierarchy deciding Scouting's mission. Despite motives from elsewhere in the movement to internationalise the publication, the responsibility granted to blind members within this magazine was not seen anywhere else in the movement across the period, or indeed wider society. However, publications were created for handicapped people during the 1930s and in circulation across Britain. The Church of England were publishing *EPHPHATHA* for the deaf, from the nineteenth century, and some deaf institutions, including the Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf and Dumb were creating their own deaf newspapers, authored by deaf individuals, and edited by the headmaster.[170] These publications were similar, but *Braille Pie* was unique due to its overseas expansion, wider readership and that it was created, edited, and developed all by blind individuals.

Despite seemingly progressive methods, there were limitations to the impact of *Braille Pie*. Lack of knowledge surrounding universal braille, seen in Baden-Powell's correspondence, delayed processes

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[165] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 516.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Goyle, O.P. (2004). *Understanding and Scouting with Physically Handicapped*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House. p. 165.
[168] Baden-Powell to Harold Gibb. (04/09/1934). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]
[169] Definition of agency in: Howe, P. D. (2011). Sociology. In Y. C. Vanlandewijck, & W. R. Thompson (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Medicine and Science: The Paralympic Athlete*. (pp. 102-115). Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons. p. 102
[170] The Treasure House, Beverely, PE174/203/8 (2), (1935). *EPHPHATHA.* & Mantin, M. (2012). The Question of Oralism and the Experiences of Deaf Children, 1880– 1914. In A. Borsay, & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850-1979*. (pp. 59-72). London: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 68.

in the creation of the magazine and overseas transportation. Furthermore, the absence of a central body for world Handicapped Scouting caused difficulties for Gibb and other organisers in terms of distribution. This was inevitably worsened by global language barriers, possibly suggesting why this publication was disseminated first and foremost to white settler colonies across the Empire, rather than to the wider international movement. Difficulties with dissemination, further highlights issues with transnational networks at a global level. Showing failings within WOSM in fostering connections for blind members, emphasises the importance of central guidance and aid in developing the transnational channels. When these central organisations failed to provide opportunities, grassroots initiatives were ultimately limited in their reach. Notwithstanding this conclusion, it is difficult to apply to the entirety of the Handicapped Scouts due to the focus and parameters of *Braille Pie* to the blind population*.* However, the publication does show progressive grassroots transnational connections for blind individuals, despite the one-way sharing of ideas to part 'wisdom' to settler colonies. As there were no reports as to where *Braille Pie* was sent, who read it or any subsequent documentation, its overall reach and effectiveness cannot be determined to any great extent.

Conclusions

Written media, official visits, international camps, jamborees and agoons, pen pals, and grassroots publications were all used by Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding as ways to connect members worldwide. Supported by chief members of the association, these methods had varying degrees of success, with many young disabled people being unable to access them due to limitations at both central and local levels. Despite these restrictions, the actions taken by the association in attempts to create transnational experiences highlight a desire to forge international connections between disabled young people and their adult leaders. These connections were tied up in complex ideologies surrounding Empire, imperialism, and internationalism, which intertwined and developed as the century progressed. Even with varying ideological changes throughout the period, the continuation of jamborees, the creation of agoons and international guide camps promoted the need for connection across borders throughout the twentieth century. While camp inclusion was a changing narrative, with economic access, limited numbers and issues with international travel and connections restricting reach, their continuation to the modern-day, with the inclusion of disabled young people, depict them as key in Scouting and Guiding's principles.

These international events were key in helping to foster personal connections, which led to the development of further ventures such as pen pal schemes and group visits abroad. Schemes, much like the camps, had varying success rates due to the difference in engagement at a local level. *Braille Pie* assists in revealing how personal connections were key in developing initiatives, as well as highlighting the varying levels of engagement dependant on the disability categorisation of these

young people. Personal connections among the blind Scouting community led to greater opportunities for those within this section. This stemmed from increased educational and life opportunities, cementing the narrative that experiences across units, dedicated to disabled young people, were not absolute and differences in categorisation led to differences in opportunities, and therefore experience. While disability categorisation highlighted changing narratives, these also shifted across time. Changes in British imperial rule, native disability policies, and easing of international transport access supported ventures and developed Scouting and Guiding policies contributing to these variations. When compared to the active branches, opportunities were still somewhat limited. Although it is apparent the section was aware of the internationalist policies, seen through attempts made at pen pals and the creation of *Braille Pie*, actual personal connections with members from overseas were not documented among those with handicaps. This lack of documentation suggests the transnational desires of the associations, which disabled members were expected to adhere to, were not met to the extent that was intended by the central movement. Differences between desires of the central movement and execution of ideals at the local level is something that is also present when exploring collective identities of Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides.

Chapter 3
'Bringing a sense of belonging': Institutional Histories of collective identities in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides

During the twentieth century the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides discussed their role in 'bringing a sense of belonging to those who [were] cut off from the normal world for all of a lifetime.'[1] The aim of connecting disabled children to citizenship and international/imperial ideals, helped to foster the collective identity both movements strove for. For this shared belonging to occur, members had to recognise that they were more alike than different.[2] Methods of stimulating this communal identity were both ideological and material, with the Promise, a three-part initiation vow to uphold association values, uniforms and badges working together to bind scouts and guides to their respective peers. Uniforms were the primary visual markers of identity and have been presented as a way association methodology was put into practice.[3] Due to this primary nature, they have been the focus of previous analysis on identity within the movements, with Jim Gledhill having argued uniforms were still being used to foster this collective identity as they had done since the movements' inceptions.[4] Although Gledhill discussed uniform within the context of the wider movement, the aims were no different in the Handicapped and Extension Divisions.

When discussing the Extension and Handicapped Section specifically, this chapter builds upon work by Gledhill and Sarah Mills, using forms of material culture such as badges and uniforms, to offer new insights into the way these members were both included and excluded from the shared identities of the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.[5] While existing scholarship surrounding collective identity within the associations has been minimal, there have been studies on collective identity in modern disability historiography. Centring primarily on self-advocacy groups emerging in the 1970s and 80s, Dan Goodley argued that prior to this period, personal identities of individuals with disabilities were stifled, with advocacy groups being key to regaining autonomy in educational,

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[1] Settle, A. (1951, December 23). From A Woman's Viewpoint. *The Observer,* p. 3.

[2] Hovey, M.W., Coy, P.G., Woehrle, M.L., Dayton, B.W., & Hedeen, T. (2000). *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 3.

[3] Magyarody, K. (2016). Odd Woman, Odd Girls: Reconsidering How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire: The Handbook for Girl Guides and Early Guiding Practices, 1909–1918. *Children's Literature Association Quarterly, 41*(3), 238-262. doi:10.1353/chq.2016.0030. p. 238.

[4] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 71.

[5] Ibid. & Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls? Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342.

medical, and wider life decisions.[6] Though his emphasis on disabled identities spanned the personal and collective, focusing on 'disabled' characteristics is something that resonates throughout wider research. Colin Barnes and Geoff Mercer, for example, focused on collective social exclusion in relation to a broader disabled consciousness, emphasising that individuals needed to agree on the source of exclusion to develop a collective awareness.[7] Adding to Steve Robertson and Brett Smith's discussion of 'embattled'[8] identities, this chapter builds on the work of Thomas Couser and Michael Kelly who both argued disability became the primary identity trait.[9] Couser, adding to Kelly's research, which focused on identity dictated by society and the medical establishment, suggested that those who differed from the hegemonic ideal are likely to be defined by the way in which they differ, making impairment the defining identity.[10] This chapter therefore develops these key ideas of distinguishing collective identities, whilst beginning discussions within academic studies of youth movement histories.

The first section of this chapter offers a new way to understand collective identities beyond that of social exclusion for disabled young people. Adding not only to disability studies, but also childhood and youth movement fields of scholarship, key ideological factors contributing to the shared identities within the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are explored. Concentrating on central messaging from association publications and the role of the Promise, the ideals set by the association, and the ability for those with disabilities to conform to those ideals are discussed. Following this, investigation into material markers, as a way to create a cohesive collective identity, build on works from Tammy Proctor and Gledhill in relation to uniform.[11] Expanding Gledhill's discussion on its role in relation to collective identity, the successes and limitations of uniform across both Scouts and Guides are first revealed, followed by a discussion on how this translated to the Handicapped and

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[6] Goodley, D. (2003). Against a politics of victimisation: disability culture and self-advocates with learning difficulties. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 105-130) . London: Routledge. p. 116.

[7] Barnes, C. & Mercer, G. (2001). Disability Culture: Assimilation or Inclusion. In G . L. Albrecht, K . D. Seelman, & M. Bury (Eds.) *Handbook of Disability Studies* (pp. 515-534). London: Sage. p. 522.

[8] Robertson, S. & Smith, B. (2014). Men, Masculinities and Disability. In J. Swain, S. French, C. Barnes, & C. Thomas (Eds.) *Disabling Barriers - Enabling Environments* (3rd ed.) (pp. 78-84). London: Sage. p. 79.

[9] Couser, G.T. (2006). Disability, Life Narrative, and Representation. In L. J. Davis (Ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 399-404). London: Routledge. p. 399. & Kelly, M.P. (2001). Disability and Community. In G . L. Albrecht, K . D. Seelman, & M. Bury (Eds.) *Handbook of Disability Studies* (pp. 396-411). London: Sage. p. 407.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000

Proctor, T.M. (2002). Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939. In W. Parkins (Ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Berg.

Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x.

Extension Divisions and finally, building on Proctor's work of how economic barriers limited uniform inclusion. Arguments made by Michael Hovey *et al*, stating that unified large groups can fragment into sub-groups, are developed, revealing differing collective identities within the associations.[12]

Using material culture, such as uniforms and badges, as the basis of this discussion adds new insights into the experiences of handicapped scouts and extension guides. Bringing to the forefront of discussions local level opinions and disputes, debates surrounding badge adaptations for disabled members and questions surrounding their gender identities are revealed. Exploring both class-tests, the main badges completed by most members, and merit badges, the awards for personal interests, the complex entanglement of collective, personal and gender identities within institutional schools and units are examined. Offering an alternative to histories of institutional identity loss, this chapter will ultimately argue that the central Scouting and Guiding identity ideals did not always transpire at the local level, meaning a cohesive collective identity for disabled members, in connection with the wider unit, did not always occur.

Philosophical Ideals of Collective Identity

In order to understand the identity both associations wished disabled members to share, it is imperative to explore ideals at the central level. Yale Magrass highlighted that Baden-Powell modelled the Scouts on 'colonized peoples whom he perceived as valuing the collectivity over the individual.'[13] Magrass did not venture deeper into shared identity, but the 'collectivity' he explored, at the conception of the movement, can also be found in post-war documents from the north of England. Notes from the West Yorkshire Scout Council Executive Committee's minute book, in 1956, stated the 'one important thing about the youth service is that it offers to young people the voluntary belonging to a group.'[14] Leaders across the period, and indeed the world, emphasized the need to function as a collective.[15] This related to both the ethos of the whole movement and its national variations. In the early twentieth century, Baden-Powell wrote that Scouts gave disabled members 'the feeling that they [were] members of a brotherhood instead of being outcasts.'[16] The focus on brotherhood, and in Guiding sisterhood, was an attempt to connect all those within the movements, despite differences in religion, class, and age (Chapter Two). Although Chapter Two

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[12] Hovey, M.W., Coy, P.G., Woehrle, M.L., Dayton, B.W., & Hedeen, T. (2000). *Social Conflicts and Collective Identities*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 5.

[13] Magrass, Y.R. (1986). The Boy Scouts the Outdoors and Empire. *Humanity and Society, 10* (1), 37-57. p. 38.

[14] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, (1956). C944/1/1, *Minute book, West Yorkshire Scout Council Executive Committee 1949-1968.* p. 121.

[15] Greig, C. J. (2014). *Ontario Boys Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945—1960*. Waterloo, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. p. 68.

[16] Baden-Powell notes. (n.d. - c. 1915-1920). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/. [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. p. 2.

highlighted the absence of handicapped members within the definition of brotherhood and sisterhood, discussions surrounding disability evidently attempted to advocate a broader sense of inclusion.

Despite the rhetoric of 'belonging', for both active and disabled members, being apparent during the period (1907-1970), issues fostering collective identity at the local level were present. The grouping of disabled scouts and guides, away from other young people, complicated any notions of togetherness and emphasised a sense of difference. Foucault described this as othering' in that those in positions of power made decisions that actively defined people as different.[17] When explored in a disability history context, Anne Borsay has argued the categorisation of disabled children led to the construction of fixed childhood disabled identities, which was very much present in Guiding and Scouting.[18] Both associations created additional disability sub-categories (see Chapter Two), which mirrored how society classified those with disabilities.[19] These groupings were largely due to institutional schools and medical facilities the Scouts and Guides operated within, in that each institution catered for a specific disability. This context meant it would have been difficult for the associations to blur these boundaries due to a lack of resources at the local level to support the Handicapped and Extension branches. With that being said, the disabled young people categorised by the associations faced separation based on their disabled identity.

Deciphering whether this was shared across the Scouting community, in the north, can be explored through the differences in annual reports and Handicapped Sub-Committee minutes. In 1948, the Greater Manchester handicapped sub-committee stated that in Bolton 'two or three groups [were] all under a warranted officer.'[20] Referencing 'truly wonderful...work with the deaf and dumb Scouts'[21] the sub-committee reported on units at the Bolton Thomasson Memorial School for the Deaf. These activities were never reported in the Bolton and District Scout Association annual reports. In 1957, the *Bolton and District Scout Association Year Book* reported thirty nine units in the region.[22] All thirty nine were listed as groups operating within the community, with no mention of

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[17] Foucault, M., & Howard, R. (2001). *Madness and Civilization A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. London: Routledge. p. 235.

[18] Borsay, A. (2015). From Representation to Experience: Disability in the British Advice Literature for Parents, 1890-1980. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 87-102). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 93.

[19] Tremain, S. (2006). On the Government of Disability: Foucault, Power, and the Subject of Impairment. In L. J. Davis (Ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 185-196). London: Routledge. p. 187.

[20] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1948). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 06/07/48.*

[21] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1949). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 11/01/49.*

[22] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (1957). *Bolton and District Scout Association The 1957 Yearbook*.

institutional units.[23] Even though sub-committee reports ceased before 1957, the special units had been active in the area and should have been included in the figures. Furthermore, the other reports and documents stored in Bolton City Archives relating to the district Scout Association bare no trace of disabled boys. The absence, and indeed omission of handicapped scouts appearing in this literature indicates the cohesive 'belonging', that is so prominent in Scouting rhetoric, may not have been the case when including those with disabilities.

In contrast, Girl Guiding's publications aimed to include the Extension Division alongside active activities. In 1942, for example, the annual report for West Yorkshire South stated they had 'fourteen Extension Companies in the County, including two new ones, the Ash House Hospital School Company near Sheffield was registered [officially started and operating with the Girl Guides] in 1941, and another Company for Mentally Defective girls [had] been started in Wakefield.'[24] This report was written by Extension Secretary Grace Russell, showing an auditing and evaluation of information for this division at a regional level. A similar format was followed across all regional annual reports in the north, with a dedicated page in each report allocated to Extension activities.[25] While this dedicated page indicates segregation of those with disabilities, it does show, that unlike Scouting, the Girl Guides actively sought to include disabled members at reporting and admin levels during the twentieth century.

Despite issues of disabled involvement at the local level, collective identity within the movements was evidently important for all members. However, this importance was not mirrored in institutional publications. The Henshaw's Institution for the Blind, for example, had active Guide and Scout units throughout the majority of the twentieth century. Reported frequently in their annual reports, in 1949, the Institution stated that both had played 'an important part in the training of the pupils.'[26] Reports from 1947 through to the end of the period, 1970, contain similar rhetoric in relation to the movements. Discussions surrounding 'togetherness' and brother and sisterhoods, were not present in one extent report. Focusing on training, above all else, suggests this was the main motivation behind allowing Scouting and Guiding within an institutional setting (see Chapter Four) and therefore the measure of success, rather than a feeling of belonging to a group outside the institutional boundaries. Without personal records from those involved in Henshaw's units it is

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1942). *Yorkshire West riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report.* p. 5.

[25] For example: West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Twelfth Annual Report, The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North-West, 1959-60.* p. 16 & West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1961). *Yorkshire Central 1961 Annual Report.* p. 29. & West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1949). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding, North-East 1948-1949.* p. 18.

[26] Henshaws Institution for the Blind. (1949). *Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st March 1949.* p. 14.

difficult to decipher how these young people personally felt in relation to collective identity, and whether it was something they experienced at any notch on the scale. Nonetheless, the Promise, the main ideological connection to togetherness within the movements, was undertaken by disabled scouts and guides.

The Promise

To be a fully enrolled member of the Guides, Scouts, and divisions within the overarching organisation, such as the Brownies, Cubs, Rovers and Rangers, a promise had to, and still must be made. The promise consisted of and still consists of three parts relating to God and the monarchy, being helpful, and obeying the association laws. The original twentieth century Guide promise was:

> 'On my honour, I promise that I will do my best:
> To do my duty to God and the King (Or God and my country);
> To help other people at all times;
> To obey the Guide Law'[27]

The Scout promise, changed slightly due to the Queen's coronation was:

> 'On my honour I promise that I will do my best-
> To do my duty to God, and the Queen,
> To help other people at all time,
> To obey the Scout Law'[28]

The promise was key to both organisations. It aimed to bond young people to the movement and, in turn, to promote the principles of citizenship (Chapter One). The promises were virtually the same, highlighting the symbiotic nature of both movements in their desire to produce useful and dutiful citizens. This has been reflected throughout time. As elements of the programme altered and developed, the Promise remained unchanged in its importance and centrality. Wording only changed slightly to reflect societal changes. This included the coronation of the Queen in Britain and changing of God in other countries to reflect the national religion. In one of the first official texts for Guides, Baden-Powell stated 'Guides [were] faithful and loyal to all above them, because of their three solemn promises.'[29] By 1949 it was listed that the 'Promise and Law [were] the very foundations of all Guiding,'[30] reiterated, again, in 1968 when the Handbook stated 'central to the

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[27] WAGGS. (n.d). *THE ORIGINAL PROMISE AND LAW*. World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. https://www.wagggs.org/en/about-us/our-history/original-promise-and-law/ [last accessed: 08/09/2020]
[28] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/2/4, (1959). *The Policy, Organisation and Rules of the Boy Scouts Association*. p. 5.
[29] Baden-Powell, R. & Baden-Powell, A. (1912). *How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. p. 369.
[30] The Girl Guides Association. (1949). *The Lone Guider's Handbook*. Rochester: Stanhope Press. p. 36.

whole programme is the Promise.'[31] The Promise in both the Extension Division and Handicapped Scouting was the same as for those young people in active units, connecting them to the same three principles that underpinned the basis of the associations' collective identities.

Within the Extension and Handicapped Divisions, promises were renewed and continuously spoken to reinforce their importance. At the Wakefield Stanley Royd group, a mental hospital, both the Scouts and the Guides renewed their promises in 1941 at the Chief Scout Memorial service to honour Baden-Powell after his death.[32] Despite wider documentation of this Scout group being unavailable, the Guiding log book highlighted the girls said their promise regularly at the start of their meetings, along with prayers and the Guiding law.[33] Not only did these renewals reiterate the importance of the Promise within the organisations but cemented the fact this was one of the elements that bound Scouts and Guides together, despite official institutional sources often omitting the focus of togetherness. As every member had to make the promise as part of their official entry to the movement, reinforcing the promise regularly reminded members that this was something everyone said, remembered, and supposedly lived their lives by.

Even though the promise was viewed as central to the ethos of both associations, in Guiding there was acknowledgement that not every guide would be able to fully understand the meaning of the oath. In a handbook for leaders, it was stated that a guide made 'a Promise, formally, and with the best understanding of which she [was] capable.'[34] While this comment was not made in reference to girls within the mentally deficient or feebleminded units, but to younger girls, the principle was carried over to the Extension Section. On the one hand, this allowed girls who could not understand the meaning of the association to become members in connection with others and expand their identities beyond 'mentally deficient' or 'feebleminded'. On the other hand, the lack of understanding meant they would not necessarily have realised the meaning of the collective identity and therefore unable to personally identify with the symbolic connection of the Promise. In contrast, the participation of girls within this element of the programme shows acceptance, to some degree, into the wider movement, even if this was in a symbolic nature. Scouting had a similar premise, but, in practice, its execution relied on the willingness of local leaders. In 1946, the Manchester Handicapped Scout Sub-Committee listed they wished to 'invite any boy of Scout age with any

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[31] Carter, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Ranger Guide Service Section*. London: The Riverside Press, Ltd. p. 30.

[32] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1941). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire. p. 10.

[33] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1941-1945). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire.

[34] Brambleby, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Brownie Guide Section*. London: The Girl Guides Association. p. 15.

disability who can appreciate the aims of the Movement and the Scout Promise to come in, and to press such an invitation.'[35] No definition as to the boundaries of membership for those with learning disabilities was made by the committee, meaning it was left up to the individual judgement of local leaders as to whether these boys had the capacity to learn the promise.

As provision for disabled guides, and indeed scouts, depended on local level leadership, the Promise was a method used to hold leaders accountable for implementing the associations' values through the programme, as well as instilling responsibility in members. In a text specifically aimed at adult Guiding leaders (Guiders), it was asked:

> 'Is the Promise just a string of words, a compulsory part of the entry-ticket to a youth movement which offers adventure, friendship, and the chance to find out what life is all about? Or is it the motive power behind all that Guiding stands for?
>
> The answer depends very much on current leadership, on the way each Guider lives out her Promise, in every seemingly insignificant detail.'[36]

While some members did indeed say the words to gain access to the movement's activities, suggesting some sense of agency from the girls themselves in whether they would abide by the Promise, Guiding regularly stated that 'the Promise and the rest of the programme [could not] be separated.'[37] This meant the principles were reiterated throughout other activities within the movement. These activities were carried out by the Extension and Handicapped Divisions, meaning they were constantly reinforcing the Promise and the collective goals of the movements. However, it was down to the adult leaders in charge of individual units to reiterate its importance.

This importance was marked with a promise badge for members to wear on their uniform. Awarded after the Promise had been made at a ceremony, it was a symbol of togetherness. During the Promise ceremony, a three-finger salute was and still is held, which in 1968 was said to remind them that every member of the family [had] made a Promise.'[38] Both the Promise, badge and salute was, and still are, worldwide features of both movements. The *Brownie Guide Handbook,* which reiterated the meaning of the salute, further states the 'badge as a whole [showed] that you have made your Promise.'[39] In the Extension Division, a different promise badge was awarded to those

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[35] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 29/05/46.*

[36] Carter, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Ranger Guide Service Section*. London: The Riverside Press, Ltd. p. 52.

[37] Brambleby, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Brownie Guide Section*. London: The Girl Guides Association. p. 10.

[38] Brambleby, A. (1975). *The Brownie Guide Handbook* (2nd ed.). London: The Girl Guides Association. p. 21.

[39] Ibid. p. 35.

who became members. The standard promise badge was a classic gold colour (Figure Two), when compared with the Extension promise badge, the purple enamel makes a clear distinction.[40] Using a separate promise badge contrasted the apparent inclusiveness of the Promise, marking those with disabilities as different.

Figure Two, Girl Guides Promise Badge (1938-1968). Retrieved from: https://www.etsy.com/sg-en/listing/648316310/vintage-girl-guides-badge-regtrade-mark [last accessed 01/02/2021]

Permission granted by Ivo at VintageTIVO

When exploring association discussions surrounding inclusion and the Promise, the difference in badges did not appear in the sources used for this study. There are likely to have been debates surrounding the inclusiveness of this practice, due to the badge being phased out by 1968, but these deliberations were not published in accessible Guiding material or discussed within deposited private correspondence. Although by 1970 girls were no longer wearing symbols identifying them as Extension Guides, disabled members spent the vast majority of the twentieth century being marked as different from their peers, essentially undermining the shared identity the Promise was meant to create. The use of the badges as visual markers of identity was important and will be explored in wider context further later in this chapter. The significance of badges is hard to dispute, yet uniforms were arguably more meaningful in creating a collective identity.

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[40] Leslie's Guiding History Site. (n.d). *Extension Guiding Promise Badge* [Photograph]. Leslie's Guiding History Site. https://lesliesguidinghistory.webs.com/guiding-for-the-disabled. [last accessed 15/07/2021].

Material Markers: Uniforms

'Down through the ages uniforms have contributed much to the strength and effectiveness of an organised body and loyalty to a cause. For nearly half a century the Scout uniform has become a symbol of trained youth prepared by Scouting to meet the responsibility of young citizenship.'[41]

Here, the Scout Association itself highlights the importance of uniform in projecting their ideals. Using the uniform to unite members under a common set of goals and characteristics, their function presented and still presents a collective identity. Despite this, Jude Fokwang has argued that uniforms expressed and express differences as well as similarities.[42] Demonstrating membership or allegiance to a group, uniforms acted, and act, as a representation of values, whilst marking differences in rank, division and in some cases gender, age, and differing characteristics within a wider movement, such as War Service Scouts (Chapter One). However, handicapped scouts bore no difference in uniform from their active peers.

Tammy Proctor, for example, pinpointed uniform as:

'a unifying symbol in the international Scout and Guide organizations, apparently erasing difference and hiding 'otherness', yet also reflecting the differences of nationality, age, race, religion, class and gender that were important ways of ranking youth in the movements.'[43]

Uniforms, then, radiated the complex nature of collective identity. Attempting to create a cohesive group and a symbol of unity, whilst also establishing intentional divisions, uniforms functioned in several different ways. By breaking down characteristics within uniform design, members were able to identify those who were the same as themselves by sight alone, as well as recognising differences throughout the wider movement. Different countries, for example, wore different uniforms based on cultures, religions, and traditions and different age groups such as Guides, and Rangers (over fourteens) wore different colours to reflect their sections. Although uniforms reflected separate branches of the associations, this was not mirrored within the Extension and Handicapped Divisions. The 1960 Guiding *Policy Organization and Rules* document explicitly stated that '[m]embers of the Extension Section [wore] no distinguishing marks.'[44] This meant disabled girls within the association wore the same uniform as their active peers.

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[41] Oldham Local Studies and Archives, L40667, (1965). *Oldham Boy Scouts Association, Yearbook 1964-65*. p. 39.

[42] Fokwang, J. (2015). Fabrics of Identity: Uniforms, Gender and Associations in the Cameroon Grassfields. *Africa (London. 1928), 85*(4), 677-696. doi:10.1017/S0001972015000625. p. 679.

[43] Proctor, T.M. (2002). Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939. In W. Parkins (Ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic* (pp. 125-144). Oxford: Berg. p. 127.

[44] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1960). *Policy Organization and Rules*. p. 108.

No matter which division a member belonged to, uniforms, as well as other aspects of appearance, were held in high regard. In 1965, the Oldham Boy Scout Association's yearbook stated, it was 'imperative that **everyone** in Scouting should realise the value of a good appearance.'[45] This included clean nails, brushed teeth, and hair, as well as uniforms highlighting the role of cleanliness and self-pride emanated in uniform as part of collective identity. In 1959, the official Boy Scouts rule book asserted that '[no] alteration may be made in the uniform as described nor any addition to it, with the exception of authorised badges and decorations and certain optional articles as set out in various rules below.'[46] The uniform, then, was considered an important part of being a scout with strict rules surrounding adaptations and its wearing. However, not all scouts followed these rules.

Issues with uniform became increasingly apparent in the post-war period, with the 1965 Bolton anniversary booklet stating:

> 'A notable feature of recent years has been the growing tendency to wear uniform less frequently. This has been noted in other quarters, and it is symptomatic of the '60's that the uniform with Scout hat, which have been maintained in spite of strong pressure, is being eclipsed by jeans and multicoloured sweaters.'[47]

This reference reflected the impact of youth culture, especially in relation to fashion, music, and entertainment on the Boy Scouts.[48] Social anxieties around 'teenage' behaviour seem evident in this text. Indeed, as Mark Donnelly argued, society saw emerging youth culture as a threat to moral and behavioural norms.[49] Developing youth cultures did harm the membership of both associations, which is likely why Scouting and Guiding leadership struggled to accept the changing social landscape and reflected media reports.[50] That being said, adaptations such as promotion of popular music and fashion, as well as the creation of consumer paraphernalia including plush toys, jewellery and collectables were made by the movements in order to retain and attract new members.[51] When explored in relation to uniform, Proctor has argued that leaders of the associations agreed to

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[45] Oldham Local Studies and Archives, L40667, (1965). *Oldham Boy Scouts Association, Yearbook 1964-65*. p. 39.

[46] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/2/4, (1959). *The Policy, Organisation and Rules of the Boy Scouts Association.* p. 53.

[47] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (1965). *Bolton Scout Group (19th) 50th Anniversary Jubilee 1965*. p. 19.

[48] Strange, J.M. (2007). Leisure. In F. Carnevali & J. M. Strange (Eds.) *20th Century Britain* (2nd ed.) (pp. 197-213). London: Routledge. p. 203.

[49] Donnelly, M. (2014). *Sixties Britain: Culture, Society and Politics.* London: Routledge. p. 3.

[50] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 68.

[51] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 71. &
Block, N.R. & Proctor, T. M. (2009). The Future of Scout History. In N. R. Block & T. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 223-225). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 223.

adaptations of the uniforms to change with the times.[52] However, literature from both associations, seem to deter this and stress anxieties surrounding the slipping of uniform standard, especially in the sixties. In 1968, for example, the Ranger Handbook stated, 'remember that when in uniform you are no longer just yourself, but also a member of a widely known and much respected youth movement, whose high standards are maintained by you – and thousands like you.'[53] The importance of 'proper' uniform was reflected at a local level in both active and extension/handicapped sections throughout the period.

In the north of England, the 1969 Huddersfield and District Jubilee Rally souvenir booklet recounted the history of the Huddersfield and District guiding stating that 'discussions on uniform were frequent.'[54] The booklet reflected the entirety of the area, and not just Extension Guiding, showing the uniforms were discussed at a national and local level, across all sections throughout the period. This indicates that consensus between adult, youth and central members never completely aligned, but remained an important focus of collective identity and discipline. When reflecting on the beginning of the movements, the changing landscape in relation to uniform becomes evident. In 1912, Baden-Powell published in his Girl Guide text, that it was 'not obligatory to have any uniform – it [was] not the uniform that [made] the Guide.'[55] Prior to the First World War, focus was placed solely on the key principles of the movement rather than the uniform to confirm shared identity. While focus on the key principles never subsided, after the First World War, they were used in conjunction with uniform, rather than the sole characteristic. This transition from philosophical shared qualities to a mixture of philosophical and material ones were applicable to the disabled members also, with frequent importance placed upon uniform.

During the fifties and sixties, reports published by the association, in relation to the Extension Section, commented on the 'the smartness of their [extension guides] uniforms'[56] with one report highlighting 'all uniforms [were] very very good'[57] at the 100th Bradford Odsal House Guides for deaf girls. The importance of uniform smartness was even reflected in the Extension Section during the Second World War. In 1944, for example, a game was played by extension guides at Stanley Royd

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[52] Proctor, T.M. (2009). Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. xxvi-xxxviii). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. xxxii.

[53] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1968). *The Ranger Guide Handbook.* p. 79.

[54] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1969). *Huddersfield and District Division Girl Guides, Jubilee Rally.* p. 2.

[55] Baden-Powell, R. & Baden-Powell, A. (1912). *How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. p. 9.

[56] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1957). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire Central 1957*. p. 18.

[57] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms*.

Mental Hospital, where girls 'made deliberate mistakes in their uniform, and the others spotted them.'[58] The repeated mention of uniforms within annual reports and logbooks, and the need to teach members how to wear their uniform correctly, emphasised its importance. Paralleling views discussed in active units, these stressed the role of uniform within the collective identity of the movement, acting as a symbol of self-restraint and control. In 1968 the *Handbook for Guiders* stated that being a part of the movement involved 'wearing a uniform to show commitment.'[59] This involved being disciplined to the principles of the association and wearing the uniform to show it. Even though several reports relating to the excellent standard of uniform were generally present in the north, there were discussions surrounding the suitability of that uniform for members with learning disabilities.

Reports from the Quarry House unit in Bradford, a school for 'backward' children, in 1963, stated that the 'company [needed] uniforms very badly … the answer would be overalls easily slipped over their own clothes for each meeting.'[60] Although highlighting uniform importance, the suggestion of overalls differing from the standard issue, went against Guiding policy of distinguishing those with disabilities from the rest of the movement. The suggestion of uniform adaptation indicates the complex nature of creating an equal organisation for all disabilities. Barriers placed by the complexity of the uniforms for these young people, meant they, and therefore the marker of shared identity, were inaccessible. So, in a bid to ensure equality in the visual collective identity of the organisation, the association caused more difficulties, which in this case, impacted those with learning disabilities. Due to the local nature of this source, it is difficult to know whether this impact was felt regionally or nationally. However, previous reports from the Quarry House school shows matters of access may not have been as grave as the 1963 source suggested. Three years prior, the 1960 census for the Girl Guides stated that the girls at the Quarry House School were 'very proud of their uniforms and [took] pains to turn themselves out neatly and clean.'[61] The difference in reports across the three years is stark, not only in relation to the varying opinions of uniforms but demonstrating intermittent uniform problems throughout the period. No subsequent reports emerged after 1963, indicating simplified uniforms never manifested into reality.

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[58] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1944). *Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire*. p. 85.

[59] Brambleby, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Brownie Guide Section*. London: The Girl Guides Association. p. 7.

[60] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB639, (1964). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms 1963*.

[61] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Information concerning Extension Unit from the Annual Census forms*.

By contrast, reports from the rest of the Yorkshire region have indicated that those with learning disabilities were accessing the standard uniform, much like their active peers and those classified within other disability brackets. In 1970, the Yorkshire West Riding South annual report revealed 'Brownies from the E.S.N. [Educational Special Needs] School joined Brownies in the Rotherham Division for their outing to Belle Vue Circus. They were so proud to be in uniform like the others and to join so many other Brownies.'[62] This school included young people with learning disabilities, evidencing the meaning of collective identity fostered through uniform for the children themselves, or, most likely, what those able-bodied local adults believed it to mean to them. That being said, the use of the uniform for these girls, indicates the brief account in 1963, by Quarry House, was not the wider narrative felt by grassroots groups in the post-war period.

Unlike Guiding, when exploring uniform access in Scouting, discussions surrounding the eligibility of disabled members surfaced. As late as 1953, queries from the headmaster at the Laski Home for Jewish physically handicapped children, on Smedley Road Manchester, relating to whether children with disabilities were allowed uniforms, were appearing in the Manchester Handicapped Sub-committee minutes. The headmaster approached the committee, as he wished to set up Scouting in the home. The minutes stated, 'he wondered whether it would be a good thing for his boys – and whether they could wear uniform.'[63] The council agreed that these boys were able to wear the uniform, but enquiries into whether it was available for physically handicapped children shows limitations in available support literature for those outside the movement. Furthermore, the enquiry indicated that those outside the movement's circles had limited knowledge on the Handicapped Division linking to difficulties in programme delivery and promotion, discussed in Chapter Four.

Although the enquiry revealed those with physical handicaps were able to wear uniform, in the same year, 1953, it was stated by the Manchester Sub-committee that under 'no circumstances should M.D [Mentally Deficient] children, when taken to camp, be allowed [in] camp alone and in uniform.'[64] No follow up remarks were made with the reasoning behind the prohibiting of mentally deficient children in uniform at camp, but the minutes do show the increased complexity around uniform for this group of young people, when compared to physically handicapped members and those with sensory impairments. When viewing this through the theme of collective identity, it is clear that 'M.D children', those with learning disabilities, were excluded from the visual shared

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[62] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1970). *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report*. p. 19.
[63] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 28/04/53.*
[64] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 15/12/53.* 1953.

identity, created through uniforms, whilst at camp. Supporting arguments made in Chapter Two, the categorisation of disability, imposed by the association, not only influenced programme delivery, but access to the shared identity. The differing views around disability, leading to differing policies on uniform, were not the only limitations that members faced in relation to material access.

Economic Barriers and Uniform Support

Economic deprivation was a barrier for many people, both disabled and able-bodied, to recreational activities in the twentieth century. Philanthropic activity is discussed extensively in Chapter Five in relation to camping activities, but its centrality to the movements' methods of operation means it is impossible to separate it from discussions surrounding uniform. The need for support in relation to uniform was present for both active and disabled young people.[65] Difficulties sourcing funds meant some working-class Guides wore second-hand uniforms, or those that were patched by other units.[66] For members unable to source a uniform, due to financial hardship, the ability to feel part of the collective through visual symbols was diminished. This problem was paralleled in Extension Guiding and indeed Scouting and highlighted the need for financial support.

Pleas from scoutmasters and guide leaders for aid with uniforms appeared in minutes, correspondence, and reports during the twentieth century. In 1956, for example, Mr Stewart, the Scoutmaster for the Bethesda Home for Crippled Children, Cheetham Hill, Greater Manchester, approached the Handicapped Sub-Committee and 'appealed for help with equipment and uniforms.'[67] Two years prior, in 1954, it was recorded in the Committee's minutes that handicapped boys from Salford had 'been provided with hats and neckerchiefs.'[68] Unlike boys in post-war active units, who, if they were unable to afford a uniform, were prohibited from joining the movement, those in special units often received aid from the local Handicapped Sub-Commission in order to provide elements of the uniform.[69] Not only did this show a clear divergence from Baden-Powell's original ideals of uniform being optional, but was a key distinguishing factor between active and

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[65] Springhall, J. O. (1971). The Boy Scouts, Class and Militarism in Relation to British Youth Movements 1908–1930. *International Review of Social History*, *16*(2), 125-158. doi:10.1017/S0020859000004065. p. 140. & Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 108. & Edwards, S. (2020). 'Doing nature' and Being a Guide: The Problem of the Town Guide in the British Girl Guides Association, 1930–1960. *History of Education Review, 49*(1), 45-65. https://doi.org/I 10.1108/HER-06-2019-0022. p. 54.

[66] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 71

[67] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1956). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 24/01/56.*

[68] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 16/11/54.*

[69] Pryke, S. (1998). The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement. *Social History, 23*(3), 309-324. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/4286517. p. 321.

handicapped units. The aid provided by the Handicapped Sub-Committee in Manchester showed a desire to foster a sense of collective identity with their peers in the community. This desire was not replicated across the north.

In York, for example, the Yorkshire School for the Blind had no known access to a Handicapped Sub-Committee to discuss uniforms and distribute aid. Instead, other groups within the Scouts supported them financially to help purchase uniforms. In 1952, the 'Bradford City Wolf Cubs visited the King's Manor Troop [situated at the school], afterwards sending a contribution of £20 towards the cost of new outfits for the Scouts.'[70] The Bradford City Wolf Cubs were an active group operating in the community. Discussed further in Chapter Five, the entry of these cubs into the school was not as uncommon as the overarching narrative of isolation and segregation within institutions suggests. Providing social contact, as well as financial aid, the Bradford cubs involvement with the school highlights the support needed by community groups to help those institutional groups obtain uniforms. The need for assistance was not isolated to institutional groups, with many active groups struggling economically. Similar instances of aid for those groups were not documented, suggesting these groups were thought capable of raising money for their own uniforms, and those with disabilities worthy of aid. Despite instances of support, not all institutional units received donations, and turned to fundraising to generate income for uniforms. This was evident from the inter-war period.

In 1930, for example, a national Special Test (the previous name for Handicapped Scouting) report stated that mentally deficient scouts from Oakwood Hall, Rotherham, purchased uniforms 'out of money raised by selling handicrafts.'[71] With no other means to purchase uniforms, it was common for institutional groups in both associations to fundraise, with handicrafts being the most commonly sold items.[72] While Oakwood raised money for their uniforms, it has been argued that groups in mental deficiency colonies 'often had significant financial sponsorship by institutions in respect of uniforms and summer camps.'[73] However, evidence of this in the north, in relation to uniforms, is untraceable, with fundraising being the primary method of paying for uniforms when funds were limited. When comparing Andy Stevens' Scouting research to Guiding provision in the period,

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[70] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5, (1952). *Annual report of Yorkshire School for the Blind, 1952.* p. 6.
[71] Report from the Headquarters Commissioner (Burrows) for Special Tests to the Committee of the Council for Meeting of June 13th. (1930). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[72] Chalmers, G., & Dancer, A. (2007). Art, Boys, and the Boy Scout Movement: Lord Baden-Powell. *Studies in Art Education, 48*(3), 265-281. doi: 10.2307/25475829. p. 267.
[73] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 283.

'uniform and badges [were] the property of the hospital or Local Association,'[74] meaning they had been purchased for the young people by the hospital or association themselves. This highlights a difference from the onus on individual responsibility to finance uniforms for those outside institutional settings, meaning those classified as mentally deficient in institutional Guide units did not have to contemplate the same financial pressures due to institutional funding. This economic relief was likely to have been provided by financial sponsorship, as discussed by Steven's in relation to Scouting, due to the prominence placed on the associations as part of 'treatment and training.'[75] Once an individual left the movement, the uniforms were returned to the hospital or Guide Association. This futureproofed the association within the schools and hospitals as uniforms did not need to be regularly repurchased. Economic hardship within this institutional setting, then, affected those much less than those in institutional school units, as well as those in active community units who had limited economic relief from authority groups. The aid provided allowed members, as Proctor has argued, to show solidarity through uniform.[76] This solidarity ultimately underpinned the collective identity in the Scouts and Guides, but there were differentiations within the material markers of badges to highlight different achievements and to create sub-collective identities within the Scouts and Guides.

Material Markers: Badges

Badges, including the promise badges mentioned previously, were fundamental to fostering collective identity within the movement. They came, and still come, in several forms and have several functions. The two main badge types were class tests, also known as class badges, and merit badges, also known as proficiency badges. Class tests reflected the central programme, whilst merit badges reflected hobbies and interests of individual scouts and guides. Each badge required activities to be undertook which were, and still are, discussed as 'badge work'. This work contributed to the sense of collective identity, as it underpinned the meaning of the badge, with the work binding members together as something they had all achieved. Despite the centrality of the badges and badge work, to the associations, only Proctor has discussed them in the context of membership, as well as signs of resistance and responsibility.[77] Omitting to discuss disability within her research,

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[74] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1960). *Policy Organization and Rules*. p. 108.

[75] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 283.

[76] Proctor, T.M. (2009). Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. xxvi-xxxviii). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. xxxii.

[77] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 125.

the exploration into badges and badge work within the Handicapped and Extension sections, as well as the perception outside the movements themselves, builds upon this work.

Source material in Oldham, has highlighted that those with disabilities outside the parameters of the movements were aware of and discussed the association badges and badge work. This article, written by a young deaf boy, was printed in 1915:

> 'When a boy joins he goes through his first progress of training, and must pass a test called the tenderfoot. This consists of – he must tie six knots: reef, fisherman's, bowline, sheepshank, clove-hitch; he must know the Union Jack is composed, and how to fly it; and he must know the Scout Law. When he has passed he will get his tenderfoot badge, which is a small brass three arrow heads badge. Then comes the second-class Scout test which consists of ambulancng [sic], signalling, cooking, firelighting, etc. Next there is the first-class test, for this boy must be able to swim, ambulance, send messages by signalling, know all towns rounf [sic] about, and where are the fire-station, doctors, police, etc. Then there is the King's Scout test, in which a boy must be able to shoot, swim, ambulance, draw maps, know all short cuts through the fields and names of all the streets for one mile around headquarters.
>
> Them [sic] there are many proficiency badges, [t]hese are for ambulance, shooting, signalling, cooking, leather work, engineer, cyclist, surveryor [sic], master-at-arms etc. The training of the Scouts is to make them a kind of backwoodsman and scout. In summer the troops and patrols go out into the county and learn tracking and have scouting practice.'[78]

Published in the *Oldham Deaf Mute Gazette,* the piece highlights badges, and the Scouts in general, were recognised by wider society and those who have traditionally been thought to be excluded from recreational community groups. The author of this article believed that all boys had access to all badges, with no reference to differing experiences by deaf, blind, physically disabled, those with long term health conditions or those with learning disabilities. The lack of awareness by this deaf individual indicates minimal promotion of activities for deaf and other disabled members, adding to arguments discussed throughout this thesis that there were limits to the attempts at inclusion within the Handicapped and Extension Sections.

The recognition of the centrality of badge work was promoted by the media also. In 1914, the *Bolton Guardian* reported on the Boy Scouts and their badges, stating:

> 'The Boys Scout's proficiency badges which he wears proudly on his arm like a real servant of the King, are by no means empty honours; they mean that whatever badge the boy wears, ambulance, or signalling, cook or cobbler or handyman, or a dozen or more other lines of

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[78] Oldham Local Studies and Archives, L6167 ORMS, (1915). *Oldham Deaf Mute Gazette*. p. 49.

industry, that little chap has studied and practiced and work at his subject for a good many months, and won his badges after a fairly tuff examination.'[79]

Promoted in the local news, badges were used as a symbol of honour and respect. Linking directly to the Promise, the badges served as a mark of 'a real servant of the King' connecting material markers of identity with the philosophical ideals beyond the Promise badge itself. These awards worked to define sub-collective identities in terms of interests and abilities, allowing children to find common ground with other scouts, and in Guiding, guides. Framed as a way to promote self-development, badges, in both associations, were used to mark progress and advance citizenship training in both active and disabled units.[80] In the interwar period, reports of disabled guides working towards badges were released in the press. A group of guides on camp in Devon were said to be applying 'themselves to congenial studies with a view to passing their 2nd class Guide test.'[81] These girls were blind, and the report of their work supports the national narrative of badge work being an essential element of the programme and to the Guiding collective identity. The class tests, also known as class badges, were worked towards by all members, including extension guides and handicapped scouts, but there were adaptations and debates surrounding the involvement of disabled members.

Adaptations to Class-Tests/Badges for Extension and Handicapped Members

Class tests were the main awards to achieve in both movements and formed the basis of the training programmes. Different from proficiency/merit badges, the tests guides and scouts undertook were marked with a badge and instilled key gender archetypes whilst promoting the main expectations of being a Guide or Scout. The badges worked on a hierarchical system, with members working up through the badges the longer they had been in the associations. The first badge members worked towards was Tenderfoot, then Second Class, then First Class, with the top award being the King's/Queen's badge, only completed by a small minority. During the early years of the movement, the expectation on how these badges would bond scouts together was made clear in Scouting magazine *Boys' Life.* Printing that everyone who obtained a badge would feel as though they were 'as capable of demonstrating these activities as any other boy wearing a similar badge,'[82] showed these badges bound boys together. Although most activities were the same, these badges varied internationally, much like the Promise and uniforms. In the United States, for example, the Girl Guides Tenderfoot badge work consisted of patriotic songs, being able to name state Governors, and

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[79] Bolton City Archives, B369.43, (1914). *Newspaper cutting of the BN Guardian: What a Boy Scout Can Do: Impressions of the Bolton Demonstration, 15/5/1914*.
[80] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 69.
[81] Anon. (1938, June 17). Blind Girl Guides in Camp. *Devon and Exeter Gazette,* p. 20.
[82] Moffat, S.A. (1912). First Class Scout Requirements. *Boys' Life, 2* (9), 20-23.

to know about the American flag.[83] However, in Britain, Guides learned knots, were expected to study the history of the Union Jack flag and carry out activities in relation to their Promise.[84] The work of these test became increasingly harder as guides, and in Scouting, scouts, completed each badge. This was no different in handicapped and extension units as in 1948, the Manchester Handicapped Sub-Committee reported that 'one near-sighted Scout [was] well on the way to First Class.'[85] In 1912, the First-class award within Scouting was

> 'intended to teach the boy his obligation as an individual in the community, so that he may properly co-operate with others for the public welfare and render public service wherever it is needed. This ability to co-operate in doing the little things will enable a Scout later on to assume his position one day as a leader. The ultimate aim of every Scout should be leadership.'[86]

Although this was taken from an American magazine, this aspect of the programme carried the same value around the globe, offering a symbol of strength, hard work and leadership.

The adaptations of the class tests for those with disabilities, did not come without debate. Stevens has argued that 'ad hoc adaptations to the Scout badge tests were devised by Scoutmasters to suit the requirement of the troop,'[87] yet left the discussions surrounding their implementation, at local and national levels, unexplored. Disagreement and controversy stemmed from the belief that the physical nature of the badge should not be adapted for those with disabilities. One commentor argued that 'employers who [asked] for a First Class Scout would feel themselves tricked if a Disabled boy was sent [to] them.'[88] This argument was raised with Special Commissioner Burrows who passed the concerns to Baden-Powell.[89] Both advocated for badge adaptations, consistent with their views on disabled inclusion within the British Boy Scouts (see main Introduction). Despite exploration into the role of leaders within adaptation debates, Stevens failed to recognise this was essentially a local level matter which drew the attention of the central association.

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[83] Rothschild, M. A. (1981). To Scout or To Guide? The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, 6*(3), 115-121. doi:10.2307/3346224. p. 117.

[84] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1930). *Waddow Hall Logbook*. p. 9.

[85] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1948). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 04/05/48.*

[86] Moffat, S.A. (1912). First Class Scout Requirements. *Boys' Life, 2* (9), 20-23. p. 20.

[87] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 283.

[88] Burrows to Baden-Powell. (1927). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. p. 3.

[89] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 283

In 1912, elements of the First-Class tests that were deemed unsuitable for boys with disabilities could be wavered under the restructuring of the programme.[90] One of these elements included the 50-yard swimming test.[91] The removal or adaptation of certain test criteria was standard practice within Guiding, but led to Scouting debate on regional, national, and international levels. In response to the Scouting discussion surrounding First Class, several members posed solutions at both a local and central level. This created an incohesive programme with different leaders following different rules to suit their own values. The transmission of these ideas occurred on a personal level, with correspondence through member's personal networks discussing the best way to approach the subject. Connections were not only regional and national, but international, with international correspondence not being unusual within the associations throughout the twentieth century (Chapter Two). In 1923, an unnamed British Scout and Guide leader, for physically disabled boys and girls, sent a letter to an American Scout leader, Mrs. Low, explaining the system for boys and girls:

> 'I enclose an extract from our rules as regards the 1st Class Badge for crippled Guides…In the Boys Scouts we have not yet found a way of getting over the difficulty since "First Class Scout" stands for so much with the public in the direction of an all round capable young man.'[92]

Showing the reputation of the First Class award within the British ranks of the movements, the correspondence emphasises disparities between the associations in terms of gender and expectations.

These expectations were undoubtedly in relation to ideals of masculinity, with the Girl Guides allowing those with disabilities to be awarded the badge through adapted tests. Figure Three is an example of a Blue First Class merit sheet, the adapted First Class badge, for those girls who 'for reasons of health [were] unable to swim or take some other part of the First Class Test.'[93] This sheet belonged to a member of the Stanley Royd Mental Hospital's Guiding unit, showing the cooking test, swimming and life line (lifesaving in water) tests had been omitted. The adaptations allowed here confirm the associations conformed to wider gender values. Girls were able to try to complete the task or receive an adaptation and be feminine, while boys were expected comply to the monolithic masculine traits of strength, self-reliance, and assertiveness and complete the original activity.[94] The difference shows the prominence placed on male physical strength and development, in comparison

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[90] Anon. (2007). Swimming, Service to the Empire and Baden-Powell's Youth Movements. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 24* (5), 682-692. doi: 10.1080/09523360601183277. p. 684.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Unnamed British Scout Leader to Mrs Low. (03/09/1923). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[93] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1960). *Policy Organization and Rules*. p. 33.
[94] Logan, T. (2017). *Economics, Sexuality, and Male Sex Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 118.

to female strength and development in both the associations and society more widely, creating a correlation between gender ideals and shared identities.

Figure Three, Wysholme Guiding Archive, Image of Blue First Class testing sheet. 1946.

Permission given by Angie Goddard, archivist for Wysholme.

Focus on physical strength reveals hegemonic gender stereotypes were in place for disabled members. Scouting's lack of official adapted badge criteria was partially due to the belief that those with disabilities were not 'all round capable young' men. Scott Johnston argued that Edwardian masculine ideals had very much changed and been revaluated in the Boy Scouts during the interwar

period. [95] The debate surrounding First Class suggests that the extent of that change was minimal, especially in relation to physical fitness. This was reflected in Carey Watt's research that scouts could not carry out their duties unless they 'had sufficient strength, endurance and nimbleness.'[96] Although not discussed in relation to collective identity, the manly attributes required to participate in the Scouting scheme essentially excluded those with physical disabilities from fully taking part in the programme (Chapter One). However, the letter sent to the American leader Mrs. Low, revealed something beyond the ideas themselves, that local involvement and debate influenced ideas on an international scale.

Despite local ideas and involvement, there were two suggestions on how to standardise the tests made by Specials Commissioner Burrows. In a letter to Baden-Powell during the first class debate he wrote:

> 'I can only think of two alternatives: either call it First Class D, with an altered badge, or do away with the word "class" altogether in the case of Disabled Scouts + let their hierarchy be, Tenderfoot, Second grade and First grade'[97]

The outcome of the debate established that disabled scouts, also known as Specials and Handicapped, were able to take the 'First Class D' badge. This included adapted tests with a different badge to identify those who could not complete the full programme. While Burrows and Baden-Powell advocated for adaptations in the debate for those with disabilities, the suggestion to differentiate the awards reveals that those within the ranks had lobbying power to initiate change. This can be seen through the compromise to change the badge and create a different mark for those in the Handicapped Division, contradicting the values Baden-Powell and Burrows stood for. The policy was therefore not totally authoritarian but influenced by other members at local levels. These local members were likely to be able-bodied and drove the discussion surrounding adaptations and therefore responsible for the breaking of collective identity, for disabled members, in relation to class tests.

The importance of these collective identities, to the boys themselves, is indicated through some scouts' resistance to accept the adapted tests. Fracturing their personal sense of collective identity through test adaptations, boys, especially those in hospital units regularly refused badge adaptations

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[95] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 528.

[96] Watt, C. (2009). "No Showy Muscles": The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India. In N. R. Block & T. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 121-142). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. p. 132.

[97] Burrows to Baden-Powell. (14/05/1927). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

in favour of standard examinations. In 1953, it was reported, in Greater Manchester, that a boy in hospital 'had refused to be treated as a H/Scout and had taken all the usual tests.'[98] Reflecting on his decision emphasizes stigma surrounding adapted tests, especially when the member was temporarily deemed 'handicapped' due to illness or an accident. This is particularly important as these boys would have originally been members of an active unit where they completed tests with non-handicapped members. The badge adaptations were supposed to be 'nearly as possible [as] the normal test laid down and should fulfil the same purpose.'[99] Despite this push of equality from the central association, the reality showed negative perceptions from boys within the movement. This could connect to machoism, which manifested itself in different ways during the twentieth century. When exploring this within the context of disability, it has been referred to as a 'dilemma.'[100] Conflicting identities between powerful and independent, and vulnerable and dependant posed problems when attempting to conform to a hegemonic masculine collective identity.[101] It was noted that masculinity and disability intersected in different ways for differing impairments.[102] Adaptations, in this case, were primarily centred on physically disabled members, which illustrated the association's conceptualisation of masculinity partially concentrated on being 'able-bodied'.

In 1927 the debate surrounding adaptions for 'crippled Scouts'[103] came to a head. Burrows argued that it was:

> 'rather illogical to say to one boy, "though you have a weak heart which forbids you having a cold bath, you shall get a first class badge by a substituted test" + to another boy. "because you have a weak hip which prevents your hiking, you shall not have a first class by way of substituted test"'[104]

Singling out those who were 'crippled', shows disparity between the categories imposed upon the members by the association. This difference reveals access to the badge was being decided based on disability, supporting notions across this thesis that a tiered system was in place of 'ableness'. Tiering disabilities created separate groups rather than promoting the inclusivity advocated by Burrows. Although preventing access to elements of the programme, this was not uncommon in other fields. Claire Tregaskis has argued, inclusion across leisure facilities has been assessed on a 'hierarchy of

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[98] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 15/12/53.*

[99] The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX1563/2/2/2, (n.d). *Loose paper notes on the Disabled Section*. p. 1.

[100] Shuttleworth, R., Wedgewood, N., & Wilson, N. J. (2012). The Dilemma of Disabled Masculinity. *Men and Masculinities, 15*(2), 174-194.

[101] Ibid. p. 174.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Baden-Powell. (1927). *Physically Defective Scouts Meeting Record*. Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

[104] Baden-Powell to Burrows. (n.d). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. p. 1.

impairment,'[105] which mirrors the situation within Scouting. Segregation based upon disability, indicates sub-collective identities within the initial categorisation of 'handicapped scout'.

In 1927, alongside the argument relating to physically handicapped boys, the relationship between both Scouting and Guiding was mentioned again by Commissioner Burrows in a letter to Baden-Powell. Burrows believed that the current situation was unfair as guides were able to pass their test while scouts could not.[106] Pitting them as equals, Burrows expressed that 'a First Class Guide qualification [was] equally important to girls seeking employment'[107] and that he was 'yet to learn that the present arrangement as to Disabled First class guides [had] in any way deluded employers.'[108] Overriding previous gendered concerns, Burrows' correspondence rejected the widely promoted ideal that physical fitness and strength was more important in male cases. While this debate was settled in the upper ranks of the movement, providing official guidance to local leaders, local debate surrounding the badge hierarchy continued.

In the north of England, especially in Manchester and South Lancashire, dispute surrounding the criteria of the top class-awards resurfaced. This time in relation to the King's Scout award. The King's Scout was defined as someone who had 'reached the highest level of proficiency'[109] within the association. This was an award that few Scouts achieved, having to have attained their First Class before progressing to the work for the award. The Handicapped Sub-Commission, in 1951 reported in their meeting minutes that:

> 'It was stated that it was impossible for a scout who was physically handicapped to qualify for the Kings Scout Badge. The meeting felt that this was unfair as the Badge was not only intended as a proficiency qualification but also to be indicative of the presence of the 'Scouting Spirit'.'[110]

These negative committee views echo the debates surrounding the First Class badge thirty years earlier. Reference made to 'Scouting Spirit', confirms the importance of this badge within the association at the same time as resurfacing debates about the 'ideal'. The 'Scouting Spirit' was not afforded to those who were disabled, showing that the realities of inclusion contradicted their overall values explored in Chapter One.

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[105] Tregaskis, C. (2003). *Constructions of Disability: Researching Inclusion in Community Leisure*. London: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 139.

[106] Burrows to Baden-Powell. (n.d). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. p. 3.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] King's Scout. (2004). In *Chambers Concise Dictionary*. New Delhi: Allied Chambers. p. 979.

[110] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1951). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee*, 29/05/51.

The death of King George, in 1952, led the badge to be renamed Queen's Scout. The discussion continued with the Manchester Handicapped Sub-Committee raising the issue again later that year. They stated that at 'present it is impossible for a H/Scout to get the Queen's Scout Badge as no alternative tests are allowed – no solution to the problem has been reached.'[111] Spanning nearly the entirety of the period in question, it is clear from the Handicapped Sub-Committee's minutes that members at the northern local level were fighting for equal opportunities for disabled scouts within the association. The length of the debate circles back to issues with governance and disputes between those at local, regional, and national levels. Working individually across regions, with varying experiences on the ground, the ability to come to a consensus was hindered, impacting the experiences of those young members.

Overall, the King's/Queen's award as a symbol of collective identity was less that effective in both the Handicapped Division and the wider movement. In fifties only 30% of Scouts made it to their Second Class Test, meaning the number reaching Kings Scout would have been a small minority of the total membership.[112] The award was viewed as an elite achievement to strive towards within both associations, so deeming it as a part of the wider collective identity is somewhat a stretch. Acting as a symbol of the ideal, the badge represented the ethos of both organisations, but the minor proportion of individuals achieving the award means that it was not the defining characteristic of the movement to any involved, or in society more widely. Guiding mirrored Scouting's concerns in relation to disabled girls being able to access the King's/Queen's badge. The Blue First Class badge, the criteria of which is seen in Figure Three, meant that girls could not qualify for the standard Queen's badge.[113] This rule created by the Association actively excluded those with disabilities who did not conform to the association's 'ideal guide' from accessing the top award. Shining a light on fragmented ideals, concerns surrounding disability show members had access to a reduced programme, excluding them from sub-collective identities the top awards offered. The problems faced by disabled members in relation to access and gender questions, across the period, also translated to merit badges and badge work.

Cementing Gender Identity through Merit Badge Work and Adaptations

Exploration into class tests showed gender ideals were clearly instrumental in determining who could take adapted tests and what form these tests could take. The role of gender in modelling merit badges, also known as proficiency badges, were no different. Whilst the class badges emanated the

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[111] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1952). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee*, 7/11/52.
[112] West Yorkshire Archive Service, C944/1/1, (1951). *Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee held at the Bradford Scout H.Q on Tuesday May 22nd 1951*. p. 44.
[113] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1960). *Policy Organization and Rules*. p. 33.

movements' ethos', with all members working towards them, proficiency badges addressed specific hobbies and skill sets with scouts and guides encouraged to undertake their badge work on top of their class awards. Cathleen Denny has explored these badges in terms of gender significance, arguing that badges were adapted from the Scouts to be made more 'playful' for a female audience in Guiding. Other work by Graeme Chalmers & Andrea Dancer has analysed specific badges, specifically the Artist badge and how the changing social and artistic landscape of the twentieth century caused adaptations to badges, and the programmes, more widely.[114] The lack of discussion surrounding those in disabled units does leave a gap to explore the differing gender identities that were cemented through badges, and the impact of the changing social landscape for those with disabilities.

As Denny argued, badges were created and modified to conform to the feminine or masculine ideal.[115] Changing the Scouting 'Geologist' badge to the 'Rocks! Rocks! Rocks!' badge in Guiding supports her argument that girls' work was feminised, to sound less serious.[116] Her research built upon Proctor's, who claimed badge names were changed and added to 'reflect womanly pursuits.'[117] Despite in depth analysis, Denny failed to mention the likeness of the key merit badges in both associations, such as swimming and signalling. Despite the similarity of some badges and the overall criteria of the badge tests, many merit badges were feminised to appeal to parents and adults in different sectors of society. The "Missioner" badge in the Scouts, for example, was changed to "Sick Nurse" in guides, as well as adding laundry badges to reflect domesticity.[118] Adding to this research by exploring the impact of gendered identity constructs within institutional settings, sheds new light on how the associations expected institutionalised members to conform to wider gender ideals through participating in merit badge activities.

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[114] Chalmers, G. & Dancer, A. (2007). Art, Boys, and the Boy Scout Movement: Lord Baden-Powell. *Studies in Art Education, 48* (3), 265-281. doi: 10.2307/25475829. p. 278-279.

[115] Denny, K. (2011). Gender In Context, Content, And Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks. *Gender and Society, 25*(1), 27-47. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25789920. p. 37.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 125. & Mills, S. (2012). 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship': Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38* (1), 120-134. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-5661.2012.00500.x. p. 128. & Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. p. 25.

[118] Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. p. 25.

As merit badge subjects were the same for institutional units as they were for community units, the gendered tones of the badges were carried into these settings. A prime example is the work documented photographically by the Brownie unit at the Newcastle Royal Victoria School for the Blind in the 1960s (see Figure Four). All girls in this image were visually impaired, with some totally blind. Belonging to a collection documenting the activities undertaken in the unit on a single day, here, the girls were using a model dolls head to practice hair styles, most likely plaits. This activity mirrored the developments of the wider association in the 1960s, which included the modification of activities to reflect the change in young people's demand for fashion, cosmetics, and other typically feminine commodities.[119] From the late fifties, many women's magazines began offering beauty advice in order for women to refine their skills.[120] By the 1960s advertising for beauty products was

Figure Four, Brownies at the Royal Victoria School for the Blind, Newcastle.

Tyne and Wear Archive, TWAM ref. DT.TUR/2/28235D, Members of the Royal Victoria School for the Blind Brownie pack.1962.

Permission granted for publication by Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums

prominent in *Women* magazine focusing on large firms, highlighting women's desires for the products and allure of large companies.[121] By reflecting these changing norms within an institutional

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[119] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 73.
[120] Ritchie, R. C. (2011). *The Housewife and the Modern: The Home and Appearance in Women's Magazines, 1954-1969.* (PhD Thesis). Retrieved From: https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.532245. p. 191
[121] Ibid. p. 192.

blind school indicates these girls were taking part in activities reflecting the association's 1960s feminine ideals, which were informed by wider society.

Badges were used to emphasise a sense of belonging, yet the adaptations made for those with disabilities question whether these scouts and guides felt part of the same collective and whether these adaptations were problematic in relation to their gender identities. The Scout Association stated:

> 'Handicapped Scouts are expected to pass the normal tests except where prevented from doing so by their disability, in which case they may, with the approval of the District Commissioner take the alternative tests approved by Headquarters as set out in the pamphlet "Alternative Tests".'[122]

A similar statement was made in Guiding:

> 'The aim of the Extension Section has always been to help the handicapped girl to take her rightful place amongst those of her own age. To this end she is encouraged to take as many of the Guide tests as her disability will allow. Some of the tests may have to be adapted to suit a girl's particular capabilities, but they are not made easier and results which, to those with no experience of the perseverance and determination of the handicapped, would seem beyond the limit of her capacity.'[123]

These adaptations show disabled young people were expected first and foremost to pass the 'normal tests', but that a person-centred approach was taken to allow scouts and guides opportunities to attain the badges. This was only done once a person was unable to fulfil the criteria for the standard badges. Even though a full person-centred approach was not followed from the outset, the adaptation statements do demonstrate that both organisations were aware of the realities of working with disabled children, in that not every member could complete the tasks. As the gendered identities were established through activities, the omittance of certain parts, such as difficult physical pursuits for physically disabled scouts, questioned how far these boys could be considered masculine. When exploring this in a feminine Guiding context, activity adaptations for maternal training, such as the crying baby game changed to child nursing game, which reduced the need to walk and balance, were common practice. [124] This was arguably due to their centrality to the 'mothering' characteristic central to the feminine ideal. Differences between genders were apparent, in terms of modifications, but in both movements, the swimming badge was highly regarded as a key citizenship skill.

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[122] The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX1563/2/2/2, (n.d). *Loose paper notes on the Disabled Section*. p. 1.

[123] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1957). *The Girl Guides, Yorkshire West Riding North West, Centenary Rally Souvenir Booklet*. p. 39.

[124] Alexander, K. (2017). *Guiding Modern Girls.* Vancouver: UBC Press. p. 57.

The Girlguiding *Policy, Organization and Rules* publication from 1960, outlined standardised tests for the swimming badge:

1. 'Get into the water with a frock or overall on and swim in it.
   NOTE: A belt may be worn and the frock tucked in after entry into the water.
2. Swim 25 yds. With ease using any modified back stroke in prone.
   NOTE: If swimming in prone is impossible, a modified back stroke may be used.
3. Swim 25yds. With ease using any modified back stroke.
   NOTE: If swimming on the back is impossible, a modified stroke in prone may be used.
4. (a) Pick up an object from a depth of not less than 5 ft. and convey it by any means a distance of not less than 10yds.; *or*
   (b) For a candidate without use of legs or having one limb missing: Pick up an object from a depth of not less than 4ft.

   NOTE: Any light weighted object may be used to which a handle made of cord or cork mat be attached.

5. Make a head-first entry into the water from a height of no more than 3 ft.
   NOTE: (i) Providing the entry is head first rolling from the side of the both is permitted.
   (ii) If this is impossible the following may be substituted:
   Perform a somersault in the water.
6. Float motionless for 20 seconds.
7. Pit on a lifebuoy or inflated tube in the water.
   NOTE: Neither speed in swimming nor style is to be taken into account. To avoid overtiring the candidate, the whole test need not be taken in one day.'[125]

Guides were encouraged to learn to swim throughout the twentieth century, with Baden-Powell writing in 1926 that a guide was useless unless she could swim.[126] The adaptions set above, strayed from the Guiding ideal that all members could be 'useful' and swim. During the Edwardian period swimming was promoted widely. Its popularity carried through the twentieth century with many youth movements endorsing swimming as an appropriate activity for both boys and girls.[127] Aimed at maintaining a healthy body, as well as carrying humanitarian principles or lifesaving, swimming offered benefits to both gender models promoted by the associations.[128] This divergence from the badge expectations shows the complex relationship between extension guiding and the wider association's training in relation to gender ideals for those with disabilities.

The complex relationship is further illuminated through the influence of the medical establishment (Chapter Four) over badges. In 1926, the official Guiding handbook printed that if a doctor decided

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[125] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1960). *Policy Organization and Rules*. p. 112.
[126] Baden-Powell, R. (1926). *Girl Guiding The Official Handbook*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 159.
[127] Love, C. (2013). *A Social History of Swimming in England, 1800 – 1918*. Milton Park: Taylor & Francis. p. 122.
[128] Anon. (2007). Swimming, service to the empire and Baden-Powell's youth movements. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 24* (5), 682-692. doi: 10.1080/09523360601183277. p. 687.

swimming was unsuitable for a guide that a Child Nurses' badge could be completed instead.[129] This revealed that the association worked with the medical establishment to determine the programme and the influence the profession had over the recreational training. Nearly forty years later, the need for a doctor's certificate to be excused from the swimming test was still required.[130] The reliance on medical professionals to certify whether a member was unable to perform a task, removed individual choice from the badge criteria. Society's medicalisation of disability, to view the impairment as the focus of the problem, influenced the delivery of the scheme and the resources allocated.[131] Involvement by the medical staff here, caused collectives to be exclusive as well as inclusive, as they determined who could access the shared identity based on their diagnosis. While this was not the reasoning behind their assessments, the lack of swimming, which made girls 'useful' in Baden-Powell's own words, questioned their ability to ever assimilate into the feminine movement completely.

Although swimming posed complications for those with physical disabilities, those with learning difficulties struggled when attempting a range of other merit badges. In Halifax, the guide leader at the Quarry House School for 'backward children', in 1960, stated 'I feel that there should be a considerable easing of the tests so that the children can work for a modified form of the various badges and so maintain interest.'[132] The children educated at this school had various learning disabilities spanning the spectrum of capacity, meaning adaptations would have had to be flexible depending on the child's ability.[133] Despite both associations' recognition that badge modifications should occur, the dominant medical views, by this time, indicate why programme adaptations were so limited and failed in many circumstances. Even though there were clear limitations at this unit in relation to badge work, other units catering for young people deemed mentally deficient reported successful activity.

Key badges attained at the Stanley Royd unit in Wakefield, included Homemaker, Entertainer, Gardener and Child Nurse.[134] These badges reflected the 1940s feminine aims of the movement, to create 'useful' women who could keep a home for their husbands whilst maintaining independence. Badge completion indicated these girls had several elements to their identities beyond disability.

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[129] Baden-Powell, R. (1926). *Girl Guiding The Official Handbook*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 159.
[130] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1960). *Policy Organization and Rules*. p. 33.
[131] Drum, C.E. (2009). Models and Approaches to Disability. In C. E. Drum, G. L. Krahn, & H. Bersani (Eds.) *Disability and Public Health* (pp. 27-44). Washington D.C.: APHA Press. p. 29.
[132] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Extension Group Bulletin by Helen. D. McDonald.*
[133] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1961). *The Girl Guides, Policy Organisation & Rules*. p. 110.
[134] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1941-1945). Girl Guides Extension Logbook 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Road, Wakefield Yorkshire.

Some of these characteristics were chosen in relation to what badges they were able to select to complete, but many were enforced including conforming to gender ideals. Feminine aims were primarily created for girls in active units, but the maintaining of these ideals within a mental hospital suggests that the guiding unit reflected the wider gendered nature of these facilities.[135] Following the institutional structure of segregated activity suggests why Scouting and Guiding were able to cement themselves within these organisations on the scale that they did.

Evidence from institutional sources and association documents confirms that activities with and for disabled young people show little variation from this feminine model. However, there were opportunities within the movement to deviate from this ideal and still conform to central association expectations. These opportunities were shown mainly through merit badges, which included Aircraft flyer, Woodworker and Pioneer, none of which corresponded to the domestic sphere, seen in much of Guiding's rhetoric. Nevertheless, reports of girls accessing these types of badges within the Extension Section were non-existent in extant records, highlighting these skills were not able to be completed within that environment, either due to the lack of support from adult leaders and the medical and education establishments, seen in Chapter Four, or the lack of resources. Although the Stanley Royd group showed some masculine activities, such as tracking, these were relatively easy to fulfil within institutional grounds. Aircraft flyer, for example, required access to specialist equipment and knowledge that would not have been available within the boundaries of an institution.

Barriers to accessing these resources were not limited to those with disabilities, but also those from low socio-economic backgrounds meaning barriers transcended more than just disability. Reflecting hegemonic masculine activities, carried out as key pillars of Scouting, these badges shed light on the overall values of the association and whether they were carried out or not. Warren argued that Guiding provided training for 'wives and mothers' to combat 'many of the evils arising from poor home management'[136] yet the badges listed here do not correspond to home management. This indicated a deviation from traditional feminine pursuits which appealed to the desires of Guiding's target audience. The promotion of these activities did not come without their challenges. Although the adventurous pursuits were not removed, concerns over Guiding values and activities prior to 1914 led Agnes Baden-Powell, original Chief Guide, to stress the femininity of the movement.[137] The

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[135] Ellis, R. (2020). *London and its Asylums, 1888-1914: Politics and Madness.* Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 36.

[136] Warren, A. (1990). 'Mothers for the Empire'? The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939. In J. A. Mangan (Ed.) *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism* (pp. 96-109). Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 97.

[137] Voeltz, R.A. (1992). The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27* (1), 627-638. doi: 10.1177/002200949202700404. p. 628.

range of activities provided by the association indicate the balance between the perfectionisms of citizenship training promoted by Baden-Powell, his wife, sister and patrons, and the realities of what young people wished to access.

The barriers to accessing activities in Handicapped and Extension Units were evidenced to a greater extent at the Quarry House School. They struggled throughout their period of operation, with badge work reported to be 'very, very slow.'[138] Demonstrating that those with learning difficulties struggled to complete test work, due to inadequate adaptations, the experience at the Quarry House Company indicates some of the problems in trying to inculcate shared values. In 1963, the group leader made her own adaptations, unauthorized by the movement. She stated, 'the Company [was] being run on a simplified basis as these girls [did] not have the ability to work in their own in patrols.'[139] With the girls unable to complete test work and the leader attempting several times to seek help, this group evidenced the limits to inclusion attempts. As those with physical and sensory disabilities had adaptations written and approved by the association, the absence of modifications within official literature for girls with learning disabilities suggests they were not considered as part of the wider collective in the same way. This was another example of the limit of inclusion and the differences between disabilities and inclusion. The leader of the Quarry House Company had to make her own adaptations to the programme meaning Guiding ideals, including those specifically feminine, may not have been applied. The reality of Guiding with those with learning disabilities was therefore one that was far from the ideals set by the association, and much like Scouting, relied on the groundwork of adult volunteers to capture and deliver the ethos of the movement.

A similar experience was documented at the 35th Bradford Westwood Ranger unit, a group for older girls classified as 'mentally defective'. The group ran in the 1960s and like the Quarry House guides, reports of the activities undertaken by these rangers were much less frequent than those in active units, or even those with sensory or physical disabilities. In 1962 it was reported that 'meetings [took] place regularly throughout the year and, though progress [was] very slow, the essence of Guiding [was] prevalent.'[140] Regarding their work as reflecting the 'essence' of Guiding suggests that these girls were not following the programmes that other members were, and instead following the leaders own adaptations. The details of these modifications were not documented, but reference to the 'essence' indicates the ethos of the movement carried through. This would have included the

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[138] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1961). *Information concerning Extension Unit from the Annual Census forms 1961.*

[139] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1963). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms 1963*.

[140] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms 1962.*

feminine ideals perpetuated by the association through their activities, texts, and messaging. Supported by further reports stating that 'whenever possible the girls share in the activities of normal guides',[141] the referral to 'normal guides' suggests the programmed was adapted so activities could be done at their own pace, while following these key aspects of the association. The modifications made by guiders to allow those with learning disabilities to integrate into the programme, again illustrates the importance of local level Guiding in the experience of these young people and the extent the programme was followed as the central association intended. Differing from the official narrative set by the association, the changes show that national reports were not necessarily the narrative of girls with learning disabilities at a local level. The inclusion of those with learning difficulties, into the Guiding collective identity, is one that depended on local leaders and their ability to provide a programme that reflected Guiding's ethos and badge work to the girls.

Conclusions

Both ideological and material markers were used throughout the twentieth century to attempt to foster a sense of collective identity for the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. When viewing this through the lens of disability, clear sub-collectives were created within the associations to include those with additional needs. These sub-collectives, and the narratives arising from them, were complex. Changing across locality and movement, the omission, in some areas, of disabled activities within annual reports shows that the inclusion within the collective identity and association level fluctuated around time, place and youth movement. Despite absences within the public discussions of collective identity, the promise remained a central component to all branches within both organisations. It was the main way in which central ideals were used to create an international collective identity. Even though there was slightly different wording, the three main principles applied in every nation, connecting members to each other, in spite of whether that young person was disabled or not. While seemingly all encompassing, there were limitations, within the Scouts in particular, that restricted the inclusion of those with severe learning disabilities who as they could not 'appreciate the aims.'[142] This exclusion supports the narrative emerging that those with learning disabilities, within the associations, were often at a disadvantage in terms of access opportunities, despite being the largest branch of the disabled divisions (see Introduction), and in this case, from participating in the collective identity set by the central association.

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[141] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Information concerning Extension Unit from the Annual Census forms 1960.*

[142] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 29/05/46,*

Beyond the ideological symbols, uniforms and badges were used to visually represent collective identity. They aimed to demonstrate similarities between members and the values that bound them together. Although this was the case on the surface, delving deeper into the limitations of each theme highlighted collective identity was fragmented, especially within the disability sections themselves. Economic barriers, medical categorisations and social attitudes, all impacted access to uniform, but limitations were not equal locally and amongst all disabled members. Those classified as mentally deficient were subject to restrictions on when and where they could wear their uniform, excluded from the visual collective at camp, as well as facing difficulties with the complexity of the uniform in the case of the Quarry House Guides. Despite issues with equal access, both within the wider movement and disabled sub-division, the narrative was not entirely bleak, with various forms of aid, especially to those with learning disabilities to help support the purchase of uniforms within institutional units. Whilst uniforms, as visual markers, highlighted disparities between those with learning disabilities and the wider Handicapped and Extension Divisions, badges shifted the focus to those classified as 'crippled'.

Used to reflect the ethos of the movements and the morals, behaviours and ideals set by the associations as the collective identity, debates surrounding badge adaptations questioned whether those unable to meet badge conditions were worthy of becoming part of the collective identity the badges represented. The difficulties faced by disabled scouts and guides, to not only access badges but overcome stigma of adaptations, proves that these children were not viewed equally and, especially in the case of the Scouts, struggled to attain the masculine gender identity promoted by the association. There were undoubtedly national and central level discussions surrounding disabled inclusion, yet it was essentially a local level debate throughout the period, with those in charge of individual units and attending and writing regional publications influencing who could form part of the collective character the badges signified. Ultimately, this was replicated in all elements of the programme and associations. The power devolution to local level meant the reality of becoming and feeling part of the movements' collective identities differed across the north based on a variety of factors determined and dealt with sporadically by local ruling bodies. These local level bodies were often inclusive of adult leaders who led disabled guides and scouts. This reliance on voluntary grassroots leaders brought additional limitations for Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding.

Chapter 4
Difficulties in Programme Delivery: Adult Leadership

Boy Scout and Girl Guide histories highlight that the voluntary army of adult leaders were essential in the creation, delivery and success of individual units, and the associations more widely. Existing works focus little on the local level leadership of the organisations and more upon their key characters, values, and activities. Whilst Tammy Proctor has briefly discussed leadership shortages, in relation to the interwar years, her research only highlighted the issues of leadership struggles, rather than providing analysis into the factors that influenced the shortage.[1] Other scholars follow a similar discourse, with adult leaders being used as a theme within wider categories of analysis, rather than the sole focus of discussion. Kristine Alexander, for example, discussed leadership in relation to international elements of the movement, and the roles adults played in connecting their organisations and dealing with difficult relations.[2] The use of leaders as a sub-theme within analysis has resonated across several works with scholars such as Proctor, Jim Gledhill and John Gillis having discussed the background of the leadership ranks specifically.[3] All agreeing that upper ranks were limited to middle or upper class membership, the lack of availability of leaders at the local level has yet to be explored in any great depth. What is absent here, is any understanding of how changing roles within society affected the appointment of leaders, and how, as a corollary, this affected those members with handicaps. Furthermore, the role of the educational and medical establishments in the success and failure of leaders within institutional settings has, again, yet to be explored. This is important in uncovering the factors behind the success or failure of provision, and in this respect this chapter will build on those scholars who have explored 'long-stay hospitals'[4] and colonies for the mentally deficient. [5]

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[1] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 106.

[2] Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 45 & 51.

[3] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 106. &
Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 70. &
Gillis, J.R. (1974). *Youth and History*. London: Academic Press. p. 146.

[4] Clark, L.L. & Griffiths, P. (2008). An Introduction to Intellectual Impairment. In L . L. Clark & P. Griffiths (Eds.) *Learning Disability and other Intellectual Impairments: Meeting Needs Throughout Health Services* (pp. 1-14). Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. p. 8.

[5] Race, D. G. (2007). *Intellectual disability: Social approaches*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press. p. 192.

Steven Taylor, for example, has explored children within pauper lunatic asylums, arguing that the motivations and interests of adults within their lives influenced how they were depicted within institutional settings.[6] Analysing the inconsistencies within medical records, he concludes that the portrayals of children as deviant, depraved, deprived and dangerous were 'constructed by adults to necessitate a specific need.'[7] He did focus on the period immediately prior to this thesis, but the themes across his research can be applied to institutional settings throughout the twentieth century. Daniel Mills has explored decision making roles in institutions for those children classified as mentally deficient prior to the 1930s.[8] Investigating medical officers' motives behind their decisions, Mills highlighted that the likelihood of employability dictated the chances of education rather than educational factors.[9] Basing decisions on contemporary social issues, draws parallels with Taylor's research, indicating the power of adults in the lives of institutionalised children. The absence of Scouting and Guiding within these areas of research means there are institutional narratives that are yet to be told.

Exploring the role of adults in the provision of the overall programme of Guiding and Scouting, the first part of the chapter gives an overview of their key roles and responsibilities and identifies both organisational and personal leadership problems, as well as the methods used for recruiting leaders and the issues that arose during these processes. Crucial themes of changing social attitudes and landscapes, war, financial difficulties, continuity, and a lack of training are framed within the wider difficulty of adult leadership. Following this, adult leadership within the Extension and Handicapped Divisions of Guiding and Scouting is explored through the different desired skill sets of leaders, for those with handicaps, and stigma. Finally, institutional factors, more specifically the educational and medical establishments, are explored in relation to the rate of success of Guiding and Scouting within these settings. First highlighting the absence of current scholarship surrounding this field, as well as the different types of institutions for children, this final section analyses the relationship between the movement, the medical and educational professionals in more detail. Examining the extent of social control in what Foucault termed the 'medical gaze'[10] as well as through institutional structures, reveals the power relations between the associations, establishments, and the scouts and guides themselves. While social control is regarded as a tricky concept, with Gareth Jones

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[6] Taylor, S. J. (2016). Depraved, Deprived, Dangerous and Deviant: Depicting the Insane Child in England's County Asylums, 1845–1907. *History, 101*(347), 513-535. doi:10.1111/1468-229X.12246. p. 535.
[7] Ibid. p. 530.
[8] Mills, D. (1997). The Ineducable Children of Leeds: The Operation of the Defective Children and Mental Deficiency Legislation in Leeds, 1900-29. *Journal of Educational Administration and History, 29* (2), 121-141. doi: 10.1080/0022062970290203.
[9] Ibid. p. 125.
[10] Foucault, M. (1973). *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited. p. 89-90.

arguing it should not be applied to leisure time in its own right, it is imperative to understand power relationships and how the medical, educational and leisure fields for the handicapped interlocked together.[11] Overall, this chapter will argue that while difficulties sourcing and retaining leaders could have been addressed and mitigated in some circumstances by both the Girl Guides and the Boy Scouts, ultimately factors worked beyond their control influencing their success.

The Struggle for Leaders: A National Epidemic in the Northern Context

Throughout the period 1907-1970 adult leadership was pinpointed by both associations as a key problem in the provision of Scouting and Guiding to all children. In 1932, Baden-Powell wrote in *The Times* we 'turn away hundreds every week who want to join us. We have to do so for this sole reason – we have not enough men and women available as leaders to take them in hand.'[12] A similar story appeared in Guiding four years earlier, with the *Yorkshire, West Riding, North, Tenth Annual Report* stating their 'numbers would increase more rapidly if [they] could find and train enough Guiders to supply the demand.'[13] Comparable reports were present in all branches of the associations throughout the period, showing that as an essential part of the movement the availability of leaders at a local level were imperative for the delivery and survival of the schemes. In 1948, the Guiding *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guide County Report* highlighted the reliance on adult leaders to sustain the movement's existence stating, 'neither money, nor camp sites, nor local Headquarters will keep pace with our needs unless more leaders are forthcoming.'[14] Scouting echoed these reports. In 1958 the annual Scout meeting in Skipton reported boys wanted to join but were unable to due to too few scouters.[15] For those that did volunteer their time, this did not go unnoticed.

Both associations expressed thanks for those volunteers who took up leadership roles or aided the movement in any way. This was evidenced in the 1941 commissioner's report from Kathleen Davies-Cooke published in the 1942 *Guiding Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guide County Report,* which stated, 'I appreciate that the good results shown in the Report are due to the determination and loyalty and hard work put in by Guiders throughout the County, and feel a word of thanks and

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[11] Stedman Jones, G. (1977). Class Expression "Versus" Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of 'Leisure'. *History Workshop,* 1(4), 162-170. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/4.1.162. p. 169.

[12] Baden-Powell, R. (1932, February 2). In The Service Of Others. *The Times.* p. 13.

[13] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1928). *The Girl Guides, Yorkshire, West Riding, North, Tenth Annual Report*. p. 6.

[14] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1948). *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report*. p. 8.

[15] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, C944/1/1, (1958). *Minute Book – West Yorkshire Scout Council executive committee 1949-1968*. p. 144.

encouragement is due to them all.'[16] Thus, it is clear gratitude expressed by commissioners and those within the upper ranks for leaders at the local level is imperative in understanding how essential these individuals were in sustaining the movement.

While Scouting and Guiding leadership histories vary throughout the North, the overall narrative in historiography, and this research, is one of difficulty. This is evident from the very beginning of the period, as the Bolton District of the Boy Scouts Association reported in their celebration booklet that by 1911 a group at Delph Hill, an area of Doffcocker in Bolton, 'lost its scoutmaster, and was perhaps the first victim of that disease peculiar to youth organisations – shortage of interested adults.'[17] This shortage inevitably harmed attempts to expand both movements, an aspiration seen across the period (see Chapter Two). As time progressed the problem was exacerbated by the rising numbers of boys wishing to join the Scouts. In 1931, Scouting membership increased by 51,000 Scouts, bringing the total British Scout figures to 808,307.[18] The pressure the enhanced interest placed on the Scouts, in the interwar period, was cemented in 1939, when the Altrincham Boy Scouts reported that there was 'a definite need for new Groups in certain parts of the area.'[19] Records of the difficulties in responding to the increased demand for groups were more prominent in Scouting, arguably due to the increased number of accessible sources when compared to Guiding. Richard Voeltz did examine the expansion of Guiding, focusing specifically on the First World War, and the push for Guiding to act 'as a cure, or antidote, for 'flapperdom' and 'war fever' or 'khaki fever,'[20] something both promoted and accepted by the public. The expansion of Guiding, although not in line with Scouting numbers, still shows a dramatic rise from 164,000 members in 1921 to 495,000 in 1932.[21] These members needed leaders, all of which impacted on the extent the Guide Association was able to expand.

Gillis has argued that 'by the end of the 1950s, middle-class youth movements were having trouble recruiting the volunteers that had once been at their command.'[22] However, sources from the interwar years indicate that the leadership difficulties were present prior to 1945. In 1939, the Altrincham Boy Scouts Association reported that there was 'unfortunately, still a shortage of Officers

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[16] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1942). *Yorkshire West Riding (south) Girl Guides, County Report.* p. 4.
[17] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (c. 1960). *Bolton and District Boy Scout Association "Once a Scout Always a Scout" 50 years of Scouting in Bolton.* p. 5.
[18] Baden-Powell, R. (1932, February 2). In The Service of Others. *The Times.* p. 13.
[19] Trafford Local Studies Library, TAL 396.43 ALT, (1936). *Altrincham and District Boy Scout Association Annual report 1936.* p. 2.
[20] Voeltz, R.A. (1992). The Antidote to 'Khaki Fever'? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War. *Journal of Contemporary History, 27* (1), 627-638. doi: 10.1177/002200949202700404. p. 627.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Gillis, J.R. (1974). *Youth and History.* London: Academic Press. p. 200.

in some Groups.' [23] The report went on to state it was 'hoped that friends of the Movement [would] assist in finding them.'[24] Indicating that a shortage of leaders had been a problem for some time, demonstrates the realities of Scouting at the local level for all units and groups. To address the parlous state of recruitment, both organisations, encouraged those who had been Scouts or Guides to take on leadership roles.

As early as 1912, suggestions of training boys to take over leadership and continue the movement were apparent. In the American magazine *Boys Life,* produced by the Boy Scouts of America, one article stated, they were dependent upon the scouts 'in training to assume leadership as Assistant Scout Masters and Scout Masters for the boys who succeed[ed] them in the Scout movement.'[25] Although focused on American Scouting, the availability of the magazines across Britain indicated an interest in American issues. This coincides with the American Anglo-alliance and the wider Scouting connections that occurred in the post-war period (see also Chapter Two).[26] These connections were prioritised with America and correspondence between those in the centralised organisations flowed in the Edwardian, interwar, and periods beyond.[27] The availability, therefore, of American Scouting material in Britain was greater than material from other international Scout branches. Over fifty years after this article was published, figures suggest that this was a successful strategy, as 82% of British Scout leaders were reported to have been Scouts as children.[28] While articles evidenced the push for young Scouts to assume leadership roles, there is a lack of comprehensive source material, spanning the period, to explore its success, due to most of the accessible information being from the post-war period. Although Gillis showed that retaining Scouts worked, the extent of its success was limited. Even though scouts were staying with the association, not enough were assuming leadership roles to relieve pressure from recruitment drives.

Awareness of these limitations, at the local level, were evidenced in the 1958 West Yorkshire Scout Council minutes, where it was stated that more attention needed to be paid to senior Scouting, which would in turn drive recruitment for adult leaders and allow the movement to expand and offer places to boys who wished to join but could not due to lack of adult support.[29] The minutes showed a deficit of Scouters in Wakefield, but the issue was apparent across the North for all

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[23] Trafford Local Studies Library, TAL 396.43 ALT, (1936). *Altrincham and District Boy Scout Association Annual report 1936*. p. 2.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Moffat, S.A. (1912). First Class Scout Requirements. *Boys' Life, 2* (9), 20-23.
[26] Johnston, S. (2015). Courting public favour: The boy scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907–29. *Historical Research, 88*(241), 508-529. doi:10.1111/1468-2281.12079. p. 511.
[27] Ibid. p. 513.
[28] Gillis, J.R. (1974). *Youth and History*. London: Academic Press. p. 200.
[29] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, C944/1/1, (1958). *West Yorkshire Scout Council Executive Committee Minute Book 1949-1968*. p. 143.

branches of the association, with different methods of recruitment emerging in different areas. The Molescroft Scout group (Beverley), for example, aimed to attract ex-members of the movement and in 1952, advertised with a poem:

> 'A CALL TO ALL EX-ROVERS AND MEMBERS OF THE MOVEMENT
> Where are the men to lead today,
> Sparing an hour or two,
> Teaching the lads the game to play,
> Just as a man should do.
> Village and Slum are calling 'Come',
> Here are the boys indeed,
> Who can tell what they might become,
> If only the men will lead.'[30]

This post-war poem demonstrates not only the shortage of leaders in the Beverley area but a real desire and effort to recruit. It aimed to attract ex-members, wherever they may have been living, refencing villages and slums, which suggested a need for aid in both rural and urban areas. Problems with rural Scouting leadership were explored in the 1944 *"The Scouter" Digest* with both the limited number of leaders and the travelling distance involved mentioned as factors hindering the expansion of the movement.[31] Contemporary analysis of urban vs rural problems within the association were minimal, with techniques to recruit often targeting those in leadership positions.

In Guiding, for example, pleas were made to those already donating time to recruit friends, relatives and other individuals who would fit the Guiding ethos. In 1948, West Riding County Report published an appeal to those in the West Riding writing:

> 'neither money, nor camp sites, nor local Headquarters will keep pace with our needs unless more leaders are forthcoming. Many of our most promising Guiders leave the Country for posts elsewhere, so please, will YOU, who are reading this report, try to interest someone else in this great movement?[32]

While many of the advertisements seem open to a wide array of individuals, there were publications that indicated an exclusivity to leadership. Written in 1944, an advertisement in the Castleford Souvenir Book stated potential leaders 'should have personal character and a good moral influence over girls as well as sufficient steadfastness of purpose to carry out the work with energy and perseverance.'[33] The criteria listed here for leadership indicates there was a 'right kind' of person to

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[30] The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX/142/2/19, (1952). *1st Molescroft Scout Group – October 1952*. p. 4.

[31] The Boy Scouts Association. (1944). *"The Scouter" Digest*. Kent: Stanhope Press Limited. p. 170.

[32] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1948). Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report. p. 8.

[33] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1944). *The Girl Guides, Yorkshire (West Riding South), Castleford, Souvenir Handbook.* p. 33.

become a leader, echoing Gledhill's argument that the association wished to attract those only from 'respectable' backgrounds.[34] This was mirrored in Scouting, as the 1944 *Scouter Digest* stated 'the wrong type of man [had] got a warrant far too often.'[35] The aim to attract the 'right kind' of person suggests a contradiction with the seemingly inclusive and open plea to attract individuals to lead the movement, and can explain the lack of leadership in the 'slum' areas referenced in the recruitment poem. The Scouting publication went further to state 'let the Movement concentrate on quality, not quantity. Achieve this by weeding out inefficient Commissioners and Scouters, from I.H.Q. down to Groups.'[36] There was, therefore, barriers in recruitment drives, with current members acting as gatekeepers for who they thought were appropriate leaders. This contributed to the regional variations within leadership figures and in turn the access to units for children in all parts of the movements. While many of the difficulties in leader recruitment and retention can be explored through Scouting and Guiding policy, several factors worked beyond their control including war and the changing roles across society.

Disrupted Continuity: War and the Changing Roles Across Society

Neither organisation was able to meet the demand for leaders across the period, the problem being epidemic, even today.[37] Volunteering motivations differed throughout the period, on an individual basis, relating to changing social, political, and economic circumstances. Katherine Holden discussed this in relation to women specifically, exploring their changing roles in society and the expectation placed on females as caring individuals.[38] Reasons women volunteered carried through from the Victorian period, due to their exclusion from the paid work sector, but desires to volunteer changed as the period progressed and more women entered the working sector.[39] Motivations were also affected by personal circumstances and experiences, highlighted by Gillis, who argued that prior to the Second World War individuals volunteered for moral and patriotic reasons, whereas those in the post-war period felt indebted to the organisation.[40] These motivation changes caused disrupted continuity. This was sometimes within the control of both associations, but the circumstances both

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[34] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 70.

[35] The Boy Scouts Association. (1944). *"The Scouter" Digest*. Kent: Stanhope Press Limited. p. 200.

[36] Ibid. p. 208.

[37] Cockburn, H. (2017, November 15). Death of the Brownies? 'Tens of Thousands' of Girls Missing Out Because People not Volunteering Anymore. *The Independent.* Retrieved from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brownies-volunteer-shortage-young-girls-thousands-leaders-activities-a8054591.html [last accessed 06/04/2020]

[38] Holden, K. (2001). Family, Caring and Unpaid Work. In I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain: Social, Cultural and Political Change*. (pp. 134-148) . London: Routledge. p. 146.

[39] Ibid. p. 143.

[40] Gillis, J.R. (1974). *Youth and History*. London: Academic Press. p. 200.

movements found themselves in were often unprecedented, calling for inventive and intuitive ways to respond.

One of these reasons for disrupted continuity within leadership was the social climate, and with that, the changing roles of both men and women across the period. The twentieth century harboured vast and dramatic changes for women in different elements of life, including full enfranchisement from the age of 21 with the Representation of the People's Act in 1928, 6.5 million women in work by 1945, as well as social advancements with the introduction of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s and other social activities for young women. One of the changes included the rise of the married female employee. In the interwar period only 10 per cent of married women were employed outside the home.[41] Prior to 1944 many women were affected by a marriage bar. Originally created by the postal service in the 1870s, followed by the civil service in the 1920s, the bar prohibited married women from continuing employment in the sector, whilst creating frameworks for private employers, such as factories, to follow.[42] Helen Glews has argued that the bars helped to trivialise female employment, yet economic factors behind the bars have been explored suggesting that while females could be hired for lower wages, the marriage gratuities paid by the employer were significantly less than the pensions they would have to supply.[43] The marriage bars were gradually lifted from 1944, meaning married women could begin to access work in sectors that had previously been unavailable to them. By 1951, married female employment had rose to 20 per cent, rising again to 49 per cent by 1971.[44] The increase of married working women decreased their free time available in the post-war period, where previously it may have been dedicated to philanthropic ventures including Guide and Scout leadership.[45] The retainment of these leaders within this demographic in the North was low, with the pressures being recognised in the 1968 *Handbook for Guiders.* Stating, 'every Guider has very limited free time at her disposal,'[46] the

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[41] Originally argued by Lewis, J. E. (1992). *Women in Britain Since 1945: Women, Family, Work, and The State in the Post-War Years*. New Jersey: Blackwell. p. 65. Cited in McCarthy, H. (2016). Social Science and Married Women's Employment in Post-War Britain. *Past & Present, 233*(1), 269-305. doi: doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw035. p. 269, who argued that these figures are likely to be higher.

[42] Glew, H. (2016). *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's Work in the Civil Service and the London County Council, 1900–55*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 178.

[43] Glew, H. (2016). *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's Work in the Civil Service and the London County Council, 1900–55*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 178. &
Cohn, S. (1985). *The Process of Occupational Sex-Typing: The Feminization of Clerical Labor In Great Britain*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. p. 97-102.

[44] Originally argued by Lewis, J. E. (1992). *Women in Britain Since 1945: Women, Family, Work, and The State in the Post-War Years.* New Jersey: Blackwell. p. 65. Cited in McCarthy, H. (2016). Social Science and Married Women's Employment in Post-War Britain. *Past & Present, 233*(1), 269-305. doi: doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtw035. p. 269. Who argued that these figures are likely to be higher.

[45] Gillis, J.R. (1974). *Youth and History*. London: Academic Press. p. 200.

[46] Carter, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Ranger Guide Service Section*. London: The Riverside Press, Ltd. p. 46.

literature available for Guiders in the post-war period began to acknowledge the changing role of women and the time pressures they faced.

Despite the increase in female employment, from the 1950s, gender roles still had boundaries. Women would still complete the bulk of domestic chores, only this was now done after work, while men would define their free time with hobbies.[47] Therefore, employment not only restricted the free time women had, but it also placed pressures on them in terms of housewifery duties, restricting their time on an evening further. Although employment rose and the fulltime occupation of the housewife declined, the 'housewife' was still central to the identity of many women in the post-war period. The reference to 'limited time' by Guiding was therefore not only aimed at employed women but also 'housewives'. The invention of modern home appliances, such as the vacuum cleaner and washing machine, did little to decrease the amount of time women spent completing housework due to increasing hygiene standards that paralleled the release of these items.[48] For that reason, those that resided as home makers in the post-war period still struggled to access free time due to the number of tasks set for themselves to keep a clean and tidy home and family. Aiming to address the problem, Guiding stated that a Guider should use 'time to the best possible advantage.'[49] In order to do this, Guiding allowed leaders to appoint up to two Unit Helpers per group, to provide support with the administrative and secretarial duties.[50] These measures aimed to relieve pressures on volunteers, yet the association struggled to truly address the problems and create a stable bank of leaders. Nevertheless, it is indisputable that the root cause of several of the problems were beyond the control of the associations as changes were happening across society. This was not only characteristic of the post-war period, but both the First and Second World Wars.

Both the First and Second World Wars changed the roles of both men and women. The First World War saw over 5.7 million men mobilised to the front, with conscription being introduced for all men who met criteria in May 1916, accounting for two million of the mobilised. While married men were less likely to enlist prior to 1916 than single men, a vast proportion of the Scouting leadership and potential leaders were drawn to the front.[51] In Bolton it was reported that 'it was less easy to find fresh scoutmasters,'[52] something that was felt nationally across Britain throughout Scouting but also

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[47] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I. (2001). Housewifery. In I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain: Social, Cultural and Political Change*. (pp. 149-164). London: Routledge. p. 150.

[48] Ibid. p. 160

[49] Carter, A. & Carnegy, E. (1968). *A Handbook for Guiders: Ranger Guide Service Section*. London: The Riverside Press, Ltd. p. 46.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Gregory, A. (2008). *The Last Great War: British Society and The First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. no page numbers.

[52] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (c. 1960). *Bolton and District Boy Scout Association "Once a Scout Always a Scout" 50 years of Scouting in Bolton*. p. 7.

in other areas of society. Increased war work and volunteering for those at home, as well as less adult males across Britain meant the availability of people to take up leadership within the organisation shrank. To combat issues with Scouting leadership, Proctor highlighted that during the war, many Guide leaders doubled as Cub or Scout leaders.[53] The willingness of Guide leaders to transfer their skills to the Scouts reflected the wider changes in society.

The First World War opened and developed avenues of work for women. Many undertook work in munitions factories and manufacturing to support the war effort, as well as work on the land, shipyards, and as Voluntary Aid Detachments [VADs] for the Red Cross. Despite a large influx of women into the workforce, many of the roles were still based around caring and supporting men, either at home or on the front.[54] Their influx into the workforce throughout the First World War offers an explanation as to why women took over male roles in Scouting. The roles within the organisation were still that of a caring one, leading children and young men to become better citizens and providing them with a wholesome leisure activity, at the same time as supporting males who had been drawn to the front. The use of women for this purpose was therefore not a revolutionary use of female labour power, as it was happening across society in different forms.

While the War affected leadership figures, they had recovered by the thirties. The Second World War, again, damaged the numbers of male Scouters. In Bolton, it was reported that 'conscription had taken many of the younger A.S.M.'s [Assistant Scout Masters].'[55] Conscription of members of the association, aged between eighteen and forty-one, meant that units struggled to operate during the Second World War, which is corroborated through the silence of archival material during those years. Unlike the First World War, conscription of men occurred throughout the entirety of the Second World War, meaning the pool of leaders for Scouting to access was depleted throughout the period. Scholars have explored conscription in both military and gender histories, but the exploration of conscription in wider terms has been left relatively untapped.[56] The effects of conscription on Scouting during the war years is apparent through the lack of source material available.

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[53] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 106.
[54] Lomas, J. & Andrews, M. (2014). *The Home Front in Britain: Images, Myths and Forgotten Experiences Since 1914* (1st 2014. ed.). London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. p. 17.
[55] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (c. 1960). *Bolton and District Boy Scout Association "Once a Scout Always a Scout" 50 years of Scouting in Bolton*. p. 12.
[56] Littlewood, D. (2020). Conscription in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada During the Second World War. *History Compass, 18*(4), n/a. doi:10.1111/hic3.12611. p. 3.

Scouting undoubtedly faced more difficulty with leaders during the Second World War than Guiding, yet this is not to say Guiding did not suffer losses. In 1942, it was reported that the Brown Owl (leader in charge) of a West Yorkshire Post Brownie Pack had 'resigned owing to war work.'[57] Despite the emphasis placed upon the importance of housewifery across the Second World War, and in its aftermath to support rationing and other domestic economy measures, women worked both in the armed forces and absorbed traditional male roles across society as they were conscripted to the front.[58] Women were involved in the armed forces, the Auxillary Fire Service, the Red Cross and the Civil Air Guard, among others, to directly tackle threats from the war, but were also involved in factory work, chiefly munitions, the Land Army, and other professions to support the war effort. However, this labour force was not created through voluntary employment. The government needed 1.5 million women to work in munitions factories to supply the demand, but by 1941 this figure stood at 87,000.[59] To meet the need for labour, the government began conscripting women, with all those aged eighteen to sixty having to register with the Ministry of Labour by February 1942.[60] All called upon women could be placed in any civilian job and those who refused faced prosecution. The resignation of female adult leaders in the organisation pinpoints the pressures the changing landscape had on women's roles and their availability for other commitments.

The County Commissioner for West Yorkshire South expanded on the leader resignations in her annual report stating:

> 'I appreciate that the good results shown in the Report are due to the determination and loyalty and hard work put in by Guiders throughout the County, and feel a word of thanks and encouragement is due to them all. There must have been and will be, moments when you wonder if War duties should call on more of your time.'[61]

This recognition from the County Commissioner, that Guiders were under strain from war work and other responsibilities, emphasises the difficulties faced by Guiding when trying to sustain leaders through different social and political periods. Source material is sparser during both World Wars, which indeed highlights issues with adult leadership further in terms of continuity. Nonetheless, the sources that are available indicate the changing roles for women and indeed the effect this had on Guiding leadership. Impacts on the shifting roles were often out of the control of the organisation

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[57] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1942). *Yorkshire West Riding (south) Girl Guides, County Report*. p. 5.
[58] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I. (2001). Housewifery. In I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (Ed.) *Women in Twentieth-Century Britain: Social, Cultural and Political Change*. (pp. 149-164). London: Routledge. p. 154.
[59] Harris, C. (2000). *Women At War 1939-1945: The Home Front*. Cheltenham: The History Press. p. 12.
[60] Ibid. p. 13.
[61] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1942). *Yorkshire West Riding (south) Girl Guides, County Report*. p. 5.

and faced association wide, both in the community and institutions. While many of the limitations that those with handicaps faced were products of association wide problems, those in institutions did have unique factors that influenced adult leadership.

Adult Leadership: Extension and Handicapped Divisions

Difficulties in adult leadership, across the North, were paralleled in the handicapped and extension sections of both associations. The factors discussed above, relating to problems with continuities, were evidenced in handicapped and extension division sources from across the period. The Manchester Handicapped Sub-Committee, for example, stopped reports in 1939 and began again in 1946 stating that the war had 'interfered with efforts and the future [appeared] uncertain.'[62] Both World Wars and the changing roles of men and women affected adult leadership in handicapped and extension sections across the period, much like active units, but other factors, not evidenced in active units shaped leadership within these sections. Problems include those specific to children with handicaps and those more specific to institutional settings. Both the desire for greater skill sets and stigma impacted the success of adult leadership for those with handicaps more widely, whereas the involvement of the educational and medical establishments in the setting up and running of institutional groups influenced provision at a sub-regional level. Exploring these factors in the remainder of this chapter reveals the additional difficulties placed upon extension and handicapped units, in relation to leadership, across the period.

The national narrative, much like active units, was one of difficulty. The Bradford Odsal House Deaf School Guide and Brownie companies, for example, described issues in 1965 relating to the girls and their lack of adult support. Registering in 1961, these units reported four years after opening that there was 'no district commissioner'[63] and there appeared 'to be some difficulty in keeping continuity of Guiders.'[64] The lack of support led to problems in reporting and therefore sparse source material on the activities of the girls in these units. Similar issues can be identified in Scouting, with the resignation of leaders often causing panic. In 1954, Henshaw's School for the Blind, in Manchester, lost their Scouter meaning help from another unit, in this case, 'Mr Blackburn – from Chorlton had gone to the school to help them temporarily.'[65] These struggles to recruit and retain

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[62] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 26/03/46.*

[63] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1965). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms 1965.*

[64] Ibid.

[65] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 16/11/54.*

leaders were present throughout the period, but there are localised examples where a relative abundance of leaders wished to work with those who were handicapped.

One example can be seen in 1948 at Booth Wall hospital, Blackley, Manchester, where Miss Faulkner, the Scout leader at the hospital unit, 'reported that Booth Wall hospital had plenty of offers of assistance, and did not need any help from the Council [Handicapped Scout Commission], when the troop was being restarted.'[66] Similar statements are difficult to find across the North. In Guiding, specific mentions of an abundance of adult leaders in extension units are not present across source material. However, Guiding did mention increased extension unit aid through young leaders.[67] Young leaders were, and still are, those aged 16-18 who supported adult leaders running Guide and Brownie units. This report of aid was published in the Bradford district which reported yearly on the activities for each Guiding extension unit in the region, allowing for increased communication and knowledge exchange between groups within the area. The accounts submitted by these units, in their regional annual reports, would have been distributed to the local units which young leaders had access to. This could explain their involvement and willingness to volunteer with the extension groups as they were aware of the units, their work, and their need for assistance, compared to others in the North who did not.

Much like Guiding, Scouting also used younger members of the association to support the handicapped units. An example of this aid was seen in 1954, when the Scout group at Henshaw's Institution for the Blind stated they 'could do with 2 or 3 Senior Scouts or Rovers who would deal individually with the blind Scouts to get them through their tests.'[68] The aim of this scheme was not to push boys into adult ranks of the association, but to get them involved with volunteering their time in a leadership position at a unit for the blind. By involving senior boys in the test work of blind scouts, they were replacing the need for adult leaders to help provide one to one tuition, allowing their programme to reach further. The use of solely active members for this role indicated a hierarchy above age and rank, illustrating that those with handicaps were deemed unable to provide the support needed. This sheds light on partially hidden views of the association's local level leadership on what they deemed both appropriate and achievable for those with handicaps. Despite the barring of handicapped members in these roles, the ingenuity of members of the association to utilise Senior Scouts for different purposes, to help combat issues with leadership shortages, shows that the association was willing to try new methods to alleviate difficulties. However, the scheme

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[66] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1948). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee 20/01/48.*
[67] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1960). *Extension Bulletin by Helen. D. McDonald*.
[68] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 16/11/54.*

was not reported across any of the other source material in this study, meaning much like Guiding it is difficult to assess the widespread impact of the use of younger members in alleviating pressures concerning a lack of volunteers. As well as the difficulty in assessing pressures, the differing reports surrounding adult and young volunteer aid highlights, above all, regional differences within the associations and the impact this had on the provision for handicapped children at a localised level.

Despite efforts to attract both young leaders and adults to handicapped Scouting and extension Guiding, there were issues surrounding their recruitment. One of these was undoubtedly the need to attract the right 'kind' of person to the role. While there were no mandatory qualifications needed to run a unit, the respectability and skill set discussed previously was still required for a role with disabled young people, with additional requirements discussed surrounding skills.[69] In 1937, Beresford Webb, one of the main editors of scouting publications, published *Scouting Achievements,* a section of which focused on Handicapped Scouting. It was stated that 'to run a Troop of cot cases, or blind, deaf, dumb or mentally defective boys call[ed] for very rare skill, patience and understanding.'[70] Webb believed that the problem in attaining people with these skills could not be overcome.[71] This was replicated in Guiding, with requirements listed as 'patience and perseverance.'[72] These additional skills desired by the associations to work with those who were handicapped posed a barrier to the volunteering process that was not in place for in active units in the community. Although this was partially to safeguard the children and ensure volunteers were able to work with those with additional needs, the lack of support from the central organisation once in post meant it was difficult to develop skills and indeed attract the desired skilled individuals.

The need to attract a certain expertise to the role can be analysed further through the types of publications used to specifically target recruitment for handicapped Scouters. The advertisements accentuate the differences between those with members with handicaps and those without, evidenced in the *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy* leaflet, produced in the fifties. The article revealed reservations from adults in relation to working with handicapped Scouts, and urged them to take up the task:

> 'Some who might well take up this work are hesitant. They fear it may be a difficult task. The handicap may scare them and they may wonder how the boy with the handicap could do this test or that activity. To these leaders we would say "Courage, man, go to it. You will find your efforts richly rewarded. With imagination and adaptability the ways and means of

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[69] Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 70.
[70] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 242.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1966). *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report*. p. 13.

doing this will suggest themselves. Much is possible with the deaf, a great deal with the crippled and a surprising lot with the blind. What you have to remember is that the boys with handicaps are first of all boys with all the instincts, desires and emotions natural to normal boys.""[73]

This leaflet attempted to show what work could be achieved with handicapped Scouts and was printed in a publication written solely about the handicapped division. Today market research and pre-testing methods mitigate the potential for an advertisement to miss the mark, but techniques in the 1950s were underdeveloped meaning some advertisements carried greater risk of failure.[74] That being said, organisations still launched large scale campaigns, with advertising booming in the post-war period and market research skills developing.[75] Strategies advanced to include television commercials, but with limited funds, expensive advertisement methods were not viable options for the Scouts. The choice to advertise within their own publications reduced costs yet stunted their reach in terms of recruiting adults from outside the Scouting circles. These methods were used in active units too, but the exclusion of those with learning difficulties from the recruitment advert indicates opportunities were not the same for everyone.

The advertisement in the *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy* leaflet, demonstrated the hierarchy of handicaps within the movements and wider society. The negation to mention mentally handicapped members as needing leaders brings into question the role stigma played in the sourcing of volunteers for the association. In 1937, mentally deficient members accounted for forty five percent of the handicapped division's census figures.[76] While census data for the post-war period is not accessible in the data set used, it is clear from the qualitative sources, throughout the thesis, that units catering for those with learning difficulties made up a significant proportion of the handicapped membership figures. The omission of them from advertisements therefore poses key questions about their value within the association and the willingness of scout leaders to provide comprehensive training. Webb stated in *Scouting Achievements* that the 'lowest degree is that of idiocy, in which the patient has the mind of a small baby…Needless to say, in the lowest and lower degrees, Scouting, or for that matter, any similar system is useless, but as the few instances in this book demonstrate, for other cases of mental deficiency, the Movement can work wonders.'[77] Webb indicates here that Scouting did not wish to cater to all with learning difficulties, only those that

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[73] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (c. 1955). *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy leaflet (Boy Scouts International Bureau)*. p. 4.
[74] Fletcher, W. (2008). *Powers of Persuasion: The Inside Story of British Advertising: 1951-2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 51.
[75] Ibid. p. 57.
[76] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 246.
[77] Ibid. p. 251-252.

were of 'higher grade'. The reasons for the exclusions of those classified as 'lower grade' have rarely been discussed, with literature implying that those of 'lower grade' simply could not complete the tasks. *Scouting Achievements* indicated there was little movement on this policy, but, in reality, ground level work varied across regions.

This was evidenced in Manchester, where the local leader of a group for backward children in Urmston reported,

> 'Mrs. Shaw told [us] about a backward Cub who seems able to understand what he is taught, but cannot take the tests as he cannot remember it for a week. It was decided that the policy was to consider everybody as normal if at all possible, and that in this case perhaps if he were taught one day and tested the next he might be successful.'[78]

This case highlights the differing measures taken to allow boys to access the programme, and ways in which 'lower grades' could train as Cubs or Scouts, as well as the devising of policy at a local level in relation to Handicapped Scouting. By making a decision surrounding where boys should be placed and implementing a policy based on this indicates that the central association really had little control over this section of Scouting, inevitably leading to varying provision across the country and regionally. These differences where influenced by other factors also, including stigma.

While stigma has been discussed by Colin Barnes as the main barrier to accessing public life for handicapped people, gaining an insight into the experiences of those facing negative public attitudes is difficult to attain.[79] Borsay and Dale have argued that often this stigma has to be inferred through record silences due to the nature and purpose of the sources available.[80] The silencing of individual experiences of stigma, poses the difficulty of speaking for an entire group of individuals as one.[81] This is evident in this research due to the disparate set of sources that are accessible in archives and personal collections. While Carlson argued that using a Foucauldian approach to unmask power relations can help mitigate the generalisation of experience, Steven Sangren argued it is difficult to do this in social contexts due to the focus on official authorities.[82] Using the approach here would

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[78] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee 28/4/53*.

[79] Barnes, C. (1997). A Legacy of Oppression: A History of Disability in Western Culture. In L. Barton & M. Oliver (Eds.) *Disability Studies: Past, Present and Future* (pp. 3-24). Leeds: The Disability Press. p. 4.

[80] Borsay, A. & Dale, P. (2015). Introduction: Disabled Children - Contested Caring. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 1-14). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 6.

[81] Carlson, L. (2005). Docile Bodies, Docile Minds: Foucauldian Reflections on Mental Retardation. In S. Tremain (Ed.) *Foucault and the Government of Disability* (pp. 133-152). Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. p. 150.

[82] Carlson, L. (2005). Docile Bodies, Docile Minds: Foucauldian Reflections on Mental Retardation. In S. Tremain (Ed.) *Foucault and the Government of Disability* (pp. 133-152). Michigan: The University of Michigan Press. p. 150. & Sangren, P. (1995). "Power" against Ideology: A Critique of Foucauldian Usage. *Cultural Anthropology, 10*(1), 3-40. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/656229. p. 4.

therefore be difficult due to the complex power relationships within both Scouting and Guiding structures and the lack of state intervention to impose regulations upon their practices. Despite this, the accessible records used to explore disability, within both Guiding and Scouting, were created not to discuss the personal experiences of handicapped children, but to document the work and activities of the movement to highlight their 'pioneer work.'[83]

As Foucault argued, power is knowledge and power is everywhere.[84] By deciding what and in what way information was published their control over knowledge to association members, those with interest, and wider society meant they were in control of the power dynamics. This does not mean other histories cannot be seen, corroborating Capunto and Yount, who argued there is resistance to dominant power narratives, but the control of the inner circle of the association, on the publications, highlights that resistance to presenting the movement as pioneering was futile.[85] Exploring experiences of stigma through Scouting and Guiding literature is therefore difficult, but inferring from the silences indicates that mentally handicapped children faced greater difficulties of equal access in opportunities of leader recruitment, due to their omission from official publications. Linker has argued that those with disabilities have been repeatedly stigmatized.[86] However, throughout Scouting and Guiding's history, this stigmatization has not always been obvious, calling for a need to examine around the sources to explore the silences.

Stigma has repeatedly been discussed in relation to disability and mental health studies, particularly prominent for those with learning disabilities. Erving Goffman believed that someone who is a victim of stigma is believed to be not quite human, and thus discrimination occurs.[87] Work building on Goffman's has appeared during the twentieth and twenty-first century with Bob Sapey arguing that 'impaired people are considerably disabled by the attitudes and reactions of others.'[88] These reactions have been argued to stigmatize the person further, heightening the othering process and the concept of difference.[89] In relation to learning disabilities in particular, Angela Turner has highlighted that the children themselves were aware of the stigma when attending institutions for

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[83] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 241.

[84] Foucault, M., & Sheridan, A. (1991). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Penguin Books.

[85] Caputo, J., & Yount, M. (2010). Institutions, Normalizations and Power. In J. Caputo, & M. Yount (Eds.) *Foucault and the Critique of Institutions*. (pp. 3-24). Pennsylvania: Penn State Press. p. 9.

[86] Linker, B. (2013). On the Borderland of Medical and Disability History: A Survey of the Fields. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine, 87* (4), 499-535. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/bhm.2013.0074. p. 523.

[87] Goffman, E. (2006). Selections from Stigma. In L. J. Davis (Ed.) *The Disability Studies Reader* (2nd ed.) (pp. 131-141). London: Routledge. p. 132.

[88] Sapey, B. (2005). From Stigma to the Social Exclusion of Disabled People. In T. Mason & (et. AL) (Eds.) *Stigma and Social Exclusion in Healthcare* (pp. 270-280). London: Routledge. p. 271.

[89] Whitehead, E., Carlisle, C., Watkins, C., & Mason, T. (2005). The changing dynamic of stigma. In T. Mason & (et. AL) (Eds.) *Stigma and Social Exclusion in Healthcare* (pp. 29-39). London: Routledge. p. 29.

the mentally deficient.[90] This indicates that stigma itself effected those with learning disabilities, both directly and indirectly through discrimination. The prominence of stigma in society means that for Scouting and Guiding to be unaffected by it would be almost impossible. That being said, Scouting did attempt to address their issues with stigma.

In 1937 Webb stated 'at the very beginning we committed the cardinal sin of labelling the boys as not normal individuals.'[91] This acknowledgement of stigma within the association highlighted showed that the central association recognised the shortfalls made in terms of their handling of provision for handicapped youth. Despite this statement, handicapped boys across Scouting continued to be defined, first and foremost, by their handicap, highlighting the differing attitudes across all branches and ranks of the movement. These differences meant the tackling of stigma was not as effective as other organisations.

The wider social attitudes surrounding handicaps undoubtedly impacted this, but organisations such as The National Association of Parents of Backward Children Stretford, which later became The National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, and now known today as Mencap, worked to help fight stigma. Localised societies, for example, the Urmston Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, formed in 1952, reported that they had 'been the breaking down of barriers which once surrounded the mentally handicapped.'[92] These societies originally formed due to a lack of educational provision for mentally handicapped children and later aimed to tackle the social inequalities faced. Gateway social clubs were one way these inequalities were addressed, providing leisure and sporting opportunities for mentally handicapped young people. Clubs such as the Gateway clubs and the societies behind their formation, actively took steps, from their creation, to tackle stigma within the community. This was done through their education, employment, and social schemes, with the need to reduce stigma being a founding principle. Both Scouting and Guiding did not explicitly state similar aims, questioning the extent they were able to pursue stigma reduction as an organisation. While negative attitudes towards the mentally handicapped was one reason for leadership shortages, factors affecting leadership continuity went far beyond this. The educational and medical establishments can be used to explore these factors, especially when considering those units inside institutions.

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[90] Turner, A. (2015). Education, Training and Social Competence: Special Education in Glasgow since 1945. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 159-172). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 165.

[91] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 241.

[92] Trafford Local Studies Library, T-ST 366 STR, (1974). *Stretford and Urmston Society for Mentally Handicapped Children, 21st Anniversary 1952-1973, Yearbook*. p. 9.

Institutional Barriers to Success: The Educational and Medical Establishment

Academic critiques of institutional barriers emerged in the late twentieth century with Goffman and Andrew Scull reviewing nineteenth century asylums and their treatment of the insane.[93] Goffman explored the negative effects of institutionalisation including the loss of identity and autonomy.[94] Their research led to the debate on the treatment of handicapped individuals in the twentieth century. Works from academics such as Steven Humphries and Anne Borsay stressed the oppressive nature of the systems on children specifically, noting the harsh living conditions and removal of personal identity.[95] These critiques did not explore the extracurricular activities offered to children, nor collaboration with leisure providers both across asylums, residential schools, long stay hospitals and colonies. Institutional Scouting has been investigated by Stevens, who explored the adoption of medical classifications by the association to justify social discrimination.[96] However, further works surrounding both Scouting and Guiding have not considered the impact of educational and medical professionals in the provision of the programmes within institutions. Building on Steven's work, the exploration into institutional barriers to the success of Scouting and Guiding will open this field of research and uncover both the roles of these professionals in the creation and development of the northern handicapped sections.

Both the educational and medical bodies influenced the sourcing and retainment of adults for leadership roles with varying effects across different institutions. In Greater Manchester, reports in the Handicapped Sub-Committee minute book show concerns regarding the educational establishment. Reported in 1954, Dr Marsland, titled as a mental handicap doctor, advising on the committee, said that there would be 'difficulty in training some of these children and also pointed out that it would not be easy to find a Scouter who could attend in school hours.'[97] Running groups during school hours was not common practice across special schools, with the majority managing groups as out of school activities for those children who were residential students. Institutional schools ran various extracurricular activities with The Yorkshire School for the Blind reporting in

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[93] Goffman, E. (1991). *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. & Scull, A. (1993). *The Most Solitary of Afflictions: Madness and Society in Britain 1700-1900*. London: Yale University Press. p. 170.

[94] Goffman, E. (1991). *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Harmondsworth: Penguin. p. 21.

[95] Humphries, S. (1995). *Hooligans and Rebels?: An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889 - 1939*. New Jersey: Wiley. p. 92-96. & Borsay, A. (2005). *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750*. New York: Palgrave McMillan. p. 115.

[96] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 291.

[97] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 16/11/54.*

1954 that groups were 'organised for Country Dancing, Pottery, Table Tennis, Chess, Dominoes, Whist and other forms of recreation.'[98] The Scouts and Guides formed part of this recreational programme. However, as Stevens has argued, for mentally handicapped young people Scouting and Guiding was considered a valuable element of their educational training in schools which hosted a unit.[99] Schools' control over leisure activities for the mentally handicapped are evident at the Quarry House School in Halifax. Reported ten years later in 1964, the Guide company 'had to be closed due to not being able to find a Guider who was free to take Guides at a time convenient to the school.'[100] Reports such as these were rare across the rest of the north of England, but nonetheless demonstrate the power the educational establishment had over the formation and continuation of Scout and Guide groups within each school setting.

Institutional provision was influenced further by both educational and medical professionals. Prior to the creation of a group in special institutions, Scouters were instructed in *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy* that the 'advice of doctors, nurses, teachers, and others working in these schools [was] an essential preliminary.'[101] This consultation with professionals within the institutional settings highlights the dynamics between the associations and the institutions, ultimately showing that the decision as to whether a unit was allowed to open, and be maintained, sat with the medical and educational staff. Following Foucauldian lines, the power of the establishment in the decision to create a unit was paramount. There was no consultation with the children themselves, which replicates institutional life on a broader scale, with Ann Lewis arguing that pupils were made to feel powerless within education as decisions were made by professional bodies without discussion with the individual in question.[102] Extending Lewis's argument to other elements of institutional life, notably extracurricular activities, illuminates this issue further.

Scouting with the Handicapped Boy showed key power dynamics between educational, medical and Scouting professionals, as well as the youth stating that it was essential local commissioner liaised with the head of the institutions so that they understood 'what Scouting [could] do for the boys in the way of recreative training and that he is satisfied that Scouting will in no way clash with the

[98] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5, (1954). *Annual Report of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. p. 5.

[99] Stevens, A. (1995). Changing Attitudes to Disabled People in the Scout Association in Britain (1908-62): A Contribution to a History of Disability. *Disability & Society, 10* (3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/09687599550023534. p. 283.

[100] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1964). *Yorkshire West Riding North West Sixteenth Annual Report 1963-1964.* p. 16.

[101] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (c. 1955). *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy leaflet (Boy Scouts International Bureau)*. p. 8.

[102] Lewis, A. (1995). *Children's Understanding of Disability*. London: Routledge. p. 20.

medical care or teaching training.'[103] This publication not only highlighted the power of the institutions in terms of agreeing to allow a unit inside the facility, but also shows the role of organisations in upholding that power. The Boy Scouts made clear that the decisions by these professionals were of the upmost importance as well as the treatment and education they were providing. Examples of these power dynamics are evident in the north of England. Crowthorn School in Bolton, a residential school for the mentally handicapped, for example, was approached by the Manchester Handicapped Sub-Commission to set up a unit for Scouts in 1954.[104] However, the offer was rejected by the headmaster.[105] The word of the headmaster in this case was final, meaning Scouting could not reach those at this school.

Medical staff also had a similar impact. In 1955, it was reported 'things were not going too well in the Thomason memorial School. The new matron [was] not very helpful.'[106] The Thomason Memorial School, for deaf children, was situated in Bolton, and had, for many years prior, run a successful Scouting unit. Without the collaboration of the medical staff, Scouters and Guiders could not access the institution effectively, including access to resources, rooms, and assistance to attract children to their group. This is evident from the contrast in reports from previous years. In 1954, for example, it was reported that 'badge work was done in the open air.'[107] Indicating things were going well and boys were progressing with work, the difference in reports confirms medical staff could influence how successful the associations were within their institution. There were no subsequent reports for the Memorial School demonstrating that the medical staff stifled the provision to the extent that the units ceased to function. This power, exhibited by medical staff, builds on Topliss's argument that medical professionals had inappropriate power in determining not only a child's educational and medical treatment, but their everyday and leisure activities.[108]

While there are narratives showing staff had a negative effect on provision, exercising power over both the children and associations, there were also an abundance of reports indicating successful relationships with staff as well as helpful consultations. A 1930 report on the 3rd Knaresborough

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[103] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (c. 1955). *Scouting with the Handicapped Boy leaflet (Boy Scouts International Bureau)*. p. 8.
[104] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 22/06/54.*
[105] Ibid.
[106] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1955). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 20/09/55.*
[107] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 22/06/54.*
[108] Topliss, E. (1975). *Provision for the Disabled*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 34.

Crew, Whixley, documented there were Forty Rovers, who led 'a capital drum and bugle band.'[109] Their physical drill was deemed excellent, but potentially most importantly, in this context, the matron supported the Scouting activities, believing it was helping them with their education and medical treatment.[110] Five years prior to this, a *Manchester Guardian* article confirmed that relationships with staff had been imperative from the early years. Stating that Guiding was 'enthusiastically supported by doctors and nurses'[111] who were 'astonished at the improvement that membership of a company [brought] in the health of their patients,'[112] the benefits of Guiding and Scouting in a medical and educational sense were key to the acceptance within institutional settings.

In Scouting, letters between Dr Jane Walker, the founder of East Anglian Childrens' Sanatorium, and doctor specialising in tuberculosis, wrote to Baden-Powell, in 1917, advising on Scouting and its expansion to sanatoriums. She stated that they were 'delicate children and the health side has to be thought of'[113] and that 'every stage should be looked at from the child's point of view almost as much as from that of the teacher or medical officer.'[114] This consultation was successful with Scouting in sanatoriums occurring during the twentieth century and showed that the support evidenced in 1930 was present thirteen years prior. Dr Walker was a rare example of a female doctor engaging with the movement. By 1917, women within the profession were increasing due to established medical schools for women in the early twentieth century. By 1911, 495 female doctors were registered in England and Wales, but, when compared to the male figures this was still a significant minority.[115] Only a small number of women were admitted to medical colleges and there were several bars in place on women training to be doctors until 1944 when public pressure led the government to allow female entrance to medical schools to be increased to one fifth of the class.[116] Even after this, several restrictions still remained in place, including the marriage bar, which led to difficulties in accessing the profession. Dr Walker, then, was a rare example in 1917, but did highlight that despite the difficulties in attaining qualifications, female medical consultation was taken seriously by the Scout Association central leadership for their handicapped members.

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[109] Burrows, M. (1930). Report from the headquarters commissioner (Burrows) for special tests to the committee of the council for meeting of June 13th. Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[110] Ibid.
[111] Anon. (1925, November 9). Post Guides: REACHING THE INVALID GIRL. *The Manchester Guardian,* p. 4.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Dr Walker to Baden-Powell. (01/12/1917). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/. [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[114] Dr Walker to Baden-Powell. (06/12/1917). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/. [last accessed, 11/06/2018].
[115] Jefferson, L., Bloor, K., & Maynard, A. (2015). Women in medicine: Historical perspectives and recent trends. *British Medical Bulletin, 114*(1), 5-15. doi:10.1093/bmb/ldv007. p. 7.
[116] Ibid.

The relationship, and others like it, between Dr Walker and the top Scouting ranks bring into question, once again, the power relations between the establishment and the association. Foucault argued that the institutions were all powerful, controlling their patients and students due to rules and conventions.[117] Andressa Gadda expanded on this research, arguing that legal and educational systems were formed to institutionalise an ethical order, referencing Foucault's disciplines argument that these systems aimed to create docile bodies.[118] In relation to this thesis, the systems relate to the normalisation of children, and can be explored in special institutional settings through the use of oralism in deaf and dumb schools, as well as the wish to train children with handicaps in trades to allow them to become productive members of society. Despite the evident use of power by the establishment to normalise disabled children, Dr Walker highlighted there were elements of consultation with the children, rather than the medical professionals taking total control of their extracurricular. The reality of effective consultation is hard to measure due to the lack of source material focusing on the young people specifically. This differs to active Scouting and Guiding due the initial starter camp on Brownsea Island, in 1907, where boys trialled activities and the premise of the Guiding and Scouting programmes in general which were often self-led activities.

Although some staff merely offered advice or allowed scouting to be set up in their institution, others went further to ensure the delivery was a success. Despite the difficulties the Thomasson Memorial School faced, it was reported in 1955, prior to issues with the matron, that the 'assistant headmaster of the school [was] intending taking out a warrant as submaster as he has been doing the work for some time.'[119] The fact a senior member of the school staff was willing to undertake the bulk of the work for the Scout unit, proves provision, in these institutions, varied on a school to school basis depending on the willingness of those staff to take up leadership roles when Scouters from the community did not engage. Staff taking on these roles were rare and required additional time on top of their working duties to carry out activities. This problem mirrored some of barriers to volunteering explored through war and the changing roles of men and women in active units.

Difficulties attaining leaders in the Handicapped and Extension Divisions were magnified due to the greater ratio of adults to children required to run different unit categories. In 1937, for example, it was stated by Webb that 'running an effective Handicapped Troop, especially in a hospital, the chief

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[117] Conrad, P. (1992). Medicalization and Social Control. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 18(1), 209–32. p. 216.
[118] Gadda, A. (2008). Rights, Foucault and Power: A Critical Analysis of the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child. *Edinburgh Working Papers in Sociology, 31*, 1-13. Retrieved from Edinburgh Working Papers in Sociology. p. 5.
[119] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1955). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 08/02/55.*

problem, as usual [was] staff. With cot cases it [was] almost necessary to have one instructor to every two boys.'[120] The ratio for children with physical handicaps or health conditions meaning they were bed bound, inevitably led to a different experience from those in other institutional units. The struggle to recruit and retain leaders across the whole association was still relevant to these young people, but the need for more adults to fulfil the programme was undoubtedly an additional barrier to inclusion. There were ways round the ratio, such as including medical staff or active senior scouts in the group for additional support, but the additional measures meant the pressures to recruit and retain were much greater.

In instances where leaders left a Handicapped or Extension group, and a member of staff was not willing or able to take their place, the groups closed. The Yorkshire School for the Blind established Scout and Guide groups in 1926. Lasting until the School's closure in 1958, the Guide and Scout units are one of the most well documented across the North through the School's annual reports. The troops were originally run by Miss Banks and Mr Best. In 1932, the annual report stated that 'Miss, A. M. Banks, who has captained our Girl Guide Company with remarkable results, has found it necessary, owing to pressure of work, to relinquish her command.'[121] The company of Guides was not reformed until the post-war period, when it was led by Mrs Best, the Scout leader's spouse. The Company closed once again, in 1952, when it was declared that the Guides had 'been temporarily disbanded.'[122] The school had hoped to 'soon to find someone to lead them again,'[123] which confirmed support from the education establishment was in place despite the disrupted continuity. While the school supported the Association in their provision, they were not willing to act as leaders, limiting the unit's stability. In 1956, the group once again recommenced, with the annual report stating, the 'Girl Guide Group which was dormant for some time [had] been revived under Mrs. Best. Mrs. Best was previously for years its Captain under her charge the Group was strong and healthy.'[124] The school was supportive of the Guides reopening, hoping they would 'flourish', but did little to alleviate the inconsistency that occurred well into the post-war period. Practical support from school staff, then, would have helped in this case, but institutional schools and hospitals had their own issues recruiting and retaining staff.

School staffing difficulties do go some way to explain the pressures these adults faced which may have influenced their decision to not volunteer for the associations. Reports across the period of staffing difficulties in special schools appeared in individual school reports and in development

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[120] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 258.
[121] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/3, *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. 1932. p. 12.
[122] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5, *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. 1952. p. 6.
[123] Ibid.
[124] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5, *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. 1956. p. 5.

reports from local authorities and charities. The Greengate Dispensary and Open Air School in Manchester, for example, reported in 1925 that in 'May, the number of children was increased to thirty, and this larger number as well as the lower age of the new admissions [threw] additional burdens upon the teaching staff.'[125] The reference to 'burdens upon the teaching staff' indicates that the employment of additional teaching staff to meet the need was not executed. After the Second World War, issues with staffing in specials schools had not improved in Manchester. In 1946, The Royal Residential School for the Deaf reported staff difficulties 'continued to increase'[126] and the 'appointment of a number of temporary unqualified teachers'[127] were made. It was not until the *Handicapped Pupils and Special Schools Regulations 1959* that those teaching children with visual, or hearing impairments had to have a special qualification in addition to being a trained teacher, but the appointment of those without relevant qualifications in this school highlights staffing difficulties meant children were without trained teachers to deliver the curriculum.[128] This paralleled issues within Scouting and Guiding, due to the unspecified 'special skills' required to work with handicapped children in the organisation. Additional qualifications and responsibility can explain why it was difficult to find and sustain volunteers to run and support units, evidenced across the sector.

The difficulty across the North in sourcing qualified staff supports the difficulty in finding voluntary personnel for any work with handicapped children, whether to work at the school, through the associations or other charity provision. Ryan and Thomas argued that staff shortages in mental hospitals occurred whatever the economic climate across time, due to a lack of applications when employment was high and cutbacks during economic hardship meaning posts could not be filled.[129] This indicates that were multiple layers when exploring reasons for a lack of adult support in the sector. However, the main factor influencing the youth movements, was undoubtedly a lack of interest.

Reasons for staffing shortages were explored by the Sheffield Services for the Mentally Handicapped Feasibility Project. The report stated:

> 'Overcrowding within the hospitals, their remoteness from the communities they serve, and their difficulties often in co-ordinating service and activities with those of their relevant local

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[125] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/33/1/14, (1925). *Annual Report of the Greengate Hospital and Open-Air School*. p. 6.

[126] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/38/1/23, (1946). *One Hundred and Twenty Third Annual Report of the Royal Residential Schools for the Deaf, MANCHESTER, situated at OLD TRAFFORD*. p. 11.

[127] Ibid. p. 13.

[128] Topliss, E. (1975). *Provision for the Disabled*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 36.

[129] Ryan, J. & Thomas, F. (1987). *The Politics of Mental Handicap* (revised ed.). London: Free Association Books. p. 48.

authorities have created problems in staff recruitment and the involvement of normal society in their work.'[130]

Although this report was made in relation to those with mental handicaps, issues with staffing across all special schools are apparent, evidenced in the appointment of unqualified teachers at the Royal Residential School for the Deaf. Some schools, such as Henshaw's Institution for the Blind did not report staffing issues in their annual reports, but they did place prominence on the importance of institutional staff in the success of the school. Writing in 1947 that development was only 'possible because of the interest and voluntary participation of the staff,'[131] confirms just how important the staff were in ensuring programmes within the school were a success.

The recruitment of unqualified teachers does bring into question the lack of experience and training for adult roles across Guiding and Scouting. In 1962 the Girl Guides made a statement that the training of adult leaders in all elements of the movement was of the upmost importance.[132] Training referenced in reports was delivered both regionally and nationally through seminars, courses, and camps. Offering training in an official capacity, Guiding attempted to ensure that its volunteers were equipped with skills and trained by a professional. This followed an upward trend in professional training, with apprenticeships peaking in the 1960s and the establishment of the local volunteer bureaux offering professional support to volunteers and their organisations.[133] Despite focus being placed on professional training in the 1960s, volunteer training had been given increased attention since the 1880s, and was certainly not a phenomenon developing in the 1960s.[134] The extensive list of organisations providing training for their volunteers, including the Guilds of Help and several of the young people's service leagues, highlights that the lack of prominence placed on the internal training of Guiding leaders prior to 1960 was not the pattern in other voluntary organisations across Britain. Interest in training by Guiding specifically, did not seem to cover the Extension Division specifically, with reports prior to the 1960s, showing the association offered no courses specifically for those running groups for young people with special needs.

While the training of adult leaders has been left untouched by most scholars in analysis, explanations surrounding the lack of training for those working with handicapped young people

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[130] Sheffield City Archives, CA630/193, (c. 1960). *Services for the Mentally Handicapped, Sheffield Development Project – Feasibility Study Draft Report.* p. 3.

[131] Henshaws Institution for the Blind. (1947). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind Annual Report for the Year Ended 31st March 1947.* p. 10.

[132] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *The Girl Guides Association Annual Report.* p. 5.

[133] Brewis, G. (2013). Towards a New Understanding of Volunteering in England Before 1960?. *IVR 'Back to Basics' Working Paper Series, 1*(2), 1-26. Retrieved from https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1560893/1/IVR_working_paper_two_history_of_volunteering.pdf. p. 7.

[134] Ibid.

more than likely stem down to lack of resources. In 1963 in *The Girl Guide Annual,* Elizabeth Hartley wrote about careers in Guiding, highlighting training as a career option. The annual stated that in 'order to meet all requests, a team of about eight is employed full time; the number of voluntary Trainers exceeds 200.'[135] These trainers worked across a range of subjects training individuals throughout the Guide Association. Those running institutional units would have accessed the same bank of trainers as those in active community units. Relying mainly on volunteers to carry out training in their spare time, the capacity of the team would not have always been sustainable, much like the leadership at the grassroots level. Each county did have a Training Committee to co-ordinate training, as well as District Commissioners who would take requests for training to the Training Committee, but the reliance on predominantly voluntary members meant that extension leaders did not always receive the training they needed.

Nevertheless, annual reports in the later 1960s do show sporadic examples of leaders attending training specifically for handicapped provision. In 1966, Miss Barbara Smith, who led the Sheffield School for the Blind units attended the International Extension Training Camp, demonstrating that training was available on an international scale for leaders.[136] Available sources do not recount the training in any detailed depth, making it difficult to assess the extent of instruction, but the camps demonstrate that training was available in some form. Other reports from the period do not mirror this, with the next report of extension training being in 1971, where it was reported that a training day would be held at the North East Guiding Headquarters in 1972.[137] Similar post-war issues with training were reported in the Scouts, suggesting the argument made by Martin Deadman that training camps were held regularly, were not accessed nationwide and there were gaps within provision.[138] In 1946, 'Mr H. Blair Hood, of the Royal Schools for the Deaf, newly appointed…had not yet had time to take stock of the position and required information on his jurisdiction and duties.'[139] The Appointment of Mr Hood as a Scouter, without knowing what he needed to do, showed a lack of training from the outset. His request for clarification evidences an issue in standardised and enforced training for leaders, as well as showing a reason for the differing experiences of members

[135] Hartley, E. (1963). Careers in Guiding. *The Girl Guide Annual,* 46-49. London: Purnell. p. 48.

[136] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1966). *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report.*. p. 13.

[137] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1971). *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report.* p. 16.

[138] Dedman, M. (1993). Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme,1904-1920. *Twentieth Century British History, 4* (3), 201-223. p. 220.

[139] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 11/12/46.* 1946.

across the North. Those leaders who were appointed a position without the relevant training provided a different experience than those who had been Scouts or were aware of the programme.

Being untrained for the role is something that although both associations attempted to address, was still reported in 1996, suggesting a complete failure of training for leaders to provide adequate provision for those children with special needs. The *Times*, stated that Scout leader Bill Bones from the 346th Moston Troop, north Manchester, had detailed 'It is a sad situation, but we are volunteers and not trained to care for special-needs children.'[140] Over twenty five years after the period explored, the training schemes referenced by both associations during the sixties had clearly been unsuccessful.

Members of the associations did request training, aiming to develop their skills with those with special needs. In 1954 the Manchester Handicapped Sub-Committee reported that in Salford,' the B-P Guild of Old Scouts asked for a talk on Handicapped Scouting and said they would like to form a Group and run it themselves.'[141] Like many of the records, extensive details of the events, in this case, training, were not reported. This makes it difficult to assess the effectiveness of the training but does indicate that members were proactive in seeking additional aid to support handicapped members. Furthermore, this request once again places prominence on the local level responsibility in ensuring provision was delivered appropriately and safely for those with disabilities. The request for this training to a local commission shows that there was either no training available from the central association, or it was promoted poorly, leading members to approach their local representatives. Although the local commissions were able to deliver training, reports of this kind of request were few in frequency indicating that the overall narrative was one of inconsistency and lack of provision.

The lack of appropriate training provided by both the associations, and the schools, not only influenced the decisions of adults considering volunteering, but also impacted the provision for children in the schools, leading some children to control their own units without adult Scouters. This was not an option sanctioned by the associations and has not been seen in active units since the central association of Scouting began to lay out official guidelines, making the need for children to independently form groups redundant.[142] The Jewish Fresh Air Home, a five-acre site in Delamare, south-west of Manchester referenced the responsibility of their pupils in relation to the Scouting

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[140] Jenkins, R. (1996, September 17). Boy Barred from Scouts for Speech Disorder. *The Times.* p. 4.
[141] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 07/09/54.*
[142] Wade, E.K. (1929). *Twenty-One Years of Scouting: The Official History of the Boy Scout Movement from Its Inception* (2nd ed.). London: C Arthur Pearson. p. 78.

Unit. The school was established in 1919 by a prominent Jewish Manchester philanthropist Margret Langdon. Opening its doors in 1921, the school aimed to provide education for "delicate" children who could not afford the special treatment they required and could not be educated in mainstream schools. Accommodating forty children in a residential setting, the school, like others in the North provided annual reports, detailing their Scout unit. In 1932 it was reported that:

> 'Jacob would never forget his first children's scout meeting which opened with the song *We are the Delamere Scouts.* The Scout Council, two girls and a boy, sat at a table in front of the Assembly. The twelve year old Scout Mistress stood up and spoke about helping each other, about Scout honour. She praised, she reproached; she exhorted her fellow scouts to greater effort. Suddenly Jacob heard his own name, "I propose that Jacob be made a Wolf Cub."[143]

Jacob's account of the Scout meeting follows the themes of help, effort and honour seen across Scouting literature; all qualities advocated by the association to better the next generation. This evidence is unusual, not only in terms of children acting as official leaders, but also because girls were admitted to the groups.

Girls were not permitted to be Scouts until 1976, with provision segregated. Despite this bar, female leadership in the interwar years was not particularly uncommon, but this was mainly carried out in certain fields. Organisations such as the Girl Guides, female political organisations including the Women's Freedom Guild and Women's Cooperative Guild, the National Federation of Women's Institutes and the Young Women's Christian Association all offered opportunities for female leadership. However, these opportunities were almost exclusively filled by able bodied, middle class, white women.[144] The possibility of female leadership, then, was not unusual during the inter-war years, but the instance reported of a young girl in charge of the unit shows one example of divergence from the dominant narrative. This indicates that realities of Scouting in institutions across the North differed on a wide scale, with residential schools and other institutions being able to create and run movements as they wished with little active intervention from either association. The experience of Jacob, outlined above, proves that these units were dependant on work at grassroots levels. This dependency caused experiences of children to differ within the organisations drastically across the North, throughout the period. Linking this to the medical and educational establishments reveals their influence over the differing of provision in the North and indeed

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[143] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/20/1/12, (1932). *Jewish Fresh Air Home and School, Eleventh Annual Report, March 31s 1931-March 31st 1932*. p. 19.

[144] Please see: Gledhill, J. (2012). White Heat, Guide Blue: The Girl Guide Movement in the 1960s. *Contemporary British History, 27* (1), 65-84. doi: 10.1080/13619462.2012.722000. p. 67. For Guiding. Matsunaga, N. (2012). Girls' Feminism in the British Interwar Period. *Annual Reports of the Humanities, 18*(1), 1-19. p. 10. For political organisations. &
Graves, P. (1998). Grassroots Initiatives: Introduction. In H. Gruber, & P. Graves (Eds.) *Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women: Europe Between the Two World Wars*. (pp. 171-180) . Oxford: Berghahn Books. p. 171.

nationally. Henshaw's, for example, in 1955, reported that 'pupils [were] responsible for the organisation and control of these societies under the direction of the Educational Staff.'[145] This responsibility was not something seen in mainstream schools, with local volunteers organising activities and events for children to attend if they wished. The self-organisation seen in institutions, of all clubs, indicates it was considered appropriate and normal within these schools, creating a different experience from those in active community units, and indeed what the central association has planned.

Conclusions

Between 1907-1970, both Guiding and Scouting struggled to recruit and sustain their base of adult leaders. Shortages affected units across the North and further afield, with factors such as war and the changing roles of both men and women across the century influencing the decisions and abilities of adults to volunteer for both organisations. Conscription in both the First and Second World Wars was well beyond the control of both associations, and the impacts of this policy was widespread both directly and indirectly. Despite women in the Guide Association assisting the Scouts, pressures from additional war work and changing social and political made it difficult to sustain leaders during both wars. Following the Second World War, the increased pressures and the rise in female employment led to multiple resignations from the movement which were beyond both associations' control. These factors ultimately influenced all divisions, but handicapped units faced additional pressures to leadership.

These additional pressures were both internal and external to the movement. A desire for a greater skill set in comparison to active leaders, higher ratios within unit meetings, and stigma all influenced leadership in the handicapped sections. Some of these factors were tackled by both associations, such as greater ratios mitigated by using younger members to support the meetings and badge work, yet other factors such as stigma, struggled to be addressed. Stigma could have been combatted through greater acceptance and promotion in their literature and improved training, but many factors, such as the influence of the medical and educational professionals were beyond their control. Institutionally, the role of these professionals was a primary factor of success or failure of the movements. Staff within these institutions had the power to allow units to be set up, kept running and allocate the support they could be given. Although these power relationships were unbalanced, with the medical and educational professionals having ultimate control over extracurricular activities in institutions, not all experiences were negative. Many professionals

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[145] Henshaws Institution for the Blind. (1955). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind annual report for the year ended 31st March 1955.* p. 8.

supported the movements, with some even training as leaders to fill gaps left by a lack of volunteers. Notwithstanding this, the overarching institutional influence meant that both associations had to work around institutional guidelines, evidently contributing to the different narratives seen across the north throughout the period. Combining the power of medical and educational professionals with external pressures, indicates the multiple issues both Scouting and Guiding had to navigate to provide training to handicapped members. The attempts by both associations to adapt to changing circumstances, makes it hard to view all difficulties in attracting, training, and keeping leaders as purely a product of the organisation's inability to assess and respond to problems. Despite these responses, issues and reactions varied regionally and sub-regionally contributing to a variety of experiences across the twentieth century, not always meeting the ideals the central association wished to implement.

Chapter 5
'Isolated'? Attempts at Integration for Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides

In 1937, Beresford Webb, the editor of several Scouting publications, reported on handicapped Scouting. Stating 'these boys are isolated and can enjoy little of the Brotherhood of Scouting outside their own Settlement,'[1] Webb reflected on the restrictions and issues accessing fuller opportunities such as camps, community activities and meetings outside institutional spaces. Academics have often focused on similar problems when exploring modern-day handicapped leisure provision and exclusion in everyday life. Kay Tisdall argued that 'if children, disabled people or young people are not in institutions [including special schools and hospitals], in various ways they are explicitly or implicitly excluded from public space – a very direct exclusion from 'public' citizenship.'[2] This point was made in relation to accessibility of public spaces and resources, which lead and leads people to be sequestered away in their family homes. Exclusion is a reoccurring point of discussion throughout scholarship focusing on the modern day, with isolation being a key concept in twenty-first century disability studies. Ann Lewis, for example, has explored the playground as a place of social isolation for children with disabilities, while Richard Rieser argued that special schooling led and still leads to isolation from non-disabled peers.[3] What this research shows is that no matter where those with disabilities are educated or live, they face seclusion and isolation. Significantly however, this modern understanding is missing from current research. Academics have rarely explored the period prior to 1970 and have tended to critique organised leisure opportunities for their lack of integrated provision. Exploring ways in which this history of isolation was challenged, this chapter presents varying narratives highlighting examples of both successful and unsuccessful integration.

Split into key themes, this chapter covers institutional, inter-institutional and extra-institutional provision, aiming to illustrate the scale on which disabled young people integrated with each other and their local and respective youth movement communities. Focusing on young people, categorised by the associations, as blind, deaf, physically handicapped, backward, feebleminded, and mentally deficient, the ways in which they left their institutional meeting places are explored. This Chapter therefore contributes to the growing historiography dismantling the orthodoxy of institutions as

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[1] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 262.

[2] Tisdall, E.K.M. (2003). A Culture of Participation?. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 19-33). London: Routledge. p. 27.

[3] Lewis, A. (1995). *Children's Understanding of Disability*. London: Routledge. p. 33-35. & Rieser, R. (2014). Inclusive Education: A Human Right. In M. Cole (Ed.) *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexuality, Disability and Social Class.* (3rd ed.). (pp. 190-216). London: Routledge. p. 193.

isolated, segregated environments.[4] This is notably explored in Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinarz's *Permeable Walls,* which drew attention to the prominence of visitors within institutions as well as day release of patients into the community, to encourage community inclusion and to break down the barriers to segregation.[5]

Similarly, while works have explored community activities and opportunities to integrate with others outside institutions, camps and competitions related to Scouting and Guiding have previously been ignored. Dolly MacKinnon has examined official entertainment in Australian and New Zealand mental hospitals.[6] MacKinnon's study stressed extensive delivery of organised recreation by external visitors, which is paralleled in the provision of Scouting, Guiding and other youth groups across British institutions in the twentieth century.[7] Prior to MacKinnon's research, investigation into twentieth century British community care was explored by Jan Walmsley, Dorothy Atkinson and Sheena Rolph, aiming to add to the growing field of historiography in the 1990s researching alternative options to institutional care.[8] Though they studied a range of opportunities for care outside the institutional environment, they also argued community care could be just as controlling as care within institutional walls.[9] This chapter builds upon this work, connecting themes, such as control, to the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides.

Segregation has been more widely covered across the historiography of disability and one that resonates across this chapter. The majority of researchers, have argued that for most disabled people, experiences of education and social activities have been exclusive and segregated.[10] Scholars, such as Colin Barnes have attributed this to stigma, believing negative public attitudes were the main barrier to inclusion in community life (see Chapter Four).[11] Louise Clark and Peter Griffiths have built upon this idea, arguing that to achieve social inclusion one must aspire to fit

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[4] Mooney, G., & Reinarz, J. (2009). Hospital and Asylum Visiting in Historical Perspective: Themes and Issues. In G. Mooney, & J. Reinarz (Eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*. (pp. 7-30). Amsterdam: Rodopi. p. 13.

[5] Ibid.

[6] MacKinnon, D. (2009). 'Amusements are Provided': Asylum Entertainment and Recreation in Australia and New Zealand c.1860-c.1945. In G. Mooney, & J. Reinarz (Eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*. (pp. 267-287) . New York: Rodopi.

[7] Ibid. p. 267.

[8] Walmsley, J., Atkinson, D., & Rolph, S. (1999). Community Care and Mental Deficiency 1913 to 1945. In P. Bartlett, & D. Wright (Eds) *Outside the Walls of the Asylum: The History of Care in the Community 1750-2000*. (pp. 181-203) . London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. p. 181.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Hughes, B. (2002). Disability and the Body. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.) *Disability Studies Today* (pp. 58-76). Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 71. &
Ryan, J. & Thomas, F. (1987). *The Politics of Mental Handicap* (revised ed.). London: Free Association Books.

[11] Barnes, C. (1997). A Legacy of Oppression: A History of Disability in Western Culture. In L. Barton & M. Oliver (Eds.) *Disability Studies: Past, Present and Future* (pp. 3-24). Leeds: The Disability Press. p. 4.

society's norms.[12] While this piece of research is on learning disabilities, it does echo in other disability studies surrounding social inclusion. Barnes and Geoff Mercer, for example, believe that to be accepted into society individuals must conform to the cultural customs.[13] Disabled people have ultimately struggled to assimilate into society due to the inability to conform, which has partially led to segregation and the reason why Scouting and Guiding provided activities in institutional spaces.

This segregation has been explored in many contexts, but school provision has been of primary concern to researchers of both historical periods and the modern day.[14] When discussing institutional education, it has been argued that staff were often inaccessible to parents, which created difficulties when trying to discuss care, education, and development.[15] Others have claimed parents played a key role in segregation, with Mathew Thomson stating a lack of means or knowledge to provide alternative arrangements, caused many parents to be resigned to institutional care.[16] The control over this care involved many stakeholders, a few of which fought for integration into mainstream schooling. Regardless of desires for integration, some have argued that educational segregation reduced bullying and allowed for tailored education to individual needs.[17] When exploring this theme within the context of Scouting and Guiding it has, again, been omitted from youth movement studies or disability history.

By covering various activities deemed essential to the Scouting and Guiding programme, both the permeability of institutions and the segregation of disabled young people are themes that reoccur throughout the chapter. This reveals the difference between the ideals the association set and the reality of delivery. First, collaboration between units, in institutional and inter-institutional settings are explored. Focusing on mixed-gender and mixed age events within single special schools and hospitals, before moving to cooperation between different institutional sites, questions as to whether the institution was reinforced as the primary place for disabled members are answered. Showing multiple narratives, this section then moves on to discuss opportunities to enrol in community units, which challenges the notion that institutions were the only spaces these activities

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[12] Clark, L.L. & Griffiths, P. (2008). An Introduction to Intellectual Impairment. In L . L. Clark & P. Griffiths (Eds.) *Learning Disability and other Intellectual Impairments: Meeting Needs Throughout Health Services* (pp. 1-14). Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated. p. 8.

[13] Barnes, C. & Mercer, G. (2001). Disability Culture: Assimilation or Inclusion. In G . L. Albrecht, K . D. Seelman, & M. Bury (Eds.) *Handbook of Disability Studies* (pp. 515-534). London: Sage. p. 516.

[14] For example: French, S. & Swain, J. (2004). Young Disabled People. In J. Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, & R. Flynn (Eds.) *Youth in Society*. (2nd ed., pp. 199-206). London: Sage & Ryan, J. & Thomas, F. (1987). *The Politics of Mental Handicap* (revised ed.). London: Free Association Books.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Thomson, M. (1996). Family, Community and State: The Micro-Politics of Mental Deficiency. In A. Digby & D. Wright (Eds.) *From Idiocy to Mental Deficiency: Historical Perspectives on People with Learning Disabilities* (pp. 207-230). Abingdon: Taylor and Francis. p. 225-226.

[17] Lewis, A. (1995). *Children's Understanding of Disability*. London: Routledge. p. 23.

were carried out. Teasing out key themes of rurality and transportation, it builds upon works such as *Permeable Walls,* to challenge early mid twentieth century institutional histories from the likes of Dan Goodley and Mike Oliver who argued disabled people were isolated and lost personal autonomy which stifled personal development.[18]

Moving on to develop youth movement historiography from the likes of Alan Warren, who argued that camps 'remained for both Scouts and Guides the most enduring symbol and metaphor of their ideals in the sphere of the training of the young,'[19] this chapter investigates the importance of camp in facilitating extra-institutional provision within both associations. Although Chapter Two covered extra-institutional histories through international camps, this chapter differs, not only through focus on domestic camps, but the ways in which they are analysed, focusing on how, why and the impact of activities outside of institutional grounds. Using press and association reports to investigate key themes, the theme of internationalism resonates in this analysis, alongside progressivism, and gendered pursuits. Although some of these themes were used during Chapter Two, here, they will be used to uncover, for the first time, how disabled Scout and Guide camps added to social activities outside of institutional boundaries, as well as the limitations that surrounded these events. One of these limitations was the reliance on philanthropy to make these camps a success. This factor will therefore be discussed within its own subsection due to its absence in current historiographical works exploring camping within the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.

Exploring philanthropic activity in relation to camp builds upon Sian Edwards research which highlighted the economic limitations of the activity.[20] Her research did not discuss philanthropic aid in relation to camp, or the experience of disabled young people, beyond stating Guiding encouraged camp for those with disabilities by promoting the Youth Hostel Association.[21] This section will start by outlining relevant debates surrounding philanthropic provision, leading into the need for land donation. This was essential to the camping experience of all Scouts and Guides, which will form the beginnings of the discussion, but ultimately covering the disabled experience for the first time. In addition to land, purpose-built handicapped camping facilities were also utilised by both

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[18] Goodley, D. (2003). Against a politics of victimisation: disability culture and self-advocates with learning difficulties. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture and Identity*. (pp. 105-130) . London: Routledge. p. 116. & Oliver, M. (2009). *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Practice* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 53.

[19] Warren, A. (1986). Citizens of the Empire: Baden-Powell, Scouts and Guides and an Imperial Ideal, 1900-40. In J . M. MacKenzie (Ed.) *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (pp. 232-253). Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 253.

[20] Edwards, S. (2020). 'Doing nature' and Being a Guide: The Problem of the Town Guide in the British Girl Guides Association, 1930–1960. *History of Education Review, 49*(1), 45-65. https://doi.org/I 10.1108/HER-06-2019-0022. p. 54.

[21] Ibid.

associations. This section will focus specifically on Woodlarks camp, which was utilised by both associations from 1935, using some smaller case studies as comparisons. Jessica Chupik showed these camps were attempted in various places around the world in the second half of the twentieth century, but opportunities were limited, and even when physically integrated did not necessarily mean they were socially integrated.[22] By including British camps, prior to the fifties, Woodlarks and other smaller case studies build upon key themes of segregation, integration, and negative attitudes while bringing the idea of national permeability into the debate.[23]

Finally, competitions as a forum for young people to access opportunities outside their usual institutional spaces are discussed. Investigating enhanced integration with handicapped children from other schools, as well as able bodied young people, this section reveals Scouting and Guiding opportunities in addition to those provided by the schools. Ultimately, this chapter takes a two-pronged approach, exploring both the permeability of institutional school and hospital walls and segregation in relation to Scouting and Guiding. This adds to the previous chapters throughout this thesis by drawing together the ideals the association wished to attain and the reality of local level provision, bringing to light multiple narratives of experiences previously forgotten, ignored, or silenced by both youth movement, leisure, and disability historiography.

Collaboration: Building Connections and Attempting to Integrate

Place and space features heavily in institutional histories. As a multidisciplinary concept, place and space can be used to identify connections to specific areas and how this influenced historical narratives. While there have been critiques, by Richard Stedman, for example, over the use of the concept due to its incoherency, it has featured as a primary method of analysis in several works.[24] The meanings of place and space depend on the cultural group, but its use in historical disability studies is important to understand the gravity of institutionalisation and the hidden histories of

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[22] Chupik, J. (2006). Fires Burning: Advocacy, Camping and Children with Learning Disabilities in Ontario, 1950-1990. In D. Mitchell, et al. (Eds.) *Exploring Experiences of Advocacy by People with Learning Disabilities*. (pp. 119-127). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. p.123.

[23] Ibid. p. 124-125.

[24] Stedman, C.R. (2003). "Is It Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place", *Society and Natural Resources*, 16, 671-685. &
Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. &
Convery, I., Corsane, G., & Davis, P. (2012). *Making sense of place: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press. doi:10.7722/j.ctt820r9. &
Sen, A., & Silverman, L. (Eds.). (2014). *Making Place: Space and Embodiment in the City*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. &
Please also see the National Lottery Heritage Funded deaf and disability project: *History of Place* https://historyof.place/ [last accessed 25/08/2020]

those who resided in those places.[25] The belief that institutional settings were the primary place for those with handicaps, throughout the 1907-1970 period, is apparent through much of the Scouting and Guiding literature. In Webb's *Scouting Achievements,* Handicapped Scouting was discussed as being a purely institutional activity. He stated that no 'Orthopaedic Hospital [was] complete without a Scout Group,'[26] showing the importance of hospitals to organisation and vice versa. In Guiding, the Extension section was officially discussed as companies that were 'formed in Institutions, such as Children's Hospitals, Schools for the Deaf and Blind and so on.'[27] This evident reiteration of the institution as the primary setting occurred across literature, but attempts were made to build friendships outside individual units. Building connections and collaboration was, and still is, a key component of both the Scouting and Guiding ethos' which makes exploring provision for the disabled complex. Instances of attempted integration can be explored in three ways; institutionally, inter-institutionally, and extra-institutionally.

Institutional integration occurred when one handicapped or extension unit engaged with another within the same special school or medical facility. These institutions catered for specific additional needs, meaning provision was made based on disability. This was paralleled in Scouting and Guiding due to the institutional system, meaning institutional integration usually allowed young people to meet others within their 'categorisation' (see Chapter Two). Processes of institutionalisation were informed by two key rationales. First, it confined those with disabilities from wider society due to beliefs they posed a danger to the development of other children.[28] This was initially discussed by Foucault in relation to nineteenth century lunatic asylums and taken further by David Rothman in the American context and Andrew Scull when considering British asylums.[29] The principle of confinement was referred to by Bill Hughes as institutionalisation, which meant locking those with mental illnesses in asylums.[30] Despite this, Elaine Murphy argued this policy had existed since the old poor-law parish houses, long before the nineteenth century and the establishment of the local

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[25] Convery, I., Corsane, G., & Davis, P. (2012). Introduction: Making Sense of Place. In I. Convery, G. Corsane, & P. Davis (Eds.) *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives.* (pp. 1-8) . Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd. p. 4.
[26] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 243.
[27] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1936). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire (West Riding South) County Rally, Doncaster Race Course, 25th July 1936.* p. 23.
[28] Radford, J. P. (1994). Eugenics and the Asylum. *Journal of Historical Sociology, 7*(4), 462-473. p. 465. & Taylor, S. J. (2014). Insanity, Philanthropy and Emigration: Dealing with Insane Children in Late-Nineteenth-Century North-West England. *History of Psychiatry, 25*(2), 224-236. doi: 10.1177/0957154X14523238. p. 228.
[29] Rothman, D. (1971). *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Piscataway: Transaction Publishers
Scull, A. (1979). *Museums of madness: the social organization of insanity in nineteenth-century England*. Great Britain: Penguin Books.
[30] Hughes, B. (2002). Disability and the Body. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.) *Disability Studies Today* (pp. 58-76). Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 60.

authority asylums.[31] The concept of confinement is complex; however, it can be extended to the education of handicapped children, despite Roy Porter's critique that the initial revisionism exploring confinement came from a place of anger, highlighting poor conditions and maltreatment.[32]

The second rationale was that the institutions provided care for those with disabilities, protected them from abuse and allowed them to live happy lives.[33] Part of this related to integrating with other disabled children. Institutional opportunities, where children mixed within their own institution, were evidenced less frequently than both inter-institutional and extra-institutional activities and occurred primarily through actives which allowed cubs, brownies, scouts and guides to socialise with each other. These activities were still a form of integration, yet mixed events within the usual setting offered few opportunities for young people to forge friendships with others, due to the limited number of individuals within the institution itself. The Lister Lane physically handicapped Guide Company, for example, held a joint Halloween and New Year's Eve party with the School's Brownies in 1962.[34] Reflecting the wider association's goals of connecting girls, Lister Lane held events throughout the sixties. In 1965 the group 'held a joint 'Afternoon Tea' and 'Bring and Buy Sale' with the Brownies and raised £21 for their funds.'[35] It was undocumented who attended these events, but all these activities were held within the school grounds, meaning the girls did not venture outside their institutional spaces to meet fellow members. For this reason, association attempts to create new friendships, in this case, reinforced their place within institutional facilities.

These events often followed the gender segregated living enforced in institutional spaces, but mixed-gender events did occur.[36] In 1964, for example, the annual Guiding report stated that at the Lister Lane School a 'new venture was a joint outing with the newly formed cub pack. The object of the exercise was an observation test with each child being asked to find or look for nature objects.'[37]

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[31] Murphy, E. (2003). The Administration of Insanity in England 1800 to 1870. In R. Porter, & D. Wright (Eds.) *The Confinement of the Insane*. (pp. 334-349) . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 349.

[32] Porter, R. (2003). Introduction. In R. Porter, & D. Wright (Eds.) *The Confinement of the Insane*. (pp. 1-19) . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 4.

[33] Walmsley, J. (2005). Institutionalization: A historical perspective. In K. Johnson & R. Traustadóttir (Eds.) *Deinstitutionalization and people with intellectual disabilities: In and out of institutions* (pp. 50-64). London: Jessica Kingsley. p. 50. & Turner, A. (2015). Education, Training and Social Competence: Special Education in Glasgow since 1945. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979* (pp. 159-172). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 169.

[34] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms.*

[35] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1965). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms*.

[36] Stewart, J. (2016). Child Guidance and Deinstitutionalisation in Post-War Britain. In D. Kritsotaki, V. Long, & M. Smith (Eds.) *Deinstitutionalisation and After: Post-War Psychiatry in the Western World*. (pp. 175-195). London: Palgrave Macmillan US. P. 179.

[37] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1964). *Yorkshire West Riding North West Sixteenth Annual Report 1963-64*. p. 16.

At Lister Lane, the Cub group was newly formed, meaning combined events between cubs and brownies, and scouts and guides, were only present towards the end of the period (1907-1970). Notwithstanding this example, evidence of integrated gender events, in the north, prior to the 1960s, was minimal. Tammy Proctor has discussed inter-movement cooperation, during interwar Britain, as part of both organisations' desires to keep with the times.[38] It has also been argued that this period saw increased mixing of the sexes in various recreational activities and that there was a greater awareness to train young men for their future roles in society and the family home.[39] Whilst the movements battled parental anxiety surrounding mixed gender events, by the 1930s joint activities were largely accepted in community units as a way to keep members engaged and interested.[40] Widespread acceptance of this integration did occur, but regional differences in attitudes towards mixed gender activities, in the community, were present. In the north, Yorkshire and Lancashire groups had strict guidelines in place preventing inter-gendered events.[41] These differences could explain the lack of combined Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding events in the area, prior to the 1960s. This adds a new dimension to the views expressed by Proctor, showing institutional experiences reflected the wider Scouting and Guiding narrative in the interwar period and beyond.[42]

Extending Proctor's research to the post-war period emphasizes shifts in attitudes towards gender segregation especially towards the later 1960s. Post 1970, a 1976 West Yorkshire Guiding annual report stated the 'Brownies and Cubs [were] having occasional joint meetings.'[43] This report confirms that the relationship, evidenced in 1964, was maintained as a working partnership as joint meetings were still being held over ten years later. The acceptance of gender integrated activities was a narrative that occurred throughout much of the leisure industry in the post-war period.[44] Although reflecting the wider social changes, Scouting and Guiding's mixed gender provision for disabled young adults, in special schools and medical facilities, was limited. Exploring inter-institutional activities, the available evidence shows some examples of how connections developed with others outside regular institutional settings, drawing attention to the balance between the

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[38] Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. p. 116.
[39] Tebbutt, M. (2010). *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. p. 95-96.
[40] Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. p. 116.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1976). *West Yorkshire West Annual Report*. p. 32.
[44] Reid, D. A. (2006). 'Mass Leisure' in Britain. In B. Moore, & H. V. Nierop (Eds.) *Twentieth-Century Mass Society in Britain and the Netherlands*. (pp. 132-162). Oxford: Berg. p. 149.

permeability of institutions and the segregation imposed on these young people by various sectors of society.

<u>Inter-institutional: Reinforcing the Institution as the Primary Space?</u>

Inter-institutional activities created connections between Scout and Guide groups in different institutional settings. These connections allowed Scouts and Guides to leave their own school or hospital for another to meet and engage with other association members. Accessible source material has shown opportunities were most frequently evidenced in Manchester, more specifically among Scout, Cub and Rover groups in the post-war period. In 1955, for example, the Manchester Handicapped Scouts Committee reported that a handicapped scout group in Prestwich 'had arranged a very successful party for 36 handicapped Scouts from Longsight, N.W Manchester, Salford and Prestwich.'[45] It is unclear from the records the disability categorisation of those children in the Prestwich group, but it is likely these children had learning disabilities due to the special school in Prestwich during the period. The range of young people attending this event indicates the party spanned different categorisations of disability. (For information on association categorisation please see the main Introduction and Chapter Two). This instance displayed cooperation and collaboration with disabled groups around Manchester, mirroring qualities that were considered key to the overall movement's success in creating a 'brotherhood'.

Other events were referenced in Greater Manchester with a report in 1956, stating that the 'party started at 3 o'clock and there were 31 present including 12 from the Bethesda Home for crippled children, 10 from Henshaw's School for the Blind, and one boy from Bury.'[46] Although the location was not reported, it is plausible the report was made regarding the 1955 Prestwich Christmas party. Multiple events at Prestwich demonstrated the group, or more likely adults in charge, were regularly seeking to connect with other handicapped scouts within the region during the fifties. The Handicapped Sub-Committee did not reference similar events in the Greater Manchester area prior to 1956. This lack of evidence suggests that while the sub-committee aided efforts, they did not plan and prepare events, only shared knowledge and acted as a contact point for groups and members. Once again, this points to the importance of these leaders in the differing regional and sub-regional provision. Despite opportunities to venture outside the usual institutional boundaries, there were limits to the extent these events, parties and meetings could be considered integration. Rob Ellis explored asylums in the mid nineteenth century, but his argument that inter-hospital sport matches

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[45] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1955). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee 05/05/55.*
[46] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1956). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee 20/03/56.*

emphasised difference, especially to those not involved directly with the patients, could be applied to this context.[47] By providing segregated activities in institutional locations, the Handicapped Scouts, reinforced institutions as the places that they belonged, segregated from the wider community, contesting arguments made that disability is both constructed and experienced in the community.[48]

Guiding, too, used institutional spaces as a primary place for handicapped children to integrate with other handicapped units. Reports were again most prominent in the post-war period, particularly in Yorkshire, highlighting varied levels of accessible opportunities in the north of England. In 1970, a report written by the South Yorkshire Commissioner stated:

> 'An interesting evening was spent at Doncaster School for Deaf Children where, in May, I took Mrs. Sweeting to give a demonstration in flower arranging…I hope to take her again before Christmas to demonstrate Christmas decorations and on this occasion we hope the Guides from the E.S.N. [Educational Special Needs] School at Swinton will join us.'[49]

This report indicated similar cooperation to Scouting but, in comparison, access was poor. The number of reports across the century were fewer, suggesting a much higher rate of isolated activity in Extension Guiding than Handicapped Scouting.

At the Doncaster School for Deaf Children, the flower arranging workshop illustrates something beyond inter-institutional activity, an attempt at access to community activities within an institutional setting. The engagement from Mrs Sweeting confirms that members of the community engaged within their walls, proving these young people were not completely isolated from events and activities as first perceived. Discussed as 'public visitors'[50] by Mooney and Reinarz, reasons for visiting varied. Their definition of a public visitor was a member 'of the public not associated with the direct administration of the hospital or with familial ties to the patients.'[51] These visitors provided external influence within institutions, separate from the official authorities. In the case of the Scouts and Guides, this was recreational.

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[47] Ellis, R. (2013). Asylums and Sport: Participation, Isolation and the Role of Cricket in the Treatment of the Insane. *International Journal of the History of Sport, 30*(1), 83-101. https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2012.742991. p. 86.

[48] Kelly, M.P. (2001). Disability and Community. In G . L. Albrecht, K . D. Seelman, & M. Bury (Eds.) *Handbook of Disability Studies* (pp. 396-411). London: Sage. p. 396.

[49] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report*. 1970. p. 15.

[50] Mooney, G., & Reinarz, J. (2009). Hospital and Asylum Visiting in Historical Perspective: Themes and Issues. In G. Mooney, & J. Reinarz (Eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*. (pp. 7-30) . Amsterdam: Rodopi. p. 8.

[51] Ibid.

Opportunities to engage with visitors inside institutional spaces were not equally available to all. Work with the deaf, and indeed blind, by organisations, including the Church, were much more prevalent than with physically handicapped and mentally deficient individuals. Although Scouting publications, evidenced in Chapter Four, suggested their largest reach was with those who were mentally deficient or feebleminded, evidence throughout this thesis suggests that the quality of provision, in terms of integration and the overall activities provided, were reduced, reinforcing the institution as the primary space in most cases.[52] Despite this, extra-institutional Scouting and Guiding activities did exist, suggesting there was no single narrative of segregation or integration. Experiences of young people involved encompassed elements of segregated activity, as well as activity outside institutional boundaries, or bringing people inside the boundary from the wider community.

Extra-institutional: Joining Scout and Guide Units Outside Institutional Spaces

Activities outside the institutional spaces began to challenge the notion that the institution was the primary place for disabled scouts and guides. These opportunities were dependant on various factors including individuals and organisations willing to provide opportunities, logistical issues such as transport and the availability of adults to support and their attitudes. Documented opportunities mainly occurred in the post-war period, but there was evidence of engagement during the inter-war years. In 1934 the second annual conference for adult leaders of the Scouting Special Test's branch was held in Leicester. The programme consisted of 'psychology; active scouting, the adaptation of active scouting, the handicap of deafness, and occupational industries.'[53] Alongside a sole seminar on deafness, the 'active scouting' session highlighted discussions surrounding extra-institutional activity. There were no reports of the session content, but the fact this was debated at a national conference suggests it was, at the very least, being considered nationwide in the interwar period. Comparatively, during the 1930s, wider society saw reduced social spending and funding for disability projects due to The Great Depression.[54] The conference did not specifically mention funding, nevertheless the increased interest and spending on the Special Tests Branch, through hosting conference events, indicates a recognition to address some of the ongoing issues within parts of the movement. One of these issues was undoubtedly the differing provision dependant on disability categorisation. In relation to active scouting, this was almost exclusively for those with sensory disabilities.

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[52] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 246.
[53] Anon. (1934, September 29). Disabled Boys as Scouts. *The Times*. p. 10.
[54] Borsay, A. (2005). *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750.* New York: Palgrave McMillan. p. 36.

In 1911, the very first extant discussion of a deaf boy attending an active unit was published in the *Tamworth Herold.* This report focused on a magistrate's case against David Aucott, a Tamworth miner who failed to provide education for William Aucott, whom he was guardian for. After a discussion surrounding the boy's impairment, as well as the various tests and special schools he attended, the article went on to discuss his education at a state elementary school, where he was a member of the Boy Scouts. The article stated 'the boy had been in a class of Scouts conducted by him [George Shipley, the drill instructor] for about eight months. He was very smart intelligent boy. He had no difficulty in making him hear. The boy did scouting work and made notes the same as the other boys.'[55] Having stated he 'had no difficulty in making him hear,' Shipley implied he did not believe the boy was deaf and could work with his peers at a state school. Although seemingly demonstrating a willingness to accept those with impairments, the case actually shows that William was accepted into the unit because he met the standard needed by the leader in charge to undertake the work, essentially highlighting the importance of adult leaders in extra-institutional activity. The lack of requirement for adapted work (see Chapter Three) indicated William was able to strive for and potentially meet the ideal standards set by the association meaning there was no additional work for the voluntary leaders. This inclusion echoed educational provision in general where some disabled young people were able to engage in mainstream education if their 'presence [was] not detrimental to the other scholars.'[56] That being said, the national narrative of school placement was highlighted by Eda Topliss who indicated that at the very end of the period, 1969-1970 '14,000 handicapped children of school age still at home awaiting a place in a special school.'[57] These figures show that there were a large proportion of children not engaging in institutional education, but that this was the ideal space authorities wished for them to be placed.

Reports of integration within active community units were minimal prior to the Second World War. Nonetheless, in the 1950s, records began to surface. In 1951, the Manchester Handicapped Scouts Committee 'agreed that as far as possible H/S's [Handicapped Scouts] should take part in the normal activities of the troops instead of attempts being made to gather them together in a troop comprised entirely of handicapped boys in the district.'[58] This statement was supported again in 1953 and discussed in Chapter Four in relation to local level leadership control. Made at a time when the Committee was supporting units in institutional schools and hospitals throughout Lancashire and

[55] Anon. (1911, June 17). Deaf Boy's Education. *Tamworth Herald*. p. 8.
[56] The Treasure House Beverley, CCER/5/10/2, (1932). *Reports of the School Medical Officer, 1928-1937, East Riding County Council*. p. 18.
[57] Topliss, E. (1975). *Provision for the Disabled*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 34.
[58] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1951). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 30/01/51.*

Greater Manchester, this agreement shows the difficulty and complexity in local level messaging in the Handicapped Section and, in turn the difficulty in deciphering actual policy. In the 1959 Scouting rule book it was published that 'individual handicapped boys living in their homes may become members of normal Groups if fit enough or have Scouting taken to them if necessary.'[59] This policy goes further than Guiding, in terms of inclusion, yet there is no extant records of what constituted being 'fit enough'. When analysing inclusion this is problematic, as the reality of the rule allowed individual Scout leaders and Commissioners to decide who was 'fit enough' to join in with 'normal'[60] boys. Furthermore, the rule implied that only boys who did not have access to an institutional group were able to be considered to join an 'active' unit. Prior to 1959, boys were accessing community units while residents at institutional schools and hospitals.

In 1954 the Committee discussed that 'visits had been made to the Deaf School and to the homes of two deaf boys. They had been attending the 38th troop nights as they came home for weekends.'[61] These two boys attended the Manchester Royal Residential Schools for the Deaf situated at Old Trafford, whilst the 38th Troop was based twenty-seven miles north of Manchester in Rossendale. Children attended the Royal Residential School from across England, but the short distance between Old Trafford and Rossendale allowed the boys attending 38th Troop to return home on weekends and take part in activities in their local communities. The distance between the school and a child's home, as well as transport availability, directly impacted the capability to access community activities outside institutional grounds.

These issues were apparent in the north, echoed in publications which supported the Scouts and Guides. One organisation was the National College of Teachers of the Deaf. This organisation, and others like it, help to understand provision by offering perceptions of the movements from the viewpoint of those who worked with disabled young people. The College encouraged membership to the movements with their *Deaf Guide to the Education of Deaf Children* followed in Sheffield, stating that:

> 'In a residential school, attendance at local Cub or Brownie packs and the like can be a great help, because here the children meet with their own age group, as opposed to child-adult relationship of child with teach or home mother. Difficulties of transport and numbers can sometimes be overcome if teachers are prepared to ferry pupils.'[62]

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[59] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB144/2/4, (1959). *The Policy, Organisation and Rules of the Boy Scouts Association*. p. 80.

[60] Anon. (1934, January 21). Essex Scouts. *Essex Newsmums*. p. 3.

[61] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1954). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 16/11/1954*.

[62] Sheffield City Archives, CA35/933, (1968). *National College of Teachers of the Deaf Guide to the Education of Deaf Children*. p. 13/41.

This guide showed the college saw the benefits of Scouting and Guiding for deaf young people, due to the ability to foster friendships. However, the need for staff to 'ferry' pupils, evidenced additional pressures placed on those at a local level and barriers to access for deaf young people. Prior to the First World War public transport surrounding institutions was virtually non-existent. Public transport routes tended to be restricted to urban areas and their immediate surroundings, meaning rural institutional setups were largely excluded from accessible routes.[63]

Reasons behind institutional rurality have been explored by several individuals. These reasons differed across space and time, with stark differences in ideologies contributing to the same goals of institutionalisation. Some scholars, such as Helen Killaspy and Daniel Jacobson, for example, have suggested rurality was to provide a 'retreat' for patients to aid recovery, whereas others have suggested it was to distance those with disabilities from society fuelled by eugenic concerns.[64] (See Chapter 1). During the twentieth century, these eugenic concerns were rarely reflected in association or educational reports, but many large institutions were of Victorian or Georgian origin. This meant their remote locations were intentional, echoing themes of rurality that resonated in those eras. The rise of private motor vehicles and increased public transport links, during the twentieth century, did reduce these problems somewhat, but reports of inaccessibility still prevailed.[65] Journeys to these institutions were not often easy, with many relatives still struggling to visit loved ones due to the amount of public transport links needed in a single journey.[66] The lack of direct transport options meant it was time consuming and expensive.[67] These difficulties no doubt translated when trying to engage young people in extra-institutional activities.

Reports of public transport use by disabled and mentally disabled people, when attempting to access community activities, were non-existent. The lack of transport, then, provided a barrier to inclusion, illustrating the need and practicality for institutional units which mitigated the need for teachers to transport young people themselves. Urban schools and hospital facilities, such as the

[63] Divall, C. (2008). Transport, 1900-1939. In C. Wrigley (Ed.) *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain*. (pp. 286-302). Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons. p. 292.

[64] Killaspy, H. (2006). From the Asylum to Community Care: Learning from Experience. *British Medical Bulletin, 79-80*(1), 245-258. doi:10.1093/bmb/ldl017. p. 247. &
Jacobson, R. D. (2016). Mapping the Location, Design and Decline of London's Psychiatric Asylums (1831-2012). *Journal of Maps, 12*(4), 684-694. doi:10.1080/17445647.2015.1061302. p. 685. & Radford, J. P. (1994). Eugenics and the Asylum. *Journal of Historical Sociology, 7*(4), 462-473. p. 462. & Copeland, I. C. (2001). Integration versus segregation: the early struggle. *British Journal of Learning Disabilities, 29*(1), 5-11. doi: 10.1046/j.1468-3156.2001.00082.x. p. 7.

[65] Beck, P. J. (2008). Leisure and Sport in Britain, 1900-1939. In C. Wrigley (Ed.), *A Companion to Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (pp. 453-469). Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley. p. 459.

[66] McCrae, N., & Nolan, P. (2016). *The Story of Nursing in British Mental Hospitals: Echoes from the Corridors*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. p. 188

[67] Ibid.

Yorkshire School for the Blind, still hosted Guide and Scout units, suggesting that even if young people could access the community, it did not necessarily mean they could engage with a local Scout or Guide group. This complexity in relation to access, shows that there was not one reason for varying provision and reports of both segregation and community opportunities depended on a variety of factors. Adult supervision was one of these factors which often led to limitations when placing young people in active units.

In 1953, the committee on Handicapped Scouting reported 'that George Oldamson of the Deaf School, had been visited by Mr. Stowell and by Mr. Bradbury the D.C. [District Commissioner] of Stretford, who had arranged for him to join the 7th Stretford, Stretford Grammar School Troops.'[68] While most members of The Scout Association would enquire with a local scouter and then attend that unit, for George Oldamson, it took two members of the association, one being the District Commissioner, to arrange for him to join a unit outside the Deaf School. Unlike the boys who attended the Rossendale troop, George was accessing extra-institutional Scouting provision whilst living at the residential school, rather than returning home to attend meetings. This is the only extant record of such case in Manchester, with the report going on to state, that due to the connections built with the committee, the Deaf School wished to start their own Scout group.'[69]

Prior to 1953, there was a troop that existed at the Royal Residential School for the Deaf, with reports in 1947 that they had started to reform their troop.[70] There was a similar statement made to the Handicapped Scouts Committee in 1946, that 'the Royal Schools for the Deaf were about to recommence their group under Mr D. Uttley.'[71] These records highlight provision in this school was intermittent, and like many other schools in the North, struggled to provide consistent youth movement activities throughout the century. Reasons for this struggle remain a mystery due to the lack of reporting throughout the Second World War and the focus on damage to the school and issues with fuel rationing in the post-war period.[72]

Problems with adult support were further complicated by personal attitudes. In 1953, there was a discussion surrounding 'mongols', with the Committee stating:

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[68] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 15/12/1953.*
[69] Ibid.
[70] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1947). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 11/11/1947.*
[71] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1946). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 11/12/1946.*
[72] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/9/38/1/22, (1946). *122nd Report for the Royal Residential Schools for the Deaf.* p. 13.

'It appears that this particular type of defective generally looks peculiar and therefore it would be inadvisable to allow them to join normal troops. In any case we do not allow M.D. boys to join normal Troops – backward perhaps but M.D are really too much of a hinderance to the other Scouts.'[73]

Referring to what we now know as Down's Syndrome, the discussion here exposes attitudinal barriers surrounding learning disability and the loaded language used to describe them. The term mongol stemmed from John Langdon Down's attempt to categorise mentally deficient patients in the nineteenth century by their appearance.[74] It has been argued his methods were unremarkable and lent from various contemporaries already making connections between racial inferiority and mental deficiency.[75] Nonetheless, his observations and views on mongolism were still used across medical sectors until 1965.[76] From then, the World Health Organisation adopted the term Down's Syndrome at the request of the People's Republic of Mongolia. Nonetheless, the term was still used in wider society.

Individual contemporary beliefs, surrounding mongolism, led to restrictions on inclusion and supports John Dattilo's argument that the attitudinal barrier created by adults and society was, and still is, the hardest for those with disabilities to overcome when accessing leisure pursuits.[77] Building on Dattilo's argument, the attitudes of those involved in Scouting here corroborate this difficulty. Contesting the association's ethos, this case illuminates, once again, the importance of local adult leaders in provision for disabled young people. These individual attitudes influenced who could join certain parts of the movements at various points during the twentieth century. While the central line of the associations echoed inclusion, mixed messaging, and difficulties with cascading information (Chapter One) meant these individual attitudes caused provision to differ regionally and even sub-regionally. In 1956, for example, letters from A. Marshland, the Assistant County Commissioner, revealed desires to integrate physically handicapped boys into local community troops. One letter to E. Ayres, the district commissioner for Royton (Oldham), described David Akers, 11 years old, as

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[73] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (1953). *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 23/06/53.*

[74] Jackson, M. (1999). Changing Depictions of Disease: Race, Representation and the History of 'Mongolism'. In B. Harris, & E. Waltraud (Eds.) *Race, Science, and Medicine, 1700-1960*. (pp. 167-188). London: Routledge. p. 168.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Jackson, M. (1999). Changing Depictions of Disease: Race, Representation and the History of 'Mongolism'. In B. Harris, & E. Waltraud (Eds.) *Race, Science, and Medicine.* (pp. 167-188). London: Routledge. p. 171. & Down's Syndrome Association. (n.d). *About Down's Syndrome: History of Down's Syndrome*. Retrieved from https://www.downs-syndrome.org.uk/about/history-of-downs-syndrome-2/ [last accessed: 23/06/2020].

[77] Dattlio, J. (1994). Cited in Sivan, A. (2000). Leisure Education, Quality of Life and Populations with Special Needs. In A. Sivan & H. Ruskin (Eds.) *Leisure Education, Community Development, and Populations with Special Needs.* (pp 109-115) Wallingford: CABI. p. 111.

'spastic, but… keen to become a Scout.'[78] Marshland went on to state 'I wonder whether it would be possible for you to fix him up with one of the local Troops. His parents are very keen that he should become a Scout. I do hope that you will be able to help him.'[79] Wishing to integrate David into a community unit, such letters confirm that local commissioners decided where and whether these children should be placed, not the central association. Individual opinions and attitudes were not regulated at the local, regional, or national level, with the Handicapped Scout Commission only making recommendations and assisting, rather than monitoring integration rates or attitudes of those within the association.

Unlike the Scouts, the Guide Association did not have a commission dedicated solely to Extension Guiding and instead communicated, mainly via correspondence, to update other association members on the work their branch had been doing. Often this took concrete form in regional annual reports unearthing activities and issues. The lack of coordination, in terms of an organised commission, means the difficulties of examining local issues and identifying single cases of active Guiding for those with disabilities are magnified. That being said, West Yorkshire reports from the 1960s demonstrate opportunities for girls to join active units. A report from the sixties by Extension Commissioner Helen MacDonald evidenced that guides had been absorbed into active units where possible.[80] Despite this evidence, individual reports and accounts of activities were never published of girls in active units, likely because the classification did not disclose handicapped activity. When attempting to evaluate the levels of active integration across the North, issues arise as reports do not necessarily reflect rates of inclusion. It is probable there was unreported integration, yet the level of variation at the grassroots of the organisation does mean that it was unlikely all girls were integrated, or indeed segregated, at any one time throughout the period in question. In 1984, for example, annual reports still evidenced segregation, albeit declining, stating '[n]umbers in special units continue[d] to fall slowly.'[81] This was reflected further in archival images showing handicapped camps in the Northeast of England as late as 1984.[82]

The attitudes of the individuals in charge of each unit determined access to the programme in the community (see Chapter Four). This compromised the translation of the associations' ideals into reality influencing provision at the local level. The reliance on local level volunteers is why

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[78] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, *Letter from from A.Marshland (A.C.C Hanicapped Scouts) to E. Ayres*. 25/08/1956.
[79] Ibid.
[80] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199. (1960). *Extension Group Bulletin by Helen. D. McDonald*.
[81] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199. (1984). *The Girl Guides Association North East England Annual Report 1984*. p. 17.
[82] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued*,* (1984). *Photographs from 1984 North East England (NEE) Camp for Handicapped*.

community integration was a long-term narrative, with it not being until the 1970s that the movement centrally pushed and reported integration on a large scale. Intermittent and sporadic attempts to integrate children into community units led to increased institutional units, evidenced at the Royal Residential School for the Deaf. These institutional units were a product of the limitations of extra-institutional Guiding and Scouting. Although these opportunities were limited, for those in Handicapped and Extension units, additional extra-institutional experiences for disabled young people were available, the most notable being camping.

British Camping Trips and Attempts at Permeability

Camping was a fundamental feature of both movements, and this was no different for those in the extension and handicapped units (for more detail surrounding difference between international and domestic camps – see Introduction to Chapter Five). In 1912 Baden-Powell wrote '[c]amping-out is a useful training which appeals to the girl, and is the opportunity in which to teach her self-reliance and resourcefulness, besides giving her health and development.'[83] Paralleled in the *Boy Scouts,* in 1930, camping was regarded as essential to the Boy Scouts training.[84] It was believed that no 'boy who [had] not camped out in the open [could] hope to become a Scout in anything but name.'[85] Despite the dates of these examples, Baden-Powell stressed the importance of camp from the outset of both movements.

Key Scouting texts, such as *Scouting Achievements*, emphasised the importance of camp to handicapped scouts also, notably those who were blind. In 1937, Webb stated:

> 'in camping it is surprising how well they can look after themselves. The blind boy can pitch his own tent, dig his own refuse pits, prepare and cook his own food; in fact, by working in pairs and with the aid of one or two partially sighted boys, a Blind Troop can absolutely fend for itself.'[86]

Through his article, he demonstrated that camping provided opportunities for blind children to access activities outside institutional spaces, contradicting his previous statement that they were isolated and unable to enjoy pursuits outside their settlement.[87] The complexity demonstrated above can also be applied to the differing disability categorisations. This multifaceted aspect of the programme was evidenced in press reports.

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[83] Baden-Powell, R. & Baden-Powell, A. (1912). *How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire*. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons. p. 136. & Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 262.
[84] The Boy Scouts Association. (1930). *The "Gilcraft" Series No. 8*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 107.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements*. London: Wyman & Sons. p. 249.
[87] Ibid. p. 262.

These reports were rare, with the most prominent being on segregated camps and holidays. While a limited number of disabled young people accessed groups outside their institutions, most press articles focused on camps where institutional units visited spaces outside their school or hospital. These were most often segregated from the wider community and Scout/Guide associations. Widely reported in the South of England, experiences were evidenced in the 1938 *Devon and Exeter Gazette*. A Guide camp with a group of blind girls from the Exeter 32 Extension Troop, attached to the West of England Institution for the Blind, were reported to have experienced all 'the joys of a perfectly organised Girl Guide camp.'[88] The following year, *The Western Times* reported nineteen blind Guides camped in Devon and '[spent] a pleasant holiday on the cliffs.'[89] These reports do not describe the activities undertaken in the camps. However, they do highlight opportunities to move outside traditional unit meeting places, in this case institutional settings, much like active Guiding.

Similar to Guiding, articles were also published on extra-institutional Scouting. In 1930, for example, The *Daily Mail* reported that a 'Nottingham crippled troop' had been to camp and carried out five-mile hikes. [90] Although the *Daily Mail* Scouting article presented a divergence from the typical national newspaper stories (see Introduction), it did focus on nature craft and the outdoors, mirroring parts of prominent physical culture in the interwar period.[91] Viewed by Baden-Powell as important to the development of a masculine Boy Scout, the Girl Guides stressed the moral, physical and spiritual benefits of nature craft and the outdoors.[92] Its importance within the central vision of the associations, supported by multiple reports within the handicapped section, show this was a policy that was valued by adult leaders at the grassroots and effectively directed through the movement. As discussed in Chapter One, physical culture was key to both movements but especially Scouting. The promotion of nature craft through association publications, for example *Boy Scouts: The "Gilcraft" Series*, supported by press reports evidencing its use, illustrates the uptake of the activities and the success of the central organisation in disseminating it to the wider association. Despite these reports, documentation in the north was minimal, indicating regional disparities and limited engagement.

Some of these regional disparities related to rural and urban areas. While Chapter Two covered the difficulties of creating and sustaining Scout and Guide groups in rural areas, Proctor has argued that,

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[88] Anon. (1938, June 17). Blind Girl Guides in Camp. *Devon and Exeter Gazette*, p. 20.
[89] Anon. (1939, June 23). Devon Blind Girl Guides Camp at Exmouth. *The Western Times,* p. 7.
[90] Fisher, C. (1930, February 5). What "Post Scouts" Are. *Daily Mail.* p. 17.
[91] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, I. (2006). Building a British Superman: Physical Culture in Interwar Britain. *Journal of Contemporary History, 41*(4), 595-610. doi:10.1177/0022009406067743
[92] Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 42.

for active units, rurality meant easier access to camp with less financial implications due to their proximity to potential camp sites.[93] Rural spaces were seen as key to the educational goals of the association, offering opportunities to fulfil the programmes ideals.[94] This can be seen in a 1930 Boy Scouts publication which stated camping was 'not so much governed by the question of finance as [was] so frequently imagined.'[95] The Association believed that some of its financially poorest groups has the most successful camps, stating that it was a 'question, as usual, of where there's a will there's a way.'[96] It could be assumed the rurality of many institutions, such as those in West Yorkshire, allowed easy access to camping grounds in the countryside at minimal cost, supporting Proctor's argument. However, this was not the case. Issues with transport, discussed earlier in this chapter, as well as coping with unusual surroundings, posed problems for the associations and schools when camping outside of institutional locations. Nonetheless, camps were still presented as being in the members' best interests, for enjoyment and physical development.

The focus on camp within the movements is still prominent today. Prior to the 1960s, the Boy Scouts asserted that they were the 'only Youth Movement to which these children [could] belong,'[97] and therefore the only movement who could provide camping opportunities for those with disabilities. Despite this seemingly progressive statement, other charitable groups did exist to provide camping experiences. One of these organisations was the British Red Cross. In 1959, the *Guardian* released a report stating the 'British Red Cross Society's camps for handicapped boys and girls began in a small way with one in 1953.'[98] A year earlier, the *Manchester Guardian*, which in 1959 changed its name to the *Guardian*, illuminated the increase in camping opportunities for disabled children after the Second World War. It was reported that 'fifty disabled people from seven countries, [attended] what [was] claimed to be the first international holiday camp for the disabled.'[99] Organised by the National Association for the Paralysed, the report begins to shed light on several organisations who provided similar opportunities. However, these opportunities only stretched so far. Activities within the camps paralleled able-bodied experiences without promoting and offering total integration or opportunities to mix with non-disabled individuals. Regardless of these drawbacks, successes were

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[93] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 108.

[94] Edwards, S. (2020). 'Doing nature' and Being a Guide: The Problem of the Town Guide in the British Girl Guides Association, 1930–1960. *History of Education Review, 49*(1), 45-65. https://doi.org/I 10.1108/HER-06-2019-0022. p. 49.

[95] The Boy Scouts Association. (1930). *The "Gilcraft" Series No. 8*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 107.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (17/07/56). *Secretary Handicapped Scout Committee Manchester S.E. Lancashire to Mrs Richardson.*

[98] Anon. (1959, August 28). Joys of Camp Life for the Blind the Deaf and the Disabled. *The Guardian.* p. 3.

[99] Our Special Correspondent. (1958, August 13). DISABLED SET AN EXAMPLE IN DETERMINATION: Success of International Holiday Camp. *The Manchester Guardian,* p. 3.

promoted through news reports, aiming to prove they were doing 'splendid work'[100] alongside the Scouts and Guides.

Successes were often explored in the press through the new and seemingly innovative experiences these camps were providing. Scouting and Guiding were the first organisations to provide camps for disabled people, but their offer remained largely the same as the century progressed. Activities centred on nature, woodcraft, and physical exercises, with those themes still being the focus of camps today. Other associations sought to provide similar experiences for disabled children, with reports made by journalists in local and national newspapers highlighting civic and national pride in similar ways to reports about Scouting and Guiding. The National Association for the Paralysed international holiday camp, for example, was portrayed as world leading by the *Manchester Guardian.* Asserting 'Britain has given many leads to the new world: here is a chance to offer new hope to disabled people everywhere,'[101] the article revealed the importance of this association in the development of disabled leisure opportunities around the globe. Scouting and Guiding had been offering international camping opportunities (Chapter Two), albeit with limitations, prior to this camp. These press reports, then, show the complexity and difficulties of teasing out information relating to camping for disabled young people. Associations rarely worked together, meaning their provision was often declared 'world-leading' or 'progressive', when there were multiple organisations working on similar projects, all contributing the permeability of institutions. Even though there were undoubtedly issues with provision, and claims of progressiveness, all these associations did try and provide extra-institutional camping opportunities for disabled children. None of them could achieve this without several forms of philanthropic aid.

Philanthropy: Camping Experiences and Land Donation

Philanthropy helped to facilitate camping experiences outside institutional walls for disabled scouts and guides. In 1952 the Girl Guides West Riding South (covering the Wakefield area) County Commissioner, Margaret R Crowther, thanked those who had assisted them, stating 'I cannot close without a word of thanks to the many people not engaged in active Guiding who give us such wonderfully generous help, by the use of their property, premises, and land for camp sites, and who give their time, thought, energy, and money.'[102] Thanks were expressed on a regular basis and this drew attention to the extent of the support from individuals outside the association. Philanthropy

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[100] Anon. (1932, April 15). GIRL GUIDE MOVEMENT: Coming-of Age Celebration HOW IT BEGAN. *The Manchester Guardian*. p. 13.

[101] Our Special Correspondent. (1958, August 13). DISABLED SET AN EXAMPLE IN DETERMINATION: Success of international holiday camp. *The Manchester Guardian,* p. 3.

[102] Wysholme Guiding Archive, (1952). uncatalogued, *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report.* p. 3.

has previously been explored in relation to youth movement provision, and wider youth activity especially in the 1800s.[103] Anne Borsay has argued that the "crippled child" thrust a new wave of philanthropic activity in the nineteenth century.[104] This philanthropy was mainly based around schooling and medical provision, but societies were established that provided recreational activities for disabled children.

The Cripples' Help Society, for example, organised an annual donkey parade from 1897 and arranged Christmas hampers for "crippled" children.[105] This provision lasted throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with association activities increasing and diversifying as the twentieth century progressed. This contested Rhodri Davies' argument that the First World War was a turning point for the decline of philanthropy.[106] Despite continued charitable provision, Davies attributed deterioration to greater state intervention, due to the belief philanthropy could no longer solely alleviate social problems. [107] A mixed economy of care grew to allow access to disabled services, but financial resources limited access to different elements within this mixed economy. Financial limitations caused differentiations within provision on a regional basis.[108] While private health and social care, as well as public funded services, offered care for disabled children, philanthropic ventures continued which is evident in Scouting and Guiding camping provision.

The absence of research surrounding both active and disabled units, in relation to camp philanthropy, means an introduction into the demands of the entire movement is needed. Land donation was crucial to offer camping experiences to both active and handicapped young people. In 1919 Baden-Powell drafted a circular that was sent to landowners nationwide. The circular read 'our one difficulty is the acquisition of enough suitable sites for camps … I am venturing therefore, to make this appeal to the patriotism of landowners in the confident hope that they will help me in this effort.'[109] This open letter was not specifically for handicapped groups but aimed to generate land for the whole association. Attempting to draw on the patriotism of landowners, Baden-Powell

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[103] Hendrick, H. (1990). *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem 1880-1920*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 177-180.

[104] Borsay, A. (2002). History, Power and Identity. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.) *Disability Studies Today* (pp. 98-119). Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 106.

[105] Disabled Living. (2017). *History*. Disabled Living. https://www.disabledliving.co.uk/about-us/history/ [last accessed: 28/03/2021]

[106] Davies, R. (2016). *Public Good by Private Means: How Philanthropy Shapes Britain*. London: Alliance Publishing Trust. no page numbers.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Thompson, S. (2015). The Mixed Economy of Welfare and the Care of Sick and Disabled Children in the South Wales Coalfield, c. 1850-1950. In A. Borsay & P. Dale (Eds.) *Disabled Children: Contested Caring, 1850–1979.* (pp. 43-58). Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group. p. 51-52.

[109] Draft of circular letter from Chief to landowners. (1919). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/digital/collection/p15999coll21/id/18360/rec/4 , [last accessed, 29/02/2020].

placed his Scouting scheme as key for Britain, in a period when the country had mustered large amounts of national devotion during the First World War. While there were clear ploys to play on nationalist values, there were multiple reasons why people gave land. Social and political relationships were key factors in philanthropic decisions, with choices made to boost reputations in certain circles.[110]

Eve Colpus argued in her 2012 thesis that female philanthropists often discussed their projects in the media to boost their reputations and accrue a 'celebrity like' status.[111] This was certainly not the case for all philanthropic ventures, with many being made due to kindness and friendships with staff and volunteers. Both Frank Prochaska and Brian Harrison have contended that kindness motivated and motivates philanthropy which could support reasons for assisting the associations.[112] Nevertheless, it remains that the support allowed members of both associations to access camp experiences that would otherwise not be available. The need for this donation emphasized the barriers between institutions and the rest of society, exposing the difficulties of accessing land, such as farmers' fields or campgrounds that units in the community used.

Examples of camp land donation, for those in handicapped and extension units, were present throughout the period. In 1928, for example, the boys at the Yorkshire School for the Blind 'had the advantage of two week-end Camps in the grounds of Stockton Hall, through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Lloyd.'[113] Stockton Hall was situated in Stockton on the Forest, 4.3 miles from the school. There was no evidence as to how these boys travelled to the grounds, but it is likely that assistance was given, or public transport was used, due to the location of the school and the grounds. The Hall was owned by the Lloyd family, which meant the use of their land was at their discretion. Originally built c. 1800 as a family home, it was acquired by barrister George Lloyd after his Auntie's death in 1892.[114] The family had a history of philanthropic acts in relation to medical care, opening a dispensary in Bridlington, East Yorkshire in 1868.[115] Although not medical in its aim, the lending of land to the school followed similar themes. The use of the grounds meant the boys from the school

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[110] Colpus, E. (2018). *Female Philanthropy in the Interwar World: Between Self and Other*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing. p. 2-3.

[111] Colpus, E. (2012). *Landscapes of welfare: concepts and cultures of British women's philanthropy 1918-1939* (PhD Thesis). Retrieved from https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:f5a09389-0a12-4e75-8ed4-b570460b19a8. p. 37.

[112] Prochaska, F. K. (1988). *The Voluntary Impulse: Philanthropy in Modern Britain*. London: Faber. p. 360. & Harris, B. (1982). *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. p. 220.

[113] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/3, *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. 1928. p. 11.

[114] Historic England. (n.d). *Stockton Hall*. Historic England. https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1173892 [Last accessed: 18/05/2021]

[115] East Riding Museums. (n.d). *Two Hundred Years of Change* [Booklet]. East Riding Museums. p. 9.

could follow key Scouting pursuits and follow the Scouting ideal, that would otherwise have been inaccessible. This was also the case for the Guides.

Although later than the Boy Scouts example, the Girl Guides at the Stanley Royd Mental Hospital wrote in their 1944 logbook that by 'kind permission of Major Greaves, the company picnicked in the grounds of Kettlethorpe Hall.' [116] Activities were reported to be seeing the gardens, greenhouses, feeding the fish and having tea by the lake. [117] Kettlethorpe Hall was situated on the opposite side of Wakefield, just over three miles from the hospital, taking around an hour to walk by foot. Although reports on how the girls travelled to the Hall were omitted from the logbook, it is plausible they walked from the site. Walking for recreation, physical exercise, and therapeutic reasons, outside of mental hospitals, has been one way the permeability of institutional sites has been explored. Historiography investigating institutional walking has exclusively focused on adult mentally disabled patients, with it being argued this was the only release from 'institutional gloom' for many.[118] Special attention has been paid to Epsom by Rob Ellis, Niall McCrae and Peter Nolan who all discussed the institutions weekly walking parties.[119] Focusing on the early twentieth century, Ellis revealed objections from the local townspeople, in relation to walking parties, due to fears of escape and questions about what mental patients could and would do.[120] Reports documenting disagreements from the local community about these girls walking were not present in log books, but they were walking with a different purpose to those at Epsom. Those involved in Epsom walking parties were using walking as a form of recreation and physical exercise, whereas the Stanley Royd Guides were walking in lieu of transport to travel to a different location. Therefore, the 'irritation' felt by townspeople in Epsom, relating to those diagnosed as mentally ill, lounging under trees, or gathering in crowds, were not applicable as the girls were supervised and stopping at a private location.[121]

As the land at Kettlethorpe Hall was privately owned by Major John Henry Greaves, his permission allowed these girls to experience activities outside their institutional boundary. Greaves was a

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[116] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, *Girl Guides Extension Log book 16th Wakefield Guides (mental hospital) Stanley Royd, Wakefield Yorkshire*. 1945. p. 96.
[117] Ibid.
[118] McCrae, N., & Nolan, P. (2016). *The Story of Nursing in British Mental Hospitals: Echoes from the Corridors*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. p. 110.
[119] Ellis, R. (2013). 'A constant irritation to the townspeople'? local, regional and national politics and london's county asylums at epsom. *Social History of Medicine, 26*(4), 653-671. doi:10.1093/shm/hkt002. & McCrae, N., & Nolan, P. (2016). *The Story of Nursing in British Mental Hospitals: Echoes from the Corridors*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. p. 110.
[120] Ellis, R. (2013). 'A Constant Irritation to the Townspeople'? Local, Regional and National Politics and London's County Asylums at Epsom. *Social History of Medicine, 26*(4), 653-671. doi:10.1093/shm/hkt002. p. 662.
[121] Ibid.

chairman of Denby Grange Collieries Ltd. and one of the directors of Manor Haigh Moor Colliery Ltd.[122] Coming from a family of colliery owners and directors, he was firmly rooted in the mining background of the area. He was an advocate of citizenship training, chairing Britain's third major civic pageant in Wakefield in 1933. The event was described as 'a great educative effort in citizenship'[123] with hopes that the unemployed would volunteer to help organise the event. In return, there were 3000 free seats for the unemployed and 3000 free seats for children to enjoy the performances.[124] His philanthropic efforts in relation to citizenship indicate why he may have invited the guides to his home to use the grounds. Despite the availability of Kettlethorpe Hall for the Guides to use, there were still limitations to their experiences in comparison to girls in community units. They were unable to camp, partaking in the activities on a day trip basis only. Furthermore, these activities were delivered on private land, which again stresses the limitations to the permeability of mental hospitals in the mid twentieth century, in that while opportunities outside the hospitals were present, they were often in private, closed areas, rather than public spaces.

Reasons behind the lack of camps were never discussed within written documents, but the reliance on land donations outside the institutional facilities undoubtedly had an impact. This, coupled with attitudes towards those with mental deficiencies in the period, helps to explain the limitations around the access of campgrounds and camping activities more generally. When compared to blind schools during the early fifties, attitudes surrounding activities outside the school were more relaxed. The Yorkshire School for the Blind, for example, showed girls walked into York city centre regularly and unaccompanied without any complaints from residents.[125] Walking allowed girls, situated at Kings Manor, York City Centre, to access the local community, including shops, parks, and other public spaces. In comparison to the opportunities for walking at Stanley Royd, for transportation, this was very different. It suggests the categorisation of disability influenced the availability of recreational options outside institutional schools and hospitals. This was no different when exploring Boy Scout and Girl Guide camps, which, when exploring institutions for those with sensory disabilities versus institutions for those with physical, learning, or mental disabilities, evidenced different opportunities.

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[122] Durham Mining Museum. (2020). *John Henry Greaves*. Durham Mining Museum. http://www.dmm.org.uk/whoswho/g024.htm [Last accessed: 10/05/2020].

[123] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, WWD1/Box 202/TB20, (1933). *Memo January*.

[124] The Redress of the Past. (2019). *The Pageant of Wakefield and the West Riding*. The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain. https://historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1227/#fnote_ref_5 [Last accessed 10/05/2021].

[125] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5, (1953). *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. p. 5.

This was specifically shown at the Henshaw's Institution for the Blind in Manchester. The land donation for these scouts was made by a business, rather than a wealthy individual or family. Receiving help from Hovis Ltd., it was reported in the 1935 *Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts,* that the Scout troop based at the institution had 'a camping site at the disposal of the group.'[126] By the 1930s, Hovis was considered the 'nation's favourite bread'[127], and although originating in Macclesfield, Cheshire, due to their expansion in the 1920s a flour mill had opened at Trafford Park, Manchester.[128] The site was situated one mile from Henshaws, giving easy access via walking to a campground. The mill at Trafford was part of Hovis Rank, the mills which milled flour for Hovis bread. Originally formed by Joseph Rank, a Hull based flour miller, he and his family, including son Joseph Rank, set up various charitable trusts, with their legacies still active today through The Joseph Rank Trust and the Rank Foundation.[129] Joseph senior's philanthropy mainly revolved around the Methodist church from both his personal and charitable trusts, while one of his son's foundation's aimed to support the disadvantaged and marginalised.[130] While the Ranks were unlikely to have granted permission to Henshaw's personally, the philanthropic act does show that their charitable aims cascaded through their company.

The access allowed these children to engage in key Scouting activities, which both the institution and the association acknowledged in their annual report. It stated that such 'practical help [was] very pleasing.'[131] Corporate philanthropy existed before the wider social responsibility movement, with businesses in the Western world, by the 1920s, looking for ways to aid the community.[132] Hovis followed this corporate trend, aiming to support handicapped scouts. Support was given on more than one occasion, with the 1935 report indicating this was at least the second time the Scouts had camped at the site.[133]. While this relationship showed these boys had multiple opportunities to camp, the use of private land still meant they were not accessing public spaces. These problems were similarly found in another facility used by the Scouts and Guides, Woodlarks.

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[126] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/7/39/2, (1935). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind, Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts*. p. 15.
[127] Hovis. (n.d). *Our Story*. Hovis. https://www.hovis.co.uk/our-story [last accessed: 07/05/2021]
[128] History of Advertising Trust. (n.d). *Corporate Marketing Archives: Hovis*. History of Advertising Trust. https://www.hatads.org.uk/catalogue/corporate-marketing/44/Hovis [last accessed: 07/05/2021]
[129] The Joseph Rank Trust. (2008). *Joseph Rank*. The Joseph Rank Trust. http://www.ranktrust.org/joseph-rank.htm [last accessed: 07/05/2021].
[130] Ibid.
[131] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/7/39/2, (1935). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind, Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts*. p. 15.
[132] Beginnings of Corporate Philanthropy. (2008). In *Encyclopedia of Business Ethics and Society*. (vol. 1). California: Sage. p. 2009.
[133] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/7/39/2, (1935). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind, Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts*. p. 15.

<u>Woodlarks and Purpose-Built Accessible Camping Facilities</u>

Most of the camping experiences explored have highlighted the local permeability of institutions. Nevertheless, there were instances of national permeability, evidenced most specifically in custom-built camping facilities for disabled people. One of the most prominent of these camps was Woodlarks, which, for over eighty years has 'provided accessible camping for people with all kinds of disabilities.'[134] It is situated in Surry and has been used by both children and adults since its inception. The organisation was open to 'people with all kinds of disabilities', but its utilisation by the Scouts and Guides suggests its primary use was for those with physical impairments. Like Hovis, and other organisations who provided land and facilities, Woodlarks allowed disabled people to access camps, but differed as it was 'fully equipped with permanent buildings and camp facilities, duplicated, where necessary, to suit different types of handicap.'[135] Woodlarks was, and still is, an independent organisation founded by three individuals (Col. Strover, Mrs Strover and Mrs Tisdall) which was subsequently turned into a charity.

The Strover's were local to the area and are said to have set up the campsite to give 'people with disabilities the same opportunities as the able bodied.'[136] There is little known about the Strovers and Mrs Tisdall, aside from the fact they lived on the same street and that Col. Strover badly damaged his arm in the First World War leaving him with a permanent disability. Whilst there are no accessible archival records detailing their reasons in wanting to support physically handicapped people, it is plausible Col. Strover's war injury influenced their interest. It has been argued that the personal connection makes an individual care more about a cause and more likely to donate or act, even if they are indirectly affected, for example, someone they know has a disability.[137] For Strover, his personal connection to disability is likely to have made him sympathetic to the needs of those with physical disabilities.

These individuals financed both the purchase of the land and the building of the facilities, hosting their first camps in 1931, all three of which were Guide camps. The use of the facility by both organisations evidences the active steps taken to ensure those with handicaps could access camps, but also illustrates many of the actions were taken by those external to the Scouts and Guides, in the creation and promotion of the facilities. The reliance on individual action to create opportunities outside institutional environments echoes the themes of Scouting and Guiding provision during the

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[134] Woodlarks Camp Site. (2018). *What We Do*. Retrieved from http://www.woodlarks.org.uk/what-we-do/. [last accessed: 07/07/2020]

[135] Anon. (1935, September 12). Camp For Disabled Scouts. *The Times*. p. 15.

[136] The Woodlarks Centre. (n.d). *About Us*. The Woodlarks Centre. https://thewoodlarkscentre.co.uk/about-us/ [last accessed: 12/05/2021]

[137] Ibid.

twentieth century and their reliance on voluntary leadership to deliver their programmes (see Chapter Four). *The Times* reported on the Scouts and Guides use of the facilities, stating a 'camp for physically handicapped scouts and guides held at "Woodlarks," near Farnham, Surrey, this summer [1935], has been so successful that efforts are to be made to extend its usefulness next year.'[138] Activities that occurred at the camp followed the ideal set by the association. Reported to have been '[s]talking, tracking, map making, long-distance signalling, observations, and nature lore … ending up with a camp fire every night,'[139] Woodlarks provided experiences for handicapped young people in a tailored environment from across the country.

The first report of either association using the camp, in 1931, included one handicapped Guide from the West Riding. It was hoped that more would attend the following summer.[140] This Guide was sent from a Post unit, mainly run for those who were 'invalid' (see main Introduction). Several Post Guides, from across the country, met at Woodlarks for this camp, demonstrating that the site provided opportunities for northern handicapped and invalid children to travel the country and integrate with others. There are no in-depth records of the organisation required for this camp, but logistically it would have been a challenge. Issues with transport, seen when trying to attend camps close to school and hospital grounds, would have been magnified when trying to move young people confined to their homes from the north of England to the south, especially as the association relied on voluntary support for transportation. These Post Guides were not in institutions, yet they were excluded from community Guiding units, essentially segregated from guides in their local community. This opportunity to engage across the country showed that Guiding aimed to tackle isolation on a local and national scale through camping. Chances to connect with non-disabled members within Woodlarks, did not exist. This meant much like the inter-institutional opportunities discussed earlier in this chapter, guides essentially moved from one segregated place to another. However, reasons behind camp segregation largely depended on handicapped categorisation.

Special adaptations were sometimes needed for physically handicapped children to be able to access a camp site. While active troops and, to an extent, blind and deaf troops, would camp in a local field, Woodlarks provided accessible adapted facilities, especially for those with physical handicaps, to camp in safety. These adaptations were continuously developed, with new buildings and facilities added in the thirties and forties, including cooking facilities, a dining hall, lock up shelters for wheelchairs, a swimming pool, accessible roads and footpaths and a new youth hostel and activities

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[138] Anon. (1935, September 12). Camp For Disabled Scouts. *The Times*. p. 15.
[139] Ibid.
[140] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1931). *The Girl Guides Yorkshire West Riding North West, Thirteenth Annual report.* p. 13.

such as horse riding and archery added in the fifties.[141] Developments have occurred year upon year up to the present day in terms of both capital works and the activities offer.[142] Discussions surrounding adaptations of public spaces and facilities have developed over the last fifty years. Recent debates tend to surround architecturally accessible design, as well as the sensitivity of adaptations to the building, but also the individuals using them.[143] Although a seemingly modern debate, Jameel Hampton argued that adaptations to homes and vehicles were offered by local authorities during the fifties with 124 out of 146 offering services by 1957.[144] This was partially due to the 1948 National Assistance Act which made it permissible for local authorities to provide adaptations for handicapped individuals.[145] However, it was not until the 1970 Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, that adaptations began to be seen on a large scale.[146]

The adaptations seen at Woodlarks, then, emphasise increased accessibility in a period that pre-dated local authority provision. This provision was only available in segregated camps, which was similar to many contemporary educational and recreational opportunities. It provided increased access to activities, but only within the parameters that medical, education and other professionals and able-bodied adults allowed. Despite these critiques, Woodlarks was considered a pioneering facility, with investments made from a vast amount of donors on a trans-Atlantic scale, including the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Girl Scouts of America, local philanthropists and the Daughters of the American Revolution. [147] Enquiries were also made from the United States and Holland due to the lack of facilities in their countries, as well as wide spread use by British groups.[148] This use highlights permeability on not only a national scale but an international scale, offering groups from western countries the ability to camp in adapted facilities. The international requests, as well as the national use of the site, shows that Woodlarks offered something that was not usually available for disabled people.

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[141] Woodlarks Camp Site. (n.d). *THE CHRONOLOGY OF WOODLARKS*. Woodlarks Camp Site. https://www.woodlarks.org.uk/the-1930s/ [Last accessed: 12/05/2021]

[142] Woodlarks Camp Site. (n.d). *The Woodlarks Timeline*. Woodlarks Camp Site. https://www.woodlarks.org.uk/woodlarks-timeline/ [last accessed 20/05/2021]

[143] Johnstone, D. (2001). *An Introduction to Disability Studies* (2nd ed.). Oxon: David Fulton Publishers. p. 138 & 150.

[144] Hampton, J. (2013). Discovering Disability: The General Classes of Disabled People and the Classic Welfare State, 1948–1964. *The Historian*, 75 (1), 69-93. doi: 10.1111/hisn.12002. p. 82.

[145] Borsay, A. (2005). *Disability and Social Policy in Britain since 1750*. New York: Palgrave McMillan. p. 174.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Luling, G. L. (1952). Report of England State Regent. *Fifty-Fourth Report of the National Society of the Daughters of American Revolution, 54*(1), 73-73. p. 73.

[148] Woodlarks Camp Site. (n.d). *THE CHRONOLOGY OF WOODLARKS*. Woodlarks Camp Site. https://www.woodlarks.org.uk/the-1930s/ [Last accessed: 12/05/2021]

Despite Woodlark's pioneering status, several other camps in the north of England provided facilities for those with disabilities, one example being Bewerley Park Camp in Pateley Bridge, near Harrogate. Camps here were organised by the West Riding Local Education Authority, and all children in special schools were encouraged to attend in 1945 to gain the benefits of training outdoors. This was evidenced through a circular printed by the Education Department stating the 'camp [was] designed to accommodate some 200 school children and full provision [was] made for them to live a healthy life in the country for one month.'[149] The focus on healthy living was a central concept of Scouting and Guiding, paralleled by the Education Department as well as being widespread within society. Several voluntary organisations, such as The Ramblers Association, formed in 1930, promoted fresh air and exercise as a way to keep fit and healthy, emulating the 1930s fitness movement.[150] Fresh air and nature were viewed as ways to combat issues with public health as a way to cure all kinds of ailments.[151] For disabled children, fresh air homes and schools were opened during the interwar period and explain why nature study was advocated for those with disabilities. These camps acted as a vital part of this fitness movement, allowing those with handicaps to engage in popular fitness pursuits that would otherwise be inaccessible outside institutional schools and hospitals due to inappropriate facilities. Notwithstanding reports of successful camps, difficulties arose comparable to Scouting and Guiding, emphasising that land donation and purpose-built facilities still did not solve every access problem. The most prominent of these issues was staffing.

Evidence of the struggle to staff the Yorkshire camp was revealed in a 1945 circular which stated, 'whole classes should be encouraged to attend in order that difficulties of staffing shall be reduced to a minimum.'[152] In addition, it was asked that assistant teachers 'volunteer to attend the camp for a period of one month.'[153] This stressed the importance of adult support, showing greater assistance was necessary to provide safe activities. Difficulties encountered when recruiting staff to accompany children to these camps explains their low numbers across the twentieth century (see Chapter 4). The lack of adult support in the leisure industry for disabled young people, was nationwide and spanned the entire twentieth century reducing leisure opportunities for those with disabilities, with Judith Cavet evidencing it in the 1990s.[154] This shows that although attempts were made to combat this issue, it was never fully addressed. Despite this, the camping opportunities, albeit restricted, did

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[149] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, WRD5/8/6/50, (1945). *Circular 45/26 - County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire. Education Department.*

[150] Jones, H. (1994). *Health and Society in Twentieth Century Britain*. London: Routledge. p. 70.

[151] Ibid. p. 108.

[152] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Wakefield, WRD5/8/6/50, (1945). *Circular no. 45/25, A. L. Binns – Bewerley Park Camp.*

[153] Ibid.

[154] Cavet, J. (1998). Leisure and Friendship. In C. Robinson & K. Stalker (Eds.) *Growing Up with Disability* (pp. 97-110). London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers. p. 108.

offer some opportunities for young people to take part in popular leisure pursuits outside their institutional facilities and homes on a national scale. However, for Scouts and Guides, this rarely offered opportunities to meet non-disabled members of the association. Nonetheless, there were opportunities to meet other members through local, regional, and national competitions.

Competitions and Community Spaces

Much like camping, competitions in Scout and Guide groups were considered key events for all members. Proctor argued that activities differed vastly from group to group.[155] Focusing specifically on community units in Huddersfield, she argued some barely left their unit space, whereas some visited Scotland on an annual basis.[156] Reasons differed, but economics was a reoccurring limiting factor. For those with disabilities, this difference in local level provision was no different. Competitions provide comparative evidence to support the development of Proctor's research, exploring both economics and limitations specific to the handicapped branches. For those with disabilities, competitions provided a forum to not only venture outside institutional settings, but to meet other disabled young people, as well as their non-disabled peers. The basis of these competitions reflected elements of the Scouting and Guiding ethos whether competitors were from handicapped and extension units or active ones. The Altrincham Boy Scouts, for example, reported in 1936 that they had 'three principle events of the year – the Crafts Exhibition, the Annual Sports and the Swimming Gala.'[157] These three events resonated with others that occurred in different parts of the country with key themes of health, fitness and handicraft dominating the competition criteria.

Community spaces were the main arenas for competition engagement, but they also ran remotely, through the mail. This was evidenced in The Scout Association's weekly magazine *The Scout.* While this magazine was available for handicapped scouts to access, reports of handicapped members entering these competitions are absent in extant sources. Other remote competition approaches were developed by Baden-Powell himself. In 1924, for example, The Mafuzziwog Championship of Great Britain was promoted via letters sent to leaders asking for contributions to the competition.[158] Explored in depth in Chapter Two, the competition allowed handicapped boys, most prominently

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[155] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 108.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Trafford Local Studies Library, TAL 396.43 ALT, (1936). *Altrincham and District Boy Scout Association Annual Report*. p. 2.
[158] Baden-Powell, R. (1924). *How crippled Scouts and Guides can join in the Jamboree*. Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018]. & Advertisement for the Mafuzziwog Championship. (1924). Cited on BYU Library, available at https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/, [last accessed, 11/06/2018].

those with physical handicaps, to take part in a national event from their own institutions. This event highlighted disparities between engagement with the different categorisations of disability, which develops Proctor's argument that differences were not only in relation to locality but dependant on the categorisation of branches.[159] Regardless of encouragement to participate via post, from the 1920s to the 1960s, reports of community competitions regularly incorporated handicapped members. This included both segregated competitions, for those with handicaps, and integrated contests with members from active groups.

In 1939, the boys from Henshaw's Institution for the Blind participated in 'the North of England Morse Signalling Contest for blind groups.'[160] Demonstrating a development from remote inclusion to active community inclusion, it was reported the boys 'were only one mark behind the troop winning the shield.'[161] Similar experiences were reported by the guides at the Yorkshire School for the Blind, with a report in 1928 stating the girls had 'obtained second place in the "Maxse Shield" Competition.'[162] It is unclear what this competition entailed, but shields usually involved several smaller competitions surrounding Guiding ethos such as swimming, nature activities, woodcraft and survival skills. In addition to youth movement involvement, individual institutions also reported engagement in regional competitions throughout the inter-war years. This suggests that competitions were popular beyond the movements, playing a wider role in the disabled narratives than just supporting Scouting and Guiding programmes. In 1935, for example, Henshaws reported 'the Annual Sports were again held at the White City Grounds, Old Trafford. Free use of the venue was most kindly granted by the Management, for which the Board [were] deeply grateful... Competitors came from Leeds, Liverpool, Preston, and Sheffield Institutions.'[163] The White City Stadium was a greyhound racing track situated a ten-minute walk from Henshaws. The management of the Stadium were therefore likely to have known about the school, its work, and the students due to connections made by the school in the local area, such as with Hovis. The sports competitions, offered by Henshaws, mimicked similar opportunities presented by the Scouts and Guides, allowing students to venture into typically community spaces. Henshaws' attempt at integration did not end with competitions.

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[159] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 108.
[160] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/7/39/2, (1939). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind, Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts*. p. 15.
[161] Ibid.
[162] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/3, (1928). *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. p.11.
[163] University of Manchester Archives, MMC/7/39/2, (1935). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind, Ninety-fifth Annual Report and Accounts 1934/35*. p. 13-14.

In the post-war period, Henshaws repeatedly reported on the 'personal development' of their blind students. In 1957, for example, it was reported that every 'opportunity [was] seized to maintain contact with sighted girls and boys of the same age, and during the year a number of visits [had] been made to day schools for parties and similar social functions.'[164] This was reinforced further in 1964 when Henshaws' annual report stated,

> 'pupils' personal development in a normal environment is something to which we pay special attention. Outside contacts are fostered, with individuals and with organisations. The school Scouts and Guides maintain close liaison with other troops and companies in the district. Camping, on our own and sometimes with sighted scouts or guides is always looked forward to and much enjoyed. All activities which help a blind youngster to develop as a normal, sighted, girl or boy are encouraged.'[165]

The boys and girls involved in these units seemed to have greater access to extra-institutional opportunities than those who were not involved with the associations. Taken from a school report, rather than an association document, the reports of extra-institutional activities were primarily related to both youth movements. That being said, the school clearly saw the benefit of these opportunities, supporting those which allowed blind students to venture elsewhere. This shows that the associations were not the only ones supporting integration, with schools and medical institutions attempting to make these moves and facilitating those who wished to do the same.

Similar narratives were not common prior to the Second World War, or replicated among all institutions, yet, in Scouting and Guiding, there was evidence of integration in community spaces. In 1929, the Yorkshire School for the Blind's Girl Guides, competed in a singing competition, described in the school's annual report as 'very large.'[166] The girls were reported to have come fifth, competing against guides without visual impairments.[167] Building upon camping evidence, this example challenges the narrative, to a degree, that institutionalised children were segregated from wider society prior to the Second World War.[168] Despite their rarity, these opportunities did exist, with Scouting and Guiding acting as the bridge from the institution to the community competitions.

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[164] Trafford Local Studies Library, TRA1727, (1957). *Henshaws Annual Report 116th*, 1956-1957. p. 9.
[165] John Rylands Library, uncatalogued additional material, (1964). *Henshaws Institution for the Blind annual report for the year ended 31st March 1964*. p. 6.
[166] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/3, (1929). *Annual reports of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. 1929. p. 12.
[167] Ibid.
[168] See: Hughes, B. (2002). Disability and the Body. In C. Barnes, M. Oliver, & L. Barton (Eds.) *Disability Studies Today* (pp. 58-76). Cambridge: Polity Press. p. 71. &
Copeland, I. C. (2000). The Long Shadow of Segregation. *Journal of Educational Administration and History, 32*(2), 11-18. doi: 10.1080/0022062000320202. &
Copeland, I. C. (2001). Integration versus segregation: the early struggle. *British Journal of Learning Disabilities, 29*(1), 5-11. doi: 10.1046/j.1468-3156.2001.00082.x. p. 7. &

In the post-war period, reports of opportunities to engage in extra-institutional competitions increased for Scouts and Guides. In 1956, for example, a totem pole competition for both handicapped and able-bodied Scouts was held at the Middle Wood Scout Camp in Worlsey, Greater Manchester. Correspondence between Mrs Richardson, the Headquarters Commissioner for Handicapped Scouts', and the Secretary for the Handicapped Scout Committee for Greater Manchester and S.E. Lancashire recounted the adapted competition activities for the handicapped cubs. The Secretary declared that when 'it was learned that the Handicapped Cubs were entering the Competition alternative tests were set by the A.C.C [Assistant County Commissioner] (Cubs), and the examiners were interviewed beforehand and told that no special favour was to be shown to the Handicapped Cubs – they were to be judged entirely on their merits.'[169] The A.C.C was and still is an individual who ensures Scouting policy is followed and helps other adult leaders to understand their role. Their decision to adapt the tests (see Chapter Three) suggests that although these Cubs were able to compete against able-bodied peers, there was concern that positive prejudice would influence decisions made. The 98th Salford Pack, for handicapped cubs, won the event, with the secretary expressing that the 'best part of this was that the other Cubs were so pleased that the Handicapped Cubs had won.'[170] This example demonstrates successful integration with both the handicapped cubs, adults, and other active members enjoying the day and supporting one another. Whilst a seemingly positive example, personal accounts are again unavailable meaning the lived experienced is unknown. The lack of in-depth source material also clouds the categorisation of these children and their handicaps, meaning the scale of inclusion is also difficult to contextualise, due to the differing treatment of differing disabilities. Despite this, it is clear these children were outside their institution and integrating with non-handicapped children from the region.

Similar competitions for those deemed physically handicapped, deaf, blind, and mentally deficient continued in the north during the post-war period. These events were documented particularly at the Yorkshire School for the Blind. In 1955, the School's annual report stated that 'in the York Folk Dancing Competition the King's Manor team [Yorkshire School for the Blind] came in first for Sword Dancing in the Scout/Guide Class.'[171] A similar report in 1956 documented that the scouts 'had another good year and attained many successes in the local competitions.'[172] Continuing to focus on

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Goodley, D. (2003). Against a politics of victimisation: disability culture and self-advocates with learning difficulties. In S. Riddell & N. Watson (Eds.) *Disability, Culture, and Identity*. (pp. 105-130). London: Routledge. p. 107.

[169] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, (17/07/56). *Secretary Handicapped Scout Committee Manchester S.E. Lancashire to Mrs Richardson.*

[170] Ibid.

[171] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5. (1955). *Annual report of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. p. 5.

[172] York Civic Archives, YSB/1/5, (1956). *Annual report of Yorkshire School for the Blind*. p. 5.

competitions that reflected the Scouting and Guiding Edwardian ideals, proves there was still an aim to train these young people to be loyal, worthy citizens (see Chapter One). Folk Dancing saw a revival in Edwardian Britain and was seen as a way for people to return to their rural origins, a trope resonating with both the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides.[173] By including blind children in the folk dancing competition, the movement's grassroots were asserting that these girls could fulfil the ideals set by the association as discussed in Chapter One.

Not all disabled young people were afforded the same opportunities, with many competitions only catering for blind units. In addition to enhanced opportunities for blind young people, deaf children also had chances to engage with others outside their residential and day schools in post-war Britain. The 100th Bradford (Odsal House School for the Deaf) Guide Company reported, in 1962, to have entered 'all District Events and came second in the Swimming Gala.'[174] Firstly, entering all district events evidenced these girls were engaging in a wide array of competitive activities outside of their institutional school, meeting other girls from the surrounding area. The specific mentioning of swimming is important due to its centrality to the movement (see Chapter Three). Highly regarded by association leaders due to its humanitarian lifesaving abilities, it became ever more prevalent during both world wars as well as on the imperial fronts.[175] However, the competitive element of the sport, could be seen to offer different experiences. Kathleen Denny used gender to analyse competitions, arguing girls were taught to be gracious players rather than competitive winners.[176] The lack of detail in competition accounts does little to support or disprove this statement, but the constant reporting of victories in Guiding publications suggests that winning was important.

The provision for deaf guides in West Yorkshire was not mirrored for physically handicapped and backward girls in the same area. In 1962, the same year the Odsal House Guides participated in community competitions, the Guide company at the Quarry House School for backward children reported their summer 'activities were limited to the school and the school grounds.'[177] The disparities between these groups show that the categorisation of disability played a part in how permeable institutional walls were and therefore the delivery of youth movement programmes. For those with learning disabilities, opportunities to integrate with community units and to venture

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[173] Marr, A. (2009). *The Making of Modern Britain*. Hampshire: Pan Macmillan. p. 282.

[174] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms 1962*.

[175] Anon. (2007). Swimming, service to the empire and Baden-Powell's youth movements. *The International Journal of the History of Sport, 24* (5), 682-692. doi: 10.1080/09523360601183277. p. 690.

[176] Denny, K. (2011). Gender in Context, Content, and Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks. *Gender and Society, 25*(1), 27-47. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25789920. p. 31.

[177] West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, WYB199, (1962). *Information concerning Extension Units taken from the Annual Census forms 1962*.

outside the institution were much more limited than those with sensory impairments. This supports and expands Proctor's findings that those within the Yorkshire area had vastly different opportunities, but when considering those in Handicapped and Extension units this was influenced by additional factors such as disability categorisation and the suitability of activities and venues.[178]

Conclusions

During the twentieth century, there was no singular narrative for Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides in relation to integration institutionally, inter-institutionally and extra-institutionally. Provision differed dependant on a varying number of factors that were often out of the control of either association. When considering institutional integration, limitations in terms of the extent young people were able to forge new friendships and engage in new experiences were present due to the amount of young people in a single institution. These limitations began to be mitigated when inter-intuitional experiences occurred. Allowing young people within the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts to leave their institutional boundaries for another was one of the ways institutional walls were permeable. However, when considering this 'permeability' the overarching message that institutional spaces where the primary places for those with disabilities was still present. The development of extra-institutional experience began to contest this central narrative.

Handicapped scouts who joined active community units prior to the associations' push on integration, revealed the importance of local level leadership, cooperation, and the attitudes of the institutions. Integration success stories did occur, but this was not the primary experience of most disabled young people from 1907-1970. Restricted primarily to those with visual or hearing impairments, local leaders were able to decide who was suitable for the unit and who was not. This meant that within the Handicapped and Extension sections, disability categorisation influenced overall provision. Furthermore, the need for the institution or family to provide accessible transport made inclusion even more difficult. Due to this, most disabled members had to rely on experiences with their handicapped or extension units, rather than being able to join a community group directly. Whilst opportunities to join units outside schools and medical facilities were limited, this did not mean scouts and guides were isolated in institutional spaces.

Previous histories of Scouting and Guiding, and indeed disability histories, have failed to recognise the extra-institutional camps and competitions offered and facilitated by the movements. Both activities provided opportunities for handicapped members to integrate with other handicapped and active members in various settings. These experiences did not always replicate the exact experience

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[178] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 108.

Scouting and Guiding promoted, but they did provide some resemblance of the active programme. Like integrating into active units, these opportunities were mostly afforded to those with visual and hearing impairments, being one of the key themes of differing provision. Adding to the emerging field of the 'permeable institution', positive experiences were dependant on philanthropists' willingness to invest both time and resources into them. Donations of land were key to allowing scouts and guides opportunities to venture beyond their institutional boundaries, meaning pursuits were often restricted. The reliance upon philanthropy for camping experiences resonated with other organisations offering similar opportunities, such as the Red Cross. This dependency not only included land, but the need for groups to develop purpose built camping facilities. Woodlarks, primarily accessed by those with physical handicaps, was designed by philanthropists, and their facilities taken advantage of by the associations. The existence of these external facilities demonstrated that provision of camps and indeed competitions, were not limited to the Scouts and Guides but constituted part of wider recreational market, which the schools and institutions themselves contributed to through competitions and events. The need for others to provide land and facilities, as well as supporting with transport and hosting competitions meant experiences differed on a large scale and those reported in the press as positive, often local, stories, were not necessarily representative of the disabled scout and guide experience

Conclusion
Change and Continuity: The Translation of Ideal into Reality

During the twentieth century both Scouting and Guiding attempted to include those with disabilities in their youth movements through institutional and extra-institutional provision. Previously forgotten and ignored, this thesis has brought the experiences of those involved in these branches to the forefront of the discussion, charting how those with disabilities were situated within the changing landscapes of these organisations. It is apparent key themes reoccurred between 1907 and 1970, yet one was more prominent than the rest, the variations in delivery of the central programme at the regional and sub-regional level. Differences in Guiding and Scouting programmes, across localities, have been analysed in the past, focusing on factors such as economics and rurality.[1] These differences were undoubtedly emphasised for those with disabilities, making the translation of association ideals to the reality of local programming complex to say the least. Recapping each of the chapters, followed by the broader themes across the thesis, this concluding chapter will draw together arguments to piece together the picture of change and continuity within Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding in the north of England.

Chapter One discussed Scouting and Guiding citizenship ideals, which framed the programmes for both associations across the century. The primary aim of the movements was stated as 'CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS HAPPY CITIZENSHIP.'[2] This essentially meant the associations would create and develop good citizens. The aims feeding into the concept were 'observation, obedience and self-reliance – inculcating loyalty and thoughtfulness for others – teaching them services useful to the public, and handicrafts useful to themselves – promoting their physical, mental, and spiritual development.'[3] These values were traditional and therefore allowed citizenship ideals to be fluid in contemporary contexts which has meant it is still a key pillar of the movement today. This thesis has been the first to discuss the concept within disabled sections of the associations, arguing that the ideals projected across the Scouts and Guides did not change, but their implementation varied.

For girls and boys, the reasons behind citizenship principles were different. Physical fitness, for example, played a role in both associations, but for scouts it stemmed from the poor physical fitness of army recruits for the South African War and for girls, fitness was deemed by central ranks as

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[1] Proctor, T.M. (1998). (Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39. *History Workshop Journal, 45* (1), 103-134. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4289552. p. 108. & Alexander, K. (2009). The Girl Guide Movement and Imperial Internationalism During the 1920s and 1930s. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth, 2* (1), 37-63. doi: https://doi.org/10.1353/hcy.0.0045. p. 56.
[2] Baden-Powell, R. (1926). *Girl Guiding The Official Handbook*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. p. 5.
[3] Oldham Local Studies and Archives, L40667, (1965). *Oldham Boy Scouts Association, Yearbook 1964-65*. p. 3.

important in creating 'mothers for the Empire' and an ability to migrate to a colonial outpost and set up a home. These were concerns specific to one era of the twentieth century, yet physical fitness has remained important throughout the movements' histories. During both World Wars, war duties carried out by both Scouts and Guides required a good standard of physical fitness, evidenced specifically in the War Service Scouts. Periods outside of wartime still stressed the need to keep fit and healthy to attain both masculine and feminine ideals. Mirrored in other social organisations and movements as well as political campaigns such as the 1937 national fitness movement, these objectives were not progressive but followed a wider contemporary pattern of addressing concerns with citizenship. For those with disabilities this ideal was difficult to achieve. The 'ideal scout' statue at Gilwell reinforced this ideal and highlighted the inability for disabled young people to ever become ideal scouts and achieve the standard of citizenship the associations promoted.

Chapter Two explored the transnational connections made by disabled Scouts and Guides and how these compared to the ideal standards presented by the central association. Schemes, attempts, and the expansion of the movement, when placed in the context of disabled Scouting and Guiding, were hoped to create new connections to mirror opportunities occurring in the active divisions of the movements. This was important as it showed desires for these sections to develop and progress when they had begun with little to no intervention from the central movements in their creation. In addition, it highlighted that the ideals stressed by the association throughout their documents, reports and publications transpired to the Handicapped and Extension sections. Like the translation of all these ideals, there were problems specific to international expansion and the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides. The ability to transfer Scouting and Guiding ideals and programmes into different cultures was difficult. When combining this with the differing attitudes towards disability across the globe as well as the different educational and medical options for children with disability meant this became, in some areas, almost impossible to manage. Nevertheless, lack of consideration for differing disability policies and treatment did not stop both associations pushing for transnational connections for the Handicapped and Extension sections.

The desire to expand the movements globally and to connect members internationally mean transnational views have been important in understanding the full scope of provision for Extension Guides and Handicapped Scouts. These perspectives were both inward and outward, in that the movements at both central and regional levels attempted to push out into the world as well as inviting others to reciprocate such as through the pen pal schemes. Opportunities were developed in various ways, one of which was Braille. This was especially apparent in Manchester in relation to Scouting. In addition to these letters, the magazine *Braille Pie*, written and produced by blind scouts and scouters, aimed to connect visually impaired scouts globally. These initiatives changed

throughout the period, with participation for those with disabilities significantly lower than active members, but the focus on international relations remained continuous across publications and messaging.

Chapter Three covered collective identity within the association and the ways in which ideological and material markets were used to bring Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides together. This included the Promise, uniforms, and badges. Having never been discussed in relation to disability, this chapter shed new light on concepts that are central to the ways the associations' function(ed). This included discussions on the extent those with learning disabilities were able to understand the Promise and join the collective identity ideologically, but also ways in which material items were used to cultivate a collective identity. Both uniforms and badges acted as visual markers of membership to the association in the hopes of creating collective and sub-collective identities based on key characteristics such as age, gender, and nationality. For disabled children this was no different, with desires to keep the same uniforms stemming from the desire for equality. There was not one single narrative when exploring the role of uniforms and badges in Extension Guiding and Handicapped Scouting, with experiences varying across the north. The material possessions linked to the movements have been used in this thesis, much like photographs, to add depth to written sources.

Without the use of material culture, a wider narrative would have been lost in written source materials. This was evident in the ideal scout statue, but especially the case for Guiding badges through their Extension Promise badge. The purple badge separated Extension Guides from the rest of the movement and is absent from extant written sources. This visual symbol of identity contradicted many of the written sources regarding no distinguishing marks for those who were disabled to follow the equality policy set out at the very beginnings of both organisations. Without accessing this visual marker, arguments relating to fractured collective identities, sub-collective identities, and the inability to create one large cohesive, inclusive of disabled young people, would have been more difficult to identify. Both the uniforms and badges showed that the association wished all members to look the same, to subscribe to their ideals and hold them to a standard.

Beliefs that badges, such as the First Class and Kings/Queens award, embodied exactly what it was to be an 'ideal' member of the association, meant that disabled young people attaining these awards had to emulate those principles. The discussions surrounding the adaptations of activities to achieve the standard, was one way the complexity of disabled inclusion, within the associations, has been explored in this thesis. The heated discussions saw members across ranks debate difficulties with awarding Handicapped Scouts the top badges, with some leaders arguing that adaptations were just

as hard, while others suggested it took merit away from those who had achieved it through the standardised means. This was not a debate that was contained to a certain period, but one that continuously resurfaced, showing this was a problem that was never fully solved, even when the central association set policies for Handicapped Scouts to follow in relation to the badges.

The role of adult leaders within the organisations, as well as other adults connected to the delivery of the programmes, such as education and medical staff was explored in Chapter Four. It was hoped adult leaders would reflect the ideals of the association and be able to deliver the programme and ultimately train young people in citizenship. Leaders, much like guides and scouts, were ranked and given responsibility in a voluntary capacity. Running regional meetings, supporting adult members, coordinating the placement of disabled children, running national, regional, and sub-regional activities, competitions, events, schemes, and setting up, running, and sustaining individual Scout and Guide groups were all duties attached to their roles. It was hoped these leaders would give time and expertise providing a continuous service to the association and in turn disabled young people. While both the Scouts and Guides struggled for leaders, there was a standard which included good character, energy, and morals from a respectable background which was believed to provide the base of a good leader.

For those in the Handicapped and Extension Divisions additional qualities were needed in leaders to support the additional needs of members. Listed by the upper ranks as 'rare skill, patience and understanding'[6] the pool to recruit leaders from, for disabled young people, was much smaller than the other branches of the movements, which, as evidenced in Chapter Four, still caused problems. In addition to placing additional expectations upon these leaders, for the safety of the young people, the lack of support in terms of training and development for the volunteers further hindered the delivery of the programmes within institutional settings. The initial recruitment of leaders was an evident challenge yet retaining those that were engaging in the movement was a consistent battle that heavily influenced delivery on the ground.

The fifth chapter in this thesis discussed institutional, inter-institutional and extra-institutional provision by the Scouts and Guides, arguing that the special schools and hospitals in which these activities were carried out were permeable, allowing people to enter and exit in order to provide citizenship training and leisure provision, and in fact, this was part of a larger programme of events for many institutions that included camps, competitions, religious provision and, in some cases, the option to join Scouting and Guiding units in the community. Like all chapters across this thesis there were limitations identified with provision both within and outside institutional spaces. Several of

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[6] Webb, B. (1937). *Scouting Achievements.* London: Wyman & Sons. p. 242.

these limitations were reoccurring across the chapters and highlighted both change and continuity across the period 1907-1970.

Categories of masculinity and femininity have been at the heart of both movements, feeding into their ethos and influencing their programmes. It is therefore unsurprising that gendered identity was one which was continuously reinforced through uniform, activities, and association messaging. This theme has been explored by multiple scholars previously, but this thesis is the first piece to explore these ideas in relation to Handicapped Scouting or Extension Guiding.[9] Guiding especially, reinforced to parents and members of the community that the organisation was instilling feminine values due to anxieties in the early years surrounding the activities they were offering. Despite being largely removed from the community, girls and boys within the associations were expected to adhere to these gendered principles that were occurring throughout most of society. Although this initially seemed odd due to the isolated nature of many of the institutional sites, gendered living and activities were often enforced and supported by institutions, meaning this approach fit within existing site policies.

The acceptance of gender ideals in society, the association, and institutions meant unlike many themes across this thesis the vast majority of handicapped scouts and extension guides were fed a programme that represented gender principles that were central in society throughout the twentieth century. Society's gender values were not unchanging during the period, with women's involvement in the war being a prime example. However, the way in which Scouting and Guiding reflected these changes were continuous, making sure the gendered natures of the movements were symbiotic with wider society. This is arguably why the movements were so popular and have managed to sustain the largest membership base globally from any youth movements. Evidence of gendered activities, such as hair and beauty demonstrations, were seen through photographs at the Royal Victoria School for the Blind in Newcastle in Chapter Three. Although the photographs were undoubtedly staged, similar activities were documented in written sources highlighting this was

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[9] Mills, S. (2011). Scouting for Girls? Gender and the Scout Movement in Britain. *Gender, Place & Culture, 18* (4), 537-556. doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2011.583342. & Denny, K. (2011). Gender in Context, Content, And Approach: Comparing Gender Messages in Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks. *Gender and Society, 25*(1), 27-47. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/stable/25789920. & Proctor, T.M. (2002). *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. American Philosophical Society: Philadelphia. &
Proctor, T.M. (2009). Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. xxvi-xxxviii). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. &
Wittemans, S. (2009). The Double Concept of Subject and Citizen at the Heart of Guiding and Scouting. In N. R. Block & T. M. Proctor (Eds.) *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century* (pp. 56-73). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

indicative of the experience these girls were having. The limitations of photographs, as sources, have been grappled with during this thesis, but their value as a source throughout this work has heavily outweighed their cons. Image sources were much more widely available for those with sensory disabilities than those with learning disabilities, which indicates another theme that has resonated across the thesis, the categorisation of disability.

By creating and running groups within segregated schools and hospitals based on disability, issues existing within those environments and those existing in a wider social context were carried across. Those categorised as feebleminded/backward or mentally deficient had significantly lower opportunities to engage in elements of the programme that involved integrating with other young people, engaging in activities in the community, or working through activities and badges. Evidence of activity was often muted in annual reports and explicit statements made about exclusion surrounding those classified as mentally deficient in relation to camping and uniforms.[10] Compared with evidence on physically, visually, and hearing-impaired groups, it is obvious those adults leading units for young people with learning disabilities struggled to implement the programme.

Press reports during the interwar period covered Guiding and Scouting camps for those with sensory disabilities, more than any other camps combined. In addition to this, institutional school reports indicated those catering for the visually and hearing impaired were able to access camping activities much easier than other members of the divisions, as well as competitions and day trips outside of their institution. Discussed at length across this thesis, opportunities for these members were, on the whole, increased due to a variety of factors, including connections through the schools, reduced adult ratios and less equipment needed.

Differences in access were continuously obvious throughout the period. Evidencing Down's Syndrome specifically, Chapter Five showed these children were explicitly banned from groups due to their appearance. Expanding this to include all those who were deemed mentally deficient (M.D), those working directly with disabled young people within the association argued they would be 'too much of a hinderance to the other Scouts.'[11] However, for those who were blind or deaf, examples in Greater Manchester of accessing their own unit were apparent and reported on even when institutional units were available to attend. This was a very small minority of boys, but nonetheless, showed that these opportunities were available, sporadically, for those who had the 'right' disability to be able to integrate with a local group. Their involvement was ultimately down to local adult

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[10] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 15/12/53.* 1953.
[11] Greater Manchester County Record Office, G9/6, *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 23/06/53.* 1953.

leaders running both the Handicapped Division and the community units they were placed in, highlighting the local level influence in the ideal set by the central association and the reality on the ground.

The role of adult leaders, although specifically addressed in Chapter Four, appeared across all chapters due to their centrality in the delivery of the programmes for disabled young people. Inconsistencies in local level leadership caused institutional groups to lay dormant for years at a time meaning provision was sporadic and varied from institution to institution. There were multiple reasons for this, many of which were out of the associations control. Social context, including life events played a large role in the inconsistency of provision for disabled young people. These included getting married, a rise in married female employees, moving away, and both World Wars, all of which changed the availability of adult leaders and what they could offer on a voluntary basis. Pressures, especially surrounding female volunteers in the post-war period, were shown in Chapter Four to be recognised by the Guiding association. From the limiting factors in discontinued provision in Scouting, evidenced in this thesis, both World Wars were referenced as key factors in adult leadership retention. This specifically affected younger Scouters, with the Bolton district stating conscription caused difficulties sourcing adult leaders during the wars.[13] Although conscription largely affected male leadership, Guiders also resigned due to war work.[14] The impact of these resignations undoubtedly affected all elements of the Guiding and Scouting associations, including those disabilities.

When considering how adult leaders influenced Handicapped and Extension provision, their ability to make decisions away from the central association meant varying narratives have been revealed throughout this thesis. This was especially the case when deciding whether young people with disabilities were able to join their section of the movement. Drawing parallels with other activities and elements of the associations, this affected those with learning disabilities to a greater extent. Examined throughout this thesis, stigma often played a role in the delivery of the programme as well as sourcing and retaining leaders to run groups. Discussions surrounding members with learning disabilities being a 'hindrance', or unable to partake in the programmes, were regularly had during the twentieth century. When compared to other groups catering for those with sensory or physical disabilities, these viewpoints were overwhelming. Stigma was hard to measure across source material due to the associations' desires to appear 'pioneering' in their efforts, but correspondence

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[13] Bolton City Archives, B369.43 BOL, (c. 1960). *Bolton and District Boy Scout Association "Once a Scout Always a Scout" 50 years of Scouting in Bolton*. p. 12.
[14] Wysholme Guiding Archive, uncatalogued, (1942). *Yorkshire West Riding (South) Girl Guides, County Report*. p. 5.

and minutes have highlighted undertones that ultimately transpired into stunted provision or lack of it altogether. The desire to appear pioneering was evident in the central associations attempts to tackle negative perceptions towards children with learning disabilities. Despite their efforts, the direct impact of publications mentioning stigma and the treatment of those with learning disabilities, was another example of how central messaging failed to make an impact at a local level, as local leaders still led with their own opinions.

The role of stigma in the delivery of the programme was large, but its influence went beyond this in terms of the translation of association ideal to reality. Adult attitudes of those external to the movement, directly impacted the associations' abilities to engage in activities outside institutional spaces and engage in the sister and brotherhood ideals consistently reinforced in Scout and Guide materials. This was important for members of the local community, businesses, and influential leaders, but the role of those inside institutional locations played a larger part in how successful the groups were run and developed. Personal opinions and beliefs of those in charge of schools and hospitals meant disparity went beyond disability categorisation and varied from institution to institution across the north. Evidenced, especially in Chapter Four, when the associations specified that institutional staff needed to be consulted and heeded before a group was formed, which meant the staff had ultimate control. Approval was therefore needed for the setting up of each group. Many did support the organisations, with some believing it was imperative to the health, wellbeing, education, and treatment of those with disabilities. When institutional staff did not support the scheme, it was common for delivery to be stunted, with minimal activity, or for the group to close all together. This was evidenced at the Thomason Memorial School, for deaf children, where the matron was found to be unhelpful and the group struggling.[16] The ability to successfully run an institutional group sometimes went beyond the support of the staff with additional policies put in place such as an increased ratio for 'cot' cases of 1:2 which became unmanageable for groups struggling to retain just two volunteers to run the group.[17]

Despite these seemingly additional pressures by medical and educational staff, some of these individuals ran or practically supported the units due to their belief Scouting and Guiding benefited the young people. Nonetheless, the associations where not the only recreational opportunities that needed assistance from staff and teachers with local authority camps asking medical staff to join children for extended periods of time to ensure there was enough help and the camps could be run safely. Reliance on staff and teachers for more than their institutional tasks, has been evidenced in

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[16] Greater Manchester County Records Office, G9/6, *Minutes of the Handicapped Sub-Committee, 20/09/55/* 1955.
[17] Cf. p. 164.

this thesis as relatively normal, but did not always work. Even if staff agreed to join camps, trips, or support units, logistically there were often issues in delivering opportunities.

The need for medical and teaching staff to act as leaders not only stemmed from the associations inability to attract people to the organisation, but the rurality of the institutions themselves. Guiding and Scouting struggled with rural areas and leadership during the period 1907-1970, because of issues with transport and a smaller number of people to attract and support. Due to the rural natures of many institutions these problems translated to the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides as volunteers could not access transport, or, if they could, it was often an expensive, long journey with multiple connections. Undoubtedly, transport links became easier as the period progressed, yet problems were still reported with the National College of Teachers of the Deaf encouraging teachers to become involved in the association and take pupils in their cars if necessary to a local group. Issues with rurality were not unchanging throughout the period, but developments in transport and infrastructure helped to elevate some of the limitations. One of these limitations was inevitably limited financial resources which moved beyond issues with transportation and influenced the entire deliverance of the programme.

Repeatedly referenced in source material, those with disabilities struggled to access funds for trips, uniforms and to keep their groups going. A variety of ways to overcome financial barriers occurred. Some groups raised money themselves, some received aid from other groups in the community, in some cases the institutions themselves bought uniforms, members of the community were asked to provide land, transport and assistance, which meant philanthropy played a large part in the ability for central ideals to be delivered at a local level to 'all'. Covered extensively in Chapter Five, in relation to camping experiences outside institutional spaces, philanthropy ranged from land donations to financial aid, to lending of equipment and materials and the donation of time from professionals and adult volunteers in the association themselves. These donations allowed disabled young people to move beyond the boundaries of their institutions and into community or other private spaces. Without assistance from additional adults, equipment, and permissions for use of facilities, these activities would not have been delivered and the programme set by the association not carried out to the extent it was supposed to be. Reliance on support, was again, unchanging.

This continuous reliance on adults across the north undoubtedly created varying experiences for disabled children when accessing the movement. Due to the lack of central grasp on the sections for those with disability, sharing knowledge within the movement became imperative to allowing the programme to be delivered and developed and for central ideals to be cascaded. These connections were not equal across the north with committees not mirrored between organisations or replicated

even within the same movement. The Handicapped Sub-Committee for Greater Manchester and Lancashire, for example, was a group that was grassroots created bringing together leaders from both areas to discuss activities that had been happening and opportunities arising in the Scouts. It also gave leaders a chance to discuss best practice, where the movement was failing, or not doing as well, and acted as a support group for those involved. Throughout this thesis it has been clear that this Committee was imperative to the success of Handicapped Scouting in Greater Manchester and Lancashire with reports in Yorkshire and other areas of the north failing to meet similar standards the Committee reported.

In comparison, Guiding did not offer a similar group with connections primarily being made through annual reports. Census information printed in reports documented key activities each group undertook which was then distributed to groups within that area. Although this allowed Extension groups to see activities that had occurred and the other groups out there, the ability to discuss ideas and opportunities were limited and relied on the local level leaders themselves to foster connections and create forums for discussion. The impact of these groups, and lack of these groups, meant Scouting and Guiding ideals of brotherhood and sisterhood, connecting groups to one another, and working together varied, in practicality, across the north. In addition, the ability to expand the movements to reach new young people was stunted again, without these opportunities to discuss and connect with other like-minded individuals in the associations, who were able to support and develop new groups.

The ability for guides and scouts participating in the Handicapped and Extension divisions to attain the standards set by the association was slim to none at any stage in the period covered by this thesis, 1907-1970. There was a continuous recognition by both movements that disabled children might not be able to participate in activities in the same way those in the active section could. This led to change as the movement adapted to the sections and worked towards implementing policies on attaining badges, wearing uniforms, and engaging in activities outside of their meeting place. While these changes occurred, cementing what young disabled people could do and achieve within the movements, narratives were largely continuous, with limitations such as adult leaders and the categorisation of disability resonating from 1907 to 1970 no matter the social, economic or political climate.

The Legacy of Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding

Today disabled young people are encouraged to join the Scouts and Girlguiding, with both movements having a 'commitment' to accessibility.[30] This means there are no segregated groups for those with disabilities, aside from a handful of Guiding groups operating within children's hospitals.[31] These units do not 'enrol' girls, work towards badges, or follow the typical programme, but offer ad hoc activities and contact details of their nearest group so they can join once they have been discharged from the ward. Activities are adapted and trips are organised for the whole group based on whether they are accessible for the whole group. When comparing this to experiences seen across this thesis, the policy of adaptation and organised trips has changed little. Without further study into modern day Scouting and Guiding it would be difficult to assess whether the homogenous experiences of the twentieth century echo through to the modern day. That being said, there is plenty of scope for further research exploring Handicapped Scouting and Extension Guiding from its inception through to the present.

This thesis never aimed to chart the entire history of the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides but rectify the omission of disabled young people from existing histories, offering a new way to understand Scouting and Guiding provision in twentieth century Britain. Both association and institutional reports prove that experiences occurred, but real-life voices from disabled youth are missing, with oral testimony only shedding light recently on lived experiences towards the end of the twentieth century.[32] Oral histories were not conducted due to some of the period being beyond living memory and the breadth of other source material being available. However, it could and should be used as a source in the future to reveal these voices that are omitted from institutional and association sources. Beyond the use of oral histories, use of central Guiding archives, regional archives beyond the north of England and international source material could be used to develop this research further. Building upon key themes of locality, rurality and transnationalism, studies that explore different areas would bring a welcome comparator to this thesis.

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While there are several directions future research could take, the likelihood of finding a homogenous experience is slim. From 1907-1970 narratives of the Handicapped Scouts and Extension Guides have differed sub-regionally. Limitations within the movements' structures and delivery methods left room for varying provision and difficulties when trying to replicate the programme for handicapped young people across the north of England. Both the categorisation of disability and the reliance on voluntary adult leadership were ultimately the reasons for these varying narratives, but a mirage of other factors including economics, logistics, stigma, international relations, disability policies and war contributed to how this provision was created, delivered, and maintained.

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