"White, Black, and Dusky": Girl Guiding in Malaya, Nigeria, India, and Australia from 1909-1960

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“WHITE, BLACK, AND DUSKY”: GIRL GUIDING IN MALAYA, NIGERIA, INDIA, AND AUSTRALIA FROM 1909-1960

by

SALLY STANHOPE

Under the Direction of Christine Skwiot

ABSTRACT

This comparative study of Girl Guiding in Malaya, India, Nigeria, and Australia examines the dynamics of engagement between Western and non-Western women participants. Originally a program to promote feminine citizenship only to British girls, Guiding became tied up with efforts to maintain, transform, or build different kinds of imagined communities—imperial states, nationalists movements, and independent nation states. From the program’s origins in London in 1909 until 1960 the relationship of the metropole and colonies resembled a complex web of influence, adaptation, and agency. The interactions between Girl Guide officialdom headquartered in London, Guide leaders of colonized girls, and the colonized girls who joined suggest that the foundational ideology of Guiding, maternalism, became a common language that participants used to work toward different ideas and practices of civic belonging initially as members of the British Empire and later as members of independent nations.

INDEX WORDS: Girl Guides, Scouting, missionaries, Girl Scouts, imperialism, maternalism, decolonization, nationalism
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SALLY STANHOPE

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family. They make me laugh about the very things I want to cry about and provide the reality check I so often need before I implement my latest scheme. They have provided the daily breaks I’ve needed to survive the writing process. On a daily basis they demonstrate the perseverance, determination, and work ethic that carried me through this project.
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INTRODUCTION

I Promise, on my Honor
To do my duty to God and the King;
To try and do daily good turns for other people;
To obey the Law of the Guides.¹

At the beginning of each weekly Girl Guide meeting, colonized girls in Malaya, Australia, Nigeria, and India pledged their loyalty to the King of England. Many wore the same uniform, learned the symbolism of the Union Jack and the words to God Save the Queen, and performed the same rituals that Lord Robert Baden-Powell had invented for British girls during the first two decades of the twentieth century. At their camps, they flew the Union Jack and the World Flag of Guiding. Many colonized girls considered Princess Margaret and Elizabeth their royal sisters and celebrated their birthdays and Guiding accomplishments, often in more elaborate ways than their British counterparts. One company in a leprosy colony in southern Nigeria went so far as to commission “a leper boy” to carve two life-size statues of the princesses in their Guiding uniforms to stand in the central meeting place of the community.² All of the colonized companies of Guides spent months preparing extravagant performances for coronation celebrations of 1937. Such practices, at first glance, suggest that the proliferation of Girl Guiding companies across the British Empire in the early twentieth century was another manifestation of a movement founded in the metropole driving change in the colonies.

My comparative study of Guiding in Malaya, India, Nigeria, and Australia uncovers a more complex web of influence, adaptation, and agency. It argues that colonial Guide leaders, known as Guiders, reworked Baden-Powell’s citizenship program so that it aligned with their personal and political conceptions of the imagined community, be it nation or Empire, which
they hoped their Guides would one day join. In all four colonial contexts, Guiders and officers justified active citizenship as an essential responsibility of women, a natural extension of their maternal role as caretaker and their duty to improve the lives of benighted Others. From the program’s origins in London in 1909, when confidence in the civilizing mission was at all time high, until 1960, the “Year of Africa,” the evolving relationship between the metropole and colonies affected the ways colonial participants used the Guiding program as well as the policies the metropole adopted. The endpoint, 1960, stands as out as milestone in decolonization. It began with Conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan publicly declaring Britain’s approval of the decolonization of its African Empire in his Wind of Change speech and ended with Nigerian independence. Like all periodizations, however, the breaking point of 1960 is an artificial construction. Though the relationship between the metropole and colonies changed as India, Pakistan, Malaya, and Nigeria gained independence and Britain left Australia to look to the United States as its primary ally in Oceania, it did not end. This postcolonial relationship continues to influence Guides and Guiders in India, Malaya, Australia, and Nigeria as well as those in metropole and around the world.

The interactions between Girl Guide officialdom headquartered in London, Guide leaders of colonized girls, and the colonized girls who joined suggest that the foundational ideology of Guiding, maternalism, became a common language that participants used to work towards different conceptions of civic belonging that included the world, the Empire, and the nation. These ideas flowed in an unpredictable path that initially followed the traditional metropole to colony model but after the First World War increasingly involved the transference of ideas and personnel from colony to metropole, within colonies, or among colonies. The Girl Guiding movement reveals what C. A. Bayle calls the “multi-centric nature of change in world history.”
Founded in 1909 as a way to keep British girls from joining Boy Scout troops, Girl Guides initially represented another effort “in centuries-old campaigns” to bring working-class British girls into the folds of modern civilization. Its emphasis on the development of competent mothers addressed contemporary fears that ignorant mothers who failed to adequately raise their children as loyal, healthy citizens would lead to the demise of white global domination. By the beginning of World War One, Guiding had expanded outside of Britain to Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas but remained a primarily an Anglo-American phenomenon with most members concentrated in Britain, the United States, and the white Dominions.

Scholars agree that as the founder, Robert Baden-Powell, watched the accumulating carnage of World War I, he changed the tone of Guiding from that of defensive imperialism, which emphasized the need to train white children of all classes to protect Anglo-American global domination, to one of liberal imperialism that envisioned a multiracial movement dedicated to international cooperation. Robert’s ideological shift reflected a general sense of uncertainty among the colonized and colonizers in superiority of Western modernity. It also reflected the influence of Western educators working in the colonies who had written Robert that the program was the ideal tool to teach young girls the superior ways and values of the West. Desperate to restore the legitimacy of the Anglo-American mission to guide other societies towards rational self-government, Western educators, primarily missionaries, had begun unofficial guiding companies among colonized girls in India and Malaya. Unlike the original program that promised imperial citizenship only to Western women, these educators encouraged their colonized Guides to work towards taking on the responsibilities of imperial citizenship. Their success stories helped to persuade Robert to support Guiding among the colonized.
Although Girl Guiding officially adopted a more international focus after WWI, in the colonized world it retained its imperial focus. Primarily white American and British colonial Guiders encouraged colonized girls to imagine belonging to a larger British world once they mastered the skills the membership required. Between the start of the War in 1914 and the creation of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts [WAGGGS], the international governing body of Guiding, in 1928, the percentage of British territories with nascent Guiding movements that allowed colonized girls to join increased from none to over half. In comparison, no French territories had established Guide movements before 1928, and though the Dutch Indies had a growing movement, the first official historian of Guiding, Rose Gough Kerr, claimed, “Guiding in the Dutch East Indies has developed quite apart from the motherland, and along the English lines.”

Charged with a desire to transform Guiding into a global youth movement that promoted peace, transnational cooperation, and Anglo-American ideals of femininity and democracy, white women from Britain and America working in the metropole built the international structure of Guiding, while those in colonized regions started the first companies among non-Western girls. To demonstrate that Guiding promoted an imagined global community of sister Guides, the contingent of British and American women in London developed world conferences and camps, international penpal programs, and similar handbooks and rituals. In the colonies, uniforms, shared literature and traditions, regional and national camps, and visits from prominent British elites sought to give participants at the peripheries a sense of belonging to an imagined community united under a common Promise and Laws. Despite the international emphasis that Guiding adopted in reaction to the carnage of WWI, its foundational concept of maternalism, which made it differ from the original Scouting program Baden-Powell developed in 1908 for
British boys, remained essential, driving the actions of its participants in the metropole and colonies.¹³

**Girl Guides, Empire, and Nations as Imagined Communities**

Since Benedict Anderson published *Imagined Communities*, most scholars, according to historians Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, have assumed the nation “as the imagined community of modern times.”¹⁴ Anderson’s iconic text argues that the rise of print capitalism allowed individuals to imagine that they shared a common heritage, political agenda, and value system with people they had never met. These shared characteristics became the basis for citizenship in a nation, where members share rights and responsibilities as well as values and expectations. Yet, not all imagined communities were nations. During the first half of the twentieth century a variety of imagined communities united people of different nationalities and ethnicities across disparate regions with a sense of shared values.¹⁵ Transnational women’s organizations like Girl Guiding and the British Empire imagined political communities of citizens that meet Anderson’s distinguishing characteristics of a nation: limited in scope and sovereign in rule.¹⁶

Where most imagined political communities presumed citizens as male, Girl Guiding provided women a platform to invent imagined communities inclusive of women and girls.¹⁷ At the international level, Guide officers often described this imagined sisterhood of Guiders and Guides as an international family where Western women mothered non-Western women. When white and colonized Guiders in Malaya, Nigeria, Australia, and India started companies among colonized girls, they used Guiding to imagine a community that placed them in the position as mothers of both their Guides and other women who had yet to integrate Western practices and values into their lives. Most white Guiders, both American and British, and many colonized Guiders saw themselves as mothers of future imperial citizens.
Other Guiders in Malaya, Nigeria, and India wanted their charges to take up the mantle of the future nation. The active national discourse in India led some Guiders to adopt the Baden-Powell’s Scouting program to encourage girls to embody a multiracial citizenship of the future Indian nation from the arrival of girls scouting in 1911. Though the first Guide leaders of Malaya who were nearly all British or American firmly embraced imperial citizenship, after Indian independence, Lady Templer, the wife of the High Commissioner, prompted white Guiders and colonized Guiders to recruit Malayan leadership and encourage Guides to work towards a multiracial Malayan citizenship that valued Chinese and Indian girls as equally important to the nation as Malays. In contrast to India, where most government officials and Western Guiders objected to nationalist manifestations of Guiding, in Malaya, a Western Guider initiated the transformation of Guiding from an imperial import largely run by Western women into a multiracial nationalist organization and the government sponsored the first nationalist Guiding projects. In Nigeria, Lady Oyinkan Abayomi transformed of Guiding from a tool of imperialism into an organization of multiethnic nationalism after the colonial government’s new policy of Nigerianization led the all-white leadership to decide it politically expedient to appoint at least one Nigerian officer. Rather than look to the West for models, officers and Guiders often modeled their policies and projects on the programs the Guide associations of India and Pakistan had implemented.

Maternalism: A Manifestation of the Civilizing Mission

During the nineteenth century as Britain expanded its rule over Western Malaya, Nigeria, India, and Australia, it legitimated its control of other peoples and lands with the ideology of the civilizing mission. Westerners often described the civilizing mission in terms of childhood development. Accordingly, they portrayed Western countries as the fully matured adult human beings with the capability of rational thought and ingenuity and responsibility to defend “childlike”
peoples who had not yet developed their full capabilities. The more similar a colonized society’s material culture and political organization (especially their understanding of private property) to the West, the better its ranking in the eyes of Westerners and the sooner it would prove fit enough for self-government. Because Westerners commonly conflated culture and race, the civilizing mission asserted the superiority of white middle-class Western capitalist values. However, it implicitly promised peoples deemed colonized, nonwhite, or uncivilized the right to representative government and social equality when they had attained the standards of civilization.

The white settler colonies gained the right to responsible government over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Britain and Australia dismissed Aboriginal claims to the land and governance and agreed that Aboriginals would never benefit from the civilizing mission as within a few generations their race would be extinct. For the dependencies, colonizers argued it would be generations before the people would be ready to take on the full responsibilities of governance – some more than others. In the imperial mind, Malaya, because of its aristocracy and monarchy, and Northern Nigeria, because of its strong centralized rule, was generations ahead of the more democratic, localized ‘pagan’ societies of Southern Nigeria.

That Britain had granted settler colonies self-government made British claims that in the distant future the colonized peoples of Asia and Africa might also gain self-government appear more authentic. Many colonized people, including Gandhi, initially favored the ideal of an imperial citizenship as they interpreted it to include the right to vote and compete equally. Yet in practice, the imperial civilizing mission and self-government in the Dominions promoted white superiority, contributed to the racialization of the hierarchy of civilizations, and only rhetorically acknowledged the colonized as imperial citizens. By the twentieth century, Westerners under-
stood civilized and uncivilized, white and non-white, and Occidental and Oriental to be synonymous categories and used the terms interchangeably.\textsuperscript{23}

At the end of the nineteenth century, middle-class Western women reshaped the rhetoric of the civilizing mission to justify a greater role for women in politics, missionary work, education, and medicine. Historians refer to the feminist version of the civilizing mission as maternalism.\textsuperscript{24} Maternalism advanced motherhood as women’s natural occupation that included physically raising children as well as nurturing the community in their work as social workers, teachers, nurses, and community activists. Because maternalism sought to challenge certain gender inequities and reform society, historians consider it an early manifestation of what later activists call “feminism.” One inequity that maternalists contested was the persistent belief among nationbuilders that imperialism and nationalism were exclusively masculine endeavors. According to maternalist discourse, women built the country’s citizenry through work with one’s own family and work mothering the future citizens of the nation/empire. While maternalists believed biological motherhood the best way to contribute to the wellbeing of the nation, most committed women maternalists pursued careers outside the home in education, medicine, and community.\textsuperscript{25}

When the Guiding movement emerged in Britain, maternalism had become a mainstream women’s rights ideology that interest groups across the politic spectrum appropriated to justify diverging agendas. Although maternalists ranging from Indian male anti-imperialists to white missionaries discursively advanced that all women were naturally endowed with maternal instincts, they agreed that inadequate mothers threatened to undermine human progress. Maternalists typically considered any woman that fit their idealized models of femininity as deficient. Nearly every cultural tradition that did not fit within Western conceptions of femininity, maternalists labeled as form of oppression of women.\textsuperscript{26} They added women’s rights as another quali-
fication necessary before the colonized peoples gained the right to self-government and asserted that women, because of their maternal proclivities, were the most efficient agents of the colonized mission. Maternalists imagined middle-class white women guiding colonized peoples, the working class, and other groups at the periphery of ‘civilization’ to exchange their backwards, superstitious traditions and irrational beliefs for the modern rationality of the Western bourgeoisie.\textsuperscript{27}

The First World War undermined the civilizing mission in minds of colonizer and colonizer alike. Both adapted to survive through the interwar period and after. To revive what Michael Adas alliteratively names, “the badly battered civilizing mission,” Britain redeveloped popular rituals and political discourses to project a more participatory, inclusive Empire and colonial governments focused more on the welfare of the colonized. Indians gained more power in colonial government. Likewise, Guiding adopted an international focus and a more democratic system of governance that granted independent nations, the white Dominions, and India the right to send delegates to biannual World Conferences.\textsuperscript{28} Despite such reforms and widespread rejection of essentialist conceptions of culture or race, the hierarchy of civilizations remained influential in the minds of imperialists.

After World War I, a new model of feminine independence and public engagement emerged that historians now refer to as the Modern Girl, yet at the time her names varied according to country and region. The Modern Girl quickly became an international phenomenon that challenged the selfless ethic of maternalism and offered girls and women a new avenue to independence based on leisure and consumption rather than the sacrifice and duty maternalism demanded.\textsuperscript{29} Among colonized elites, the Modern Girl became emblematic of drawbacks of modernity and fed parents’ fears regarding Western educational imports like Guiding.\textsuperscript{30} In reaction to
such a threat, colonial Guiders expanded the civilizing mission not only to teach colonized girls Western values and skills that they believed modern citizenship required, but also to protect them from the temptations that modernity would bring.\textsuperscript{31} They also exploited the commercial mediums that had popularized the modern girl, magazines, film, and radio to spread the ethic of Guiding.\textsuperscript{32}

With the blessing of government officials and colonial professionals, more white women took up the civilizing mission after the War either as professionals or as wives with social expectations to meet. These women understood that if properly instructed the colonized could be their potential equals, fellow citizens of the British Empire, responsible enough to participate in a civil society of women made up of charity organizations, lobby groups, and discussion circles and contribute to the general welfare through volunteer work and careers oriented towards service. Barbara Bush calls this shift in imperial politics “the feminization of the Empire.” During this period of feminization, the government and international organizations working in the dependencies gradually began to cooperate with colonized elites to generate greater consent among the colonized for the civilizing mission.\textsuperscript{33}

The white Dominions feminized very differently from the dependencies. Most Westerners in the Dominions embraced essentialist notions of citizenship and race and saw the civilizing mission inapplicable to nonwhites. In Australia, policymakers, scientists, and white citizens agreed that Aboriginal peoples lacked the intellectual capacity to take on the responsibilities of self-government or the duties of citizenship.\textsuperscript{34} Driven by the votes and lobby organizations of white men and women, the federal and state governments of Australia focused on the welfare of white women. To deal with the Aboriginal problem, they created a separate welfare system, which strove to eliminate the Aboriginal way of life through forced-segregation and coercive as-
similation. The Australian branches of international women’s organizations like Guiding and the Pan-Pacific Women’s Association followed their lead. As a result, the Guiding movements in the Dominions directed nearly all their resources towards white Guides and curtailed the official participation of non-Western women. Guiding for Aboriginal girls only began in the thirties, when all states had realized that the segregation of Aborigines would not lead to their elimination and had adopted a policy of assimilation that required the institutionalization Aboriginal children of mixed parentage. White Guiders who started companies of colonized girls in the Dominions were primarily Christian missionaries working as state-funded institutions to teach Aboriginal children how to act in “the white world.” They rarely had the means to participate in regional council meetings or take their companies to rallies, camps, and other regional celebrations that local Guiders arranged. By the time Australian Guiding movement began encourage Guiding among Aboriginal Guides and allow Aboriginal women to join as Guiders in the late fifties, Guiding had become firmly identified in the minds of former Aboriginal Guides as representative of a past they wanted their daughters to avoid.

The maternalist purpose of Guiding helped it overcome conservative opposition not only in Britain but also in Europe, the United States, the white Dominions, northern Nigeria, India, and Malaya. Maternalism provided educated middle-class women, colonized and white, the moral power they needed to bypass traditional boundaries between classes, races, and genders. With these new freedoms, female maternalists used Guiding as a rubric to train girls to reorganize society so that women could take on their natural role as nurturer in the home and community. Many historians argue that the international tone of the interwar Guiding philosophy triggered the exponential growth the movement achieved during the twenties and thirties. My study indicates that movement’s commitment to maternalism played an equally influential role in
its expansion and in the cases of Nigeria, Australia, India, and Malaya ensured its popularity among colonized girls and women. It gave colonial Guiders, the flexibility to train and promote their Guides as future citizens of the Empire or the nation that male nationalist and imperialist came to support.

Colonized women, mostly the Western-educated elite who sought greater influence in their communities, found maternalism a far more palatable feminism than the sexual and domestic liberation that the Modern Girl represented. Maternalism offered colonized women ideologies to cast themselves as makers of future independent nation taking on the same maternal role as colonizer women claimed. Yet, unlike their Western counterparts, they hoped practiced a more inclusive civilizing mission. They worked around non-Western “barbaric” traditions such as purdah, polygamy, and child marriage and chose certain “primitive” traditions to symbolize the a cohesive national identity.

**The Colonial Spectrum of Guiding**

Western perceptions influenced not only when and if colonized peoples were deemed ready for self-government, but also the development of Guiding among colonized girls and their relationship to the worldwide movement. Through a comparative analysis of the evolution of Guiding among colonized girls and women in India, Malaya, Australia, and Nigeria from the 1911 to 1960, I strive to capture the spectrum of relationships between metropole and colony and colonizers and colonized that existed in the British imperial world. Their diversity reveals local conditions that shaped the ways Guiding officials, Guides, and Guiders negotiated between the international and imperial goals of the movement and defined citizenship. Their commonalities demonstrate the influence of global processes.
The civilization hierarchy suggested that certain peoples would become capable of self-government faster than others. In the cases of Malaya, Australia, India, and Nigeria, this in fact played out. Britain gradually granted greater levels of self-governance according to how similar they perceived the colony’s cultures to be to British culture. Thus, the metropole first loosened its grip on Australia (1901), a white settler society; then agreed to independence for India and Pakistan, which had historical legacies of great civilizations (1947). Next, they pushed independence on Malaya whom had a pro-British hierarchical society (1957). Nigeria, where racism intensified white perceptions of difference, only gained independence in 1960, even though its people had demanded it since the late thirties. Western perceptions of civilization affected not only independence, but also the interactions between white and colonized Guiders, Guiding headquarters and colonial Guiding associations, and colonized Guiders and colonized society.

Australia, a settler colony whose aim was the elimination of Aborigines, represents one extreme. It seemingly had the closest cultural connections with Britain with the greatest political independence secured in 1901 with Federation. Federation did not lead to decolonization. With the powers to control domestic affairs and immigration policies, Australia intensified its effort to define imperial citizenship as white. When predictions of Aboriginal extinction proved unfounded, states forced Aborigines to assimilate to British society. No matter the degree Aboriginal women assimilated, the federal government only began to legally insure Aborigines the civil rights to participate in British society in the sixties and seventies. Guiding became a part of this imperial project and has never overcome this legacy.

Nigeria, which Matthew Lange identifies as “the most extreme case of indirect rule,” constitutes the opposite side of the colonial spectrum than Australia. In contrast to the settler colonialism of Australia, Lord Lugard, the Governor General of Nigeria from 1914-1919, prohib-
ited expatriate land ownership. He set up a form of government that depended on the cooperation of Nigerian rulers. After World War II, Western officials hesitantly began to institute constitutional changes that would gradually transfer power to Nigerians. Because of their prejudices towards Africans, colonial officials imagined independence in the distant future and resisted setting a date until 1957. After they established later a date later that year for the regions in the south and 1959 for the Northern Region, Western officials postponed the transfer of power a long as they could without promoting violence. Though Nigeria gained independence and with it the right to send a delegation to the World Conferences that the international governing body of Guiding held tri-annually, Western leaders at the international level continued to exclude Nigerian women from governance.  

The British Raj represents the middle of the spectrum. Generally, Westerners perceived Indians as better equipped to face the responsibilities of self-rule than Malays, Nigerians, or Australian Aboriginals. By the inception of Guiding in 1909, historian Daniel Gorman explains, “India, the lynchpin of the Empire . . . occupied a halfway house between the settlement colonies, which enjoyed self-government, and the dependencies, governed by British fiat, and deemed by London unlikely to progress towards autonomy in the near or distant future.” It led the dénouement of the British Empire with independence and partition in 1947 and served as the model for other anti-colonial nationalisms.

Upon first glance, Malaya resembles India. Different sultanates had different degrees of self-governance. In practice, however, all Malay sultans retained only their ceremonial roles and social privileges. To expedite the modernization of Malaya’s economy and the exploitation of its resources and maintain the consent of sultans, the government encouraged the immigration of Chinese and Indian coolies rather that force Malays, who were primarily subsistent farmers, into
wage labor. Until British officials had begun to guide Malaya towards independence as a means to perpetuate its economic influence in the face of Communist guerrillas, very few colonized elites wanted independence. Ethnic tensions between Chinese and Malays made a unified Malayan nation difficult to imagine until the Communist threat allied the Chinese and Malay elite against a common enemy.44

In each case, the role of the Guiding offers not only an important window onto but occasionally a corrective to the narrative of staggered independence. Nigeria, India, and Malaya shared a common problem of uniting a diverse multifaith, multilingual, and multiethnic population into a nation. When and how nationalists harnessed Guiding to this purpose varied. In India, Westernized elites, white and colonized, quickly grasped on to the movement as tool of nationalism as soon as it arrived in 1911. The Nigerian Girl Guide movement began its efforts to promote a united Nigerian identity in the late forties under the leadership of a colonized Guider who had been involved in Nigerian nationalist movements since their inception in the late thirties. Malayan nationalism only emerged in the fifties. Before, all colonial Guiders, colonized and colonizers, used the program to promote an imperial community united through language, loyalty to the King, and shared goals and values. Because nationalist organizations that emerged in the late forties were racially exclusive, Malayan nationalism initially seemed a divisive movement. It took the white wife of the British High Commissioner to persuade colonial Guiders to integrate a multiracial Malayan nationalism into their Guiding program. Nonetheless, because Britain judged Malayan independence as politically and economically expedient and understood Asian societies as more advanced, Malaya achieved independence three years before Nigeria in 1957.45 To colonizers, old racial tropes of civilization held greater influence over the timing of independence than the desires and nationalist activities of the colonized.
Chapters

The first chapter, “Western Foundations: The Origins, Discourse, and Governance of Guiding, 1909-1960,” outlines the evolution of Girl Guides from an institution of prideful Anglo-American imperialism into the world’s largest international youth movement that clothed its imperial roots under the rhetoric of international sisterhood. With evidence I culled from organizational records and articles in the international Guiding magazine, The Council Fire, I argue that the governing organization of the international movement, WAGGGS, institutionalized attitudes of Western superiority. In response to the destruction of World War II, the emergence of modernization theory, and Indian Independence in 1947, the Western leadership of WAGGGS implemented changes that allowed more non-Westerners to participate in the international movement. They formally recognized the expertise of Asian Guiders as trainers and policymakers and incorporated them into the corps of international leaders. In regards to Nigeria and other recently independent nations of Africa that had joined WAGGGS as members, Western leaders continued to marginalize African Guiders and delegates to World Conferences from the international movement until the seventies. As a small minority of the Australian movement, Aboriginal Guides and their Guiders, who were predominantly white missionaries, remained on the peripheries of the international movement.

Chapter 2, “Future Mothers of Empire: White Guiders and their Mission to Mother Imperial Citizens, 1915-1945,” examines the tensions between white Guiders despite their shared faith in the civilizing missions. The missionaries, who founded Guiding companies despite opposition from colonial governments and ambivalence from the Guiding Headquarters in the metropole, understood Guiding as effective program that transformed colonized girls into the first generation of colonized citizens of the Empire. They hoped that through performances of imperial
pride, service projects targeted at mothers and children, “traditional” crafts and games, and physical culture and adventure Guiding would prepare colonized girls for the responsibilities of imperial citizenship. British wives of colonial bureaucrats, who became Guiders of colonized girls when the colonial governments of Malaya, Nigeria, and India became advocates for the Guiding in the twenties, viewed their work and their Guides achievements as progress towards a distant future when colonized people may reach the level of civility needed to take on the responsibilities of imperial citizenship. The activities of white Guiders also show that the colonies impacted the actions of the metropole. Successful reports from missionary Guiders convinced Robert Baden-Powell to reconsider his ambivalence towards non-Western Guides. After World War I, Robert agreed to internationalize the movement and the colonial governments of Malaya, Nigeria, and India took up the cause of colonized Girl Guides. As Headquarters abandoned their pre-war rhetoric of Empire-building and flaunted Guiding as an international sisterhood, white Guiders hoped that through performances of imperial pride, service projects that targeted at mothers and children, “traditional” crafts and games, and physical culture and adventure Guiding would prepare colonized girls for the responsibilities of imperial citizenship. By the Coronation of George IV, colonized Girl Guides had become the quintessential symbol of the benevolence of British imperialism a feature of imperial ceremonies and celebrations in Malaya, Nigeria, and India.

The split among white colonial Guiders over when the colonized would take on the responsibilities of citizenship helps to account why the Guiding movements in Malaya, Nigeria, and India became expressions of belonging to nations independent of the British community. Colonized Guiders began to imagine a nation when they had lost faith that they could ever belong to an imperial community as citizens. Australia differed as it treated the colonized as prob-
lem to be rid of rather than a resource to be developed. Government officials and nearly all white women treated Aboriginal Guides as a potential threat that required tight control. Because of such reluctance, missionaries in Australia took much longer to exploit Guiding as a tool to civilize girls to Western standards of femininity. They only began to found companies in the 1930s when the government decided to eliminate Aboriginal society through assimilation. The first Coronation Aboriginal Guides celebrated was Elizabeth’s in 1953; they celebrated with color guards and renditions of God Save the Queen at mission stations miles away from the larger rallies and camps held across Australia in honor of the event.\textsuperscript{47} Aboriginal Guides like their colonized counterparts eventually dismissed the idea of belonging to a larger British world yet never imagined a pan-Aboriginal nation.

Chapter 3, “Girl Guiding: Maternal Nationalism and the Aboriginal Exception,” examines how women in India, Malaya, and Nigeria manipulated the imperial maternalism that the original metropolitan version offered and most white colonial Guiders propagated into a national maternalism. Because these movements became champions of nationalism before independence, Guiding became a sign of national pride among the citizenry despite its imperial origin. Women found Guiding a way to envision citizenship to the nation in feminine terms and prepare the next generation of girls as mothers of the nation. In Australia, neither Aborigines nor their white missionary Guiders ever considered maternal nationalism as a plausible foundation for Aboriginal citizenship. The concept of an independent Aboriginal nation only emerged in the seventies and never gained traction among a significant number of a Aborigines or non-Aborigines.\textsuperscript{48} Before the late sixties, Aboriginal nationalism did not seek out a nation state or even equality for Aborigines; it merely hoped to achieve the civil rights that imperial citizenship promised for Aborigines who assimilated. Aboriginal women, even those who had participated in movement as
girls, found the program useless as white Australia set the requirements of imperial citizenship so that no Aboriginal woman could attain it no matter how white she acted.

Guiding offers a method to delve into the ways women interpreted maternalism to envision and pursue their conceptions of imagined communities. Western leaders of WAGGGs worked towards an international community of member states where Western delegates decided on behalf or instead of the colonized counterparts. Yet, colonial Guiders did not passively accept the vision that the metropole projected. They created their own conceptions of community occasionally in ways that affected the metropole. The stories and ambitions of Guiders complicate neat narratives of imperialism and contribute to the historiographies of the new imperialism, British World, and colonial women. As a transnational organization run by women, Guiding uncovers feminine conceptions of citizenship and imagined community and highlights the tensions of Empire that provoked women to become involved with the program.

Terminology

This thesis employs multiple terms with imprecise meanings and charged connotations. Colonized refers to the nonwhite people who lived in Australia, Malaya, Nigeria, and India and does not include white Australian settlers of European descent. In Malaya, the colonized population includes the daughters of Indian and Chinese immigrants as well as indigenous Malay girls. Colonial describes both whites and colonized people who live in the colonies.

I define Australia as the Australian Continent, the island of Tasmania and the Torres Strait Islands. I will only consider Guiding activity in what today is known as West Malaysia or Peninsular Malaysia as the former British North Borneo colonies of Sarawak and Sabah did not gain independence or unite with “West Malaysia” until 1963. During the period of colonization the British governed Singapore and Malacca separately from Malaya. Because Malacca became
part of Malaya in 1948, I have included Guides and Guiders from this region in my study. I have chosen not to examine Guiding in Singapore as the British continued to govern it separately until 1963 when it briefly attempted to unite with the Federated States of Malaya. However, up to 1953 the Girl Guide Association of Malaya included Singapore Girl Guides in its organization and thus, the experiences of Guides and Guiders in Singapore and the rest of colonial Malaya run parallel. I will consider Pakistan and India in my analysis of postcolonial British India.  

For Scouting terminology, I have adopted much of the language from organizational sources. Because three Baden-Powells contributed to the founding of the movement, for the sake of clarity, I refer to Olave Baden-Powell, Agnes Baden-Powell, and Robert Baden-Powell by their first names. I use the plural, Baden-Powells, to indicate the husband-wife team of Olave and Robert. Scouting refers to the movement that Robert Baden-Powell founded for boys and girls. Guiding refers to Scouting for girls. I use guiding or scouting as common nouns to distinguish between unofficial manifestations of Baden-Powell’s program and officially sanctioned programs. Because Baden-Powell specified that he preferred to address all Guide leaders as Guiders rather than with the title they had earned and sources reflect his preference, I call all leaders, Deputies, Captains and Lieutenants, commissioned or non-commissioned, Guiders. When speaking of women who became officers at the regional, national, or international levels I only include their specific title if I deem it significant. Lastly, I often label all girl participants as Guides rather than categorize them the age groups that Baden-Powell invented after 1915.

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6 Michael Adas, Machines As the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Domi-

7 Tammy Proctor, On My Honour Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain (Philadelphia: American Philo-


10 Jean-Jacques Gauthé, Les scouts (Paris: Le Cavalier bleu, 2007), 62; The Story of a Million Girls; Guid-

11 Proctor, On My Honour, 132; World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, Trefoil Round the World (1999). The brief histories that Trefoil Round the World provides on each member nation imply that French colonies looked to the French model of Guiding. In all the cases, I have examined, girls and women from Britain or America brought Guiding; I have not found any examples French, German, or Dutch women starting the program in their colonized regions.


13 Allen Warren, “Mothers for the Empire?": The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939,” in Maki-


28 In 1957, World Conferences began to meet every three years.


34 Kerr, *The Story of a Million Girls*, 192; Bennett, *The Australian Aboriginal As a Human Being*,112-113, Anna Haebich, *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900-1940* (Nedlands Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1988), 209-210


The Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948 granted Australian citizenship to all Australian people born in Australia including individuals of Aboriginal descent. It also clarified a misinterpreted section of the 1901 Constitution so that all Aborigines who had the right to vote in state elections gained the right to vote in federal elections. Because most Aborigines lived in Queensland and Western Australia that continued to disenfranchise Aborigines from state elections, they could not vote in federal elections until 1963. Western Australia gave them the right to vote in state election in 1962; Queensland held out till 1965.


Gorman, Imperial Citizenship, 61.

Lange, Mahoney, and vom Hau, “Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies,” 1430-1431; John G. Butcher, The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), 6, 12, 16, 21; Lapping, End of Empire, 154-168, 178-179; The colonial government established their complete authority over the Western Peninsula and Straits Settlements in late nineteenth century to benefit from the booming mining industry and incipient rubber boom before another colonial power did. They grouped existing sultanates into three regions each that allowed a different level of colonized governance.


Lapping, End of Empire, 13-14.


CHAPTER 1: METROPOLITAN MOTHERS' INTERNATIONALISM: THE ORIGINS, DISCOURSE, AND GOVERNANCE OF GIRL GUIDES, 1918-1960

In 1973, Olave Baden-Powell, the only woman to be given the title, World Chief Guide, proclaimed her confidence in the powerful connection between internationalism and Girl Guiding in her autobiography:

There is no part of the world which has not something to give as well as something to gain. It is a two-way traffic. Whether we are camping in some other country or hostessing in our own, we are getting as well as giving, carrying something away as well as leaving something of ourselves behind – not material things, but the intangible qualities of friendship and understanding and respect for each other’s way of life.51

At 84, Olave described an idealized international community free of hierarchies and exclusion. Scouting for girls, even before it attained its official name or Olave dedicated her life to it, blurred the ideological binaries of the imperial rule that its founder, Robert Baden-Powell had intended to enforce: masculinity and femininity, civilization and savagery, metropole and colony, West and East, and colonizer and colonized. This chapter tracks how Girl Guiding movement manipulated the discourse of maternalism to repackage its pre-war imperial identity with a revised program that promised an apolitical international sisterhood of members’ committed to a common Promise and ten laws as well as outdoor adventure. Conceptual and institutional traditions and commitments limited the realization of its international vision. With encouragement from Olave and Robert, the international governing organization, the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts [WAGGGS], largely subscribed to Western hierarchies of race and civilization. It only gradually began to draw on the talents and knowledge of non-Western women after World War II as modernization theory replaced the civilizing mission as the leading model of Western dominance.52 This chapter tracks the evolution of Guiding in the metropole from a
program intended to train Anglo-American girls in the arts of motherhood and the civilizing mission to one based on the idea of an international sisterhood. It argues that although officialdom often spoke of Guiding as junior League of Nations open to all races and religions, it developed policies to exclude non-Western participants. Just as Britain granted self-governance to “white” Australia first, then to India, Malaya, and Nigeria, WAGGGS first embraced the leadership skills of Indian and Pakistani Guiders, then Malayan, and finally in the seventies Nigerian Guiders. Australian Aboriginal Guiders as of yet remain marginalized from the movement.

**Imperial Origins**

The founder of Scouting originally designed the program to ensure that the rising generation of British boys had the skills and character to defend the Empire. Scouting, as laid out in Robert’s 1908 *Scouting for Boys*, represented a bricolage of the various contemporaneous responses of “Edwardian pessimism” that gripped British society at the turn of the century.53

Until the turn of the twentieth century, pseudo-scientific race theories and recurrent negative images of colonized peoples employed in fiction, plays, textbooks, and print journalism had united British society under the umbrella of Anglo-Saxon invincibility.54 A sense of national failure stemming from the South African Wars and the growing threat of emerging anti-colonial nationalisms led British society to doubt its future omnipotence. Many contemporaries interpreted the poor performance of the British army in the South African Wars as a sign of national deficiency. Educators, medical experts, army officers, and politicians claimed industrialization and urbanization had weakened the British Empire to the point where most of its citizens lacked the physical prowess needed to defend it. Overcivilization had weakened not only the bodies of the British citizenry but also their character.55
In response to the clamors of reformers and imperialists who demanded that imperial citizenship become a component of all educational ventures for white children, Robert set out to develop a program to teach boys the skills and values that they would need to fulfill their responsibilities as British subjects and members of the superior Anglo-Saxon race. Movements of ‘national efficiency,’ a combination of eugenics, social Darwinism and jingoism, and social service, proposed the concept of imperial citizenship at the turn of the century to promote a sense of responsibility among all white British subjects for the preservation and unity of the Empire. Numerous patriotic organizations and youth groups had already begun the campaign to advance imperial citizenship among youth when Robert returned to England in 1903 as a hero of the South African Wars. Since his successful defense of Mafeking over a 217-day siege that lasted from October 1899 through or until May 1900 and serendipitously ended at the symbolic turning point of the war, Robert Baden-Powell’s name had become synonymous with British victory. Robert hoped to draw on his military experience and the techniques that existing programs such as the Boys Brigade and Church Lads’ Brigade had developed to create his own model of citizenship education. Originally, Robert had hoped that these existing programs would adopt his methods. C. Arthur Pearson, a newspaper editor and friend, convinced Robert to tackle the degeneracy of British youth head on with his own boys’ youth program. From its inception, anxiety animated Scouting.

Before Robert had published the official handbook of the movement, Scouting for Boys, girls and boys across Britain who read about his plan in newspapers and magazines enrolled in Scouting companies. He quickly concluded that girls’ participation would undermine his program; their inherent femininity would contaminate the masculine community. Thus, he prohibited their membership. Girls continued to register using only their initials, bought Scout para-
phernalia through male middlemen, and created ‘wildcat’ companies. In 1909, Baden-Powell concluded that the only way to ensure the masculine identity of a Scout was to create a parallel Scouting movement that clothed the masculine aspects of the program in the language of maternalism. While Scouting built boys’ physical prowess and moral fiber to insure they would grow up to be selfless citizens dedicated to defending Empire against corruption and deterioration, it developed girls’ fitness and character programs to make them better mothers and helpmates to their husbands in service to empire.

Much to the disappointment of the original girl Scouts, Baden Powell christened members of his Scouting organization for girls “Guides” after a famous regiment of colonized men in the Indian Army. He also insisted that Guides name their patrols after flowers rather than animals. Though “Guides” was a reference to male soldiers, most of British society of the early twentieth century understood this term to be appropriately feminine. Most Westerners understood that that white women, though morally superior to the uncivilized, shared a predisposition towards emotive irrationality with them. In the Western hierarchy of humanity, peoples known for their martial abilities like the Zulus of southern Africa and the Gurkhas of British India ranked slightly lower on the civilization scale than Western women. Thus, the appellation of Guiding suggested that British girls, like Indian men, could rise above their intuitive, passive natures and adopt the discipline, resourcefulness, and obedience required to actively serve the Empire but neither would aspire to or achieve what a British Scout could. The name indicated to the public that the movement would not encourage girls to adopt masculine behaviors or decorum inappropriate of Victorian standards of femininity.

A different name, however, was not enough to ward off claims that Scouting turned girls into tomboys or “hoydens.” Guiding emerged in Britain just as the activities of the two major
women’s suffrage organizations had sparked a public debate over the future role of women in the public sphere. To quell the opposition of mothers and journalists who feared that Girl Guides would train a new generation of suffragists and women set on stealing men’s jobs, Robert assigned his younger sister, Agnes Baden-Powell, a fifty-one year old unmarried “well-to-do Victorian,” to lead the new movement. Agnes drew on maternalism, which by the turn of the century had become a mainstream women’s rights ideology, to feminize the skills Robert had laid out in *Scouting for Boys* as foundational for all imperial citizens. She created a program that gave girls a future role in advancing the welfare of the Empire through physical motherhood or its metaphorical equivalents of nursing, frontier life, or service to those less fortunate than themselves.\(^{63}\) The Guiding program harnessed maternalism to gain public acceptance. It justified the need for girls to learn survival skills such as stalking, camping, swimming, signaling, and tracking so that they would be equipped to find injured soldiers, adequately train their sons, and exert positive influence over men.\(^{64}\) By 1912, Agnes had laid down a Scouting program imbued with the discourse of maternalism in the *Handbook of the Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help the Empire*, established strong ties to imperial girls’ clubs, and made the annual celebration of Empire Day the central holiday of the movement.\(^{65}\)

Shortly, after the controversy over girls joining the Scouting movement died down in Britain, Juliette Gordon Low, the founder of the American movement, reignited it. In 1912, Low chose to refer to the American movement as Girls Scout rather than Girl Guides. Robert insisted that she change it, as he argued the term Girl Scout undermined the entire purpose of a separate Scouting movement for girls. Low refused. The resulting debate established Headquarters’ attitudes towards local interpretations of the movement and demonstrated the flexibility of maternalist discourse. As long as local manifestations advocated an inclusive feminine citizenship based
on motherhood and companionate marriage, Headquarters tolerated significant deviations from the original program.

Both Robert and Low used maternalism to justify their opposing positions. In an article published in the international Boy Scouts’ magazine, Robert reasoned with Low, “The term ‘to Guide’ seems to sum up in one word the high mission of woman, whether as a mother, a wife or a citizen.” To require that girls be referred to as Scouts, “would mean nothing more than an imitation of the boys’ Movement without ulterior aim or idea, and invites girlhood merely to follow a lead rather than to take a line of its own, to weaken its position instead of strengthening it, as modern conditions demand.” The Vice President of the Girl Scout Association of the U.S.A. explained Low’s intransigence: “The terms scout and scouting apply to girls and their activities as appropriately as to boys, and represent the same law and ideals. The idea that we are trying to make boys out of the girls is soon dissipated when the girls show their increased usefulness at home, and demonstrate womanly activities at their rallies.”

While the American movement held out and even convinced the international governance body created in 1928 to include Scouts in its name, the controversy did not inhibit Anglo-American cooperation as both movements firmly believed that girls needed to participate in Scouting in order to develop skills for marriage, motherhood, and service. The controversy established the stance Headquarters took when it faced an increasing number of unanticipated adaptations to the program as the movement went global in the 1920s. As in this case, it approved alterations that acknowledged the maternal purpose of the movement.

The imperial and maternal tone of the early Guiding movement insured its popularity in not only Britain and the United States but all “white men’s countries.” Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds categorize Britain, its dominions of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Austra-
lia, and the United States, as “white men’s countries,” connected by their spoken language of English, their invented Anglo-Saxon origins, and a deep-seated fear that nonwhite races would surpass the West through immigration and miscegenation. Fears of the international competition from Asians and Africans made white men’s countries fertile territory for Scouting. By 1912, each had developed a growing Guiding movement for white girls that their respective governments and Headquarters in London fully supported.69

Though participants in the growing movements of these white men’s countries acknowledged the Fourth Law of Guiding, “A guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide,” all prioritized the unity of the white races and premised its outreach efforts on the assumption that “(white) mother knows best.”70 Middle-class white women used the popular new movement as a tool to strengthen the institution of white middle-class motherhood and encourage international camaraderie among white women to mold “other” women to fit into its contours. The British public understood the proposition of imperial citizenship as a bond among the peoples of the Anglo-Saxon world. Daniel Gorman, a historian and political scientist explains, “The dependent Empire figured little in contemporaries thinking about imperial citizenship.”71 Thus, Robert, Agnes, and many of the first Guiders in the white Dominions and India and the first Girl Scout leaders in the United States assumed the membership would only be open to whites.72

The Dominions and the United States, which had more diverse populations than Britain, used Guiding to champion the ideals of white middle-class femininity as opposed to multiracial democracy. In South Africa, Scouting became a way to unify Afrikaner and English children into a united white ruling class.73 At a rally in South Africa in the late 1920s, Robert encouraged white Scouts to “buck up” and “not let the rising generation of Natives beat [them] in the race.”74 Before the First World War, the U.S. Girl Scouts Association focused considerable resources and
energy in the effort to “Americanize” white immigrants, whom the Association deemed as inferior whites because they predominately came from eastern and southern Europe. In Canada, the movement undertook the Canadianization of European immigrants and Aborigines after the war. The Scouting associations of Britain and white Dominions facilitated the interwar migration of British children to the Dominions in order to build a bulwark of Anglo-Saxonism to field off the rising threats of non-Western migration, economic advancement, and demands for greater equality. The imperial origins of Guiding, thus, identified citizenship as racially exclusive to Anglo-Saxons. When Western Guiders reshaped this imperial citizenship into an internationalism, they implicitly maintained their essential views of race and Anglo-Saxon superiority.

**World War I: The Reinvention of Girl Guiding, 1914-1918**

The First World War fundamentally altered the Guiding program. Before World War I, Robert, like most Westerners, believed that Western civilization had achieved more through science, industrialization, and liberal governance than any other society past or present. He conceptualized the world through a hierarchy of development that located white males, who were thought to possess both intellectual and moral superiority, at the pinnacle. Confidence in this schema of human ability motivated Robert to encourage the expansion of Scouting among white children alone. He agreed with British colonizers of South Africa and India who demanded the exclusion of nonwhites. To Robert, the hope of the future lay in white males, and he invested his time and energy accordingly. He acknowledged that the British Empire would need women of character to serve as wives and mothers, but trusted that his sister, Agnes, could construct and promote a movement for this purpose.

Robert’s worldview changed as he watched the carnage of white-on-white violence in the First World War. The ideological shift Robert experienced represents a general reassessment of
imperialism and the civilizing mission that took place among colonized and colonizers. Michael Adas explains, “The coming of the Great War and the appalling casualties that resulted from the trench stalemate on the Western Front made a mockery of the European conceit that discovery and invention were necessarily progressive and beneficial to humanity.” The carnage of the War transformed Robert’s views on militarism, nationalism, women, and colonized peoples.

As British definitions of femininity changed because of women’s wartime service, Robert addressed the barrage of letters he had received that complained that Guiding did not offer girls the same opportunities that Scouting offered boys. He also reconsidered his sister’s leadership abilities. The level of disorganization and general dissatisfaction he found convinced Robert to reform the Guiding program and its organization. Before the War had ended, Robert had begun to rewrite the handbook and curtail the power of his sister and her committee of elderly-women volunteers. Like the larger British public, Robert realized that girls were more than the future mothers of the Empire: they were part of its citizenry, crucial for its preservation. The rise of nationalism, communism, fascism, and the Modern Girl required that girls in the metropole and colonies actively train for the responsibilities of defending and expanding the Anglo-American way of life. Once he recognized women as equally important citizens in the project of the “Third British Empire,” a vital complement to male citizens, Robert became involved in the Guiding movement to a greater extent than before.

The War also provoked Robert to drop the emphasis the movement placed on national pride and replace it with an ideal of international peace policed by the vigilance of nations fit to rule. He became an active member of the League of Nations Union (LNU), a British organization that advanced the humanitarian ideals of the League and began to promote Scouting as a "living Junior League of Nations." Still, just as the Paris Peace Conference ensured Europe controlled
the League of Nations, Robert insisted that Western countries lead the Scouting movement and prioritized white membership over nonwhite membership.\textsuperscript{86}

Nonetheless or notwithstanding, Robert realized that peace would only be achieved with the active cooperation of the colonized.\textsuperscript{87} Before the War started, the reports that Western educators sent to Robert describing how Scouting successfully taught colonized youth codes of Western behavior meant little to him.\textsuperscript{88} During the War, he came to adopt a more inclusive view that regarded Scouting as a tool of the civilizing mission. Various factors converged to change Robert’s mind. In 1915, Parliament passed the Nationality and Status of Aliens Act that acknowledged the British nationality of non-white colonized people born in the Empire. Furthermore, colonized men from India, Malaya, Australia, and Nigeria fought in WWI, and each colony contributed significantly to the war effort.\textsuperscript{89} Faced with convincing evidence from educators’ reports, Parliament, and the warfront that the colonized had the capability to master citizenship skills, Baden-Powell concluded that the colonized needed the systematic citizenship training that Scouting provided as much as British children. In a journal article, he explained that through Scouting, “we gradually persuade the [non-Western] boys and girls to see things from the white man’s point of view.”\textsuperscript{90} Where before the outbreak of war, Scouting sought to strengthen a sense of citizenship among only white children; during and after the War, it broadened its scope and targeted all children as potential citizens of global Western order.\textsuperscript{91}

When the War ended, Robert completely revamped the Guide program. The new program reflected women’s participation in the war effort and identified Guides as future citizens of an international community. It shunned overt expressions of national, racial, or imperial superiority and discursively celebrated internationalism. Determined to promote the expansion of Guiding internationally, Robert encouraged his wife, Olave, who was thirty years younger than his
younger sister Agnes and thirty-one years younger than him, to take charge of the movement. Olave, who saw the imperial agenda of the program and materials as even more old-fashioned than her husband did, worked to transform Guiding into an international endeavor that Western women led.

Maternalism permeated the new program’s international egalitarianism. The entire reason a girl took up adventure, according to Robert was in case “she has children of her own, or if she becomes a teacher of children, she can be a really good Guide to them.” Because girls often failed to master the skills motherhood required, Robert explained, “At present there is a tremendous loss of life which could be prevented among the babies ... if girls could learn how to bring up babies and how to make young children healthy and strong and, especially, if they could show other young women how to do it, they would be doing a work of immense value to the nation later on.” He instructed older Guides to form schools to address and help incompetent mothers.

Robert advocated an expansive definition of motherhood in which girls could participate in. It was up to them, according to maternalism, to nurture “other” women and girls outside the white middle class; only now “other” women and girls included the colonized.

With the emergence of new feminine ideal of the Modern Girl after the War, Guiding officialdom capitalized on the fears surrounding new leisure activities and consumer products that stressed feminine sexuality and freedom. The Modern Girl known in the United States and Britain as a flapper described a woman that made-up in the latest styles and fads, unafraid to appear erotic, and indifferent to traditional feminine responsibilities as daughters, wives, or mothers. The maternal purpose of that official literature ascribed to all Guiding activities reassured nervous parents and social elites across the Empire that as girls gained more social and professional opportunities, Guides and their leaders remained committed to promoting traditional feminine
roles and harnessing them to the new and equally modern ends of maternal citizenship. Olave contrasted the maternal agenda of Guiding to the moral ambiguity of modern leisure activities. She described, “Familiarity with freedom is apt to make a girl blase [blasé]... And because war has played battledore and shuttlecock with so many of our ancient codes of morality the young girl is easily caught.” The new Girl Guide program offered girls films, novels, clothing, and activities that embraced values which Modern Girls rejected: discipline, loyalty, and domesticity. In her 1917, *Training Girls as Guides*, Olave dedicated a section to “Our Brazen Flappers, A Question that Needs Urgent Attention,” in which she portrayed Guiding as a method to funnel girls’ excess energy into appropriate channels of camcraft, badge work, and community service and direct them away from boys, thoughtless consumerism, and vanity. This postwar aspect of maternalism – wiser and older white women protecting the innocent white nationals and non-white colonials – contributed to the spectacular international expansion Guiding achieved during the 1920s. As the Modern Girl went global, so did the Girl Guides. The colonial and white women who became involved in Guiding perceived Scouting as a way to detract girls’ attention from the glamour of the Modern Girl that newspapers, advertisements, and movies fostered. The media of the Guiding world, handbooks, Guiding novels, posters, journals, and movie clips, portrayed the Modern Girl as negligent citizen who wasted her time and energy on fashion, entertainment, and meaningless relationships.

**The Baden-Powells: The Preservation of the Civilizing Agenda**

As World Chief Scout and Chief Guide, Olave and Robert Baden-Powell took it upon themselves to promote Scouting publicly as an international, interfaith, and interracial movement that linked children across the Empire and world into a common mission of active citizenship spanning national borders. They created an oeuvre of official discourse that superficially em-
braced participants of all classes, educational levels, and ethnicities yet only accepted colonized Guides as passive participants that had not attained the accomplishments that Western Guides had achieved. Yet, Guiding and Girl Scouting literature maintained the binary of colonizer and colonized until the 1960s.99

The citizenship that Scouting stressed granted members responsibilities but said little about their rights. It expected each girl to accept her position in local and imperial hierarchies with obedience.100 In many ways, the Baden-Powells spoke of international citizenship as an expanded version of the pre-war ideal of British imperial citizenship that included the United States and Europe.101 Instead of the “imperial family,” they spoke of a Scouting family, a global network of women and girls connected through similar values and goals. Though they wanted all girls to imagine belonging to an international community of sisters committed to peace, they expected Westerners to lead the movement and presented the British movement as the ideal Guiding model.102

In the 1920s, the Baden-Powells began to actualize their two-tiered vision of internationalism, in which Western Guides and Guiders surpassed non-Western “sisters” in skill, character, and knowledge. They encouraged national organizations to include nonwhite youth and lobbied colonial governments to provide Girl Guides with the same amount of funding that they provided Boy Scouts.103 Both were prolific authors and speakers who traveled extensively to build the international reputation of Guiding. Olave and Robert quickly became agents of “celebrity colonialism” whose visits throughout the Empire endorsed colonial authority as legitimate, inclusive, necessary, and benevolent.104 In their publications and speeches, the Baden-Powells argued that no matter how diverse were the girls who took part in the movement, all Guides followed a common program based on what they saw as the universal ideals of Western womanhood and
However, they frequently measured colonized participants against their Western counterparts and found them lacking. Such comparisons unveiled that the internationalism of Guide community was often rhetorical. Although the Fourth Law and monikers like international sisterhood and “junior League of Nations” explicitly rejected the racial hierarchy of civilizations, Olave, Robert, and other Western leaders of the international Guiding movement still acted as if Western girls were the most advanced Guides, followed by Asians and Australian Aborigines with Africans at the nadir.

In the Baden-Powell’s vision of Guiding as an international sisterhood, European and American women and girls acted the part of the wise maternal authority figures either as older sisters or mothers to their acquiescent colonized counterparts, whom they cast as intractable students or children in need of help. Robert closed the second International Conference with a reminder to the audience of European and American delegates: “Our teaching is largely by example. Let us in this conference of “elder sisters” show how fully we are influenced by the Guide spirit. We are here not to uphold the rights or aims of one country against another, but on the contrary, to bring about the greater good of the whole.” In his 1918 handbook, Robert asserted that the frontiers of the British Empire needed Guides “to give the most help to the least fortunate.” When confronted with the stubborn tenacity of the less civilized, he advised Guides not to listen to objections and to assume the Western way as the best way: “Generally those people who need the most help are the ones who hide their distress; and if you are clever and notice little signs such as unhappiness, you can give them or offer them help in some way.” Within the colonial context, such innocent advice quickly became license for aggressive cultural imperialism.
To illustrate that Western women held a superior position in the world community, Baden-Powel pointed to the degraded conditions that women in other countries faced. For example, he explained, “In Japan when a child is born a sign is hung outside the house to inform neighbors whether it’s a boy or a girl. In the case of it being a girl a doll is hoisted, while in the case of a boy a fish is displayed; the meaning being that the girl is really a plaything to look pretty, whereas the boy, like a fish has to swim his way against the tide of life. In the Girl Guide Movement we do not agree with this Japanese idea.”

Even in countries like Japan that had adopted many Western customs and had attained military and imperial strength equivalent to most Western powers, according to the official handbook, barbaric practices remained for Western Guides to identify and eradicate.

Yet, the handbook did not portray all non-Western customs as barbaric. Occasionally, it exemplified admirable non-Western practices in a context that implied that if an Asian or African man could accomplish a certain skill, young girls could certainly accomplish it, most likely with more accuracy and in less time. For example, in his discussion of tracking and stalking, Robert asserted, “Almost any savage can draw you a map in the sand with the point of his stick: so I am sure that any Guide could do it on paper with a pencil --- especially after a little practice.”

Similarly, Robert held up “our friend the Japanese” and “our Ghoorkas [sic], the little warriors in our Indian army” as role models for Brownies, who were Guides under the age of eleven, to emulate. Then, he concluded, “But she [the Brownie] can also do more than the Jap or the Ghoorka can do, for if she can help herself not only become strong but to grow big if she tries.”

Robert’s comparisons demonstrate a conviction in racial essentialism, in which even Western women were stronger, fitter, and smarter than non-Western men.
To Western contemporaries facing the rise both of anti-colonial nationalisms in India and Japan, Robert’s encouraging remarks implied Western girls racially were more fit than Japanese and Indian soldiers, but could easily slip from this position if not vigilant. While girls and Japanese and Indian soldiers all could eat healthy and build muscle through exercise, only Western girls had the racial capability “to grow big.” Yet, if Western girls failed to exercise and eat healthy, the West would lose its superior position in global hierarchy.\textsuperscript{113}

Like her husband, Olave wondered if colonized Guides and Guiders were as capable as European girls and whether they had the intelligence to participate in Guiding. In the many books and articles Olave wrote, she depicted Guiding as a meritocracy that encouraged all girls to try their hardest and to improve but rewarded badges and leadership roles only to those who demonstrated proficient skills. Olave explained inequality as a product of ability. She stated, “Those who have gifts can use them without effort, lucky people; and those of us who are perhaps a bit backward and not so brilliant can probably cultivate what talents we have and get quite clever at arts and crafts if we plod along and have a good try.”\textsuperscript{114} With this logic, colonized girls and women should be able to join Guiding but only participate to the extent they were “able.”

Olave believed some girls were natural masters and that others were servants and embraced the importance of each. In \textit{Training Girls as Guides}, she described, “It is surely as fine a thing to be a good servant as it is to be a good master, and in order that one may serve one must be fitted for such service in knowledge and capabilities.”\textsuperscript{115} Though Olave left the race of the “lucky people” and “natural masters” unstated, her travelogues enforced a hierarchical view of the sisterhood of Guiding in which Western girls were the lucky people and natural masters. She concluded that some colonized girls, particularly those who were “black,” could never learn even to be servants and thus, questioned if they had the capabilities required for Guiding activities. In
her 1936 *Guide Links*, Olave observed of the Australian Aborigines, “Some of them are extremely good servants, thoughtful and honest, though others are quite useless and ‘untrainable.’”

Her reflections regarding Africans were far more scathing. She reflected,

> It is in my mind an open question whether we are justified in going on with guides in these places [Gambia, Gold Coast, Sierra Leon, Nigeria] as it is almost really a travesty of what WE would call Guiding. The mentality of those people is so very different from the European, and they are so VERY far behind in development, and it is really hard that we in these days bring Western Twentieth Century civilization to them and expect them to jump straight from a civilization of SEVERL [sic] hundred years back into what we now have here today.

The meritocratic sisterhood that Olave developed in instructional literature suggested that any girl, colonizer or colonized, could develop leadership skills; yet, the observations that she recorded in letters and travelogues suggested the colonized were at best the natural followers of the colonizers. Some colonized people, Olave feared, might lack the basic ability to follow. After the decolonization of India and most of Africa, Olave embraced a more positive outlook that all people could achieve the level of modernization of the West. Yet, she insisted the non-Western women only had begun to abandon traditional ways of life and still demanded Western assistance.

The dissonance between Olave’s prescriptive and descriptive writing captures a fundamental contradiction that characterized the Guiding movement until the late sixties. On the one hand, the program celebrated equality and active citizenship in an imagined global sisterhood, while on the other it supported traditional colonial hierarchies that limited the active citizenship of its membership. Kristine Alexander, a Canadian scholar of interwar Guiding, concludes, “In terms of the movement’s internationalist vision, some ‘Guide sisters’ were more equal than others.” In the international sisterhood as the Baden-Powells envisioned, colonized Guides could
belong to the movement but would inevitably be inferior Guides compared to colonizers. The Baden-Powells understood colonized Guides as exotic anomalies that with the help of Western women could understand the principles of modernity. As the driving force behind the creation of an international Scouting organization, the Baden-Powells institutionalized their understanding of two-tiered international sisterhood where Western women made decisions on behalf of their less fortunate colonized “sisters.”

After World War II, a new corps of leaders a generation younger than Olave reiterated the Baden-Powell’s two-tiered model in the language of modernization theory. They divided members into those committed to Westernization and those who still adhered to tradition.

**The Mother of Guides and Her Family**

When Olave took charge of Guiding Headquarters after WWI, she set out to institutionalize the vision she and her husband shared for a Western led international network that connected national and colonial Guiding associations across the world. She first created the International and Imperial Councils in 1919 made up exclusively of white women living in Great Britain; the members of the Councils each represented a country or colony in which they had a special interest. These two Councils began to promote a variety of international initiatives including the publication of an international Guiding magazine called *The Council Fire*, the coordination of biennial World Conferences and World Camps, the production of international Guiding films, radio programs, and lantern slide shows, and the organization of pen-pal programs. Furthermore, the two councils actively engaged with the League of Nations and claimed to serve the as training ground for future members of the League.

In 1928, delegates of the Fourth Biennial World Conference laid the framework for the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts [WAGGGS], an international governing body
based in London that actively promoted Guiding globally and continues today. The all-Western delegation constructed a system of governance that acknowledged non-Western women as essential to its international mission yet simultaneously treated them as subjects of its reform efforts. They not only assumed non-Western women and girls to be products of mothers who adhered to backwards, superstitious practices in need of direction but also doubted the capabilities of white women outside of Europe and the United States. They feared that women from the Dominions had lost some of the finer points of civilized culture living so far from the metropole among the colonized and hoped to create an international association that prioritized the views of colonizers from the metropole. From the first World Conference in Oxford, England in 1920 until the World Conference of 1928, the International Association debated whether white delegates from the Dominions should participate in international governance. Though they decided to grant the Dominions and India representation at the World Conferences, the delegates from Great Britain continued to represent the Guide Associations of crown colonies like Nigeria and Malaya until they gained independence and successfully applied for Tenderfoot status in 1960. Their system of representation resembled that of the League of Nations that granted representation to India and the Dominions, territories considered fit for some level of self-government, but left other British colonies unrepresented.

To assure that Westerners controlled the international movement, Robert suggested that the executive committee of WAGGGS, the World Committee, which would draft the Association’s constitution and govern between conferences, “not be representative of countries but it should consist of merely experts.” Consequently, Western women from Europe and America made up the majority of the Committee well into the sixties. As late as 2012, only Western women had served as the World Board Chairman, a position that the Committee members
As their final act, the delegates unanimously chose Olave to serve as World Chief Guide, an executive position that became a more symbolic as Olave aged. The position ended with her death in 1977.

To justify their policies of exclusion and patronization, leaders of WAGGGS relied on the language of maternalism and the hierarchies of civilization. Western leaders idealized Olave as the mother of the movement, and she occasionally referred to herself as “your chosen Guide Mother.” Beneath her, the Western officialdom followed the lead of Western government official and prominent social reformers. They organized the countries with Guiding movements along a developmental schema that initially matched the rhetoric of the civilizing mission and transformed in the forties and fifties to parallel theories of decolonization and modernization. In their discourse, membership countries that belonged to the World Association served as the mothers or older sisters to their young children who were the Tenderfoot countries (partial members of WAGGGS who could attend conferences but not vote) and their infants who were colonies or countries not represented in WAGGGS. Widespread use of this metaphor continued until the late fifties. Isobel Crowe, a representative of the World Association, explained after her tour of Asia in 1952, “In this Guide family of ours some of our sisters are walking firmly on their own, while other are still ‘toddlers’ or ‘walkers.’” Alix Liddell, the editor of The Council Fire for over thirty years, clarified, “There are many pre- and pre-pre-tenderfoot countries working hard towards membership of our family and they need all the help we can give them.”

The Western women who controlled WAGGGS, thus, considered Malaya and Nigeria as “pre-tenderfoot countries” and India nearly a “walker.” Though they considered Australia a “walker,” this appellation only referred to the white majority of Australian Guides and Guiders.

As metaphorical mothers to the colonized Guides and Guiders, Western women usually
spoke on behalf of non-Western women and girls or, in the case of the Aborigines of Australia, remained silent regarding a growing number of Guides. For example, British women continued to represent India at the World Conferences until 1938. The predominately Western delegates who attended World Conferences rarely questioned assumptions that Western women should represent non-Western women. When delegates did question these exclusionary policies, they inevitably concluded that non-Western countries were not ready for such responsibilities yet discursively reiterated their dedication to international diversity. For example, Patricia Richards, one of the Anglo-Indian delegates to the World Conference of 1930, became embarrassed when a European delegate asked her why Indian women had not served as the delegates of India. Richards explained, “Women’s education in India and a broadly national outlook are very recent growth. Only a very few exceptional Indian ladies could do more than represent their own community.” Furthermore, according to Richards, only Western Guiders could afford the trip as “There are no available Guide funds in India for sending delegates to Europe or America.” The All-India Association spent their discretionary income on the annual World Quota and capitation fees WAGGGS membership required. WAGGGS, which had just begun the construction of its new Imperial Headquarters building on Buckingham Palace Road with a projected cost £74,000, in March of 1929, needed the £44,000 of donations it had raised in 1930 for the building and moreover, believed the cost of travel to be the delegates’ responsibility.

Richard’s presence prompted delegates at the World Conference of 1930 to agree that “countries should whenever possible, send Delegates of their own nationality to the World Conference, in order that their national and racial points of view should be brought before the World Movement.” This declaration, however, offered no means of enforcement and left the larger constitutional issue that colonized Guides and Guiders outside of India had no representation unaddressed. As a result, Western women mostly from Europe or the United States continued to
addressed. As a result, Western women mostly from Europe or the United States continued to speak and institute policies on behalf of the colonized and the white women in the colonies and Dominions.\textsuperscript{139} For example, at the 1934, International Conference About Scouting and Guiding in the Colonies, the all Western delegation made up of representatives from the Netherlands, France, Belgium, Great Britain, and Spain agreed that Scouting proved an effective mean to build natives’ physical and moral fortitude.\textsuperscript{140}

Even when non-Western delegates and observers began to attend World Conferences and Camps, Western planners often failed to include them in performances and parades and showed no interest in their work.\textsuperscript{141} Western delegates who made speeches, left logbooks, or published articles noted their presence. Most Westerners portrayed the non-Western delegates as spectacles that existed only to prove the international authenticity of WAGGGS.\textsuperscript{142} Their comments generally focused on the “exotic” sari uniforms that some Indian women had begun to wear in the late 1930s. At Pax Ting, the last international camp before World War II organized in Hungary in 1939, the one Indian delegate created so much publicity that Hungarians living near the camp showed up as if she were an exhibit at a world’s fair. Rose Kerr, a Guider and officer of WAGGGS, described, “The Indian Guider, in her attractive sari, received so much attention from public and Press that she finally had to be removed to the hospital tent for her own protection.”\textsuperscript{143} One diary from the World Conference of 1954 reported, “The Eastern delegates in their lovely clothes and open sandals provoked more ‘oohs’ and nudges than anyone else.”\textsuperscript{144}

Though the numbers of non-Western women who attended international gatherings increased steadily except during World War II, few records exist that capture their perceptions of international gatherings and minutes rarely record them speaking out in proceedings.\textsuperscript{145} Some Indian women published descriptions of their trips to America, Australia, or Europe for interna-
tional gatherings between 1930 and 1960 in *The Council Fire*. Most of these merely praise the other women and Guides they met on their trips. When not overtly complimentary, these women framed their critique of Westerners’ behavior as another problem that could be solved with the precepts of Guiding. For example, one Indian who worked as the Traveling Commissioner of Asia in the late 1950s showed how her accommodation of Western curiosity illustrated the motto of Guiding, “Be prepared:” “For the sari, both young and old were intrigued by it. I was asked so often, ‘How do you wrap it and drape it?’ that I had to carry a spare one for demonstrations.” Such guarded testimonies offer little insight into the perceptions on the non Western Guides who attended these international events.\(^{146}\)

The accounts that a Guider from Bombay, Sherene Rustomjee published stand out for their thoughtful critique of Western provincialism. She described her experience at international gatherings across Europe in the early thirties: “It has been amazing to me to find in the course of my visits to Europe how little people know of India, its peoples and its distances. This must be true of other countries too.” Though her assessment reaffirmed the efficacy of the Guiding program -- “Let us, anyhow, get to know each other better through Guiding,” – she recommended that Guides and Guiders look outside of Guiding as well. She specified that Guides “could widen their knowledge by reading books and newspapers of other countries, not only Guide literature.”\(^{147}\) Her recommendations, though published in *The Council Fire* of 1936, had little immediate effects on the international movement. Because Rustomjee stayed involved in WAGGGS until the late fifties, she gradually gained the voice at international level to make her views matter. Throughout her career as Guider, an Indian delegate to multiple World Conferences, and a WAGGGS representative in Indonesia during the fifties, she continued to push for greater international awareness with Guiding.\(^{148}\)
Western Illusions of Internationalism

The World Association sought to create transnational forums for women and girls to interact with Guides and Guiders from different countries and backgrounds, literature to propagate the international spirit of Guiding, and a contingent of trainers to recruit and instruct new leaders. During the period of this study, 1909-1960, its leaders, even though they were predominately Westerners, developed potent symbols of the unity of the international Girl Guiding community that bypassed borders and blurred categories: exchange programs, international gatherings, flags, a World song, international Guide Centers, and a close working relationship with the League of Nations during the interwar period and the United Nations [UN] post-World War II. They claimed that through these efforts they would promote connections between Guides and Guiders from disparate nations.

Western participants frequently observed the efficacy of international gatherings and vocally advocated for the participation of all nationalities as essential to the movement. The First Biennial Report captures this sentiment: “The whole strength and health of the Guide scheme depends upon it never getting stale, so that now that it has spread so far its methods will be kept fresh through being tried out by different peoples, who will instill into them something of their customs and traditions, and thus maintain their interest for the children.” To Western women, who held the reins of power, certain non-Western women brought spiritual authenticity and a connection to tradition that the West had lost upon industrialization. Art traditions and dress of Asian delegates delighted Western members and gave them a sense of cultural connection with colonized women. Western members looked on the sari-clad Guiders from India as relics from the great civilizations of India’s past and professed that the hand crafted goods and “primitive” traditions of Malay cultures served as an antidote to the alienation caused by industrial society.
Although Robert frequently integrated Zulu war chants and relics into the Boy Scout program, Robert and Western women leaders did not hold up any African traditions as appropriate for Guides to admire. When The Council Fire included pictures of African Guides or Guiders from South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda, Egypt, and Kenya they wore the same uniforms that British Guides wore. Yet, for the Western leaders of WAGGGS, such superficial signs of non-Western presence in the movement were enough to validate the movement’s claims of internationalism. They placed little value on the active participation of non-Western women in policymaking;

Before the late 1930s, Western leaders on the World Committee believed that the British Empire and the Leagues of Nations offered models of international cooperation that they hoped to replicate. One Western Guider explained,

The British Empire, formed as it is of several young nations growing up, is becoming a model of united states for the disunited states of Europe to follow. If we, in Africa and India, Australia and Canada, aye, and nearer to the old mother country, too, in Ireland and Scotland and Wales, look beyond our own particular national outlook, and take the broader unselfish view of contributing each our share to the well-being of our great Empire, we shall be giving a practical lead to those other countries towards the practice of mutual goodwill and co-operation.

What this Guider failed to acknowledge was that the “mutual goodwill and co-operation” within the British Commonwealth depended on the subjects in India, Malaya, and Nigeria contributing a greater share of their resources and receiving fewer civil rights and tangible benefits than the white settlers of Canada and Australia. Likewise, the League of Nations only allowed the civilized nations to participate as members and parceled out territories Western powers believed unprepared for nationhood to its members to care for as mandates with the goal of preparing the colonized for independent nationhood. Though left unsaid, Western women expected the same distribution of power and privilege within the World Association. They wanted non-Western members but until after WWII did not consider nonwhite women as potential leaders or even
equal participants in the international movement.

Just as the ruling Western elite of the British Empire and League of Nations did, Western women made decisions that reflected their hierarchy of membership and perpetuated Western dominance. Until 1957 when Petrópolis, Brazil hosted the sixteenth World Conference, all World Conferences were held in Europe or New York. When non-Western women attended, Western organizers did not give them any official active role in either the social events as performers or the daily program of trainings and workshops as presenters or panelists.157

Moreover, WAGGGS had invested in building projects only in European locations until a group of Asian Commissioners in the late fifties suggested that WAGGGS fund a World Center in Asia. Other locations never even came up during discussions. For example, when Mrs. Helen Storrow pledged to finance an international World Center, the 1930 World Conference with no debate decided Adelboden, Switzerland as the best location because of its popularity as a vacation spot for European Guides.158 “Our Chalet” opened in 1932 and hundreds of European Guides and Guiders visited annually. Mrs. Hussain, an Indian Guider and a school founder of one of the first Muslim girls’ schools, became the first non-Western visitor when she attended Eighth World Conference at Our Chalet two later.159 Up until 1960 no colonized representative had visited Our Chalet from Nigeria, Malaya, or Australia, and Indian and Pakistani Guides had only attended when they had received funding through the World Association or another non-profit organization.160

Rather than confront the evidence that the location of World Centers deterred most Guides and Guiders from outside Europe from visiting, the Western leadership interpreted the predominance of European visitors at Our Chalet as evidence of their cultural superiority and ability to plan ahead. Then, when WAGGGS leaders decided to build the second World Center,
Our Ark, they based their decision on the same sense of cultural superiority. With donations that Girl Guides around the world collected, Western delegates agreed that London, as the center of the Guiding movement, was the natural location. Like Our Chalet, so few non-Western women stayed in the hostel before 1960 that when they did, The Council Fire published an article regarding their visit. That many Western leaders considered the World Centers among their most successful efforts to promote internationalism indicates that they only expected Western Guides and Guiders actively to take part in the movement at the international level.

Likewise, the leaders of WAGGGS interpreted the low financial contributions of non-Western members as evidence of their lack of initiative and general laziness. The Thinking Day Fund, a tradition that began in 1933, required every company to collect pennies on Thinking Day, February 22, the birthday of both Baden-Powells. The World Association collected and reported in The Council Fire the success of each nation or colony. Nigeria, Malaya, and India, where most Guides were non-Western, usually collected far less than their Western counterparts because the populations of these colonies had less money to donate. Western officialdom, however, saw their low contributions as evidence of lack of resourcefulness and ingenuity. A Guider from Milwaukee and Assistant Treasurer to the World Committee in 1952, Alice Chester, questioned “Does it [the gap between the amount regions contributed] not rather indicate that the adults in those countries were less clever in reaching their girls in presenting the needs and making the collection?” Most Western leaders of WAGGGS, like Chester, blamed the intrinsic characteristics of the Guides and Guiders of a country rather than examine the larger social forces that limited non-Western participation.

Western Leaders Question the Extent of Their International Principals

Occasionally, Western women recognized the imperial attitudes of Western members that
still limited the international goals of Guiding and divided its membership. Katharine Furse, the President of WAGGGS from 1928-1939, observed at the World Conference of 1932, “For we sometimes see our Movement divided into separate groups by race, by language, even, now and then, by churches and individualistic independence. We see it limited by the question of colour.”\textsuperscript{165} A staff member of the World Bureau acknowledged, “Unfortunately, much of our international unity must rest on theory. Nothing can promote it as much as our camps, our interchanges of visits, etc., but comparatively few of our members will ever be able to take part in these.”\textsuperscript{166} In her opening address at the 1936 World Conference, Olave observed, “To some of you who are here to-day the view of World Guiding is limited by the boundaries of Europe.”\textsuperscript{167}

Such observations indicate that some Western leaders had an awareness of the exclusivity of the international movement, but their confidence in the civilizing mission convinced them it was up to their disenfranchised members change rather than WAGGGS. In the eyes of Western leaders, when the non-Western Guides finally adopted the values of the program, hard work, thrift, and ingenuity, they would be able to take part in the movement at the international level.

Other Western leaders pointed out that cross-cultural encounters and international travel did not insure understanding, cooperation, and friendship. One speaker at the 1936 Conference pointed out that even at international gatherings, “Sometimes the difficulty due to language affects the situation, because when a group of leaders get together and are very interested in the discussions, those who understand each other easily tend to hold the floor, and those who cannot keep up with a quick interchange of ideas lose interest and sit back.”\textsuperscript{168} Olga Malkowska, the founder of Guiding in Poland, posited that international encounters often promoted a sense of cultural superiority rather than sisterhood: “And the Guides went home with a feeling that beyond the frontier there must be a collection of very strange people, and their little hearts sighed,
perhaps, with relief, ‘Thank Heaven I am not like them.’”

In light of these observations, the international gatherings that WAGGGS organized in Europe and the United States come across as opportunities for Western Guiders and Guides to catch glimpses of the backwards dress and habits of non-Western women and girls without having to leave the West.

WAGGGS officials, both American and British struggled to balance the pride they felt for the accomplishments and superiority of the West with the belief that only internationalism would achieve peace and create dutiful citizens with the ability to see beyond narrow-minded national interest. Superficially, WAGGGS rid the program of its blatantly imperial ties. It wanted to show the public that it firmly rejected the defensive imperialism, jingoism, and military ethos that had led to World War I. In 1925, it introduced the International Knowledge Badge. In 1926 they broke their ties to imperial youth organizations; they prohibited Young Imperialists Clubs from sponsoring Guide companies, dropped their membership to the Women’s League of Empire, and objected to the plan of the British Empire Union to reward children with medals for imperial service. In 1927, WAGGGS changed their annual celebration of community service and international sisterhood from Empire Day, a distinctly British holiday that honored Queen Victoria’s Birthday, to Thinking Day, which fell on February 22, the shared birthday of the Baden-Powells. Unlike the Boy Scouts, it refused to cooperate with any nationalist youth organizations. Such changes constructed the façade of internationalism that included all members of Guiding. Nonetheless, a sense of Western superiority prevented WAGGGS officials from making structural changes to the program that would allow non-Western women and girls to participate fully.

Only after World War II, with the rise of anti-colonial nationalisms, the popularization of modernization theory, and the inception of formal decolonization did the critique of Western
dominance within the movement became more strident and structural changes occur.173 Much of this criticism came from Western women who felt Western dominance would limit the growth of the movement and that Guiding should more receptive to ideas from outside the West. Alix Liddell pointed out that many members of WAGGGS believed that Great Britain or America ran the World Association. She clarified, “With the best will possible on both sides, the Eastern Guide Association who imports a Western trainer or advisor will be suspected by their fellow countrymen and women of undermining their national organization of ‘americanising’ it or ‘anglicizing’ it or whatever it may be.”174 Sylvi Visapaa, a member of the World Committee, questioned at the 1952 World Conference, “Must we not admit that hitherto, as a World Movement, we have been applying our principles thinking mainly of the Western pattern of life?”175

In response, the World Association implemented new projects. Many were superficial efforts that marketed the international image of Girl Guides rather than addressed the marginalization of non-Western Guides and Guiders. In 1947, Olave developed the program of International Friendship Companies, where entire companies in different regions of the world became pen pals with other companies and could buy a Certificate from WAGGGS to acknowledge their relationship.176 WAGGGS approved of a World Badge for Guides in 1948 and Brownies in 1950.177 It developed a World Song in 1952 that companies could acquire for a small fee.178 The Western leaders of Our Arc, the World Center in London, created the “Friends of Our Ark” an organization that would help Guides and Guiders who had visited the Ark stay in touch for a small membership fee.179 The cost of these international symbols and programs limited their reach to primarily middle-class Western Guides.180 However, as countries across Eastern Europe banned Guiding and dropped their WAGGGS membership and the Cold War gained momentum, these
demonstrative acts of international goodwill exhibited the movement’s commitment to a capitalist modernity.\textsuperscript{181}

WAGGGS especially focused on promoting an image of friendship and camaraderie among colonized and British Guides throughout the Empire. The late forties and fifties marked a moment of transition and possibility in the British Empire, and WAGGGS made a last attempt to renew a sense of imperial unity that had diminished in the wake of Indian independence, the withdrawal of the Irish Free State from the Commonwealth, and the legal creation of separate Canadian and Australian citizens. It also may have hoped to counter publicity that colonized Girl Guides and Guiders were taking part in anti-colonial demonstrations against the British government in Africa.\textsuperscript{182} In 1952, Olave created the “Chief Guide’s Overseas Challenge” a contest only for companies in the British colonies intended to celebrate the diversity of the Empire. Companies could send in samples of local stories, handicrafts, songs, and flora to be displayed, judged, and awarded a standard. The British Guide Association developed the Empire Circle to raise money for Guiding in the colonies and Dominions and to host visiting Guides and Guiders from around the Empire.\textsuperscript{183} In 1954, the World Association renamed the Imperial Headquarters as the Commonwealth Headquarters.\textsuperscript{184}

Once the decolonization process started in British Africa, WAGGGS made every effort to portray it as a boon to the Empire and attempted to strengthen its connections with Guiding associations in Africa to ensure that it actually was. Though many British colonies and countries in Africa had established associations by the 1920s and had communicated periodically with Headquarters, only South Africa and Egypt officially belonged to WAGGGS before 1957 when Sudan joined.\textsuperscript{185} WAGGGS had assumed that the two British delegates adequately represented all the associations of the British African colonies. Now with independence looming, WAGGGS, in-
vited and funded African Guides and Guiders to attend international gatherings held at Foxlease in Hampshire, England. Eager to gain the support of the colonized elites, who would control the soon-to-be national Guiding associations upon independence, it also sent trainers to British Africa to prepare a corps of colonized women to take the place of the white Guiders.186

As British African colonies began to attain independence, WAGGGS representatives often attended the independence celebrations to demonstrate their hope that imperial unity (and British influence) would continue with decolonization. For example, Olave, who spent a week in Accra to celebrate Ghanaian independence, euphemized independence as “the elevation of the Gold Coast to Dominion status as Ghana.” She also visited Nigeria in 1960 to celebrate its independence. In reports on British decolonization in journals and books intended for Guides, Western leaders portrayed independence as new form of imperial partnership. WAGGGS desperately held on to the image of imperial unity and with it imperial tutelage until it became untenable in the late sixties.187

The expansion of Guiding after the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 and the increasing levels of self-governance in Nigeria and Malaya led WAGGGS to start a process of structural change that gradually made the international movement more inclusive. Before 1963 when it revised the governing structures of the organization, WAGGGS pursued a four-pronged approach to limit Western dominance that reflected the influence of modernization theory. It publicly supported newly independent countries and increasing levels of self-government for British colonies. In the early fifties, it incorporated Indian and Pakistani women into the leadership of international movement and accepted their ideas. It also began to hold international gatherings outside of Europe and the United States. Finally, WAGGGS provided funding for African women to take part in international events for the first time. After 1960, as the number of non-
Western member countries increased in WAGGGS and an Indian representative served on the primary executive body of WAGGGS, the World Committee, reform efforts quickened culminating with constitutional changes that provided a regional structure to the organization that assured that the World Committee, renamed the World Board, included at least one representative from each region: Africa, Asia, North Africa, the Middle East and the Gulf, Europe, and the Western Hemisphere.

The reform efforts up until 1960 best capture the conflicting ideologies that drove Western leaders to accept Asian women as leaders, but only include African women as passive participants. Western leaders of the movement were modernizers, and their efforts reflected the modernization paradigm that emerged in the mid-twentieth century. They wanted to equip non-Western women as agents of development. However, they still treated non-Western women according to pre-war civilization hierarchies that ranked Asians as more developed than Africans and Australian Aborigines. That India, Malaya, and Pakistan had attained independence before most of British Africa and that Aboriginal mothers could not be trusted to raise their own children confirmed their prejudices.

WAGGGS publicly aligned itself with the new independent states and openly supported self-government for British colonies. Helen Gibbs, an Overseas Commissioner for the World Association during the early fifties gave her tacit approval:

If their [those of the colonies] difficulties are great, their opportunities are greater, for where Guiding is really carried out as the Founder intended it is a means of breaking down the barriers that stand in the way of progress and providing a nursery for citizenship – more than ever valuable to those countries whose people are struggling to fit themselves for self-government within the Commonwealth.

Many Western experts, inside and outside of WAGGGS, saw the Guide movement as essential to building strong independent states out of the former British colonies. A UNESCO ex-
pert, opined, “The Girl Guide Movement was the one organization capable of imparting the necessary training to girls and young women in order to mould them into useful and disciplined citizens.” Guiding, it seemed to many Western women, might provide a means to continue their efforts to persuade the non-Western world to accept the Western version of modernity after decolonization.

To encourage greater Asian participation and leadership at the international level, Western leaders of WAGGGS looked to the UN for ideas and funding. The work that leaders of WAGGGS did with the UN and the other nonprofits involved with UN gradually gave them a more objective understanding of how the make-up of the World Committee, the location and languages of international gatherings, and the requirements of membership affected the international make-up of their organization. Furthermore, UNESCO and other nonprofits that worked with the UN, which subscribed to the idea that developing countries needed Western capital to develop, funded many of the Guides’ international outreach efforts. For example, UNESCO set up Gift Coupons that allowed Western companies in “Our World” to sponsor companies in “The Underdeveloped World.” The Committee for Free Asia, the predecessor of today’s Asia Foundation, that at its inception held a clear anti-communist political agenda, paid for two Provincial Commissioners from Pakistan to attend a Training Camp at Our Chalet in Adelboden Sweden in 1953. As more Asian Guiders had the opportunity to attend international gatherings, they took a more active role in debates, often presented & performed, joined committees, and took on leadership roles.

The examples that the other nonprofits and the UN set helped WAGGGS to recognize that the locations of conferences, camps and World Centers mattered as did the distribution of funds and materials. Over the fifties, WAGGGS started to redistribute the dues and donations of
member states and outside organizations in ways that contributed to movements outside Europe. Before they used the dues and donations of non-Western movements to build World Centers and organized international gatherings in Europe. By the late fifties, WAGGGS began to hold international gatherings outside of Europe and the United States and regularly pay for the travel expenses of non-Western Guiders and Guides. In 1954, the World Association held the first international training conference outside of Europe at the Ladies College in Colombo, Ceylon. Trainers from Pakistan, Australia, India, Great Britain, Malaya, Japan, Ceylon, Philippines, and Singapore participated. At the 1957 International Commissioners’ Meeting in New Delhi, Commissioners from eleven countries requested the World Association build the next World Centre in Asia and appoint a Traveling Commissioner to promote Guiding within Asian countries. Within two years, the Association had appointed an Indian woman, Anasuya Karkare, as the Traveling Commissioner of Asia and by 1966 built Sangam, a World Center outside of Mumbai.

The investments WAGGGS made in Asia became a self-reinforcing cycle. The favorable press generated by the participation of Asian women in international events encouraged WAGGGS to reach out beyond Europe and America for venues for international camps, accept Asian expertise in its governance, fund Asian women’s efforts to expand Guiding in India, Pakistan, Malaya, and Singapore, and reward Asian companies for their service to their newly independent countries. The agency of Asian women encouraged WAGGGS to adopt a more international program. As WAGGGS made structural changes that incorporated talented Asian women into the movement and recognized the work of Asian movements, white Guiders in the metropole and Dominions became more interested in learning from non-Western Guiders and sought out their perspectives regarding international Guiding. The chairman of the Fourteenth World Conference of 1952 in Dombås, Norway, explained,
We Guides and Girl Scouts would not form a real World Association if we listened only to teachings of the West; ancient and highly cultured civilizations of the East have very real contributions to make and are at least joining international life and beginning to play their part both in general spheres and in Guiding. Their voice must be heard among us, and their influence felt.\textsuperscript{201}

In 1957, India and Australia and Pakistan and Great Britain participated in Guider exchanges where each set exchanged Guiders for couple months.\textsuperscript{202} 1957 also marked the first time delegates at the World Conference elected an Indian woman to the World Committee.\textsuperscript{203} Throughout the fifties and sixties, Malayan and Indian Guiders earned scholarships to study and teach Scouting in the United States and Britain.\textsuperscript{204} Western acceptance of Asian women as teachers, committee chairs, and officers at the international level gave ambitious Asian women an opportunity to influence the international Guiding movement and bring more of its benefits to their national associations. As Asian women gained positions of power within WAGGGS, they encouraged policies that made governing structure of WAGGGS more democratic and granted outreach to poorer countries.

Attitudes of Western superiority, however, persisted. Prior Western hierarchies of race had ranked Africans as primitive and far below the semi-civilized Asians. Though such hierarchies held less influence over Western thinking after WWII, Western leaders of WAGGGS continued to exclude African women from any real positions of authority. For example, when Nigeria became an official member of WAGGGS in 1960, WAGGGS did not include the African delegates from Sudan or Nigeria in the Planning Committee responsible for the first All Africa camp in 1961. According to a report in \textit{The Council Fire}, the Committee only included members that had “have specialized knowledge of the needs and conditions in Africa.”\textsuperscript{205} Over the sixties and seventies, African delegates within WAGGGS gradually gained a greater voice and took on leadership roles in their region. Yet, they never convinced WAGGGS to build an African World
Center as the Asian Guiders had in the late fifties. The Nigerian government even offered 32 acres of land in its capital, Abuja, during the early nineties for the Center. The reluctance WAGGGS shows towards the project demonstrates the longevity of imperial legacies.

**Conclusion**

This chapter focused on the Western imperial origins of Guiding and the ways the Western-led international movement used the language of maternalism to build imperial relationships between Western countries and non-Western colonies while promoting a vision of international sisterhood. After WWII, Western members gradually pursued change yet remained the dominant force in the international movement into the 1960s. Though a few Asian women from India and Pakistan gained leadership roles within WAGGGS and began to shape its decisions particularly regarding Guiding in Asia and the Pacific, participation of non-Western women at international conferences remained minimal. WAGGGS continued to use Western leaders and trainers to organize events and trainings in Africa and failed to acknowledge much less address the increasing numbers of Australian Aboriginal Guides.

Beyond the influence colonial Guiders’ had over Robert’s decision to open Guiding to colonized girls after WWI, the international Guide movement fits the traditional model of causation in imperial historiography, which understands the West as the source of change until the late 1940s. In 1940s, Asian Guiders began to influence the policies of the movement. The next two chapters show how colonial Guiders formed and practiced their own visions of Guiding, combining nationalist rhetoric with the Guides’ notions of maternalism and internationalism, in order to and mobilize Guide membership in their own interests.

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I am not so sure about that. I am sure that if you girls will keep the good of your country in your eyes above ever-


C. Love, “Swimming, Service to the Empire and Baden-Powell’s Youth Movements,” International Journal of the History of Sport 24, no. 5 (May 2007): 682; Tammy Proctor, On My Honour Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), 33, 132, 147; Daniel Gorman, Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2006), 12. There were many prominent Christian youth movements before Scouting that included the Boys Brigade, the Church Lads Brigade, the Boys’ Life Brigade, the Girls’ Brigade, the Girls’ Life Brigade, and the Girls’ Guildry. Furthermore, many imperial organizations offered activities for youth like the League of the Empire, the Navy League and the Imperial Maritime League, the National Service League, Victoria League, Duty and Discipline Movement, and the Tariff Reform League.


Robert Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Guidelets Guides, Rangers and Guiders (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1925), 61-62; Agnes Baden-Powell and Robert Baden-Powell, The Handbook for Girl Guides or How Girls Can Help Build the Empire (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912), 16-17; Barne, Here Come the Girl Guides, 15. Barne describes the disappointment of the original girl Scouts: “An ideal of womanliness as such doesn’t make much appeal at thirteen and undeniably it was a come-down to find yourself no longer a Scout, no longer a Wildcat or Nighthawk, but a Violet or a Lily of the Valley in a patrol of Girl Guides.”


Proctor, On My Honour, 68, 74.

Helen D. Gardner, The First Girl Guide: The Story of Agnes Baden-Powell (Stroud: Amberley, 2010), 103; Watt, “The Promise of ‘Character,’” 39; Voeltz, “Adam’s Rib,” 97-98; Agnes Baden-Powell and Robert Baden-Powell, How Girls Can Help Build the Empire, 18, 19-21, 31, 34; Aldis, A Girl Guide Captain in India, 17; Rose Gough Kerr, The Story of a Million Girls: Guiding and Girl Scouting Round the World (London: The Girl Guides Association, 1937), 188; Olave Baden-Powell, Window on My Heart, 108, 127; Robert Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding, 175; Robert Baden-Powell, Lessons from the ‘Varsity of Life,’ (London: Pearson, 1933), 155-156. Historians debate the role Robert played in the creation and publication of the first handbook. The handbook lists both Agnes and Robert as authors. In Robert’s memoir Lessons from the ‘Varsity of Life,’ he claims no role in its creation. Olave’s memoir, Window to my Heart, confirms this. Most likely his editor, C. Arthur Pearson, asked him to include his name on the cover to boost sales. Because it is highly probable that Agnes was the sole author, I have chosen to refer to Agnes as the author in the body of the thesis.

Agnes warned, “People say that we have no patriotism nowadays, and that therefore our empire will fall to pieces as the great Roman Empire did, because its citizens became selfish and lazy, and only cared for amusements. I am not so sure about that. I am sure that if you girls will keep the good of your country in your eyes above every-

of the body of the thesis.
thing else, it will go on all right. But if you don't do this there is very great danger, because we have many enemies abroad, and they are growing daily stronger and stronger.”

64 Barne, *Here Come the Girl Guides*, 24; Voeltz, “Adam’s Rib,” 97; “The Scheme for Girl Guides.” In *Aids to Scoutmastership* published in 1920 Robert explained, “The term ‘Scouting’ has come to mean a system of training citizenship, through games, for boys or girls.... The girls are the important people, because when the mothers of the nation are good citizens and women of character, they will see to it that there sons are not deficient in these points.”

65 Atiya Begum Fyzee-Rahamin, Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, and Sunil Sharma, *Atiya’s Journeys: A Muslim Woman from Colonial Bombay to Edwardian Britain* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 231; Barne, *Here Come the Girl Guides*, 24-25; Olave Baden-Powell, *Window to my Heart*, 108; Warren, “Citizens of the Empire;” 245. Olave Baden-Powell, Robert Baden-Powell’s wife and sidekick from their marriage in 1912 till his death in 1941, claimed that she and Robert dismissed the first Guiding handbook as “The Little Blue Muddly” and the first Guiding program as boring and Victorian in its outlook. However, Olave conceded, “She [Agnes] did the job [leading Guiding] very well having regard to the strict conventions of the time. Before 1914, the dead hand of Queen Victoria still rested heavily on anything to do with female. Whilst encouraging young girls to take a first tentative step towards independence, Agnes had at the same time to allay the fear of their parents that Guides might in any way become ‘unwomanly’.”


Robert Baden-Powell continued to oppose the name Scouts for girls. In 1928, the Fifth International Conference debated the issue again and the two names became irrevocably combined: World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts. As Guiding and Scouting spread globally, countries chose which names to adopt. In general if an American initiated the movement the country or colony would official becomes Girl Scouts. Because Great Britain had a larger expatriate female population, most regions use the title, Guide. In some colonies, both movement started nearly simultaneously and later united under one Association. Other countries chose Scouts over Guides because of connotations Guides held in their language. Today many national Guiding/Scouting associations have merged with Boy Scouts to share facilities and cut down overhead costs.


James K. Matthews, "World War I and the Rise of African Nationalism: Nigerian Veterans As Catalysts of
Guides would disrupt the movement's popularity among white children, he insisted that colonial educators cease
the affairs of the nation. A Powell explained, "The vast mass of our present girls will in the near future have a powerful voice in dete
World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, Trefoil Round the World (1994), 19, 62, 73, 79, 98, 112, 149, 207, 276. By the beginning of WWII, small Guiding movements, some made up of only one company, had begun in Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Netherlands, and Poland. British and Americans had started small movements in Chile, Cyprus, Puerto Rico, Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines. The largest movements were in Britain, Australia, South Africa, and Canada. The United States movement had Guiding compete against other girlscouting associations and did not become the most popular until after World War I.
In cases like India and South Africa, where Robert believed the membership of colonized Scouts and Guides would disrupt the movement’s popularity among white children, he insisted that colonial educators cease using his program.


93 The Girl Guides' Gazette 8, no. 85 (January 1921): 5 quoted in Proctor, On My Honour, 108,131; Olave Baden-Powell, Training Girls as Guides, 13. Barne, Here Come the Girl Guides, 47, 57. Barne chronicled, “The world, as far as women were concerned, was in fact completely changed.” She credited Guides’ war service to ending “The Woman Question.”


95 Robert Baden-Powell, Girl Guiding, 177, 179.

96 Olave Baden-Powell, Training Girls as Guides, 13-14; Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, “Modern Girl as Heuristic Device: Collaboration, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation,” in The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization, edited by Eve Alys Weinbaum (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 1-4; Proctor, On My Honour, 71, 119-127; Richard A. Voeltz, “The Antidote to ‘Khaki Fever’? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides During the First World War,” Journal of Contemporary History 27, no. 4 (October 1992): 627-638. Voeltz argues, “Guides acted as a cure, or antidote, for ‘flapperdom’ and ‘war fever’ or ‘khaki fever’, assumed to be dangerous social and psychological afflictions which beset the girls and young women of Britain, causing them to act in unrestrained, even bold and brazen ways, thus threatening the very moral order of the country.” Proctor cautions, “Voeltz is right in saying that Guides created the appearance of a safe alternative for women, but Guiding also fashioned a space for girls and women to experience independence and freedom from the restrictions of home life during World War I.”


98 Barne, Here Come the Girl Guides, 92.


101 Gorman, Imperial Citizenship, 212.
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reinforced and perpetuated Anglo-centric forms of racial and cultural categorization.


Olave Baden-Powell, Training Girls as Guides, 16.

Olave Baden-Powell, Guide Links, 64.


Olave Baden-Powell, Window on My Heart, 176, 223-238.

Alexander, “Girl Guide Movement, Internationalism, and Imperialism in Interwar England, Canada, and India,” 48, 53. Alexander analyzes, “Many official Guide publications produced during this time, like much of the coverage the movement received in the popular press, still bore traces of older, more conservative and hierarchical ways of thinking. Most significantly, a number of contemporary newspapers, as well as Guide fiction and prescriptive literature published in or dealing with England, Canada, and India, continued to discuss the Guides in ways that reinforced and perpetuated Anglo-centric forms of racial and cultural categorization.”


1926). Delegates to Fourth International Conference at Camp Edith Macy in New York decided to change the former name of the world publication, World Bulletin, to The Council Fire. The new name evoked the campfire “at Camp Edith Macy, into which each delegate threw a faggot naming the particular contribution which her country had made to building up of the modern world.”


124 Proctor, Scouting for Girls, 70. The delegation to the Fourth World Conference only determined which National Associations qualified as full members. Full members would have the right send delegates to vote at World Conferences and propose women to run for the World Committee. They would also have the responsibility of paying an annual quota based on membership numbers. To become a member of the World Association, the Guide or Scout Association had to apply and show that their organization supported the principles established in the original Promise and Laws. Each country could choose the wording of the Promise. The first Member countries of WAGGGS were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Hungary, Iceland, India, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States of America and Yugoslavia. The World Committee waited until 1936 to draft a Constitution which explicitly laid out six qualifications for membership:

- a) adhere to the principles of the original Promise and Law as laid down by the Founder;
- b) Have a movement open to all girls and young women without distinction of creed, race, class, or nationality;
- c) Have a self-governing Movement independent of any political organization and not supporting any political party;
- d) Have adopted the Trefoil (the symbol of the threefold Promise as its Badge);
- e) Have undertaken ...to begin work on a Constitution...
- f) Undertake to pay annually the Tenderfoot Membership Quota to WAGGGS, and to send an annual report to the World Bureau.

The World Committee may have waited to adopt a Constitution until South Africa, which had a large movement, allowed nonwhite girls to join which occurred January 1936.

125 Alexander, “Girl Guide Movement, Internationalism, and Imperialism in Interwar England, Canada, and India,” 320-325; Rupp, "Challenging Imperialism," 8; Fiona Paisley, Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race in the Women’s Pan-Pacific (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 6-7. Paisley shows that many international women’s organizations adopted this attitude because their founders and initial leaders were Western women who celebrated antiracism and cultural understanding but never abandoned the race-thinking common in the early twentieth century. In her study of the Women’s Pan Pacific from 1928-1958, she finds that non-Western women who attended conferences faced a contradictory set of expectations. While they came to the conferences with expectation to claim agency and influence, many of their Western colleagues dismissed them as less experienced world citizens that needed guidance.

126 WAGGGS, First Biennial Reports, 1928-1930 (London: WAGGGS, 1931), 52, 56, 61. For more regarding the “double difference” of women from the dominion colonies see Marilyn Lake, “‘Between Old World Barbarism’ and Stone Age ‘Primitivism’: The Double Difference of the White Australian Feminist,” in Australian Women: Contemporary Feminist Thought edited by Norma Grieve and Ailsa Burns (Melbourne: Oxford University Press), 80-91; Avril Janks, Leadership for Life: 100 Women, 100 Years in Guiding (Rosanna, Vic: Bounce Books, 2010), 83; Australian Guiders remained marginalized from international leadership until the 1960 World Conference when delegates elected the Australian Major Eleanor Manning Obe.

Out of the 26 founding members of WAGGGS in 1928, only three, Japan, Liberia, and India were non-Western countries.


135 Alix Liddell, “The Will to Succeed,” *The Council Fire* 27, no. 3 (July 1952): 74. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 67. The discourse of WAGGGS echoed a common practice among imperialists and social scientists to see greater difference as signs of stilted human development. Alice Cunningham Fletcher, an anthropologist and activist, captured this belief: “The life of nations and peoples of the world is like the life of the human being; it has the childhood period, the adolescent period, and the mature period...We speak of savagery, barbarism and civilization, -- terms which merely represent these stages.”


142 Lilian Mitchell, “Australian Visits India,” *The Council Fire* 32, no. 2 (April 1957): 95-97; Anu Karkare, “The Expanding Circle of Friendship,” *The Council Fire* 34, no. 1 (January 1959): 30-31; *The Council Fire, The Seventh World Conference*, no. 4 (October 1932); “The Chief Guides Opening Speech,” *The Council Fire* 6, no. 4 (October 1936): 14-15; Alexander, “Girl Guide Movement, Internationalism, and Imperialism in Interwar England, Canada, and India,” 325-326; Patricia Richards, “Girl Guides in India,” *The Council Fire* 6, no. 3 (July 1931): 41; In her opening speech at the 1934 World Conference, Olave encouraged, “I urge you to start making friends with your fellow-workers from other countries with whom you have not hitherto come into contact. You will gather from them information which may be helpful to you in your own lands; the main purpose of this Conference is to exchange personal experiences and to gain suggestions with which to carry on Guiding amongst your own people.”


“The Imperial Camp, Waddow Hall Lancashire,” *The Council Fire* 17, no. 4 (October 1942): 51. *The Council Fire* reported on only one international gathering in 1942. The conference was held in Britain and only five other countries were represented.

Elizabeth Choy, interview by Tan Beng Luan; Singapore, August, 23 1985; Anu Karkare “The Expanding Circle of Friendship,” *The Council Fire* 34, no. 1 (January 1959): 30-31. Elizabeth Choy became one of the first Malayan Guiders to have the opportunity to travel to an international gathering in 1947 when she received the Bronze Cross. When she recalled her experience in London thirty-eight years later, she offered an implausible record of events including Lord Baden-Powell, who died in 1941, as the man who gave her the award. Most likely, she assumed the man in the Scouting uniform beside Olave was Robert. Her confusion shows that the high expectations of non-Western Guiders shaped how they experienced and remembered international events in a way that encouraged praise.


Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific*. Paisley claims that the Pan Pacific Women’s Association renamed the Pan-Pacific and South East Asia Women’s Association in 1955, employed unique methods to build interracial relationships at conferences. However, WAGGGS employed the same methods: dressing in costumes, performance, and indigenous folk art shows, etc.


*First Biennial Report, 1928-1930*, 46; Furse, “Close of Conference,” *The Council Fire* 11, no. 4 (October 1936): 43; In 1936, Furse echoed, “As we have heard here, Guiding and Girl Scouting are developing differently in every country. No one country has found the only way to give the Chief Scout’s vision to the children. Each country has contributed valuable ideas, and we hope this joyous Conference has pooled all these ideas so that they will combine to inspire us in the future.”


Tammy Proctor, “‘A Separate Path:’ Scouting and Guiding in Interwar South Africa,” 608-609. Proctor argues that Robert integrated Zulu relics and rituals into both Guiding and Scouting; yet, all of her examples come from the Boy Scout program. I found no evidence in Robert’s articles, speeches, or Guiding handbooks to suggest that Robert encouraged Guides to learn Zulu war chants or admire their traditional simplicity. In the Guiding handbook, he only mentions Zulus as enemies of war.

“The Imperial Camp for Overseas Guiders,” *The Council Fire* 3, no. 4 (October 1928): 68; “Speeches at Sessions of Delegates, Visitors, and Guiders: Extension, Post Guides, and Brownies,” *The Council Fire, World Conference Number 5*, no. 4 (October 1930): 80; A British Guider proclaimed, “The only branch of Guiding so far as I know in which the government is so convinced of the good that is being done that they will pay English Guiders is in the homes for mentally defective children.”


vested taxes that British citizens of the metropole paid in colonial development projects. The Council Fire 27, no. 4 (October 1952): 124-125; “Our Ark’s New House,” The Council Fire 35, no. 2 (April-June 1960): 59-61; The Ark, which had moved in September of 1959 to a new location of London, reported that by the spring of 1960 Guides from 25 countries had already stopped. One was a Guider from India traveling to America to study; a Guider from Pakistan spent Christmas of 1951.


Olave Baden-Powell, “Thinking Day Fund,” The Council Fire 3, no. 2 (April 1933):17. In the first year, the Association held the Thinking Day Fund, they decided to count all British colonies in West Africa as one donation. Thus, that year alone West Africa raised more money than any European country; of course it included Sierra Leone, Gambia, the British Gold Coast (modern Ghana), and Nigeria.


“Preparation’ of International Trainers,” The Council Fire 6, no. 4 (October 1936): 30. This speaker also acknowledged the limitations white Guiders faced in the colonies. “So often people tend to think habits different to their own funny or odd or peculiar. Yet these problems and habits may be of vital importance to the leaders of the movement in their own countries and may be the root of their difficulties running Guides or Girl Scouts.”


Olave Baden-Powell, Window on My Heart. 159-160; Barne, Here Come the Girl Guides, 92; Mark Kerr (Vice-Chairman of the International Conference) “The Fourth International Conference: At Camp Edith Macy, New York State,” The Girl Guide World Bulletin, International Conference Number 1, no. 2 (August 1926): 7; Proctor, Scouting for Girls, 132. France had proposed Thinking Day at the Fourth World Conference at Camp Edith Macy in New York as a more universal holiday for the movement than Empire Day where Guides and Guiders would offer thoughts of kindness to their sisters around the world and celebrate the Founders, Promise, and Laws that united them. In her memoirs, Olave recalled that a Guider from Belgium proposed it at the 1932 World Conference in Poland.

Warren, “‘Mothers for the Empire?’”106; Wilson, Scouting Round the World, 38. WAGGGS, largely because of Olave’s influence and the leadership of Katherine Furse, resolutely refused to work with imperial youth organizations from 1926 onwards. Though Boy Scouts did not build formal ties with imperial youth organizations, Robert continued to negotiate with Mussolini regarding his Bailla, a fascist Italian form of scouting founded in 1928, until 1933 and encouraged the South African Boy Scout Association to cooperate with Voortrekkers, the Afrikaner nationalist scouting organization. Both boys from Hitler Jugend and Bailla attended the 1933 World Jamboree and International Conference in Hungary.


Friendship Encampment held annually at Our Chalet provided $34,000 to sponsor travel to international youth activities. Dorthea Woods "Unesco," The Council Fire 27, no. 4 (October 1952): 124-125.

WAGGGS received more requests for international pen pals and friend companies from European Guides. Banham explains, “Many European Guides want pen-friends in, what seems to them, the more glamorous countries of the East, and in other parts of the world where the way of life is different from their own in the colder climes.”


Neville Meaney, “Britishness and Australia: Some Reflections,” in The British World: Diaspora, Culture, and Identity, edited by Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorovich (London: F. Cass, 2003), 128-133; Proctor, Scouting for Girls, 137-140; Timothy Parsons, “The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya,” in Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century, eds. Tammy M. Proctor and Nelson R. Block (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub, 2009), 53; Bush, “Gender and Empire: The Twentieth Century,” 102-105. This may have also been part of a larger trend among nonprofit organizations in the metropole to appeal to a multinational audience since the passage of the 1940 Colonial Welfare and Development Act. The 1940 Colonial Welfare and Development Act transformed the Empire, at least rhetorically, “into a multiracial Commonwealth of ‘equal’ citizens and development.” Consequently imperial societies changed their names and agendas. The Victoria League became the Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship. The Society of the Oversea Settlement of British Women (SOSBW) no longer sent white women to the colonies to boost white numbers against the savage ‘equal’ citizens and development.” Consequentially imperial societies changed their names and agendas. The Victoria League became the Victoria League for Commonwealth Friendship. The Society of the Oversea Settlement of British Women (SOSBW) no longer sent white women to the colonies to boost white numbers against the savage hordes but as social workers to train natives.

Helen Gibbs, “All Over the Map: The British Commonwealth,” The Council Fire 27, no. 2 (April 1952): 48-51. Gibbs described, “Each company achieving a certificate standard will receive a certificate with the design of a world map and trefoil of gold, silver, or bronze according to the standard attained.”

Proctor, Scouting for Girls, 137.


Coker, A Lady, 74; Eileen Sandford, Come On, Eileen! (Shrewsbury: Shrewsbury Words, 2010), 46.

Olave Baden-Powell, Window on My Heart, 223-224; Proctor, Scouting for Girls, 129; Wade, Olave Baden-Powell, 166-167.

Adas, Machines As the Measure of Men, 411-418.


represent their country during a two-week camp: “She [applicants] must be actively serving in a company or troop, have some camping experience, and be able to teach songs, dances and simple handicrafts of her own country. She should be able to speak at least one language in addition to her own.” In the 1950s, Asians from Pakistan and India participated nearly every year. In 1950 two Pakistani Guides won a scholarship from the Juliette Low World Friendship Fund that funded a trip to Our Chalet in Switzerland, where she camped with Guides from 21 other nations that included Brazil, Haiti, France, Norway, South Africa, Soumi-Finland, and the United States.


WAGGGS, Thirteenth Biennial Report, 1952-1954, 76


Ada Cornil, “Opening Speech,” The Council Fire 27, no. 4 (Oct 1952): 103. She continued, “A majority of opinion must not try to impose its way on a minority. Each one of us can and must explain her own point of view; but must try to understand the others. From this diversity of opinions we must endeavor to discover, all together, common decisions that are acceptable to all.”


The African region first requested a World Center in 1993. In 2011, WAGGGS decided that such an institution
would promote the participation of Africans in the movement who continue to be underrepresented at international
events.

207 Leslie E. Whateley, “The Director’s Travels,” The Council Fire 34, no. 4 (October 1959): 139-141;
Whateley observed, “Only three of the Non-Governmental Organizations (N.G.O.s) present were represented by
eastern nationalities, but what they lacked in numerical strength they certainly made up for in quality.”

208 “From Papuan to Sydney,” The Council Fire 35, no. 4 (October-December 1960):133; United Nations
Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, System of Associated Youth Enterprises, 1959-1962,” Paris, Oc-
tions Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, “Working Party of Non-Governmental Organizations on the
Extension of International Collaboration in Education, Science, and Culture to the Countries in Africa,” Paris, Jan-
A Snapshot of Success

A frazzled Mable Marsh, the principal of the Methodist Girls’ School in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya, struggled to dress her Girl Guide company in the required uniform for their parade performance to honor the Prince of Wales. Her company, comprised of Asian girls from Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and Malay backgrounds, had begun their preparation months before the Prince’s scheduled arrival. Though Marsh had ordered the required brown stockings of the uniform, which could only be procured from England with months to spare, the stockings failed to arrive for the parade in March 1922. Marsh and fellow teachers decided that “the expected stockings matched the natural color of the girls’ legs, so why worry?” Dressed in the blue jumpers that British Guides wore, her company performed a flag ceremony and a series of physical drills for the visiting dignitaries. After the event, Marsh concluded that the “parade of stockingless girls was as well applauded as if everyone had been fully covered.”

Marsh, an American missionary, introduced Girl Guides to her girls’ school in 1915 after one of her teachers returned from Britain with a small booklet on the program. Since the inception of World War I, Marsh had grown increasingly upset with the barbaric violence of the West and believed that the War had led the colonized to question the Western model of civilization. As she described it to a high school friend, “It was bad enough to have to face these Oriental people and try to reconcile our teaching with the fact that the Christian nations are at each other’s throats.” Guiding, Marsh believed, would help to reassert the superiority of Western culture and liberate her students, mostly non-Christians, from the degrading Asian patriarchal traditions they
learned at home. After her first years as a Guider, she reveled with a mother’s pride in the successful transformation of her one submissive Asian students into model independent Western-style women:

   Our girls, who used to be so stilted, have developed into the most charming little hostesses …. There was a time when they had to travel the streets unseen, but now they mount their bicycles, grab their tennis or badminton racquets, go with their friends to the neighboring courts and enjoy outdoor games with as great a zest as their brothers used to do without them.210

   Whereas Marsh, a missionary Guider for over thirty years celebrated her stockingless Guides as a success, Margaret Martyn, the wife of an India Civil Service Officer stationed in Calcutta lasted less than a day as a Guider. She complained that the “dilapidated and shabby” living conditions of her Guides made her “really sick and terrified of catching to germs that seemed to be stalking about the room.” Martyn had only become a Guider at the request of the wife of another colonial official. She preferred her days to be filled with tennis, golf, and cocktails and met her maternal obligation to nurture the community with volunteer work that demanded no more than a few meetings with other British women.211

   Despite their differences, both women accepted that as white middle-class women they had a maternal role that required them to serve as the mothers of what scholar Margaret Jolly labels ‘other mothers’ – women and girls outside the Western bourgeoisie cultural sphere.212 This sense of innate Western feminine superiority united Western women across the British Empire.213 While the social expectation that women were the caretakers of society empowered women like Marsh to avoid marriage, become missionaries, and dedicate their lives to education or medicine, it became a burdensome obligation for many British wives like Martyn.214 Thus, maternalism could liberate women from traditional obligations as well as trap women in posi-
tions of responsibility over others they neither wanted nor cared about but to which they had to obligate themselves.

This chapter examines the ways that white Guiders maternal message united and divided them. It argues that missionary Guiders at the peripheries of the Empire, like Marsh, rather than forces or individuals at the center transformed Guiding into a feminine expression of Western supremacy over colonized cultures. Missionaries expected that Guiding would enable the colonized to abandon their backwards ways, adopt Western values, and join the imperial community as equally able to mother the community or their own children as white colonizers. Once the colonial governments in Malaya, Nigeria, and India withdrew their opposition to colonized girls Guiding and supported the movement, wives of colonial bureaucrats joined missionaries’ efforts in the twenties. Wives questioned the missionaries’ confidence and generally felt that it would take generations of white Guiders like themselves mothering the colonized before they would ever be able to join the imperial community as equals. That British wives who volunteered as Guiders or officers and missionary Guiders ascribed different timelines to the civilizing mission shows that women colonizers were not a cohesive group. Though they often shared goals and methods, women colonizers approached these goals in a lens shaped by their relationship to the colonial government and colonized women.

**Opposition of Colonial Governments**

When white missionary women started Guide companies for colonized girls in Malaya, Australia, India, and Nigeria, they faced opposition from colonial governments and the white colonial public in spite of the overt imperial orientation of the original Guiding program and the loyal intentions of most missionaries who adopted it during and just after WWI. Guiding Headquarters refused to officially recognize them until after WWI. In the case of India, Headquarters
sided with white Guiders who insisted the movement only allow white girls to join and officially prohibited the participation of Indians until 1916. Even after Baden-Powell had announced his support for colonized Girl Guides, government officials saw white Guiders’ efforts and interactions with colonized youth as potentially subversive and likely to inflame nationalist passions, or at the very least, petitions for greater rights. To colonial governments, the Fourth Law of Girl Guides, “A Guide is a friend to all and a sister to every other Guide,” violated the unspoken premise of white superiority that legitimated the Western rule and exploitation of non-Western peoples. The initial opposition of these colonial governments to Scouting for colonized children indicates the fragility of their imperial dominance. In Malaya and Nigeria, the governments feared colonized opposition might needlessly complicate their relationship to colonized rulers. In India, officials feared that nationalists would employ the program as a way to spread their message to young girls and boys.  

Historians debate the extent that governments opposed missionaries’ efforts to bring Guiding to the colonized. They agree that colonial governments feared Scouting might equip colonized boys with an ideology and skill set they might later use against the Empire. However, historians split along gender lines whether the colonial governments believed Guiding as subversive. Tammy Proctor and Kristine Alexander argue that colonial government initially opposed Guiding as they feared it might breed revolutionaries. Carey Watt and Timothy Parsons claim the colonial governments did not consider Girl Guides a threat to British rule.  

My research shows that in India and Malaya overt government opposition existed but quickly dissipated after WWI and never led to confrontations between Guiders and colonial governments. In Malaya, the government initially feared Guiding to be needless “unwanted, patronizing interference” that would upset the Malay sultans and Chinese elites upon whom they de-
pended to enforce their rule. Colonial officials in India had two primary objections. They feared and that Indian nationalists would co-opt the movement as Irish nationalists had and promote anti-British sentiments. Additionally, they disapproved of European and Indian girls participating in the movement as equals as it undermined the myth that the colonizers were innately more virtuous and capable than the colonized. After WWI, as British officials across the Empire faced the disillusionment of many colonized elite with Western models of modernity, they increased their efforts to provide for the welfare of the colonized. Consequentially, they began to allow Guiding companies. By the late 1920s, colonial officials fully supported the movement for Malayan and Indian girls and often provided companies with funds for Guiding equipment, trips, and facilities and donations of land, buildings, and labor.

Generally, colonial governments in British Africa that relied on indirect-rule, Kenya, Uganda, and Nigeria, withheld their approval and support longer than any other colonial governments. This hesitancy to include African members indicates that Western racial hierarchies of development that held that Africans were less civilized and further away from self-government than Asians persisted after WWI. In the Nigerian case, the colonial government withheld its financial support from Guiding after they financially had begun to support Scouting for boys. They feared the opposition of tribal headmen and emirs whom the colonial government used to control rural areas. Only in 1931 with pressure from a coalition of white Guiders and one colonized Guider did the government agree to fund a few of the Girl Guides’ projects. During the thirties, Guiders had to lobby for each additional grant of funding, and the demand for Guiding among Nigerian elites remained higher than the Nigerian Guiding Association could meet with such limited funding.
The state governments and federal government of Australia took a more equivocal attitude toward Guiding among Aboriginal girls than their colonial counterparts that had greater political ties to the metropole. They never explicitly opposed the movement, but never embraced the movement among colonized girls as colonial officials in Malaya, India, and Nigeria did. An explanation for the marginalization of Aboriginal girls from movement requires an understanding of the settler logic that shaped government policies and missionary Guiders’ goals.

Australia, because it was a settler colony, operated according to what Patrick Wolfe calls the “logic of elimination” rather than the civilizing mission. Settlers never envisaged that Aborigines could become self-governing, and they set up laws and traditions that effectively made Aborigines non-citizens. As the victors in “the war of extermination against the Aborigines,” Australian settlers viewed Aborigines as a problem to eliminate through “carceration,” a process Wolfe defines as removal and containment, and assimilation, process of elimination that depends on idea of dilution of blood. Because many scientists believed that eventually the Aborigines as a race would die out, all states had resorted to a dual approach to eliminate Aboriginal populations by the early twentieth century. States began to place “full bloods” in isolated church- or state-run reserves to protect them from the dangers of white society and to insure that they did not corrupt their children, many of whom had “white blood.” They also developed policies which sanctioned government officials, usually police, to forcefully remove light-skinned Aboriginal children, “half-castes,” from their families and place them into institutional environments. The state-funded institutions, which included missions, settlements, and boarding schools, light-skinned Aboriginal children learned the skills needed to become domestic servants and farm laborers, or as Wolfe describes, “the lowest echelons of white society.” Government officials believed “half-caste” girls to be the most promising candidates for assimilation as Australia had
an “excess of unmarried males.” They hoped that state-funded missions and boarding schools could turn Aboriginal girls into domestic servants and potential marriage partners for light skinned Aborigines or lower class white men.224

The settler belief that Aborigines had no place in the future of White Australia led to exclusion of Aboriginal girls for the first two decades of the Guiding movement in Australia.225 Missionaries only started Scouting companies for Aborigines in the early thirties when new legislation allowed state governments to take Aboriginal children away from their parents in larger numbers and calls to “breed-out-the-colour” or eliminate Aborigines through blood dilution invigorated assimilation efforts. Missionary Guiders worked primarily at government-funded institutions with wards of the state they believed to be candidates of assimilation.226

Australian government officials disagreed whether Guiding would help or hurt effort to assimilate or absorb Aborigines into white society. When white missionaries first started Guiding companies at state-funded institutions, a few state officials approved of the program wholeheartedly even donating supplies upon occasion. Most, however, believed that Guiding could easily lead to disruptive behavior. Because many settlements faced endemic staff shortages that prevented the adequate supervision of children, government bureaucrats bred a culture of fear to maintain order. In many settlements, canceling Scouting excursions and banning companies became a new method to punish the child inmates.227

**Partners in Empire**

Once the colonial governments in Malaya, India, and Nigeria dropped their opposition, they provided the financial base for Guiding activities among colonized girls. They also used their influence to recruit more volunteers and solicit more donations, many of which came from colonized elites.228 This has led numerous historians to consider Guiding a tool of imperial patri-
archy. Yet, it was women who requested the government’s funding, choreographed elaborate shows for governmental ceremonies and parades, and attempted to teach colonized girls and women that the British government was the source of all progress. White Guiders effectively transformed the maternal agenda of Guiding into an imperial project that elevated the white Guider into the bearer of Western culture and the preserver of beneficial non-Western traditions. Essentially, Barbara Ramusack’s term, “maternal imperialist,” aptly describes most white Guiders.

Government support for Guiding brought an influx of British volunteers to the movements in Malaya, Nigeria, and India starting in the late twenties and lasting through independence. Their presence changed the dynamic and composition of the women involved. In the teens and early twenties before colonized Guides had received the blessings of the metropole or colonial governments, American, Australian, and British missionaries dominated the movements of India, Nigeria, and Malaya. By the thirties British women had taken over the most prominent officer roles and represented a large number of the Guiders for colonized girls.

British wives approached Guiding colonized girls with a radically different perspective than missionaries. Most of them were wives of British officials or officers. Between the late twenties and early thirties, involvement in Guiding became a duty expected of dependent women from the official British community; opting out required apologies that occasionally required husbands to become involved. Though like missionaries, they assumed that colonized girls needed Western mothering if they ever were to belong to the larger imperial community, British wives imagined that this process would require generations. They tended to juxtapose the inferiority of colonized Guides to complete badge work, drill, and demonstrate sportsmanship to the superiority of British Guides to enact similar feats. Often they used these comparisons to evi-
dence of the continued need of British control and the danger of increasing levels self-government. In contrast, missionaries usually compared their Guides in a positive light to British Guides and understood their Guides as the first generation of colonized imperial citizens -- symbols of the developing partnership between colonized and colonizer. These different perspectives led most missionary Guiders and British wives to approach Guiding and understand their experience in radically different ways.

Mutual distrust categorized the relationship between missionary Guiders and those recruited from official British society. Generally, the two groups collaborated only at the occasional meetings of the colonial Guiding associations and at colony-wide camps. The lifestyle of missionaries, many of whom lived at the schools that employed them and worked with non-elite colonized women, unsettled British wives. White missionary Guiders often complained that married British women served short stints as leaders and failed to commit the time and attention necessary to adequately train their Guides.

The relationship between white missionary Guiders and the local government was more than *quid pro quo*. Most white missionary Guiders in Nigeria, Malaya, and India loyally supported the British government before they benefited from its support. Most ran schools that only began receiving funding from colonial governments during the twenties. They understood Guiding as a complement to the domestic sciences that their schools offered. Other missionary Guiders brought Guiding to the leper colonies of India and Nigeria, the “Criminal Tribe Settlements” and Women’s Gaols of India, as well as to native settlements, missions, and institutions of Australia. In Australia, the vast majority of missionary Guiders of Aboriginal girls, who received no tangible perks from the government, continued to promote the Australian government and its place in the Empire. Missionaries’ memoirs, letters, and interviews with historians
enthusiastically depicted the Empire as a large-scale humanitarian effort to promote peace and Western standards of living.\textsuperscript{237}

In contrast, British wives who volunteered as Guiders expected the government to recognize and reward their loyalty to the civilizing mission of the Empire. Because the government determined a wife’s economic well-being, her husband’s career, and where she lived, it shaped her social status. While some wives volunteered with fond memories of Guiding from their youth in Britain or out of boredom, wives of higher-ranking colonial bureaucrats compelled their social inferiors to do so. Because wives viewed the incorporation of the colonized in more aspects of government or army as a threat to their husband’s career and their social position as colonizers, they wanted to postpone the incorporation of colonized people as imperial citizens. The close ties to that wives felt with colonial government skewed their views of colonized Guides and Guiders.\textsuperscript{238}

The different relationships wives and missionaries had with the government affected their commitments to colonized Guides. British wives came to live in the colonies as a marital duty and had little emotional or professional attachment to the people. They rarely served the movement in one region more than one or two years as their husbands’ careers demanded frequent relocations. Their social and domestic obligations as mothers and wives required much of their time, and beyond their house servants, they resisted associating with the colonized except for the purposes of charity. Many saw their role as Guiders as a weekly commitment of an hour to prove to other colonial wives their dedication to the civilizing mission.\textsuperscript{239}

Missionaries, on the other hand, spent significant periods of their lives working with colonized girls and women and at least picked up basic language skills and an experientially based understanding of local cultures. Their professional goals led them to invest more time and
effort in the girls and women they hoped to reach through Guiding than British wives. Moreover, their jobs as educators gave them greater access to the various cultures of the colonized than British wives had. As missionaries they worked with colonized women, visited students’ houses, and often socialized with colonized Christian elites. Empathy and compassion dulled the virulence of the racist presumptions that underlie the maternal civilizing mission to which they subscribed.240

Generally, wives had closer ties to the metropole than missionaries. Whereas many wives had been involved in Guiding in Britain and came to their work in the colonies with the expectation they could institute the program as the handbook specified, missionaries often had little personal experience with Guiding beyond a brochure or handbook. Wives were also more likely to attend international gatherings sponsored by WAGGGS and regularly read and contribute to its magazines. From reading Guiding literature, letters from daughters they had sent home to Britain for school, and participation in international gatherings, they knew of the achievements and activities of European and American Guides and wanted to train colonized Guides just as they would a company of Western Guides.241 One Malayan Commissioner, who had started as a leader of a Guide company but decided to serve in a less hands-on capacity, captured this attitude in 1935, “What appeals to and helps the girls in the West has much the same effect on the eastern girl.”242

Yet their Guides often did not want to do activities as the handbook instructed or wear the uniform as directed. English was not their first language, which made the memorization and explanation of the Promise and Laws that much more difficult. Tropical climates, limited access to required equipment, and foreign cultural customs required ingenuity of behalf of the Guiders. Compared to missionary Guiders, wives showed reluctance towards reinventing uniforms,
changing or abandoning requirements for badge tests, dropping rules in games, and deviating too far from the handbook.243 The accommodations wives felt they had to make only intensified their belief that it would be generations before colonized Guides would grow up to be imperial citizens.

When faced with a company of Guides who failed to fulfill their expectations, British wives typically reacted in one of three ways. Many lost motivation and quit, as they could not tolerate the cross-cultural encounters and flexible expectations that the work required.244 Others persevered but complained bitterly, often sending reports to WAGGGS that their Guides lacked ambition, competitive spirit, and common sense, ate strange food, and lived in unbearable conditions.245 Lastly, a small number of British wives became officers in the colonial associations, which in Nigeria and Malaya were exclusively white until after WWII and in India, made up of white and elite educated Indian women. Their position as members of the official community, their reasons for joining the Girl Guides, and their constant communication with the metropole shaped their conclusion that colonized girls had a long way to go before they would be the equals of their British peers.

One white Guider, Sheila Bridges, the wife of a District Officer in the Colonial Service, demonstrates how wives’ high and often unmet expectations reinforced their understanding of colonized people as completely unprepared to assume the responsibilities and rights of imperial citizenship. Her remarks carry an unstated assumption that Nigerians only could attain a common level of citizenship as their British and white Dominion counterparts if they westernized all aspects of their lives from their food to their leisure preferences. A Guider with years of experience in Britain, Bridges depicted differences between the performances and attitudes of her Nigerian Guides and former British Guides as cultural deficits traits shared by all Nigerians. Because her
Guides preferred games and dancing to badge work and failed their Second Class Test due their poor English, Bridges claimed they were lazy. When subjected to a native meal “of rice, soup, meat, fish, spices, vegetables and pal oil, all cooked together in a precise way,” Bridges bemoaned, “Here food is the difficulty, as there is nothing among native dishes that compares to the ever-useful sausage, fried egg and sandwich.” She made her observations, published in *The Council Fire* of 1956, just as the British government began to hand over greater control of the government to Nigerians and less than a decade after the British Nationality Act had created a “nominal commonwealth citizenship” that allowed the migration of large numbers of nonwhite colonized peoples to the metropole. Thus her exaggerated claims contained political relevancy to her contemporary readers in the metropole and colonies.

For the British wives who left their work with colonized girls to take on officer positions within colonial Guiding associations, the “failures” of their Guides became a rallying call for more white women to volunteer and proof of the movement’s importance. Their quips to the press noted the difficulties that backwards traditions posed to the Guide movement but assured readers that with time and education the colonized could take up the ways of the West. B. H. C. Thomas, the Malayan Guiding Commissioner in the 1930s, explained,

> It is not always easy to get in touch with Asiatic parents and to explain to them that the object of Guiding is to develop, in a practical way, homecraft and the care of children and to improve the standard of fitness among girls. Mothers, but more often grandmothers, are afraid we may encourage their daughters to strive for more independence than they themselves enjoyed, and we find it hard to persuade them that this emancipation has already begun, and the old sheltered way of life being no longer possible, we and other organizations are trying to supply steadying influence.

Her politic remark juxtaposes Western modernity and Asiatic tradition as incompatible and promises that Guiding and similar educational efforts will eventually triumph by overwhelming and eradicating native tradition.
Missionaries came to Guiding with few expectations. Missionary Guiders rarely stayed abreast of Guiding news from the metropole or ever communicated with WAGGGS in any way. They usually did what worked rather than what the program specified or what international leaders suggested as best practices. Most missionary Guiders shaped their interpretation of the program to emphasize what they thought most important for girls to know and what resources they had available. Few bothered to set up the patrol system and Court of Honor as laid out in the handbook; many disregarded badge and test requirements like Morse Code, tracking, and knot tying as irrelevant to the lives of their Guides. Instead, they focused aspects of Western femininity they believed as essential to building dedicated imperial citizens: sewing, sports, first aid, hygiene.  

Missionaries generally saw their efforts as successful, even when they made significant adaptations to the official program. For example, in Malaya, Northern Nigeria, and India, Guiders organized camps in secluded areas often on the properties of indigenous rulers to insure the privacy of their Guides. These camps had little resemblance to camping that Baden-Powell outlined in his 1918 handbook. Guides often learned tracking in the rulers’ gardens or palaces, slept inside, and adjusted the recommended schedule to accommodate for the daily religious rituals of Muslims and Hindus. Nonetheless, missionaries’ depictions of camps portray differences between their efforts and the prescriptions of the handbook as assets that made non-Western Guiders more open to other belief systems and cultures.  

Missionaries kept up with former Guides and backed their claims that Guiding transformed colonized girls into imperial citizens with anecdotes that of their Guides accomplishments. Whether their Guides married, pursued higher education, or became teachers or nurses, white Guiders confidently portrayed them as the true mothers of their communities who could
more effectively deliver Western culture to the colonized than their white counterparts. One Guider in Malaya claimed, “Educate the Asian girls and they’ll be just as good, if not better, than the Western girls.” The smallest acts, riding in a rickshaw with a man and covering tables in “tea-cloths” and chairs in “tidies,” received equal attention as their Guide’s larger accomplishments of attending university in the metropole (Australia, United States, or Britain), entering “positions of responsibility” as housewives, teachers, principals, nurses, and entrepreneurs, or surviving the hardships brought on by WWII. Guides, according to missionary reports often became ambassadors of modernity to the families and villages. Mothers, impressed with skills girls learned at school and in Guiding meetings, would integrate Western practices into the home. For example after a Guider in Malaya demonstrated the Singer Sewing Machine, her Guides went home and insisted to their mothers and grandmothers that their families buy one. British wives, who volunteered as Guiders, rarely portrayed their Guides and families this amenable to Western “improvements.”

Because missionary Guiders assumed that with Western education colonized people could become imperial citizens with the privileges and responsibilities of the colonizers, when colonial governments expanded the responsibilities and rights of colonized peoples, missionary Guiders welcomed the changes. Furthermore, they expected that the Guiding associations would follow the government’s lead and incorporate more colonized women as participants and officers. Yet, missionary Guiders rarely advocated on behalf of colonized Guiders before the government had deemed the colonized capable of taking on leadership roles. Thus, many supported the exclusion of colonized women from the colonial association in Nigeria until after WWII. In contrast, in India, where the British granted Indians full control of certain aspects of
governance in 1919, most missionaries accepted Indian officers at regional and national levels from the beginning.255

Australian missionaries, like their counterparts in Malaya, India, and Nigeria, credited Guiding with improving the lives of participants and believed that once equipped with Western values and skills, aboriginals would be able to join the imperial community. They also supported the political status quo and subscribed to the same logic of elimination that government policy did. Once absorption became de facto government policy in the late twenties and thirties, missionaries began to envision an imperial citizenship for Aboriginal girls in limited terms; they imagined them joining white maternalists as the teachers and nurses of the lighter Aboriginal children of the next generation.256 They were silent regarding the legal rights that this imperial citizenship might entail— to vote, to move freely, to control privately owned property, to raise children, and to use public facilities.257

The success stories of Australian missionaries, when compared to those of other missionary Guiders in Malaya, India, and Nigeria, demonstrate the extreme marginal position of indigenous people in settler colonies. Because white Guiders could only sponsor companies with permission from their supervisors in the state and church bureaucracies, Aboriginal companies tended to last only a short period. Personnel changes, epidemics, and budget cuts limited the long-term efficacy of the movement in these institutionalized settings. The positive changes white Guiders noted—the pride of ownership that uniforms and badges brought to participants, Guides’ mastery of all the wildflower names of Western Australia, and the enjoyment girls found in bushwalking and knot tying show the limited impact of the movement on Aboriginal girls’ lives.258
Few Aboriginal girls escaped the destiny the state had laid out for them to become domestic servants and wives of poor whites or light-skinned Aboriginal men. Those who did become teachers faced such intense segregation and verbal and sexual abuse they often resigned. Although white missionary Guiders observed the harsh conditions that the state imposed on Aboriginal girls, few abandoned their faith in the benevolent forces of the government and their conviction that white Australia would embrace Aborigines who completely abandoned their back-wards, primitive ways.\(^{259}\)

The difference in tone between accounts left by missionaries and British wives who led colonized companies represent not only different attitudes but also the different audiences the accounts targeted. The sources missionary Guiders have left in reports to WAGGGS, letters to patrons, memoirs, and articles in the *Council Fire*, suggest missionary Guiders were more open to cultural syncretism, had a greater willingness to adapt the program, and offered a more inclusive view of citizenship, though much less so in Australia. They often learned the languages of their Guides and modified badges, uniforms, and activities accommodate for their Guides interest and cultural backgrounds.\(^{260}\) Because missionaries addressed an audience of potential patrons, their accounts included the important role Guiding played in the moral, physical, and academic development of the colonized girl, but focused on the successful results. They imply that Guiding freed colonized girls from the limitations that their more primitive cultures had placed on their mothers and grandmothers.

British wives addressed mostly British audiences in the metropole through magazine articles and memoirs and had little incentive to stress the potential of their Guides for improvement.\(^{261}\) As the metropole began to favor self-government in India after WWI, the statements and memoirs of British wives became safe platforms to express their opposition to self-
government. The official community of India, Nigeria, and Malaya had a stake in the perpetuation of the Empire. Self-government to them meant the loss of their elite status as the *crème de la crème* of colonial society and threatened their material welfare. Thus, they emphasized the differences of colonized Guides and their families that had to be eradicated before the British began to relinquish control. If they became commissioners or took up other leadership positions within the colonial associations, wives welcomed the public spotlight so that they could stress the difficulties of teaching colonized girls Guiding skills and the slow nature of progress.

Despite the ideological divisions between missionary Guiders and British wives, both sought out and benefited from support of the colonial governments of Malaya and India in the twenties and Nigeria in the thirties. Government support facilitated white Guiders’ efforts to promote the values and skills of imperial citizenship to the colonized in two primary ways. They funded national camps, uniforms, sports equipment, and Guiding publications. More importantly, colonial officials lent their “star power” to promote its events, raise funds, and recruit more volunteers.

The cooperation between colonial governments and Western Guiders in Malaya, Nigeria, and India became most apparent on celebrations in honor of the British royal family put on to display the power of the colonizers before the colonized. The British built and ruled their Empire largely on prestige, which demanded elaborate ceremonies to enforce the consent of the colonized. Colonized Guiders became prominent participants in the public displays of grandeur that the colonial governments of Nigeria, Malaya, and India created to celebrate birthdays, visits, coronations, and anniversaries of members of the royal family. The prominent participation of colonized Guides in these arranged performances confirmed the altruistic image that colonial
governments sought to portray in the interwar years. The usual Guide performance started with a color guard of colonized girls clad in Western uniforms raising the British flag and singing the anthem, “Rule Britannia.” Then colonized girls would perform a dance or drill that white Guiders had choreographed to honor the British Empire and dramatize the multiracial harmony and prosperity it created among its subjects. Performances varied from synchronized calisthenics to a pageant of Empire where each girl dressed in a costume to represent what each country of the Empire contributed.\textsuperscript{265}

Government patronage had a snowball effect, which only furthered the gap between the Guiding movement among colonized girls of Australia and those of Malaya, Nigeria, and India. Colonial officials featured colonized Guides in public event in order to come off as the benign ruler. Guiders took advantage of such public demonstrations to showcase Guiding as a feasible tool to teach colonized girls Western forms of drill, drama, and dance. In turn, the government funded their efforts to reach more colonized girls. Guiders in Malaya, Nigeria, and India took ambitious projects like nation-wide camps, rallies, and conferences. They started companies outside the cities and English language schools. The conspicuous involvement of colonial British officials empowered Guiders to approach religious institutions and colonized leaders for donations and approval and motivated colonized rulers to become involved.\textsuperscript{266}

By the thirties, colonized rulers in India and Malaya often supported the movement.\textsuperscript{267} They hoped that their support would promote an image of benevolent rule and demonstrate their loyalty to the Empire. In Nigeria, colonized rulers only started to promote the movement after World War II, when Guiding had committed to preparing girls for the future Nigerian nation. When colonized rulers began to demonstrate their approval of the movement depended on vari-
ety of factors; two of the most important were the attitude of the British colonial government toward girls’ education and gender roles.

In India, colonized rulers, Muslim and Hindu, encouraged the movement as an ideal form of women’s education and enrolled their daughters. Some became involved after Katherine Mayo’s 1927 *Mother India*, a scathing expose of conditions that the British government had funded to convince Americans that the way Indians treated women proved the necessity of prolonging British rule in India. Colonized rulers hoped that their support of Guiding would demonstrate that educated Indian women and girls existed, a side of Indian womanhood Mayo’s depiction of India failed to capture, and thus legitimate their right to rule independent of Britain. For other Indian rulers, like the Begam of Bhopal, who often instituted policies that antagonized the British, it may have been a way to demonstrate publicly her loyalty to crown. Others adopted Guiding as a method to bridge divisions between castes and religious groups. All rulers, however, embraced the ideal of feminine imperial citizen who mothered her children as well as her community that the movement encouraged.

Her Highness the Yuvarani of Mysore, the sister in-law to the ruler of Mysore, who served as Chief Guide of Mysore in 1930s and her husband as the Chief Scout exemplifies the various manifestations that colonized rulers’ support could take. The Yuvarani became involved in Guiding because she believed it discouraged communalism. In the Indian subcontinent, communalism is a form of xenophobic nationalism, where a particular religious community wants to build a nation from exclusively citizens of their religion. Mysore royalty had sought to pacify rampant Hindu and Muslim communalism since the late teens. The Fourth Law of Scouting complemented their effort to insured peace as it brought Indians of all faiths and castes into the imagined community of Empire. The Yuvarani participated as volunteer, patron, and In-
dian representative to the international movement. In 1933, when her husband and his older brother, the Highness the Maharanee of Mysore funded the construction of a Guiding home, the Yuvarani laid the first brick of the foundation.²⁷³ When her youngest daughter Princess Sri Jaya joined the youngest branch of Indian Guides, the Bluebirds, she staged an elaborate investment ceremony where she took on the additional title as Chief Bluebird of the State. Newspapers across the Empire featured in America featured it, possibly to reassure their Western audience that Britain still held the consent of the colonized.²⁷⁴ When Olave visited India 1937, the Yuvarani met with her personally. She was one of two Indians to do so. The rest of the Guiding “dignitaries” to meet with Olave were white. Rather than passively accept the imperial loyalty that her husband’s position demanded, the Yuvarani used Guiding to create an imperial community that included Indian women and girls.²⁷⁵

In Malaya, colonized rulers began to support the movement in the 1930s. Some did so in response to requests issued by Western-educated Malays employed in the British government.²⁷⁶ Others may have sought the admiration of the Western press and colonial government. As colonized rulers pledged money and granted approval to Guiding, the colonial government officials became more supportive of the movement. Though sultans had no real political power, British officials respected their wishes regarding social policies and initially prohibited Guiding in Malay rural areas because they feared that it would threaten the Malays traditional lives of subsistence farming or offend Malay gender norms.²⁷⁷ Once the sultans adopted Guiding as a means to modernize Malay girls along Islamic lines, colonial officials encouraged Guiding to expand from the predominately Chinese and Indian girls who attended urban English-language schools to include Malay girls who attended village schools that taught neither English nor academic subjects.²⁷⁸ With the Sultans’ support, white Guiders set up vernacular-language companies for Ma-
lay girls. In turn, the colonial government, which felt, a special obligation to protect Malays from the direct competition with the immigrant labor force, invested more once the sultans became involved.279

Nigerian colonized rulers, including a few women chiefs, did not support Guiding until after World War II. They only changed when the British began to transfer political power to Nigerians through a federal form of governance and a colonized woman, who promised that Guiding would lay the foundations for a Nigerian nationalism that bridged traditional ethnic and religious divisions, took charge of the movement. Before the late forties, most of the colonized and colonizers in Nigeria treated girls’ education as an unneeded expense and unnecessary intrusion into traditional gender relations. In the north, emirs opposed education for girls outside the home.280 In the south, the native administrations claimed that their people disdained Western education and accepted colonial authorities’ refusal to address adequately girls’ education.281

The hesitancy of Nigerian rulers to embrace Guiding largely originated from the ambivalent attitude the colonial government and many missionary organizations held towards girls’ education including Guiding. Colonial officials deemed girls’ education as unimportant to peaceful governance and too political to warrant their attention. Until the publication of the 1925 Memorandum of Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, the colonial government deliberately left girls’ education to missionaries. Even as the colonial government began to fund secondary girls’ schools in the late twenties, they refused to support Girl Guides despite their enthusiastic support for Boy Scouts. Only the persistent requests of the Nigerian Guiding Association led to the government’s support in 1931; to keep the government’s support during the thirties, white Guiders had to lobby the government continually for additional funds.282 Without a com-
pelling political incentive to support Guiding, native administrators saw no benefit in lending their support to the movement.

Australia demonstrates that without government support and the corps of British volunteers that accompanied it, missionaries did not possess the resources or manpower to cultivate Guiding among Aboriginal girls as a lasting, meaningful institution. Australia lacked a significant contingent of officials’ wives eager to volunteer to start colonized companies. Because Australia had created a national identity founded on white Britishness, the Australian Guiding movement, unlike those in other colonies, never considered colonized girls its primary audience and avoided the issue before the fifties. Accordingly, the state and federal governments of Australia directed their funding and patronage to the movement to enrich the lives of white members. Australians, Aboriginal, Asian, or Anglo-Saxon, all perceived the movement as a white institution. The white Australian missionaries who lived with their charges at state-funded institutions miles from the closest town understood state officials as their superiors and employers rather than potential patrons of Aboriginal Guiding. Though some contacted the Australian Guiding Association with requests for supplies or donations, they did not involve themselves or their Guides in national or state gatherings that occurred regularly. This meant Aboriginal Guides remained beyond the purview of the government, Guiding Associations, and the small number of Aboriginal elite. Unlike the Guiding movements of Malaya, Nigeria, and India where the governments and Guiders, both missionaries and dependent British wives, agreed that if carefully instructed, the colonized would eventually become imperial citizens capable of self-government and the legal equals of their British colonizers, missionary Guiders of Aborigines were among the only Australians able to imagine them as future citizens of Empire.
Missionary Guiders’ confidence that colonized girls needed Western skills to become modern citizens of the Empire drove their intervention into the lives of the girls in their company even when they faced opposition or apathy from colonial governments. Their success in Malaya, India, and Nigeria convinced colonial governments that Guiding mothered young colonized girls in the British values and customs that they lacked in their homes. With the full support of the colonial governments of Malaya and India by the mid-twenties, British wives, colonized rulers, and missionary organizations offered their resources and approval to the movement and colonized Guides became standard participants in ceremonies of imperial power. In Nigeria, where the government granted its financial support reluctantly and colonized rulers distanced themselves from the movement until after WWII, and Australia, where neither the government nor the Association full supported Aboriginal Guides, colonized girls still paid tribute to the Empire. In Nigeria, Guiders proudly displayed their Guides’ skills and loyalty to the Empire at rallies attended by the Governor and high-ranking colonial officials, while in Australia, Aboriginal Guides remained marginalized by state institutions with only the audience of their Guider, a few other white staff members, and the children of the settlement who had earned time off from the grueling regime of constant manual labor.  

**Mothering the Future Citizens of Empire**

Nearly all white Guiders of colonized girls agreed that their Guides suffered from a cultural deficit as compared to Guides in the West primarily due to their racial origins and family’s influence. Without explicit instruction through programs like Scouting, Guiders believed that the colonized could never distinguish between right and wrong, much less be or raise citizens of the British Empire. When working with colonized Guides, white Guiders took the prevailing racist assumptions of Western society into account and selected activities accordingly. Malays were
easily tricked and socially constrained, but loveable; Chinese had an excessive work ethic; Indians lived in dire poverty and had a proclivity to steal; Africans lacked initiative and a competitive spirit; Aborigines were loyal and loveable, but dense. Though the perceived racial weaknesses of each group varied, Guiders across the Empire focused on four aspects of the Guiding repertoire: performances of imperial pride, service projects targeted at mothers and children, “traditional” crafts and games, and physical culture and adventure. Guiders held up these facets of Guiding as essential tools in the process of training colonized girls to overcome the racial predispositions they were born with.

White Guiders integrated the demonstrative imperial aspects of Guiding into their meetings and performances in order to strengthen the bonds that colonized girls felt to the abstract entity of the Empire. They encouraged colonized girls to emulate British Guides, which Guiding literature held out as the model. Every meeting opened with the recitation of the Promise where girls pledged their loyalty to the King. Many girls in Nigeria, Australia, and Malaya wore the same uniforms as their British counterparts, learned the intricacies of flag ceremony with the same flag, worked on the same badges, which ranged from the Empire Knowledge Proficiency Badge introduced in 1925 to the Domestic Service Badge, and spoke the same language while at meetings. In India, the presence of a significant number of influential colonized women engaged in the movement from its inception and the presence of unofficial guiding organizations that competed with the official Guiding movement for membership led the Indian movement to adapt more quickly to local customs of dress, language, and skill sets. Even in India, however, meetings opened with the pledge of loyalty to the King and flew the Union Jack at All-India camps.

Guiders relied on performances to make demonstrations of imperial power fun and to popularize the movement. This performative aspect of Guiding, the Western uniforms, the pa-
rades, and the rallies, the very aspects to which most parents objected, often motivated girls to join despite the disapproval of their parents. As soon as Lakshmi Mazumdar, a young Indian girl saw her first Guider, a British woman from the metropole clad in the distinctive dark blue uniform, she desperately wanted to become a Guide. Her parents, who opposed British rule, objected to her participating in such an overt form of British imperial pride. Mazumdar did not give up. She told her father that although she “shared his views about Independence and all that,” she would join the Guide company at her school. To her parents’ dismay, Mazumdar did, becoming one of the most active participants. In the few records that colonized Guides have left most share Mazumdar’s enthusiasm for the uniforms and remember singing “Rule Britannia,” performing the Maypole Dance, and participating in the annual Empire day with greater nostalgia than passing the tests required of the needlework badge or fulfilling the requirements of First Class Guide status.

Service, an essential component of Guiding in the colonies and metropole, allowed white Guiders to expand their influence over women and children outside of the girls in their company. White Guiders who had grown up during the height of maternal outreach in Britain, Australia, and the United States brought many of the same forms of service to the colonies: baby shows, donation drives, unsolicited outreach to poor mothers, and health promotionals. The colonial social landscape only exacerbated the invasive nature and potential of these projects. Common projects included adult literacy programs, hygiene training, and home nursing in villages. Guiders believed that their colonized Guides possessed superior skills and knowledge as compared to other colonized people and pushed them to take on the role of expert even when it violated local age and gender hierarchies. For example, Indian Guides between the ages of nine and sixteen went into villages to show women how to mother correctly, demonstrate the hygienic
methods of cleaning and cooking, and conduct literacy classes for children. In Nigeria, Guides helped colonized nurses make home visits and wrote public health columns in missionary magazines. Essentially, Guiders wanted their Guides to be ambassadors of Western ideals to their community. Beinhart describes, “African children were ‘saved’ by contact with Western ideas, while non-school children remained surrounded by, and vulnerable to, disease and dirt. The schooled children, joining a core of middle-class urbanites, would in turn become ‘missionaries’ of Western culture and hygiene.”

Missionary Guiders who worked at schools in Malaya and India and at Aboriginal settlements in Australia involved their companies in extensive service projects that in the West would have been seen as the responsibility of the government or professional experts. One company of Indian Guides at St. Mary’s Girls’ School in the state of Bihar took on the care of severely injured patients of a terrible driving accident. In Malaya, a company at a girls’ boarding school found an abandoned infant and kept it at the boarding school for successive companies of Guides to raise and practice their mothercraft skills. In Australia, Sister Kate, the founder of the Queen’s Park Children’s Home for quarter-caste children turned her Guide company into fundraising vehicle for the Home. They performed at festivals and built toys to raffle at the annual fête the Home sponsored. Essentially, Sister Kate’s Guides financed the cost of their institutionalization that the government refused to cover. White Guiders effectively took advantage of their Guides’ Promise “to help people every day” and used their companies to further colonize the lives of colonized people. As Guides grew out of their companies, many became Guiders, social workers, and teachers who championed westernization, thus furthering the reach of Western cultural forces.
In some cases, service projects appear more beneficial to the Guider’s reputation than her Guides’ welfare. For example, one Guider, working in “the poorest mission village” in India, encouraged her Guides to give up their portion of daily grain toward the Guide Empire Air Ambulance Scheme during World War II. For their sacrifices, the company received a two-sentence write-up in *The Council Fire*, surely a greater boon to the Guider than her Guides.  

The few written recollections Guides have left show general ambivalence towards service projects. A Chinese Guide in Malaya who belonged to a company led by two British Guiders bemoans that once Britain declared war on Germany in 1939 “We Girl Guides spent all our time during meetings knitting grey socks for the soldiers and going to the hospital to wash medicine bottles.”

In the case of Australia, some service projects that Guiders invented like picking wildflowers to sell and earn money for the war effort- appear to be clandestine attempts to gain the supervisor’s permission to take her Guides outside of the boundaries of institution. Other projects like sewing washcloths for soldiers seem like additional work for girls who typically already had to sew the “orders for thousands of garments pouring in from all over the State.”

One of the most contradictory elements of the Guiding program that white Guiders implemented in the colonies was the preservation (and occasionally invention) of traditional arts and games. Many Western women understood native folklore, folk dances, and traditional costumes as a means to connect girls to their roots and protect them from the temptations of modern life that warped dutiful daughters and future mothers into “Modern Girls” intent on romantic love and the latest fashions. Imperialist nostalgia drove these efforts. Renato Rosaldo, an anthropologist, simplifies, “Imperialist nostalgia revolves around a paradox: A person kills somebody, and then mourns the victim.”

Though white Guiders hoped to westernize Guides, a sense of imperialist nostalgia compelled them to stress the importance of the colonized traditions
that they deemed worthy. The rubric that governed Guider’s decisions of what traditions merited preservation grew from the hierarchy of civilization.

White Guiders in Australia, India, and Malaya followed the lead of the metropole and tried to revitalize practices that they believed implied continuity with the past and would protect their Guides from the debilitating temptations that modern civilization encouraged. The West had confronted the dangers of modernity first hand; Robert Baden-Powell designed Scouting to save British children from the cultural and spiritual alienation that social pundits claimed had become epidemic in the modern West. After World War I, the West turned to non-Western cultures to find an alternative “to the ‘wounded’ civilizations of Europe.” By the 1920s, Girl Guides had become one of the many progressive women’s organizations that promoted indigenous traditions and folk-arts in order to exhibit the liberal cosmopolitanism of their members and provide an antidote to the alienation that industrial society caused. Through pageants of native dress, handicraft competitions, publications and recitations of fairytales and folklore, and performances of folk dance, the Council Fire and international gatherings cast Guides as the bearers of culture and their Guiders as wise preservationists of the lost peasant traditions of Europe. In reaction to Western-orientation of WAGGGS’s imperial nostalgia, white Guiders in the colonies began write to the metropole in the thirties of their efforts simultaneously to impose modern methods and revitalize or invent ancient traditions that they believed complementary to British imperialism.

Because the West believed Asia to have rich cultural heritage from their past civilizations of greatness, Guiders liberally incorporated songs, dance, calisthenics, crafts, and vernacular languages from the predominant cultural traditions of India and Malaya into their program. One Guider in Maharashtra, India taught her Marathi-speaking Guides games she believed to be
“a real part of the cultural heritage of India” that reflected the “warlike ancestry” of the Marathi people.\textsuperscript{307} In Malaya, B. H. C. Thomas, who served as the Chief Commissioner in 1934-1935, started her work with Girl Guiding as a Guider of vernacular Malay companies with the patronage of the Sultans of Selangor, Johore, and Kedah. She hoped to preserve the language and the purity of peasant cultural traditions for Malay girls immersed in the urban environment of Kuala Lumpur.\textsuperscript{308} Australian missionary Guiders emphasized the wilderness skills of Aborigines, but dismissed their cultural traditions as barbaric. At the Mitchell River Mission in Queensland, Australia, the Brownie leader arranged for an Aboriginal man to take her flock of Brownies into the bush to hunt, track, and pursue “many other items of tribal importance” every Saturday.\textsuperscript{309} White Guiders understood such efforts to preserve colonized traditions in Asia and Australia as essential to the imperial project. Without their wisdom and powers of discretion, colonized women would discard even the beneficial aspects of their culture that reinforced the attributes that feminine imperial citizenship demanded and protected girls from the moral ambiguity of modernity.\textsuperscript{310}

Before WWII, racism and beliefs in a hierarchy of civilizations led white Guiders in Nigeria to dismiss all native traditions as backwards.\textsuperscript{311} White Guiders, most of whom worked at English language schools or missions in Southern Nigeria, associated African tradition only with practices they deemed inferior: polygamy, cannibalism; the low legal status of women, concubinage, child marriage, idol worship, and purdah. Unlike India, where scholars and Theosophists had recognized a rich cultural past that even Westerners might learn something from, Malaya, where the colonizers praised the Malays for their simple, pre-industrial lifestyles, and Australia, where Aborigines had gained the status of a “noble savage,” Nigerian culture lacked Westerners who championed their culture. The acceptance of some Aboriginal traditions compared to the
dismissal of traditions native to the Nigerian people stems from the logic of elimination. Although Western society classified both groups as black, they considered Aborigines a “dying race” and thus deemed certain parts of their culture historic relics to be preserved. Because Britain claimed to rule Nigeria as part of the civilizing mission, racism shaped the meaning they attached to native traditions.\textsuperscript{312}

Political developments and local demand strengthened Guiders’ rejection of native traditions that may have enhanced their program. Just as Guiding began to expand across Southern Nigeria, girls’ schools became eligible for government funding and thus came under the scrutiny of the colonial government. Although the 1926 Education Ordinance encouraged colonial schools to adapt the program to the local conditions, the first “Lady Superintendent of Education,” Sylvia Leith-Ross saw the policy as short-sighted and believed that most Nigerian parents wanted a British education for their daughters. In the late twenties, Leith-Ross toured Southern Nigeria and decided which mission-schools deserved government grants. White Guiders, most of whom worked mission schools, initially may have feared that the use of African dance, stories, and songs might lead their school to lose the opportunity for government funding.\textsuperscript{313} The decision of the Nigerian Girl Guide Association in the 1930s to limit the number of colonized Guiders and demand adherence to the original program compounded Guiders’ motivations to avoid native tradition. Therefore, external pressures may have contributed to white Guiders’ failure to incorporate Nigerian elements into Guiding as much as much as their beliefs in white superiority did.\textsuperscript{314}

The last way that white Guiders attempted to teach their Guides the Western values they would need to participate as citizens in the British Empire was through physical culture, both camping and sport. Guiders tended to view both as British inventions that united peoples of dis-
parate cultures and freed colonized women from backwards traditions. An American Guider in Malaya explained,

The British love for sport has penetrated all corners of the earth where the white man has made play popular. These Orientals used to haunt gambling dens and spend leisure hours in stuffy rooms indulging in this and other vices that vaunted their flagrance in our faces at every turn. Today they clear off a vacant lot, put up a badminton or tennis net, and spend their waking hours in wholesome exercise.\textsuperscript{315}

Guiders assumed that most colonized girls lacked the freedom to play games at home.\textsuperscript{316} In Australia, where Aboriginal girls lived in institutions often against their will, games provided white Guiders a means to bring Aboriginal girls a semblance of an English childhood which was necessary to build the sportsmanship that imperial citizens exhibited. In Nigeria, white Guiders hoped games would instill their Guides with an understanding of rules and a sense of competition, both characteristics white Guiders saw as lacking in Africans.\textsuperscript{317}

Camping, in the mind of white Guiders, held a similar utopian reputation for building bonds among disparate races, castes, nationalities or religions and providing freedom unknown to colonized girls before the arrival of their British rescuers.\textsuperscript{318} One American missionary Guider believed that Guiding camps would overcome the rifts between colonizer and colonized that had developed in India and reestablish British authority. She promised that camps “do more than anyone can estimate to build lasting bulwarks of goodwill and understanding in India today.”\textsuperscript{319} In Malaya and Nigeria white Guiders promoted camps as a way to overcome ethnic and religious divisions.\textsuperscript{320}

The Australian movement celebrated camping as a means to achieve unity between white Guides from different states; the Aboriginal Guides played no part in this discourse.\textsuperscript{321} The strict regulations of the institutions where Aboriginal children lived and white Guiders worked prevented nearly all camping excursions. When the Guiders who often doubled as Scout leaders
proposed trips, supervisors only approved of Scout trips. Officials at Aboriginal settlements feared girls’ camping would cause the settlement to lose the profits that the girls’ sewing work brought, promote disorder among the younger children, whom girls were largely responsible for, and increase the number of girls who ran away, which was already an endemic “girl” problem at these institutions. Shortly before one white Guider who worked in a settlement in Western Australia embarked with her Aboriginal Guides on a camping trip which had been approved, her supervisor canceled the trip as a large number of younger children had broken out with chicken pox and the institution depended on the girls’ manpower to care for the children. Despite the efforts of white Guiders, few Aboriginal Guides ever went camping with their company and the biannual interstate camps that began in the thirties remained beyond their reach even after WWII.

Just as white Guiders in Malaya, India, and Nigeria believed sports and games had introduced colonized girls to new levels of freedom and activity, they advanced that camping allowed colonized girls to appreciate the outdoors. Based on reports she received from white Guiders in India, Kerr, the official historian of the movement in the 1930s; described:

One of the miracles performed by the Guide movement as it has enabled Indian girls, who in the whole course of history had never been allowed to come out into the open, to take up camping. They are now as gay and busy in camp, as ready to sleep in tents, and as keen on any kind of campcraft, as any girl from the Canadian West or from the great sheep-farms of Australia.

The Director of Education in Malaya, Richard Olaf Winsteadt, possessed a similar awe for the transformations that the Guider and school director Josephine Foss had achieved with her Asian Guides. He described a camp at the Pudu School in the report he filed in 1928, “Several whole days were spent out in the open, the Guides cooking their own meals, improvising shelter, and drawing rough sketches of familiar localities.” By the 1930s, even Indian and Malay girls
who practiced purdah, a practice of seclusion that many Westerns saw as barbaric, had begun to attend camps “where they move so freely and unaffectedly.” Usually sealed off inside in one room of the house, these “purdah girls,” according a British Guider, “are particularly grateful for the training they have received.”

According to the white Guiders, camping not only promoted cooperation between girls from different backgrounds and freed them from their previous lives of seclusion, but also equipped them with the skills they need to be successful domestic managers. During camp outs, guiders created highly regimented schedules to develop efficiency and discipline in their Guides. Mealtimes provided the ideal opportunities for Guiders to teach Western etiquette, introduce Western foods, and demonstrate hygienic sanitation habits. Additionally, white Guiders taught the importance of motherhood through nature study. The handbook described this process,

The Guider can lead the girl on to a right understanding of biology and of her own position in the order of nature; to realise how she can be associated with the Creator in His work and how she can have her part in the romance of reproduction and the carrying on of the race; also that good motherhood is a wonderful gift of God, at once a sacred and a patriotic privilege and duty.

Despite the importance of camping, few white Guiders took their colonized Guides camping. In India and Malaya, the various dietary restrictions of Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims and the common practice of purdah among colonized elite women and girls complicated the planning of trips. In Nigeria until the fifties, most Guides came from the Christian elite of Nigeria who had grown up in westernized families. Still, Guiders, who rarely knew of the area outside of the school’s grounds where they worked, struggled to find appropriate locations for campsites.

White Guiders in the colonies relied on four aspects of the Guiding program, camping and sports, “native” traditions, imperial display, and service, to persuade colonized girls, if they
mastered Western conceptions of domestic management and community service, they would become imperial citizens equal to their British counterparts. The point at which white Guiders believed colonized girls would join the imperial community as the equals often reflected their status in the imperial community. Dependent wives saw imperial citizenship for the colonized as decades away; missionary Guiders cited the actions and accomplishments of their Guides and former Guides to show that some colonized people already belonged to the British imperial community.

**Conclusion: Effects of White Guiders Work With the Colonized**

The opening anecdote, “stockingless” Asian girls marching in blue jumpers covered with badges in honor of British royalty, demonstrates that the first white missionaries who organized girls into companies looked to the metropole for guidance and inspiration but also adapted the program to meet colonial conditions. This chapter argues that colonial Guiders, the missionaries and the British wives, manipulated the maternal message of the program into often contradictory technologies of imperialism. Moreover, their changes also propelled the metropolitan movement to change. As noted in chapter one, the success of the early unofficial missionary guiders before and during WWI convinced Robert to include colonized children in his movement. The continued success of Guiding among the colonized drove Robert to promote Scouting as the most effective form of colonial education. In 1929, he advocated,

> For natives, also, whose skulls are not constructed to the reception of modern Western school methods, the Scout and Guide training has been found efficacious in such places as Nigeria, Kenya Colony, the Gold Coast and New Guinea, as well as in the schools for the Red Indian children in Canada.

The early efforts and idealism of missionary Guiders also convinced the colonial governments in Nigeria, Malaya, and India to support the movement. The seemingly egalitarian ideology of Baden-Powell’s program had initially led colonial officials to see colonized participa-
tion as subversive. The demonstrative loyalty of white Guiders and colonized Guides changed their minds. Colonial officials approved of the feminine imperial citizenship white Guiders strove to impart to their charges. It came loaded with responsibilities but specified few rights. It bolstered rather than challenged British rule. However, it also implicitly acknowledged that colonies had the right and capability for some level of self-government like the white dominions had achieved.

Once the governments of Nigeria, Malaya, and India adopted the movement, British wives began to volunteer in significant numbers in the thirties. Like the missionaries they believed colonized girls lacked the values, character, and skills to participate as equals in the imagined imperial community. But whereas missionaries believed their Guides would grow up and belong to the imperial community, these wives typically saw their exertions with colonized girls as part of a long, slow process of civilization that would take generations for the colonized to complete.

WAGGGS appropriated white colonial Guiders’ understanding of the British Empire and its relationship to the colonized from the stories British wives and metropolitan visitors sent to the The Council Fire and the occasional biennial reports of the colonial Guide associations.\textsuperscript{330} The stories and attitudes of colonial Guiders became fodder for the Western leadership of WAGGGS to draw upon to authenticate the Empire and League of Nations as ideal models of internationalism and neglect to address in a meaningful way the exclusion of colonized women until after World War II. Moreover, when and how white Guiders included colonized women within the national leadership drove WAGGGS own attitudes towards colonized leadership at the international level.
Most white Guiders attempted to show colonized Guides how to fit into the boundaries of Western gender norms. They showed an unquestionable faith that without their help colonized girls would live confined lives bounded by tradition and neglectful of their responsibilities to the imperial community. They believed the colonized girls could join white maternalists as members and mothers of the imperial community once they learned the duties of citizenship through service, camping and sport, native tradition, and imperial ceremony. White Guiders, predominantly missionaries, established the foundation of Guiding among the colonized based on the unequal relationship inherent to maternalism – the omniscient white mother and misguided colonized daughter. Yet, they never had a monopoly on maternalism; other Guiders, both white and colonized, used maternalism to create a female led alternative to the male dominated anti-colonial nationalisms, which chapter three examines.

211 Mary Procida, *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 168; Margaret Martyn, *Married to the Raj* (London: BACSA, 1992), 28, 36, 48, 120; M. Oppenheimer, “The ‘Imperial’ Girl: Lady Helen Munro Ferguson, The Imperial Woman and Her Imperial Childhood,” *Journal of Australian Studies* 34, no. 4 (2010): 514; Joan Alexander, *Voices and Echoes: Tales from Colonial Women* (London: New York, 1983), 91. When World War II started Martyn taught at the New School for British children who could no longer attend school in the metropole and helped provide shelter and comfort for British refugees. However, her resistance to work to improve the welfare of Indians remained resolute. When Lakshmi Mazumdar, an Indian woman, asked her to participate in the projects the All Bengal Women’s Union sponsored, Martyn refused even though she was member of the executive committee. She explains, “I’m not really interested in her work and in any case I don’t want to be a “good worker” on a committee.

216 Tammy Proctor, *On My Honour Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002), 145; Alexander, “‘Girl Guide Movement, Internationalism, and Imperialism in Interwar England, Canada, and India,’” 17, 96, 220-221, 228; Roberts, *Sister Eileen*, 40; Brownfoot, “‘Sisters Under the Skin,’” 64; “Memshahibs in Colonial Malaya,” Watt, “The Promise of ‘Character’,” 55; Timothy Parsons, “The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya,” in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement’s First Century*, edited by Tammy M. Proctor and Nelson R. Block (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 144, 146. Carey Watt, a historian of colonial and post colonial South Asia, claims, “the girl guide movement and the question of Indian guides received almost no attention because guide work was restricted to the domestic sphere and was not considered a threat to British rule.” He fails to provide a footnote for this claim and evidence available fails to corroborate it. Timothy Parsons, who has written extensively about Scouting in Africa, confirms that the colonial government of Kenya considered African Scouts more problematic than African Guides. Tammy Proctor, Kristine Alexander, and Janice Brownfoot, all women whose scholarship focuses on women, suggest that colonial governments understood both Guiding and Scouting as likely to provoke the colonized to demand greater civil rights or upset the relationships that colonial governments had built with indigenous rulers. Proctor explains,

In British colonies, race was a special concern because of the growth of nationalist movements. Just as colonial authorities were often ambivalent toward missionaries, who often as not created revolutionaries rather than docile workers in their mission schools, they also treated youth movements with some suspicion, figuring that they could perform a similar function.

Alexander specifically critiques Watt’s claims “as far too simplistic” and offers numerous examples of the public attention nationalist and reform publications gave to Indian Girl Guiding.


218 Watt, “The Promise of ‘Character’” 42.


220 Parsons, “The Limits of Sisterhood: The Evolution of the Girl Guide Movement in Colonial Kenya,” 143, 149-155. In Kenya, colonial officials refused to fund Guiding for Africans until after World War II because they feared anti-colonial forces could easily usurp the movement in regions with little white supervision. Because of the government’s opposition, the Kenyan Association of Guiding did not allow African membership until 1935. Even then it continued to spend all funding received from the government on white Guide companies until the government granted them the funds to promote “the advancement of African womanhood.” The government increased
its support during the Mau Mau Emergency and white Guiders attempted to use Guiding to transform the Kikuyu women prisoners in the “family settlement villages” from rebels to upstanding citizens of Empire.

221 Conference on African Education, African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa (Oxford: University Press, 1953), 179; Folarin Coker, A Lady: A Biography of Lady Oyinkan Abayomi (Ibadan: Nigeria: Evans Brothers, 1987), 68-73; Parsons, Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement, 6-10; Mahmood Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 18; Brouwer, Modern Women Modernizing Men, 97. The Nigerian colonial government enthusiastically embraced indigenous Boy Scouting as a way to stymie the nationalist impulses of Western educated African boys. Because the colonial government of Nigeria lacked the manpower and financial resources to govern all Africans directly, they had developed a system of “decentralized despotism” where they focused British manpower on urban areas and markets and used complicit “tribal authorities” to extend their control into the rural areas. To avoid unnecessary strife and controversy with the tribal authorities, the British government officials neglected all manifestations of girls’ education including Guiding.


It must sometimes seem as if British Guiders were monopolising Guiding in some of the countries remote from Europe. At the present moment British Guiders certainly are running companies in a great number of countries abroad, simply because the Guide Movement in Great Britain being older and more widely extended than in most countries, British girls and women are more likely to have been in contact with Guiding at some moment of their lives.


233 Cheryl Johnson-Odim, “Lady Oyinkan Abayomi,” in Nigerian Women in Historical Perspective ed. by Bolanle Awe (Lagos: Sankore Publishers, 1992), 155-56; Coker, A Lady, 28; Marsh, Hard Scramble, 53-71; Procida, Married to the Empire, 16-17, 18, 20, 31, 38; Margaret MacMillan, Women of the Raj (New York, N.Y.: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 8, 11-15, 23, 60, 220, 223; Brownfoot, “Memsahibs in Colonial Malaya,”189, 204; E.M. Collingham, Imperial Bodies, 154-155, 163-164, 181; Bush, Imperialism, Race and Resistance Africa and Britain, 1919-1945, 52, 73-76 100; Callaway, Gender, Culture, and Empire, 10-11; Leith-Ross, African Women: A Study of the Ibo of Nigeria, 253-266; Most white women in the colonies came as the wives of colonial officials and private businessmen or quickly became such wives upon their arrival. No matter their original background, these women entered a class of elite colonialists who despite World War I, remained convinced that Western culture and governance represented the most advanced civilization and opposed the increasing involvement of the colonized in the government. MacMillan suggests that white women who lived in the British colonies never had to face the sense of despair and failure that beset the metropole during the First World War. Consequently, she explains, “They remained secure in their sense of superiority, while at Home thoughtful people were beginning to wonder whether Western civilization had any value at all.”


Mary Ann Lind, *The Compassionate Memsahibs: Welfare Activities of British Women in India, 1900-1947* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 79-80, 80-85; John G. Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), 168; Marsh, *Service Suspended*, 49, 62. Marsh, the Guider whose company performed to welcome the Prince of Wales to Kuala Lumpur in 1921, whom I reference in the introduction, is typical. In a letter to a high school classmate, she credited the British government with building an Interracial utopia in Asia. She waxed lyrically, “It is amazing when you think of what the British have accomplished in this tiny out of the way jungle covered corner of Asia. … Today five million people enjoy most of the benefits of modern civilization; disease has practically been driven out; racial prejudices reduced to a minimum, poverty-stricken people of India and China have been permitted the privilege of earning their chosen occupation; and education is within easy reach of all.


“One of the greatest handicaps to real progress in all the voluntary organizations in Nigeria, is the frequency with which people are transferred and go on leave. No sooner has a Company or Pack become established and the Guider warranted, or a Commissioner become known to her Guiders, than she is moved perhaps hundreds of miles away and no one is trained to take her place.”

Gullick, *Josephine Foss*, 73-74, 77, 85, 96; Letterbook of Secretary, Darjeeling, Calcutta and Madras, 149; Others, like J. M. Josephine Foss, the British director of the Pudu English School in Kuala Lumpur from 1926-1941 and an avid Guider, excelled in multiple languages. She spoke Malayan and several dialects of Chinese.


“Too often adults are bound together in narrow national cliques and never make use of the opportunities at hand to expand their mental horizons.”


247 This is a simplified version of the political situation in 1950s Nigeria. For details, see Toyin Falola, *The History of Nigeria* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1999), 146-160.

248 For an Indian example see Margaret Martyn, *Married to the Raj*, 36; For a Malayan example see Joan Alexander, *Voices and Echoes: Tales from Colonial Women*. (London: New York, 1983),152-158.


250 Examples include Mabel Marsh and Josephine Foss from Malaya, Lillian Picken from India, and Katherine Mary Clutterbuck, known as Sister Kate, and Eileen Heath in Australia.

251 Eileen Sandford, *Come On, Eileen!* (Shrewsbury: Shrewsbury Words, 2010), 180; Lillian Picken, “Guiders’ Training Camp, Panhala: November 1931,” Lillian Picken Papers, Record Group No. 159, Special Collections, Yale Divinity School Library; Sheila Bridges “Guiding in Nigeria,” *The Council Fire* 16, no. 2 (April-December 1960): 208-210. Examples of radical adaptations include missionary Guiders in India who arranged for their companies to be transported to rallies in police vans so that the girls would not be subjected to public view.


253 Marsh, *A Wagon That Was Hitched to a Star*, 58, 63; *Hard Scrabble*, 64; 124-125; Gullick, *Josephine Foss*, 73, 114; A.S. Hellier, “The Guides Grow Up (South India),” *The Council Fire* 17, no. 1 (January 1942): 10-11. Miss Agatha S. Hellier, a missionary from the Methodist Missionary Society in London principal of the Gnanodhaya Training School in Madras, reported, “The Guides who belonged to my first Indian company have gone on to many fields of work; many are married, many have become teachers, at least fifteen of them are Guiders. One small Guide whom I remember as a good netball shooter was later on seen walking about with a stethoscope in a women’s hospital. Not long afterwards I was present at a party given to welcome her on taking charge of the women’s side of the country mission hospital. Now I hear that she has assumed complete charge of the hospital when the Indian man doctor went on his holiday.

254 Marsh, *Hard Scrabble*, 34, 60; Maina Chawla Singh, *Gender, Religion, and “Heathen Lands”: American Missionary Women in South Asia, 1860s-1940s* (New York: Garland Pub, 2000), 270-271; A.S. Hellier, “The Guides Grow Up (South India),” *The Council Fire* 17, no. 1 (January 1942): 10-11. Hellier claimed women initiate and fund their family to modernize: “It is almost always the woman earning a salary, educated, mature and unselfish, who is the mainstay of the family. It is she who pays her brother’s school fees and buys the outfit for her sister going to school. It is she who convinces her mother to go to the hospital, and pays for the tonic ordered. It is she who provides pocket money and school books for her nephews and nieces, even if she does not actually pay the fees. Her advice and influence count for much among parents and married relatives, who have less education than she has. Such women carry untold burdens, and live the Guide Law in a truly practical way.”


256 For details regarding the debate regarding whether absorption ever became official government policy see Anna Haebich, *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900-1940* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 1988) 348-51; McGregor, “To Breed Out the Colour,” 288-290.


260 A.S. Hellier, “The Guides Grow Up (South India),” *The Council Fire* 17, no. 1 (January 1942): 10-11. “Notes and News: Australia,” *The Council Fire* 21, no. 4 (October 1946). For an example, an Australian missionary working with Aboriginal girls in Ernabolla, South Australia had to learn Pihinjarra, the local language, to communi-
icate with her Guides. When her Guides began earning badges, she made bags to display them because her Board of Missions did not allow the children there to wear any clothing, even a Guide uniform.


For another example see “Malayan Girl Guides Report,” *The Straits Times*, May 13 1932: 16. Commissioner Jean Cavendish reported, “In spite of the troubles and trials this country is going through, Guiding has on a whole made good progress during 1931 and our numbers have increased.”


“Reports From Countries: India,” *The Council Fire* 4, no. 4 (October 1934): 144.


Callaway, Gender, Culture, and Empire, 112-117; Coker, A Lady, 67-68,75; Misty L. Bastian, “Young Converts: Christian Missions, Gender and Youth in Onitsha, Nigeria, 1880-1929,” Anthropological Quarterly (2000): 145-158; Gloria Chuku, “From Petty Traders to International Merchants: a Historical Account of Three Igbo Women of Nigeria in Trade and Commerce, 1886 to 1970,” African Economic History, no. 27 (1999): 13-15; Peter Kazenga Tibenderana, “The Beginnings of Girls' Education in the Native Administration Schools in Northern Nigeria, 1930-1945,” The Journal of African History 26, no. 1: 93-96; Johnson-Odim, "Lady Oyinkan Abayomi,"153. Because the colonial government limited missionary activities in Northern Nigeria and prohibited their presence in Muslim dominated portions of Northern Nigeria until 1927, Guiding had no presence in the North until the colonial government helped to fund two girls’ schools with European teachers in Kano and Katsina. With the government’s prompting two other sultans funded European run girls schools in Birnin Kebbi and Sokoto. Before Guiding could catch on among their elite Muslim students, the colonial government abandoned the separate sex education model in the North and put their total support behind coeducational elementary schools. Coeducation reinforced Muslim Nigerians’ belief that Western education violated traditional codes of conduct and effectively ended the Guiding movement in the North until after WWII. In the fifties, sultans and chiefs began to support Guiding not to ingratiate themselves to colonial officials but rather in response to the creation of regional governments of elected Nigerians and the new image that the Nigerian Guiding Association projected upon the appointment of their first Nigerian Deputy Commissioner in 1949.


29, no. 4 (October/November 1954): 173; Sheila Bridges “Guiding in Nigeria,” The Council Fire 16, no. 2 (April 1941): 24-25; Olave Baden-Powell, Guide Links (London: Pearson, 1936), 78. Until the fifties, most Aborigines who attended interstate camps and rallies were laborers who served the white Guides who attended or performed the menial labor to set up such events. Olave noted one Aboriginal girl in attendance at the 1937 Brisbane Rally, a regional rally. The next account of Aboriginal Guides attending an official Guiding event is in 1954 when the Guiding press first noted the presence of an Aboriginal company at a nationwide event, the visit of the Queen.


Param, A Guiding Light, 40; Bastian, “Young Converts,” 145-158; Gullick, Josephine Foss, 74; Mazumdar, “The Girl Guide Movement in India,” 124; Gurumukh Madan, Indian Social Problems (Ahmedabad: Allied Publishing, 1987), 134; Kerr, The Story of a Million Girls, 225; Lind, The Compassionate Memsaibs, 81. Colonized parents and elites responded to the imperial messages of these performances either with hesitance or enthusiasm. Some Asian and African parents felt public performance was an unfeminine activity. Indian parents sympathetic to the nationalist cause remained wary of their daughters joining an organization with such manifest ties to the colonial government. In the twenties, Muslim Malays and non-Christian Nigerians perceived the movement as incompatible with their values and traditions.


Maushart, Sort of a Place Like Home, 178-205; Ruth Ho, Rainbow Round My Shoulder (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1975), 28, 79, 81-86, 108, 111-112; Marsh, Wagon Hitched to A Star, 141; Ashoka Gupta, Sipra Bhattacharya, and Ranjana Dasgupta, In the Path of Service: Memories of a Changing Century (Kolkata: STREE, 2005) 24; Anne Bloomfield, “Drill and Dance as Symbols of Imperialism,” in Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation And British Imperialism, edited by J. A. Mangan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 93; L. H. Lees, “Being British in Malaya, 1890-1940,” Journal of British Studies 48, no. 1 (2009): 89-92; LaRay Denzer, “Yoruba Women,” 33-34; Bhattacharyya Rajakshmi, “Adventure of Knowledge: Evelyn Norah Shullai,” The Telegraph, Thursday, October 23, 2003, Calcutta India, http://www.telegraphindia.com/1031023/asp/northeast/story_2488487.asp (accessed February 9, 2011); Brownfoot, “Sisters Under the Skin,” 46; Leslie A. Fleming, A New Humanity: American Missionaries’ Ideals for Women in North India, 1870-1930,” in Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance, eds. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomingon: Indiana University Press, 1992), 191-206. The lack of evidence makes it difficult to determine the effects of performances of the colonized girls who participated. They enjoyed the public plays, imperial songs, rallies, and parades as opportunities to stand out among their peers, dress in uniform, and travel. For example in her memoir Ashoka Gupta, who later became a officer in the Indian Guiding movement in the fifties, recalls that she liked the sense of authority that came with performing in uniform at baby shows and health exhibitions in front of hundreds of women and children. Ruth Ho, a Chinese Malay girl, liked Guiding as it exposed her to ideas and experiences she would not have access to otherwise. Just because colonized Guides did not appreciate the imperial implications of their performances, however, does not mean white Guides failed to instill in their charges the importance of demonstrative patriotism. Anne Bloomfield describes the unconscious effects of public ritual on participants: “The participation in ceremony with color, rhetoric and dance meant that the ideals of imperialism were experienced bodily and that its fundamental message was absorbed, remembered, and often cherished into old age.” Though many western-trained colonized Guides went on to became part of the powerful educated
elite, who pushed their countries to acknowledge educated, physically-fit Western-educated women as essential to the national agenda, they never adopted an aggressive anti-imperialism and publicly acknowledged their people’s debt to Britain.


It is almost always the woman earning a salary, educated, mature and unselﬁsh, who is the mainstay of the family. It is she who pays her brother’s school fees and buys the outfit for her sister going to school. It is she who convinces her mother to go to the hospital, and pays for the tonic ordered. It is she who provides pocket money and school books for her nephews and nieces, even if she does not actually pay the fees. Her advice and inﬂuence count for much among parents and married relatives, who have less education than she has. Such women carry untold burdens, and live the Guide Law in a truly practical way.

295 “Walter Donald Ross Trophy,” The Council Fire 27, no.2 (April 1952): 51-53. Each Guide had to serve multiple three hour shifts while also completing her exams; teachers who also served a Guiders did the same while grading exams.

296 Marsh, Service Suspended, 100.

297 Whittington, Sister Kate, 332, 337; Jacobs, White Mother to a Dark Race, 292-293.


300 Maushart, Sort of a Place Like Home, 178-205; Ashoka Gupta, Sipra Bhattacharya, and Ranjana Dasgupta, In the Path of Service, 24; Ho, Rainbow Round My Shoulder, 79, 81-86, 108

301 Roberts, Sister Eileen, 73,91.


305 Fiona Paisley, Glamour in the Pacific (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2009), 13-14, 85-86, 170; Michael Adas, Machines As the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 390. Though this attitude superficially seems more respectful, Fiona Paisley, a cultural historian, clarifies, “White women claimed that native culture was progressive in its attachments to cultural and spiritual life but backward in its treatment of women, and thus required the discriminating judgment of women like themselves as it moved into modernity.”
Broken Circles, citement, especially as the average Malayan girls does not play games in her childhood.” Bowers described, “Games in meetings and at trainings were enthusiastically received and pla


Though colonial society in Nigeria had the same color bar that Parson identifies in Kenya. Furthermore, colonial governments in Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria all relied on “traditional” rulers to maintain order. Yet, the white Guiders who controlled the policy of the Nigerian Association refused to change any of the original elements of Baden-Powell’s program until after World War II. They insisted that Guides recite the Promise and laws in English no matter their vernacular language, perform European reel dances, and satisfy the skills that badges required. Eileen Sandford, a white Guider, explained, “The question of adaptation of tests has occupied many a Council meeting, but it is perhaps surprising how few changes from the tests laid down for Great Britain it has been found necessary to make.”


Leith-Ross, African Women: A Study of the Ibo of Nigeria, 132-133, 289; Callaway, Gender, Culture, and Empire, 112-113. Leith-Ross hoped to implement the vision of girls’ education that Frederick Lugard had proposed during his reign as Governor from 1914-1919 but never funded. To prevent the anti-colonial nationalisms like those emerging in India at the turn of the century and promote ethnic unity, Lugard had advocated that colonial educators carefully monitor the content of their lessons to insure that they instilled students with a sense of loyalty to the British Empire and prepared them to become the wives of Western educated Nigerians. Lugard specifically stipulated that African girls should only read books authored by qualified white women.

Naturally, official histories of the movement stress the central role Robert and Olave Baden-Powell played in the international expansion of Guiding. The presence of colonized Guides at nearly all imperial displays of authority and the Baden-Powells’ promotion of Guiding as a tool to civilize the colonized during the twenties and thirties has led most historians to neglect the ingenuity of the pioneer Guiders and to ignore the divisions among white Guiders in the colonies.


The participation of nationalist heroines like Ammu Swaminadhan, Lady Oyinkan Abayomi, and Puan Sri Janaky Athi Nahappan in the Guiding movement suggests colonized elite women in India, Nigeria, and Malaya transformed the imperial maternalism of the Guiding program and harnessed it to promote maternal nationalism. Swaminadhan, who married at thirteen had little formal education, committed her life to women of India. Historians acknowledge the instrumental role she played in the creation of the Women's India Association in 1917, one of the first organizations dedicated to improving the lives of Indian women, and the Indian National Congress during the thirties. They occasionally mention her participation in the Quit India movement during the early forties or the provincial government of Madras in the late forties and early fifties. Yet, they dismiss her Presidency of The Bharat Scouts and Guides from 1960-1965 as irrelevant. Historians have treated Lady Oyinkan Abayomi’s involvement in Guiding in the same manner. Though Cheryl Johnson-Odim mentions her in an article-length biography, no historian has connected Abayomi’s involvement in multiple nationalist movements with her position as the First Nigerian Chief Commissioner. Likewise, historians mention Puan Sri Janaky Athi Nahappan, a Malayan Indian woman, in the context of Subhas Chandra Bose, the radical Indian nationalist that led the Indian National Army to fight against the British during World War II and John Thivy, whom she worked with to establish the Malayan Indian Congress. That she dedicated her adult life to the Malayan Guiding movement has passed unexamined. These women dedicated their time and resources to a British movement because it provided them the discourse to be both feminists and nationalists.
Third World nationalist movements demanded women to perform an impossible balancing act: women had to be modern while preserving pre-colonial traditions. Guiding’s maternalist framework provided an ideal vehicle for women in India, Malaya, and Nigeria, both colonized and white, to promote a national feminine citizenship that infused Western modernity with traditional customs. In the decades preceding independence, Guiders in Nigeria, Malaya, and India disagreed over which ideal of maternal citizenship the program should encourage. Most white Guiders believed imperial citizenship to be more global and inclusive than national citizenship; Western-educated colonized Guiders and a few white Guiders wanted the program to encourage girls embrace a national rather than communal or imperial identity. Because participants in the movements of Nigeria, Malaya, and India had already connected Guiding with nationalism before independence, they seamlessly transitioned from symbols of imperial authority to symbols of national independence with formal independence.

Australia, a white Dominion that attained self-government in 1901, maintained cultural ties to the Empire. Recently, many historians of the “New British History” allege that Australia only developed a distinct nationalism separate from a pan-British identity in the 1970s. The development of Australian Guiding movement confirms that Australians maintained an imperial identity based on British race patriotism. Whiteness remained an essential element of the Australian imperial identity.

As in other settler colonies, the logic of elimination replaced the civilizing mission as the ruling ethic of the colonizers. Until recently, most Westerners never considered decolonization or self-government as potential outcomes for Aborigines. In the early twentieth century, the majority of Western experts agreed that Aborigines would die out. When Aborigine numbers grew instead, the government adopted an assimilation strategy that sanctioned authorities to take
lighter skinned Aboriginal children from their families without consent to be raised in state institutions.\textsuperscript{338} Most Aboriginal Guides participated in the Guiding while at institutions under the direction of white missionary Guiders and rarely sought to continue their involvement when they left. Furthermore, Aboriginal nationalists, who began to gain the public’s attention in the sixties and seventies, never embraced the Western conceptions of maternalism that pervade the Guiding program. Many of those who had been raised apart from their mothers or had their children stolen by the government sought to reclaim Aboriginal family structures rather than adopt Western models of femininity. Even in the twenty-first century, Aboriginal girls and women remain marginalized from the Guiding movement.\textsuperscript{339}

This chapter compares the ways colonial women, colonizers and colonized, used Guiding to imagine feminized nationalist projects that provided women a role in the male-dominated nationalist movements of India, Nigeria, and Malaya.\textsuperscript{340} Such Guiders rejected the Western maternalism of the metropole where white mothers guided colonized women and girls into an imperial modernity. Instead, nationalist Guiders proposed a maternalism of colonized women who transformed colonized Guides into the wives and mothers of great nationalist leaders or the figurative mothers of the uneducated villagers. Because nationalists Guiders never resorted to anti-colonial nationalism and left the political details of their future nation undefined, historians have overlooked the role they played in the independence of Malaya, Nigeria, and India. After independence, because nationalist Guiders already had chipped away at the imperial jargon and symbolism of the movement, national governments eagerly appointed Guide companies to serve as agents of decolonization and national independence among village women who had yet to identify with the nation. In Australia, the logic of elimination and the legacy of the White Australia
Policy prevented the Guiders of Aboriginal girls from imagining the program as means to promote Aboriginal nationalism.\footnote{341}

**India: Conflicting Ideas of Citizenship, 1911-1960**

India provides the earliest example of nationalists demanding that the Guiding movement shift from ideas of imperial to national citizenship. The friction between maternal imperialists and maternal nationalists emerged at the inception of the movement. Though maternal imperialists were predominately white Guiders and maternal nationalists predominately colonized Guiders, the exceptions testify to the complexity of colonial history and support Anne Stoler’s assertion that “The Manichaean world of high colonialism which we have etched so deeply in our historiographies was thus nothing of the sort.”\footnote{342} The disagreement between maternal nationalists over who belonged to the imagined community of the nation challenged the secular nature of Guiding and further impaired cooperation between colonized Guiders before and immediately after independence despite their similar goals to educate girls in the duties of modern feminine citizenship. By the late 1930s, many colonized Guiders had abandoned the idea of an inclusive Indian nation open to both Muslims and Hindus and began to advocate a more parochial citizenship.\footnote{343}

Scouting came to Indian girls before Agnes and Robert Baden-Powell had quelled the controversy that erupted over the creation of Girl Guides in the metropole (where many vocal opponents insisted that it was unfeminine and harmful to girls’ health). Miss Davies, a teacher at Isabella Thoburn, an American Mission School in Lucknow, India, began a scouting movement for girls based on Robert Baden-Powell’s Boy Scout program but oriented towards the imagined community of India rather than the British Empire.\footnote{344} Most likely unaware that Girl Guides had arrived to Jabalpur, India for European girls, Davies called her girls’ scouting organization the
Girl Messenger Service. Through activities she adapted from Baden-Powell’s *Scouting for Boys*, she hoped to invest girls in the future of India rather than their religious or ethnic community.\(^{345}\) Agnes Baden-Powell had not even begun writing the official handbook when Davies published her own handbook, *Girl Messenger Handbook*.\(^{346}\)

Despite the nationalist orientation of her girls’ scouting program, Miss Davies exemplifies many of the characteristics and goals of the first white Guiders in the British colonies. She was an American missionary who wanted to impart Western habits and values to her students. Davies believed that the “parliamentary” meetings, fundraisers for community service projects, and lessons in first aid, domestic science, and personal hygiene would overcome what her colleague, Flora Robinson, identified as “centuries of snobbish scorn” that Indians had for manual labor, earning money, and diversity. Robinson helped Miss Davies start scouting at Isabella Thoburn and during her watch as principal from 1919-1921 heavily promoted it. An article she composed for *Woman’s Missionary Friend* remains the only first-hand participant account of the Girl Messengers. In it, Robinson, affirmed the benefits scouting brought to Indian participants: “In a country where even Westerners and Christians are sometimes tempted to cater to caste and sect feeling, Mohammedans, Hindus of different castes, and Christians alike promise to try ‘to be a friend to all and a comrade to every other Messenger.'”\(^{347}\) The Fourth Law of Scouting reinterpreted as the Fourth Law of the Girl Messengers created the possibility for a multiethnic interfaith Indian nationalism that Davies promoted.

Unlike other missionary guiders, Davies saw her Messengers as the future citizens of India. When headquarters Britain sanctioned the prohibition of Indian members, Davies’s views appear to have become uncompromising. Thus, the activities and ideals Davies shared with other missionary Guiders had very different intentions. Most white missionary Guiders hoped to create
imperial citizens that belonged to the transnational British Empire on equal footing as their British sisters. Davies wanted girls to belong to an Indian national community, one that honored Indian and Western traditions.

Such different perspectives changed the purpose of activities and goals Davies had appropriated from Robert Baden-Powell’s Scouting program. Nearly all white Guiders endorsed Scouting activities as an ideal way to preserve native arts. Most understood their efforts through the lens of civilization hierarchies; keeping only the elements from colonized cultures that complemented British culture and protected Guides from the temptations civilization brought as embodied in the Modern Girl.\textsuperscript{348} Davies believed that tradition laid the groundwork for a sense of belonging to an imagined community of Indians that included men and women from all faith traditions and classes. Her colleague, Robinson described how this worked: “In a community, too, where the tendency to discard native customs and become Westernized as fast as possible, the girls vie with one another in making collections of Indian stories, and learning Indian songs, playing Indian games, and showing why they love their country.”\textsuperscript{349} The national orientation of the Girl Messenger Service insured its popularity, expansion, and imitation. However, the nationalism advocated by Davies and other leaders of the Girl Messengers never expressed the anti-colonial sentiment that had only begun to emerge in India after the partition of Bengal in 1905.

In 1916, Annie Besant, whom Baden-Powell’s daughter Heather described as “the notable Englishwoman and disciple of Gandhi,” started her own scouting organization just for Indian children.\textsuperscript{350} She called members Boy Scouts and Sister Scouts and envisioned them as the first citizens of India. Scouting was just one of the venues within which she advocated on behalf of Indian Home Rule during the First World War. Most of her efforts specifically targeted women and girls, as she believed educated women essential to the national movement. Without citizen-
ship education, Besant believed women would impede nationalist efforts insisting that their families adhere to backwards traditions: “The Indian woman has more power than almost any other in the world. Inside the house at least she is supreme, and the men bow down before her and do all she wants. There, in fact, lies the great difficulty of reform.” Seen in government circles as a subversive nuisance, Besant spoke out against the British Empire in favor of labor rights, self-rule in India and Ireland, and Theosophy in her books, speeches, newspaper (New India), and in many endeavors, including Sister Scouts.351

Like Davies, Besant took the imperial maternalism of Baden-Powell’s movement and made it align to contemporary ideals of Indian nationalism. Most Indian girls, according Besant, would grow up to serve the nation of India as mothers and wives and would need only primarily the skills and characteristics scouting provided: physical fitness, domestic science, arts, basic English, and vernacular literacy. Only a few, those “women of the most noble and most self-sacrificing character” who planned not to marry needed a formal education in order to become “mothers of the motherless, the nurses of the sick, the helpers of the miserable.”352 Besant saw Sister Scouts as an inexpensive way to extend basic education to all women and girls. Through song, camping, and drill, the same skills that the official movement offered, she hoped to achieve a different goal. Her Sister Scouts would serve the nation as citizens rather than the Empire.353

In 1916 when Mrs. Maurice Bear, the wife of a British bureaucrat stationed in Calcutta, became president of the newly created governing association for all official Guide companies in the Indian Empire known as All-India Girl Guiding Association, she immediately petitioned headquarters to grant her permission to accept Indian members. Many Indian girls had already joined the Girl Messenger Service, Besant’s Sister Scouts, or an unofficial guide company that white missionaries and Indian women had started across India.354 Bear realized that Indian
women had not only gained leadership positions in the Girl Messenger Service and Besant’s Sister Scouts, but also had created an unofficial network of Indian scouting companies complete with regional councils that offered girls everything official Guiding promised. These organizations also provided Indian women with positions of leadership and influence, and as a result Indian women would not join the official All-India Girl Guide Association if they had to hand over their authority to an all-white women officer corps. The Indian women who had taken up the cause of girl scouting were highly educated and included Hindu and Muslim women. The intellectual elite of Bengali society respected these women’s dedication to girls’ education. To convince Indians that the Girl Guide Association would not thwart Indian involvement and influence within the organization and to demonstrate the movements appeal to all Indian girls, Bear recruited four of the leading Bengali reformers who had already begun to use Guiding to improve girls’ education: Prabha Ghoshal, who went on to become the State Secretary of West Bengal in the fifties; Lady Abala Bose, who would become the first Indian Commissioner in 1920 and founder of the Brahmao Girls School in Calcutta in 1919; Sarala P.K. Roy, a Brahmo Samajist who directed the prestigious Chokale Memorial School Girls’ School; and, Mrs. Hossein, who started one of the first Muslim girls’ schools.  

Though they left a only a few small marks on the historical record, these four women led efforts to transform Guiding from a British import into a tool to train Indian girls to be more than mothers and wives of their children and husbands. All embraced the ideal of maternal Indian citizenship where women took on the role of mothers of the nation of India. They saw Guiding as a means to align Western models of childrearing, first aid, physical fitness, fundraising, and community involvement with “Indian” concepts adapted from Islamic and Hindu faith traditions. All remained active in the movement until the late fifties. In addition to Girl Guides, all were
involved in multiple women’s organizations and participated actively in debates over Indian independence. Unlike male nationalists, they cared more about welfare issues and women’s rights than issues regarding level of independence of the Indian nation. For example, shortly after Bose had become active in the official movement, Bose was part of a delegation of women to the minister of India who felt that the all male national leadership who had negotiated government reforms had failed to address the issues they considered most important: compulsory free education for all Indian children, professional training programs for women, and improved healthcare for women and children. As the independence movement became anti-British and more sectarian in the thirties these women distanced themselves from formal politics and instead pursued their nationalist visions through Guiding and other outreach programs for women. Their involvement insured that most unofficial Guide companies joined the official movement. The Nigerian movement experienced as similar incorporation of unofficial companies in the late forties when a colonized Guider assumed the position Deputy Commissioner and allowed Nigerian women to volunteer as Guiders. The early involvement of prominent Indian women also helped popularize the movement among Indian reformers and draw many other prominent Indian women to the movement. In Malaya and Nigeria, this occurred decades later after Indian and Pakistan had already gained independence. In the hands of Ghosha, Bose, Roy, and Hossein, Guiding, for Indian girls, nearly from its inception, stressed service work as a natural extension of motherhood and as a forge to a unified Indian identity that girls from all religions, regions, and castes shared.

As Bear worked to incorporate the disparate scouting associations under the supervision and organization of the All-India Guiding Association, three Hindu scholars, Pandit Sriram Bajpai, Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya organized the Seva Samiti
Boy Scouts Association which included Seva Samiti Guides in 1918. Carey Watt, who is occasionally referred to as “the historian of the boy scouts of India,” demonstrates in his 2005 *Serving the Nation: Cultures of Service, Association, and Citizenship* that Seva Samiti Scouts was among the institutionalized social service organizations that proliferated among the Hindu elites and middle classes during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Like its adult predecessors, the Allahabad Seva Samitis, the Arya Samaj, and the Servants of India, Seva Samiti Scouts drew from Hindu religious concepts to “Hinduise” scouting. They connected the Hindu concept of *dana* or generosity to Scouting’s emphasis on daily service. The maternal focus on domestic skills and mothercraft of the original Guiding program complemented the Indian concept of *pati seva*, or women’s inherent domestic obligations. *Dharma*, a Hindu concept of duty, corresponded with Scouting’s portrayal of active citizenship as set of responsibilities with no guaranteed rights.359

By 1919, Seva Samiti Scouts had expanded across northern India and had become “the biggest of the Indian scout associations.” Its membership was predominately male. Because the official Indian Boy Scout Association prohibited Indian membership till 1921, Indian boys and scout leaders had to join the Seva Samiti Scouts or Besant’s Boy Scouts. Indian women and girls had more options. After 1916 Indian women who decided to lead a troop of girl scouts had a variety of scouting organizations to choose from. Thus, only a few companies joined the Seva Samiti Scouts. Many women objected to the distinctly Hindu nationalism Seva Samiti Scouts schooled it members in. Other chose the Messengers, Sister Scouts, or official Girl Guides for more practical reason: Girl Guides and the Girl Messenger Service already had literature in some Indian languages; all were female directed; and all had established networks of support.360

For almost four years, Bear as President of the All-India Association struggled to con-
vince the Girl Messenger Service, Seva Samiti Guides, and Besant’s Sister Scouts to join the official movement. All objected to the aspects of the program that required girls to demonstrate allegiance to the King or Empire. Bear described her frustration with Davies, the founder of the Girls Messenger Service:

> At present, this attempt [to incorporate Girl Messengers into the Guiding movement] is in abeyance, until the opinion of the founder of the Messengers who is at present in America can be obtained, she having opposed affiliation at a former date chiefly on the ground that the Guiders teach loyalty to the British Empire while the Messengers are taught loyalty to their own country, India.

Bear did not give up. She appointed Indians to prominent leadership positions in the organization and created a Guiding handbook that she believed to be particularly geared towards local conditions. She published it in 1918 as *Steps to Girl Guiding* with Robert Baden-Powell as the listed author to increase sales. Bear’s handbook essentially reproduces Baden Powell’s 1918 *Girl Guiding: A Handbook for Guidelets Guides, Rangers and GUIDERS* without the sections that blatantly address only white British girls. Bear may have also abridged the handbook so that its translation would be faster and cheaper. Bear’s efforts proved fruitful. Many princely states that had started their own scouting movements joined the larger movement, and the popularity of Girl Guides in India began to expand beyond the educated elite. With the larger scouting associations, Seva Samiti Guides, Besant’s Sister Scouts, and the Girl Messenger Service, Bear made little progress.

Finally in 1921, upon invitation of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India, Robert and Olave Baden-Powell came to India to negotiate a merger between the many scouting associations. In his 1933 memoir, *Lessons from the ‘Varsity of Life,*' Robert portrays the divisions among the official movement, the Seva Samiti Guides, the Girl Messenger Service, and Besant’s Sister Guides as a misunderstanding that he successfully solved. He claimed, “Eventually Mrs.
Annie Besant, who headed a very considerable contingent, agreed to join up with the parent Movement, and as she commanded the respect of the Indians generally, there was little doubt that her action in doing so would prove a very persuasive example to the remainder.” Official histories of the international Guiding movement confirm Robert’s versions of events. To admit otherwise would have revealed the limitations of Guiding’s international focus and the failure of the movement to fully recognize India as an equal in the imperial family of Dominions and dependencies.

Lakshmi Mazumdar, a leader of the Indian Guiding movement who published a history of the movement in India in 1955, contests Robert’s version. She documents that the Seva Samiti Guides dropped out of the merger because Robert insisted they adopted the original Promise that required members recite “To do my duty to God and the King.” Olave’s diary and correspondence with the Chief Commissioner of Guiding of India in the thirties confirms that Seva Samiti Guides remained unaffiliated with the international movement and firmly entrenched in nationalist politics. During her visit to India in 1937, Olave recorded that she spent one afternoon “plotting with Lady Haig & Mrs. Kharepat (U.P.) as to how to tackle the imitation Seva Samiti Guides run by ‘Congress.’” To Olave and other WAGGGS leaders, Seva Samiti seemed a politicized version of the original program as misled as fascist youth organizations in South Africa, Germany, and Italy. Her word choice, specifically “plotting,” “tackle,” and “imitation,” demonizes the Seva Samiti Guides as well as the idea of independent India.

That the Seva Samiti Guides refused the Baden-Powells’ offers of inclusion suggest that colonized contemporaries questioned the commitment of global sisterhood that Girl Guiding projected. They admired the program for its focus on character development, physical training, and domestic science, but interpreted the symbolic acts of loyalism to the British crown as evidence
that the program was more imperial than international.\footnote{A subsequent public statement Robert Baden-Powell made during his 1937 visit to India confirmed the doubts of the Seva Samiti and led many Indian Scout leaders and possibly Guiders to leave the official movement. In a discussion May 8, 1937, with journalists, Robert explained, “India at present suffers from three main handicaps as a Nation - Lack of Character, Lack of Health and Lack of Unity. Scout training, however, aims at producing these qualities which India now lacked.” Though Robert apologized publicly, most Indian Boy Scout companies, according to Mazumdar, defected to Seva Samiti, which renamed itself the Hindustan Scout Association in 1938.\footnote{Mazumdar and the academic historians of Scouting fail to specify how Robert’s words affected the Indian Guiding movement. The Fourth Biennial Report of WAGGGS (1936-1938) suggests that the movement lost a number of leaders and Guides during this period. The report blames the loss of Indian members on “changes taking place in Government”; the timing implies that it is equally likely that Indian Guiders left in response to Robert’s racist remarks.\footnote{After Besant pledged her support to Robert, she became a committed advocate of Scouting as the most effective way to prepare children for the multiethnic, interfaith nation they would join when the British consented to Home-Rule or self-government for India that resembled that of white Dominions. Unlike the Sister Scouts or Seva Samiti Guides, Girl Guides had attracted prominent Muslim women to volunteer and promote the movement.\footnote{Besant, who regretted the failure of Theosophy to attract Muslims, saw the potential of a mixed religious movement and claimed, “If I had a dozen sons -- I would send them all into the Scout Movement, as soon as they could enter its lowest grade. And I would send the daughters into the Girl Guides, under similar conditions.”\footnote{Her confidence that Guiding gave girls and boys the skills they need as citizens of an independent India convinced even the most prominent anti-imperialists like Jawahar.}}}}
harlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore to become involved in the movement in the early
1920s.\textsuperscript{374} Robert rewarded Besant’s loyalty with the appointment as the Honorary Scout Com-
mmissioner for All India and shortly before her death with the prestigious Scouting honor, the Sil-
ver Wolf. Official Guiding histories and academic studies do not detail Besant’s involvement
with Scouting in the twenties, and evidence suggests she did little beyond promote the organization.\textsuperscript{375} Even though her ideas about Indian nationalism lost prominence in the twenties to Gan-
dhi’s concept of complete Indian independence from Britain, the symbolic weight of her affilia-
tion with the movement led nationalists, both those who continued to advocate for Home Rule
like Muhammad Ali Jinnah and those who wanted total Indian independence like Jawaharlal Ne-
hru to consider the movement a viable method of training future citizens.\textsuperscript{376}

Most white Guiders and a few Indian Guiders saw the nationalist rhetoric of Besant and
Indian Guiders as political and narrow-minded patriotism and thus antithetical to the Guide
movement that was explicitly nonpolitical (although self-consciously committed to Empire).\textsuperscript{377}
The pledge to the King in the Promise remained the symbolic issue that divided women volu-
teers into those, mostly white, who wanted Guiding to encourage citizenship to the Empire and
those, mostly Indian, who wanted Guides to be trained as Indian citizens. Indian officers first ex-
pressed their dissatisfaction at national conferences and proposed a minor change, -- to change
King to country so the Promise would read, “To do my duty to God and country.” Most white
Guiders remained resolutely against any change. One explained, “As the loyal bonding together
of all daughters of the Empire, whether English, Canadian, South African, Australian or Indian,
e.tc., is a great asset and makes a great bond, this part of our service could not be abandoned
without rendering on the whole no use and indeed harmful [sic]...and shows the need of a Girl
Guide movement among Indian girls all the more.”\textsuperscript{378} Rather than compromise with their Indian
colleagues, many white officers agreed with the Guider quoted above and interpreted any expressions of nationalism as signs of the deficits of Indian character. Because white women monopolized the officer positions in the All-India Guiding Association and most saw Indian nationalism as divisive, they held out until the mid-1940s when their small numbers and the inevitability of Indian independence made their position untenable.

The intransigence of the predominately white officer corps did little to persuade Indian officers of the merits of the original Promise and led some prominent Indian supporters of the movement to start their own scouting movements. Once Indian officers realized that the majority white Executive Council would not consider their changes, they adopted various methods to demonstrate their continued objections. Lady Abala Bose, after she had stressed the issue within the Association to no avail, encouraged the Guides at her Brahmo Girls School to refuse to recite the Guide’s Promise. After this protest went public, demands to change the promise became pronounced. Some Guides and Guiders resigned; others ignored the policy. The well-known Nobel Prize winning Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who had integrated Scouting into his rural regeneration experiment at Sriniketana, dropped his affiliation with the movement. The most prominent Indian and white women who supported Indian nationalism, however, remained committed to the movement, which insured that the Seva Samiti Guide remained a marginal movement that moved increasingly towards a narrower form of Indian nationalism that only included Hindus.

India stands out as the only movement from my case studies that successfully drew in a large number of Indian Guiders outside of the English-speaking elite. Like Nigeria and Malaya, a few well-educated elite colonized women worked directly with the predominately white officer corps to influence the structure and policies of the movement. By 1931, 75% of the membership
was Indian.\textsuperscript{382} Outside of the core of politically engaged, well-educated Indian women, most Indian Guiders came from more modest educational backgrounds and did not speak English. A significant number were illiterate. Most of the non-elite Guiders retained a communal focus and never sought to imbue their Guides with a conception of an imagined interfaith Indian community. They came to the movement with a general goal to expose the girls in their communities to first aid, physical challenges, and Western health habits.\textsuperscript{383} Nonetheless, the changes they implemented to aspects of the program that felt impractical or foreign in many instances had ramifications for all of India and at times even affected the metropole’s policies.\textsuperscript{384}

Non-elite Indian Guiders, because they spoke the vernacular language and understood the various cultures of India, could better adapt the activities to correspond to the region. Lillian Pickens, an American missionary who was the Commissioner of India from 1930-1935, observed, “Their grasp of the aims and methods of Guiding and their ability to adapt it to the needs of Indian village girls is truly amazing, especially in view of the fact that there is practically no literature on Guiding in Marathi.”\textsuperscript{385} The changes they made to the program at the local level cumulatively Indianized the movement.

By the 1930s, non-elite Guiders had reshaped local aspects of the program to reflect Indian “traditions” and accommodate for the cultural demands of their Guides. Because regional camps and meetings operated along the parliamentary system and votes often fell along the color line, Indians overruled white Guiders who hoped to stay true to the original movement. For example at a council meeting at a training camp in Panhala, where 76 out of 81 participants were Indian, participants voted to rename “Blue Birds,” the youngest Guide group named after a Belgium play, \textit{The Blue Bird}, to “Bulbuls,” the name of a bird indigenous to India, even though three of the four Western Guiders disagreed.\textsuperscript{386} Committed at least discursively to the democratic
process, white Guiders had little choice but to accept changes in the program ranging from recruitment tactics to uniforms to the issue of child marriage. As they gradually lost their power and authority, more elite Indian Guiders gained leadership roles at the regional and All-India level.

The elite Guiders who served the Association as officers placed the changes non-elite Guiders made at local level in the context of nationalism. At the insistence of local Indian officers, Bulbuls eventually officially replaced Blue Birds as the official name of the youngest branch of Indian Guides across all of India. When Guiders in Kashmir reported to the All-India Association that they lost most of the members above the age of twelve to marriage, Indian officers changed badge requirements to stress what they considered most necessary elements of the Guiding program to these young wives: mothercraft, nursing, and domestic skills. Nationalist officers, who had little faith in the government to enforce the Child Marriage Restraint Act that passed in 1929, pushed Guiders to focus recruiting efforts on younger girls who would be able to participate in the movement long enough to master the skills they would need as wives and mothers.387 As local Guiders adopted a range of uniforms to appeal to different the religious communities in which they worked, elite Guiders insisted that Indians have a variety of authentically Indian uniforms in order to stand out from the khaki and navy blue jumpers of their Western peers and reflect the diversity of Indian culture.388

Indian Guide officers successfully changed the program’s approach towards uniformity not only at the national level but also at the international level. Though the founders of Guiding, Robert, Agnes, and Olave Baden-Powell, initially had insisted that a common uniform unified all members despite class or ethnicity, the innovations that Indian women made convinced Olave and other white officers and Guiders that different uniforms could indicate the international di-
versity of the movement and its inclusion of non-Western customs. After World War II, WAGGGS encouraged each national association to develop a unique uniform that represented their country’s culture and past. In the 1946 *Be Prepared: Handbook for Guides*, the first attempt to revise the Baden-Powell version, A.M Maynard emphasized this new policy: “Guides and Girl Scouts of different countries, unlike the Boy Scouts do not all wear the same uniform.” Indian Guiders’ resolve to train girls to be proud of India and its non-Western policies slowly changed the Indian Guiding program as well as international policy.

Just as white Guiders had their Guides perform at imperial demonstrations of authority, Guiders who wanted their Guides to identify primarily as Indians included them in demonstrations of Indian nationality. For the first All-India Women’s Conference [AIWC] of 1927 on Educational Reform, Rani Saheb, the State Guiding Commissioner of Sangli, recruited Indian Guides to volunteer. Dressed in sari uniforms, Guides escorted delegates, who came from across India, from the train station through Pune to their lodging and then to the Conference the following mornings. During the Conference, they served as the honor guard for the Conference President and delivered messages. After its inaugural conference, the AIWC remained an enthusiastic supporter of Guiding and often used Guides at its events.

In the thirties, Indian Guiders began to submit articles to the *The Council Fire* that advocated for a united India. Pushpam S. John, one of the first Indian contributors, explained, “It is my strong belief that it only through the Guides of to-day that the vast land of India can come together, can put aside all prejudices of caste or creed, and begin to understand and respect each other religion and opinions in politics.” Sherene Rustomjee, who became an Indian correspondent for *The Council Fire* in the forties, spoke out against the increasingly exclusive expressions of nationalism 1943 article entitled “Education in Patriotism.” She reminded Guides that India
included Hindus, Christians, and Muslims and advised Guiders to teach their Guides how to analyze the discourse of sectarian groups like the All-India Muslim League, Indian National Congress, and Hindu Mahasabha political party critically.\footnote{395} Other Indian Guiders submitted popular Indian literary pieces that expressed nationalist sentiment. For example one Guider anonymously submitted \textit{Gitanjali} (Song Offerings) by Rabindranath Tagore that declared “Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.”\footnote{396}

Not all Guiders imagined the future India as multiethnic and religiously inclusive. The Arya Samaj, a Hindu social service association originally founded in 1875, avidly promoted Guiding at its girls’ schools as a demonstration of \textit{swadeshi preeti} (love for one’s country) and used it to build a sense of community among Hindus of different castes. Their Guides regularly performed and volunteered at \textit{melas} (fairs and festivals) and took on public health projects in villages. However, all activities stressed a Hindu conception of feminine citizenship that used Hindu concepts to promote maternalism and Hindu insigne to demonstrate nationalism. While Muslim organizations occasionally contributed volunteers to \textit{melas} sponsored by the Arya Samaj and Guides often assisted Muslim families during famines or epidemics, Samajist Guiders advocated a Hindu nationalism that saw Islam as a dangerous force that if left unopposed would convert the ‘Depressed Classes’ of Hindus.\footnote{397}

In the thirties, Samajist Guide activities became more overtly demonstrative of their desire for a future India nation that included all Hindus regardless of where they lived.\footnote{398} In 1934, a company of Girl Guides from the Arya Samaj’s Kanya Mahavidyalaya in Jalandhar traveled to South Africa and Rhodesia for a four-month performance tour to raise money for school and promote a sense of Hindu (trans) nationalism among South African Indians.\footnote{399} Pandit Nardev Vedalankar, a South African Arya Samajist described

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The Girl Guides left behind a lasting impression on the minds of the people in this country. Never before had the European as well as Indian community witnessed such the performance of such feats. The excellent displays of items, such as Indian club swimming, feats of Yoga asans [sic], archery, garba-dance, dagger drill, dragger fight, swordfight, uble [sic] sticks play, word and shield and staves fight held large audiences spellbound and captivated their hearts. Forceful and impressive speeches by the captain and other leads of the Guides astonished all those that heard them. It was beyond one’s conception to see Indian girls and women who are known all the world over for their seclusion and purdah system attired in almost military uniform.

When not performing or traveling to performances, the Samajist Guides met with government officials and prominent Indians. According Thillayvel Naidoo, a South African religious scholar, the Guides’ performances inspired a few Indian girls in South Africa to pursue higher education and may have encouraged the University of Natal to allow women students, which it began in 1936. The South African Guide trip represents an expression of Hindu nationalism clothed behind the seemingly benign maternalism of physical spectacles of fitness that most Samajist Guides only performed in their local communities.

By the forties, some Guiders had involved their Guides in displays of support for the All-India Muslim League and the idea of a separate Muslim nation. Amma Jaan, a Guide before independence, recalled her company making the trip with a number of other Guide companies to Lahore when the League met in March of 1940 and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, later known as the Quaid-i-Azam (Father of Pakistan) announced the Lahore Resolution, which demanded separate Muslim states upon independence. She remembered,

On the 22nd, driven by the zeal of the day and the spirit of being young Muslim Girl Guides, we all decided to march to the venue on foot. We had in our hearts, the ambition to finally set our eyes on our dear Quaid. We had on our lips, the chants of Pakistan Zindabad and Quaid- e-Azam Payindabad. We had in our hands the emerald flags of Muslim League.

Traditionally cut off from politics, Muslim women adapted Guiding into a means to express and pursue their visions of independence. Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheed, scholars
of gender and human rights in Asia, argue, “In collecting funds, selling badges, and propagating the idea of Pakistan, all the women a girls involved, by appearing in public and interacting with strangers, were violating the unwritten but centuries old rule of purdah and confinement for Muslim women.”404 The visible presence of Guides at Muslim League events and the involvement of a few members of the Women's Central Subcommittee of the All India Muslim League with the movement convinced Jinnah, the first Governor-General of Pakistan, to fully support the movement upon independence.405

Despite Indian Guiders desire to impart Indian citizenship to Guides, few wholeheartedly embraced the anti-imperialist, Hindu tone of Gandhian nationalism and only participated sporadically in the Swadeshi (self-sufficiency) movement. Some wore *khadi* (handspun and woven cloth) and taught their middle-class Indian Guides the cottage industries of spinning and weaving.406 However, many continued to work at or attend government funded schools or in government social services during the Quit Indian. Moreover, nearly all Guiders enlisted their Guides in the war effort even though the Indian National Congress opposed supporting the war.407 By 1940s, most elite nationalist Guiders had distanced themselves political debates raging among male nationalists and the overt demonstrations of anti-imperialism. Because many of their husbands worked for the Indian Civil Service, some could not participate in the mass demonstrations Gandhi organized. Nearly all focused their energy on the social aspects of nationalism rather than the political.408

World War II brought international acknowledgement and leadership positions to successful Indian Guiders. As white women left the movement in considerable numbers to focus on their children who no longer could go to Britain for school or to take on full-time volunteer positions related to WWII, Indian women essentially took over the movement. They occupied the
most prominent leadership roles below that of Chief Commissioner, which Lady Croften insisted
she hold until a month before independence.\textsuperscript{409} Many of their projects allowed Indian women
who publicly favored independence to gain international reputations as competent leaders of
large-scale projects. In 1942, Sherene Rustomjee, who was a well-known nationalist Guider in
India, gained the attention of the white leadership corps of WAGGGS when her Guide compa-
nies took on the care of 161 Polish children.\textsuperscript{410} WAGGGS embraced her nationalist views of citi-
zenship that demanded women to take on the same responsibilities that the imperial citizenship
the original program specified. In contrast to the original program, however, Rustomjee adv-
ocated service, fitness, and patriotism as characteristics of Indian citizens. After the war,
WAGGGS appointed Rustomjee as a Guiding representative to recently independent Asian
countries with hope that she would insure that Girl Guides offered a positive conception of femi-
nine nationalist citizenship based on the tenets of Western modernization.\textsuperscript{411}

With the partition of India in 1947, India inherited the organization of the All-India As-
sociation under the direction of the first Indian Chief Commissioner, Mrs. H. C. Captain.\textsuperscript{412} In
Pakistan, Begum G.A. Khan, who before independence had been the Provincial Girl Guide
Commissioner of the Punjab, constructed the Pakistan Girl Guide Association at the request of
the Governor-General of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, known as the “Father
of the Nation.” Despite the partition and pre-independence manifestations of sectarian Guiding,
both associations promoted a multiethnic secular form of maternal citizenship that insured them
government support.\textsuperscript{413}

After independence, Indian and Pakistani Guide officers sought to expand using innova-
tive policies to encourage more girls and women to learn the responsibilities of national citizen-
ship. The middle classes of India and Pakistan understood Guiding as a necessary activity that
trained their daughters as citizens. Middle-class Muslim parents even began to allow their daughters who practiced purdah to participate in public events like rallies and social service projects. However, most families who lived in villages knew little if anything about the movement, hesitated to allow their daughters, whose labor they depended on, to spend hours playing games, and had little sense of belonging to an imagined community of India or Pakistan.

To reach the masses, both associations formed a close relationship with their respective national government. They became directly involved in their modernization efforts and refugee relief efforts, and invented traditions that provided girls with a sense of continuity with the historic past. The Pakistan Association attempted to enroll Guides in modernization campaigns for literacy, public sanitation, and vaccination. It developed policies that stressed a continuous history and set of native traditions shared by East and West Pakistan. The Association also adopted new uniforms modeled on those that the Muslim League’s Women’s National Guard had worn in the early forties to evoke the legacy of Muslim anti-imperialism. Large Guide gatherings featured “native” folk dances and exhibitions of traditional arts and crafts and through government funding included Guiders and Guides from both West and East Pakistan. Through such activities, Pakistan Guiders changed Guiding into a tool to promote a maternal Pakistani citizenship that gave girls and women the responsibility to integrate the marginalized village populations into modernity and the Pakistani nation and to promote national traditions as historical. Essentially, Pakistani Guides and Guiders became the agents of a new, national civilizing mission.

In India, to coordinate better with the federal and state governments, the Girl Guide Association united with the Boy Scout Association and the Hindustan Scout Association (before 1938, the Seva Samiti Scout Association) to form a single Association, the Bharat Scouts and
Guides in 1951. Scouts and Guides rarely physically worked together, but they shared facilities, personnel, finances, and long-term goals. As part of the First Five Year Plan for Social Welfare in India, the Association worked to overcome the breach between the urban Western-educated Guides and their village counterparts through camping and new badge requirements that demanded cross-cultural encounters. It sent Guides to camps outside of villages where they would spend two weeks working with the villagers, ideally teaching them basic sanitation techniques and Westernized conceptions of childcare while impressing upon them the value of manual labor. The Indian Planning Commission declared, “These camps inculcated among the youth a sense of dignity of labour and discipline. They served to bridge the gulf between the class rooms and the outside work, between dwellers in the villages and in towns.” When the Indian government redrew state boundaries in 1956, the Association developed badge requirements that encouraged Guides of antagonistic ethnic groups to work together. Such nationally relevant efforts assured that India and Pakistan movements gained the respect of WAGGGS and individual national movements.

**Models of the post-war Guiding Internationalism: India and Pakistan**

Within a decade Western and non-Western national associations began to emulate Pakistan and India. To Guiding officers across war-torn Europe and colonized Guiders involved in nationalist movements, Indian and Pakistani Guiders seemed to have created a feminine nationalism that embraced the beneficial aspects of Western culture while preserving indigenous traditions. Some Western associations combined Scouts and Guides into one organization to consolidate resources and expedite government communication as India had. The United States paid for Indian and Pakistani Guiders to visit and tour the U.S., teaching American Girl Scouts and their leaders the beneficial aspects of Asian culture including Bengali songs, Indian cookery, and
how to wrap a sari. Gradually, WAGGGS also adopted the social-service focus of the Indian and Pakistani movements as their own and hired Indian and Pakistani Guiders to insure the newly independent nation states of Southeast Asia did not deviate too far from Western conceptions of modernity.

Non-Western Guide associations looked up to India as a role model of what independence might promise. Malaya and Nigeria sent delegations to India and Pakistan to learn to effectively use Guiding to promote literacy and public health and overcome ethnic divisions. Both movements also wanted to replicate the close-knit relationship that Pakistan and India had both achieved with its respective governments. As the first nations to transform Guiding into a vehicle for nationalism, India and Pakistan showed Western and non-Western women that a program that originally celebrated imperial ties could effectively become an expression of an imagined community of the nation that included women.

Despite the efforts of Malayan and Nigerian officers, they struggled to attract non-elite colonized women to their movement. The Indian movement had included non-elite Indian women almost from its inception. Because the predominately white, colonial All-India Guiding Association had included elite Indian women starting in 1916 in leadership positions, started translating materials in the twenties, and faced competition from the Seva Samiti Guides, it confronted and gradually accepted a spectrum of various understandings of citizenship. Most elite colonized Indian Guiders favored an inclusive, multifaith nation; however, during the thirties more sectarian concepts of nationhood emerged. Though most white Guiders and the predominately white officer corps of the All-India Guiding Association viewed the ideas of nationalist Guiders, whether they professed inclusive or exclusive versions of nationalism, as an anathema to the international intent of the program, they had to accept some region-wide adaptations as
most Guiders were Indian and able outvote them at council meetings. When white officers in Malaya, Nigeria, and Australia confronted nationalist, or in the case of Malaya, communist manifestations of Guiding, they had the power to cut off colonized Guiders and their companies from the official movement. Thus, as the Guiding movements in Malaya and Nigeria took on a nationalist orientation after World War II, the few colonized Guiders were Western-educated and rejected versions of national maternalism that failed to match the Western-oriented multiethnic nation they wanted. Furthermore, Nigerian and Malayan found their respective government’s hesitant to assign Guidelines a role in their modernization programs as India and Pakistan had only years after independence. As there were no official translations of Guiding materials until the fifties in Nigeria and the sixties and seventies in Malaya, official policies were inaccessible to the majority of colonized women in Malaya and Nigeria. The histories of Guiding in Malaya and Nigeria, thus, accentuate the exceptional social and political conditions that enabled Indian agency in the movement.

Malaya

Compared to India, Malaya had a very moderate, short-lived nationalist movement that never became anti-British and only became political after World War II. The diversity of the population and manifestations of British rule in the peninsula discouraged sentiments of common nationality among peoples of different regions and ethnicities. By 1931, only 35% of the population was Malay; the rest of the population, primarily Chinese and Indian, had ties to other states. Although colonial policies overtly favored Malays, the colonized Chinese elite favored colonial rule, identified as British, and feared independence would lead to economic and political instability. Japanese occupation during World War II led the colonized to doubt the omnipotence of the British to protect them. Still, the first expression of nationalism only emerged in 1947 and was a
communal movement limited to Malays who opposed the first postwar government the British established. During the fifties, the Malay movement gradually evolved into multiethnic nationalism that fractured after independence.

Until the fifties, nearly all Guiders working in Malaya, white and Asian trained their Guides to be mothers of the Empire. Lady Templer, wife of British High Commissioner of Malaya Gerald Templer, demanded Guiders embrace a new conception of citizenship based on the Malay, Chinese, Indian, and Western. The Malayan nationalist foundation of Guiding established in the early fifties through the efforts of Lady Templer persisted even when the ruling independent government worked to create an imagined community centered on the Malay language, Islam, and the Malay royal family.

When Lady Templer arrived in Malaya in 1952 and agreed to accept the symbolic title of Chief Guide of the Federation of Malaya, colonial officials and the metropole just had conceded that Malayan independence was the price they would have to pay to defeat the Communists. The British colonial government had been engaged in a war against the communist guerilla forces and the villagers who supported them for over four years. “New Villages,” communities made up of relocated subsistence farmers, whom colonial officials had forced to resettle as their homes had been in the reach of Communist influence, dotted Malaya. These villages resembled concentration camps with barbed wire fences and armed soldiers, and the predominately female village populations remained uncooperative. Lady Templer imagined Girl Guides as a vehicle to help defeat Communism, the task that Britain had sent her husband, Gerald Templer, to Malaya to achieve. With her husband’s support and resources Lady Templer used Girl Guides to overcome the resistance and recruit elite Malayan and white women to villages as Guiders.
Historians usually credit Gerald Templer for initiating the political and military innovations that led to the rise of a multiracial Alliance party in 1954, independence in 1957, and the defeat of the Communists in 1960.\textsuperscript{437} However, Templer needed the cooperation of all racial communities in Malaya to defeat the Communist guerillas and create an independent coalition government without the racial violence of Indian independence. As he attempted to do this through traditional counterinsurgency tactics, he informally placed his wife in charge of the welfare of Malayans. Lady Templer enthusiastically took on this responsibility and promoted his policies through education and health care provisions for the colonized.\textsuperscript{438} Few historians acknowledge that Lady Templer carried out her husband’s ‘Hearts and Minds campaign’ among women and girls of the New Villages and settled communities or that she changed Malayan Girl Guiding from an imperial movement to a national, though neo-colonial, one.\textsuperscript{439}

As Lady Templer took a hands-on role in Guiding, she quickly found that the Malayan Chinese women whom the British government had forced to live in the Villages cared little for politics. They had supported the Communists because they had delivered material improvements during and immediately after Japanese occupation when the British had abandoned Malaya.\textsuperscript{440} Among settled Chinese and Malay communities, she discovered a similar sense of political apathy. They disapproved of Communism but cared little about political reforms of greater self-governance her husband promised. Templer saw that they wanted more tangible improvements than independence – better medical services, improved living conditions, and protection. From her initial work with Guiders and Guides, she believed that if given access to health services and educational and economic opportunities, women and girls in the roles as mothers, teachers, nurses, and housewives would serve as essential actors in the war against Communism and the
creation of a new Malayan state that granted all racial groups equal citizenship and maintained close ties to Britain.\textsuperscript{441}

Guiding provided citizenship training in the non-threatening form of craft projects, first-aid demonstrations, camping, and physical-fitness training. “Guide work in the new villages,” Lady Templer explained to an audience of Village women “is of very great importance to the future of these villages and the future of the country, which is in your hands.”\textsuperscript{442} To implement the same sort of training to adult women, whom she believed ruled conservative Malay families, she promoted the Women Institute movement in the New Villages. There, grandmothers and mothers learned citizenship skills that their daughters learned in Guiding that ranged from parliamentary procedures to smocking a dress.\textsuperscript{443}

Lady Templer recruited teachers, Red Cross nurses, and middle-class women to the New Villages not only to provide the residents with education and health services, but also to exemplify nationalist maternalism at work. Many of these teachers and nurses previously had led Guiding companies of Asian girls and enthusiastically took on the extra responsibilities of implementing Guiding in the Villages. They began to train Chinese women as Guiders and encouraged them to form their own companies among the resettled children.\textsuperscript{444} Lady Templer ensured that these new companies had all the material perks of Guiding: new uniforms, pins, badges, and trips.\textsuperscript{445} She also convinced her husband of the benefits Scouting offered to both girls and boys of the New Villages. By June 1952, he had embraced the program publicly and attended the annual general meeting of the Boy Scouts of Malaya to encourage them to do what his wife had with Guiding in the New Villages.\textsuperscript{446}

Soon organizations of colonized women began to contribute to Templer’s project to bring Guiding to the New Villages. The Malayan Chinese Association became among Templer’s most
active supporters as many middle-class Chinese Malayan women felt stigmatized by their shared ancestry with the guerrilla Communists in Malaya and the People's Republic of China. They wanted to assert their loyalty to Malaya and teach the uneducated villagers the benefits of modernity. It recruited young urban Malayan Chinese women from schools, Guide companies, and churches to pilot companies in nearby New Villages. These women introduced marketable craft projects, physical education, and team sports like basketball and badminton. They helped construct sports fields. Most importantly, they began to help Village girls imagine a national community that included all Malayans rather than only Malays.

Lady Templer not only initiated Guiding in the New Villages but also convinced the predominately white-officer corps of the Malayan Guide Association to understand Guiding as a means to unite the disparate racial factions of Malaya and prepare women and girls for the responsibilities that a pro-British independence would demand. She wanted Guiding to become a Malayan movement run by Malayan women from all ethnic groups. Some white Guiders enthusiastically adopted this idea of Malayan nationalism. They began to recruit and cooperate with colonized Guiders and attempted to integrate aspects of Malayan culture like Indian and Malay dances and Chinese and Indian songs into their Guiding repertoire. They also attempted to introduce their Guides to democratic practices such as voting and compromise. Many Western Guiders, however, remained ardent imperialist. They saw the late onset of the nationalist movement among the Asian population and its limited demands as evidence that British rule worked and should continue.

Because many colonized Guiders with Western educations became prominent political activists, middle-class Malayans and Westerners colonizers began to identify Guiding as an expression of Malayan patriotism rather than British loyalism. Political organizations began fund-
Women in the Malayan royal families also took on more active roles in the Association working with all Guides and Guiders rather than just those from the Malay elite. Their public appearances at multiethnic camps and nonsectarian nationalism convinced non-Malay Malayans to identify with the royal family. Lastly, Guides served a visible role in the independence process. They were the manpower for the increasing number of local elections the years leading to independence and led the way in identifying Communist oriented youth activities, which the government had banned as incompatible with the pro-British independence it wanted to create. Western observers, both those within Guiding and outside, cited the multietnic nature of Girl Guiding to assert optimistically that Malaya promised to become a plural, peaceful, independent nation committed to free market values. When a WAGGGS official visited Malaya in 1955, she noted that Girl Guiding had become a symbol of multiracial nationalism. She observed, “It as one of the important influences which is helping to build a truly multiracial community.”

By the time Lady Templer left in 1956, a full two years after her husband departed, Guiding had become one of the only multiracial organizations that would survive independence. Templer’s exceptional level of involvement in the welfare of the Malayan people helped undermine Communist propaganda and promote British colonialism as a beneficent force committed to Malayan independence. As Chief of the Malayan Girl Guide Association, she actively recruited Malayan leaders and emphasized Guiding as an expression of multiracial nationalism. Her successor, Margaret Heath, saw Lady’s Templer’s hopes come to fruition. Upon Heath’s departure, Tunku Kurshiah, the consort of Malaya’s first Head of State presented a silver tea set Heath as a gesture to show the gratitude Malaya felt for the service of the many British women who had volunteered as Guiders and officers. Then she announced Lakshimi Navaratnam as the
first Asian Girl Guide Commissioner. As the Malayan government embraced a more exclusive Malay nationalism in the years following independence, Navaratnam kept the movement focused on multiethnic nationalism until she retired in 1973.\textsuperscript{457}

**Nigeria**

In Nigeria, one colonized woman, Oyinkan Abayomi, directed the movement to embrace a nationalism free of ethnic animosities and anti-British sentiment. The rhetoric of equality and maternal nationalism that Abayomi popularized among Guiders in the fifties never percolated past the girls and women outside the educated southern elite. Unlike the movements of India, Pakistan, and Malaya where white women at the national and international levels came to support the nationalist Guiding program as the apolitical multiracial national spirit they approved of, the Nigerian movement remained marginalized within WAGGGS and never attained the loyal support of white Guiders.

When compared to the development of Guiding in other British African colonies, the Girl Guide Association of Nigeria adopted inclusive policies that initially strove to integrate the colonized fully into the movement as equal members. Because the colonial government demanded that the white children of colonial government officials leave Nigeria (ideally before birth), the organization targeted their efforts towards colonized girls. Unlike South Africa and Rhodesia that developed a watered-down Christian scouting program for colonized girls, the Nigerian Association desired that colonized girls wear the same uniform as their metropolitan counterparts and work toward the same badges. This contrast underscores that settler colonies like South Africa, Rhodesia, and Australia encouraged a racialized conception of imperial citizenship that excluded the colonized. In contrast, colonies based on exploitation and franchise like Malaya, India, and Nigeria used an inclusive ideal of imperial citizenship to maintain the consent of the
colonized. Thus, the first Nigerian Guiding Association created in 1924 invited one colonized Guider, Abayomi to serve on the Central Nigerian Executive Committee to signal to colonized elites their cosmopolitan views of Empire.458

Lady Oyinkan Abayomi, an elite Western-educated Lagosian, changed Nigerian Guiding from a movement led primarily by white women who sought to create loyal African daughters of the Empire to one that promoted Nigerian nationalism that included girls from all regions and religious traditions. She came from a prominent Christian, Yoruba middle-class family that firmly believed in education for boys and girls. Her parents sent Abayomi to a boarding school in England, followed by two years at the Royal Academy of London. While in England, Abayomi joined a company of Girl Guides.459 When she returned home, Abayomi became a teacher at her alma mater, the Anglican Girls’ School, and a Guider.460 She served as the only colonized member of the executive committee in the twenties and was the driving force behind the expansion of Guiding to younger girls and those outside of the Western-educated elite. She started Cadet Companies intended to train the older Guides as leaders.461 When the colonial government began to support Boy Scouts, she organized a letter writing campaign and large Guide rallies at the Governor’s house to lobby for funding successfully.462

To the white women Abayomi worked with, she demonstrated that African women could escape “their own backward culture” and become valuable members of the imperial community.463 During the twenties, white leaders and Abayomi agreed that Guiding provided African girls with the skills required to fulfill the responsibilities of imperial citizenship. White leaders, who often spent only a couple of years in Nigeria, depended on Abayomi’s connections to African elites and benefited from her familiarity with the social service network in Lagos. In turn,
Abayomi drew on this white network of patronage first to advance her career as a teacher and then to gain power within the Guide Association.\textsuperscript{464}

As Guiding expanded and calls for independence became more vocal, the Association’s policies became more conservative. In 1931 the Association agreed that only white women could become official Guiders “except in rare cases.”\textsuperscript{465} The small white officer corps in Lagos feared that young village school teachers, in some cases as young as ten years old, who started Guide companies with no white supervision might teach elements of the Guiding program such as the Fourth Law, “A Guide is a Friend to all, and a Sister to every other Guide” in ways that undermined the color bar or promoted an anti-imperial agenda.\textsuperscript{466} Abayomi, the only colonized woman involved in the governance of Nigerian Guiding, lacked the power Indian Guiders attained through their numbers and the existence of the Seva Samiti Guides. She faced far more virulent racism than her Malayan counterparts. Lastly, she may have agreed with her colleagues. Until her second marriage and loss of power within the Guiding Association, Abayomi supported British imperialism.\textsuperscript{467} Even when white women attempted to set up training schools to teach colonized women how to be Guiders, national officers remained wary and discouraged such efforts.\textsuperscript{468} Nonetheless, in comparison to Guide associations in the African settler colonies, Kenya, Rwanda, and South Africa, who prohibited all colonized membership until the late thirties and forties, Nigeria’s movement continued to represent a more inclusive understanding of Guiding within British Africa.\textsuperscript{469}

Various factors converged in Abayomi’s life in the thirties that led her to question her confidence in British rule and the future of Nigerian women in the Empire. White women considered Abayomi to be “a rare case” and allowed her to continue her work as a Guider. She participated in the first Guide camp in 1938 and took advantage of the positive media coverage that
the camp generated to successfully lobby the government for additional funds. With the advent of World War II, Abayomi encouraged her companies of Guides to organize various fundraisers to raise money and supplies for the War. However, the Association’s discriminatory policies impeded many of the initiatives Abayomi had initiated in the late twenties. The Cadets she had trained as Guiders could not formally start companies, and many of the companies she had helped start lost their official membership and funding as the Association did not consider the colonized leaders in charge adequate. With her second marriage in 1934 to Dr. Kofoworola Abayomi, one of the leaders of the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), a moderate multiethnic nationalist movement, she became more political. She joined the ladies section of the NYM and began to press Western-educated colonized women to work with women outside the educated elite to form a multiethnic national Nigerian women’s movement that would overcome tribal, religious, and regional divisions and promote Nigerian rule.

In 1944, frustrated with the disregard NYM showed toward the interests of women and the lack of power she held in the Guiding Association, Abayomi started the Nigerian Women’s Party (NWP) as an inclusive political party for colonized women of all classes that focused on four issues: “(1) girls’ education and literacy classes for adult women; (2) employment of women in the civil service; (3) the right of female minors to trade freely in Lagos; (4) the protection of market women’s rights.” The party never expanded beyond Lagos as Abayomi had hoped; still, it worked to get elected as the Councilor to Lagos City Council, where she served for seven years, created a temporary alliance between elite and ordinary women, and popularized the idea that women should have the right to run for local office and vote in municipal elections. It also engaged in numerous service projects with other women’s organizations including Girl Guides. Folarin Coker argues that during this period Abayomi reshaped Guiding into “the junior nation-
alist feminist movement” a pipeline that prepared girls for leadership roles within women’s nationalist organizations like her own NYM.473

When the colonial government shifted its policies in 1948 to prepare Nigerians for de-colonization, the white officer corps of the Guiding Association had to adjust its policies to allow greater Nigerian leadership. They appointed Abayomi as Deputy Commissioner of the Nigerian Girl Guides Association in 1949 and then as Chief Commissioner 1951. Up until Abayomi assumed leadership, white women had resisted any changes to the original program. This meant that girls had to be fairly proficient in English just to enroll and many of the skills they learned, like English folk dancing and how to fold a Union Jack, further separated them from other colonized girls.474 When Abayomi took over the movement, nearly all official Guides came from the most elite southern Nigerian families and most Guiders were white. She dedicated the rest of her life to change this.

Within her first year as Deputy Commissioner, Abayomi collaborated with other officers to draft a new constitution that encouraged Nigerian leadership and open the first Nigerian Headquarters complete with a Guide Shop that offered test cards in most of the predominant languages of Nigeria.475 She strove for international recognition and support for the Nigerian movement. In order to ensure Nigeria would be accepted as member of WAGGGS upon independence, Abayomi traveled to the Imperial Headquarters in England to recruit British Guiding Trainers to Nigeria, who would ensure Nigerian Guiders upheld the standards of movement to the extent that WAGGGS required and arranged for Guides to attend training at Foxlease, the Guiding Center of England. She organized international travel for Girl Guide companies as she believed Nigerian Guiding would benefit not only from a closer relationship with the metropole but also with non-Western countries like Japan and India who had successfully overcome West-
ern imperialism. She hoped that the international reputation Nigerian Guides gained through international travel would insure WAGGGS granted Nigeria its own delegation to World Conferences.476

As regionally-based political parties emerged in the fifties replacing the multiethnic nationalist associations of the thirties and forties and bringing the multiple women’s parties that had emerged in the forties like Abayomi’s NYM into their folds, Abayomi focused nearly all the resources of the Guiding Association on promoting a sense of multiethnic nationalism among Guiders and Guides based on their roles as mothers and wives. She believed it was up to the Girl Guides not only “to make the homes of our country happy, clean, and bright,” but also to introduce sports and competition to Nigerian girls of all classes and religions. With the help of other women’s organizations, Abayomi carried out a census of all the Guides in Nigeria to better target underserved areas and populations. To expand the movement in the Northern Region, the most underserved region because of the colonial governments’ haphazard approach to girls’ education, she facilitated the organization of companies of Cadets at each Women’s Teacher Training Centre and recruited national officers from Northern Nigeria.477

Additionally, she encouraged all colonized and white Guides to use their Guiding activities to promote sanitation, modern methods of childcare, and Western sports among less privileged women and girls. Shortly before Nigerian independence, she started to distribute a Guiding magazine, Look Wide, which two white Guides in Northern Nigerian had started, to all Guiders and older Guides in Nigeria free of charge to promote a sense of unity among Nigerian Guides. Under her leadership, the Nigeria Association gathered tape recordings of various local song and games throughout Nigeria so that girls of different ethnicities could began gaining a
sense of a united Nigerian culture that was greater than the Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba culture they lived in.  

Despite Abayomi’s efforts, predominately Western-educated Yoruba women dominated the officer corps. The united national front that Nigeria Guides represented in celebrations of Independence on October 1, 1960 proved ephemeral. The one Northern Nigerian Guider who remained active at the national and international level, Margaret Lowe, a Western-educated Christian failed to represent adequately the interests of the predominately Muslim Guiders of Northern Nigeria. Once General Gowon, a Christian Northerner who took control of the government in 1966 and ruled until he was overthrown in 1975, became a prominent supporter of the movement making appearances at camps and rallies, most Northern Muslims lost faith in the movement. Even with the loss of many of its Muslim members, a civil war, and a secession of military coups after independence, the official Nigerian movement publicly has remained committed to its vision of Nigerian citizenship and committed to the government.

Australia

In Australia, Guiding remained inimical to any manifestation of Aboriginal nationalism. The idea of a pan Aboriginal sovereign community violated the foundational myths of the imperial identity of white Australians held dear: Western superiority, terra nullius (until 1992), and teleological timelines of progress. Most White Guiders of Aboriginal girls viewed the potential of each Aboriginal Guide according to the racial status the government and society had assigned them. The whiter the Guide looked and acted, the closer she was to the attainment of the rights and responsibilities of imperial citizenship figuratively and legally. Until a constitutional referendum in 1967 that granted the federal government the right to control Aboriginal affairs, state governments continued to take lighter-skinned Aboriginal children away from their parents, of-
ten through methods that historian Patrick Wolfe argues, “increasingly took the form of child abduction,” to be raised in state-funded institutions. Aboriginal children who grew up with their families lived in “fringe camps” on the outskirts of country towns with limited access to public facilities such as schools, restaurants, hotels, etc. To gain the rights of a probationary citizenship, which included the right to care for their children, marry without the approval of the Chief Protector of Aborigines, handle their own wages, vote, and drink alcohol, Aborigines had break off all ties with the Aboriginal community.⁴⁸³

Most white Australians had no contact with Aboriginal Australia and the very suggestions that Aborigines had the right to equal citizenship or self-government provoked far more acrimony among colonizers than the nationalist movements of Malaya, India, and Nigeria.⁴⁸⁴ The League of Nations did not recognize the right of Aboriginal peoples to self-rule, despite the numerous petitions Australian Aborigines, Maori, and native Canadians submitted during the interwar period. The UN only passed its nonbinding Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007. In the middle of the twentieth century, most of white Australia, including much of the academic community, opposed the social integration of Aborigines into Western society, and many still predicted their extinction through intermarriage and assimilation.⁴⁸⁵ Taken in context, white Guiders who believed that with hard work and time their Guides could become imperial citizens with the rights to raise their children, vote, and participate in service organizations, were among the most radical white Aboriginal activists until the late 1960s.⁴⁸⁶

Unlike Nigeria and India, no Australian Guiders emerged to push the white led Guiding movement to embrace a more multiethnic nationalist vision of citizenship. Australia and the Guiding Association in particular remained committed to an ideal of imperial citizenship rooted in their Anglo-Celtic British identity. When the government a introduced a law to define a dis-
tinct Australian citizenship in 1948, the Minister for Immigration reassured the parliament and the public that it was not intended “to make an Australian any less a British subject,” but only to establish stringent conditions for the naturalization of non-European immigrants. Historian Neville Meaney argues that until the seventies, “Britishness was probably stronger in Australia than Britain itself.” The Australian government and Guiding Association both spoke of an inclusive citizenship that included all Aborigines who abandoned primitive lifestyles. In practice, however, both excluded Aboriginal women no matter their mastery of Western cultural norms.

Social, economic, and political forces marginalized Aboriginal women from voluntary organizations like Girl Guiding. The state’s policies of forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their mothers, providing Aboriginal children only the most basic education in segregated schools, and denying nearly all Aborigines citizenship rights compounded with the forces of racism, poverty, alcoholism, and domestic violence to alienate most Aboriginal women from the movement. Even when Aboriginal women overcame such challenges and started Guiding companies, white officers, like those in Nigeria, typically labeled them as subversive and attempted to close them or place them under white supervision. Before the National Association specified that it allowed Aboriginal women to lead companies independently in 1957, I have found evidence of only four official Aboriginal Guiders. These Guiders worked closely with white officers.

Furthermore, most Aboriginal Guides identified Guiding with the “white world” that never accepted them despite its efforts to assimilate them into it as inferiors. Though they may have enjoyed it when imprisoned in Aboriginal settlements away from their families, they had no desire to perpetuate the practice among the next generations of Aboriginal girls. Myrtle Cordella, an Aboriginal Guide who lived at the Moore River Settlement, a place where authorities
demanded silence at all meals, punished children severely for minor infractions, and demanded that girls spend the majority of their days engaged in menial tasks like sewing and food preparation, loved Guiding “because it was something different.” At their meetings Cordella and her fellow Guides at the Settlement sang, practiced tying knots, and took hikes as long as 13 kilometers.\textsuperscript{495} Years later, when her Guider, Eileen Heath, offered Cordella a position as a matron at a boarding house for Aboriginal children where she would have her own company of Guides, Cordella dismissed the invitation and chose to marry and return to the region of Kalgoorlie, her original home. Like many Aboriginal women, she not only rejected Guiding as a means to teach young girls Aboriginal nationalism, but also the very concept of nationalism as white concept that obscured the diversity of Aboriginal peoples and promoted individualism alien to Aboriginal identity. Instead, she focused on her reviving the traditions and lifestyle of her clan.\textsuperscript{496}

Overt racism made life unbearable for some of the Aboriginal women who attempted to assimilate to the white world as imperial citizens. When one of Heath’s Guides, Kath Jones, returned to Moore River to work as a teacher and Guider, white staff members segregated her at meal times and other staff activities and foisted their own responsibilities onto her. Eventually, after she was sexually assaulted, Jones left, moving on to marry and raise her own children.\textsuperscript{497} When interviewed, most former Aboriginal Guides experienced the same disappointment and determined cultural pride that Jones did if they tried to enter into white society. As one former explained, “Although I was integrated into the white world, I was still an Aboriginal person and I was not permitted to forget it and nor did I want to forget it. I was not allowed to forget that I was (in white minds) inferior to white people.”\textsuperscript{498} No matter the extent that an Aboriginal Guide assimilated, the Australian conception of a white Anglo-Celtic imperial citizenship made it impossible for her ever to achieve.\textsuperscript{499}
Because Australia was a settler colony that prided itself on its white Britishness, most Guiding officers and Guiders never considered that Aboriginal girls and women might contribute to the movement or to the nation as members until the late fifties. The foundation of The Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement (FCAA), the first national organization for Aboriginal activists, in 1958 and the rise of Aboriginal activism in the 1960s encouraged the National Association to begin to purposefully incorporate Aborigines into the movement, at least as Guides. For example, in 1959 the Queensland Guide Association developed a yearlong training program based in Papua, which was essentially a colony of Australia, to prepare white Guiders to work with Aboriginal women and children in Australia. Such efforts intensified to little avail when the new ideal of a multicultural Australia emerged in the seventies, and the government granted self-management to Aboriginal communities, a policy that allowed Aborigines to manage projects and funds that the federal government mandated and allocated.

In Australia, a white-settler colony founded on the premise of *terra nullius*, the Guiding movement remained a force of maternal imperialism. White Guiders effectively suppressed any conceptions that Guiding could be a force for something other than British femininity. Because few Aboriginal women became involved in the Guiding movement and missions and boarding schools gradually shut down throughout the sixties and seventies, evidence available suggests that the number of Aboriginal girls involved in Guiding decreased. In “Good, Upright Young Citizens: Lived Experiences of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides in Australia,” Julia Messner, an Australian scholar, concludes that as of 2004, “Aboriginal people remain largely absent from the movement.”

**Conclusion**
The Guiding program that originated in Britain provided citizenship training to international community of women and girls. Throughout the interwar and postwar periods the metropole continued to rhetorically stress an international ideal led by Western middle-class women. Most white Guiders in the colonies imagined this international community as the Empire and wanted to train their Guides to actively take part. Some white Guiders and many colonized Guiders came to understand the movement as the ideal platform to teach children to imagine belonging to a large multiethnic national community.

White and colonized Guiders in India first demanded that Guiding acknowledge an Indian nation apart from the Empire in the teens. Because Indian and whites started their own Indian scouting movements, when Girl Guides prohibited Indian membership, and the All-India Girl Guides Association had woo them to join the international movement, they began to nationalize the movement in the twenties—translating literature, altering uniforms, changing badges, and bringing the movement to illiterate villagers. The early role of Indian officers set in place policies that encouraged non-elite women to adopt the Guiding movement.

In Malaya and Nigeria, Lady Templer in Malaya and Lady Oyinkan Abayomi imposed the nationalist agenda on the movement in the early fifties. They looked to the Pakistani and Indian movements as models of how Guiding could be used to promote multiracial nationality that extended beyond the English-speaking elite. At independence celebrations in 1957 and 1960 respectively, Guides proudly performed their newly invested national pride. Both movements, nonetheless, struggled to expand outside the elite.

When compared together the successful evolution of the Guiding movements in Nigeria, India, and Malaya from an imperial to a national identity suggests that maternalism, the foundation of the movement, is a malleable feminism that can take on multiple national identities. Be-
Because men and women across many cultures, time periods, and age groups identify the relationship between mother and child as a form of compassionate guidance, white colonial Guiders, Western leaders of WAGGGS, and nationalist Guiders in many contexts based their imaginings of feminine citizenship to an imagined community on maternalism. The failure of the Guiding movement in Australia to recognize Aboriginal nationalism demonstrates the limitations of this flexibility. During the first half of the century, Australia attempted to replace Aboriginal experiences of motherhood as either mothers or children with an institutionalized interpretation of white motherhood. Thus, many Aboriginal girls and women even when they had positive experiences in Guiding, identified maternalism with the colonizers’ efforts to eliminate their culture and origins.

The maternal message of Guiding fused into the multiracial secular nationalisms that women in Malaya, India, Nigeria, and Pakistan wanted to promote because colonized women had access to modern models of physical and metaphorical motherhood in the colonized community. To Aboriginal women and white Guiders of Aboriginal girls, Guiding offered an imperial citizenship that demanded Aborigines to replace their culture with normative white middle-class values and traditions. Such sacrifices rarely led to the acceptance and cooperation that white Guiders had promised their Aboriginal charges. Because Aboriginal women and girls lacked modern models of metaphorical and physical motherhood among Aborigines and white Australians remained committed to a British identity, the Australian Guiding movement remains a maternalism that is closed off to most Aboriginal Guides.


336 “Africa’s Problems,” *Ebony* 24, no. 9 (1969):116-128; Tammy Proctor, *Scouting for Girls: A Century of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009), 138. In many colonies the women who attempted to offer colonized girls membership in an imagined community through Guiding never abandoned the ideal of imperial citizenship. Consequently, when some colonies attained independence the movement nearly disappeared. For example, Guiding nearly disappeared in Malawi upon independence in 1964 and international rumor speculated that the government had banned the organization. Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, President of Malawi 1964-1994, clarified "Boy Scouts and Girl Guides were not banned. They are essentially for whites. They drink tea and parade and produce nothing. The only organizations for youth are the Young Pioneers and the League of Malawi Youth, a young army trained to develop the country.


340 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 360; Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*,44; Derné, “Men’s Sexuality and Women’s Subordination in Indian Nationalisms,” 238-258; Cynthia Enloe explains that national movements have “typically sprung up from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope.”


World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, Trefoil Around the World (The World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, 1999), 15, 146; Kitty Barne, Here Come the Girl Guides (London: Girl Guides Association, 1946), 24-25, 32. Agnes Baden-Powell sought to pacify fears of conservative mothers who perceived Girl Guides as the gateway to “either the ‘shrieking sisterhood’ who demanded the right to vote, or the less vociferous but even persistent band now storming the professions sacred to man.”

Jabalpur is nearly 500 kilometers north of Lucknow.


Watt, “The Girl Guide Movement in India,” 121. Mazumdar credits Dr. G. S. Arundale as well as Besant with the establishment of an Indian Boy Scout Association. Watt confirms that Arundale, the principal of the Central Hindu College, agreed with the principals of scouting, but did not connect him to any scouting organization.


cultured and broadminded women represented the most enlightened Indian opinion in Bengal.” Ghosel, Bose, Roy, and Hossein came from prominent Indian families and their husbands held important government positions or university professorships. Their upper-middle class background enabled them to dedicate their lives to the social reform.


Daniel Gorman, Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2006), 19.


See Trefoil Round the World (1999); Kerr, The Story of a Million Girls, 28, 222-228; Barne, Here Come the Girl Guides, 30-32, 50-51, 88-89. Kerr describes imperial citizenship: "The term "British Guides" is a wide one and includes girls of many different countries and types. They speak many different languages, but they all make the same Promise, and follow the rules of the Guide game as laid down by British Imperial Headquarters.'


Tagore and Ray, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1260, 1922; Elmhirst, *Rabindranath Tagore*, 3, 15. Tagore explained his actions to a Pioneer Commune near Moscow: “I do not believe in the Boy Scouts’ or Girl Guides’ organizations because they have to take all kinds of oaths, and then, as they say, there amongst those organizations some wrong notions of the military kind.”


Bluebird work is only the beginning, and we hope many of the children will pass on to be Guides. But in India, due to early marriage and connected other customs, all will never have that privilege, so while we can let us train the Indian child (who will so soon have the responsibility of wifehood and motherhood thrust upon her) in character and intelligence, skill and handicraft, physical health and development, and service for others.

Because so many Guides left at the ages of 12 or 13, Guiders adjusted requirements to focus on skills that Indian Guides would need as married Indian women. For example, to become a Second Class Guide, Indian Guides had to pass the Child Nurse test even though the original program had demanded a Morse Code Test.

Guiders insisted on the greatest diversity of uniform styles for Bluebirds, the youngest Guides of India, Uniform varied to reflect not only each girl’s religious community, but also her parents’ expectations. Phyllis Barlee, an Eagle Owl or leader of a Bluebird flock, described, “You will find Moslem Bluebirds in blue trousers and white shirts and blue waistcoats; little Hindu girls in blue skirts to their ankles, tight white jackets, their hair done in tight nobs at the back and oiled till it is like a mirror. Parsi Bluebirds in khaki or blue overalls and solar topees, or less orthodox-looking little pill box hats covered with gold and colored embroidery. Some Bluebirds wear jackets and saris exactly like their mothers, and wear them with great dignity.”

In her studies of Guiding in interwar Britain, Proctor has found that uniforms often induced girls to join Guiding. In her studies of Guiding in interwar Britain, Proctor has found that uniforms often induced girls to join Guiding.

Pushpam S. John, “Camping in India,” The Council Fire 6, no. 3 (July 1931):42.


Watt, Serving the Nation, 103, 184-187.

Watt, Serving the Nation, 157.


Watt, Serving the Nation, 127, footnote 106. Though the Seva Samiti Guides, which in the late thirties became the Hindustan Guides, remained unaffiliated with the official Guide movement until Indian independence, they also imagined a national specifically Hindu community.


“Polish Children in India,” The Council Fire 37, no. 4 (October 1942): 61.

WAGGGS, Twelfth Biennial Report, 36-37.

of public service.”

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From its inception, the Pakistan Guide Association purposefully sought to overcome divisions between

East and West Pakistan with similar badges and uniforms, trips, exchanges, and propaganda. In 1953, twenty-one

East Pakistan Girl Guides visited West Pakistan for a month representing “the first time since the Partition (1947) that a women’s organization had sent a goodwill delegation from on wing of Pakistan to the other.” One of the East Pakistan Commissioners explained the importance of visit: “We have been able to clear many of the misconceptions of the people of these provinces regarding East Pakistan.” In 1956, the Pakistan government funded the expenses for West PakistanGuiders to attend the Annual General Meeting in Dacca, East Pakistan. The All-Pakistan Rally Jinnah

had originally conceived of in 1952, finally occurred in October of 1959 in Lahore. Khalida Bashir, an attendee de-

scribed, “One thousand Guides and Commissioners from every corner of Pakistan arrived in Lahore by train, bus

and aeroplane.” The Rally included handicraft exhibits that emphasized the benefits of diversity and e-

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nation. In 1957, The Association created a Centenary Badge that required Guides in urban areas to teach an adult how to read (the

adult also earned a literacy certificate) and in rural areas to go into one home and give the family a very detailed

health lesson. In order to prepare Guides and Guiders for such a challenging task, the Pakistan Guide Association

offered three training courses on adult literacy and basic public health in Karachi and Lahore. Speakers at the
classes included representatives from the Village Aid Institutes, College of Home Economics, Nurses’ Institute, and

American Women’s Club. UNESCO Department of Fundamental Education donated reading materials appropriate

for adults. Throughout 1957, Guides and Guiders opened literacy centers in many towns, which not only helped

women learn read to but also offered classes in home management. Other Guides went door-to-door offering to help

women learn to read. According to Pakistan Guide Association, 1,200 Guides and Bluebirds earned a Centenary

badge. These Guides taught over 1000 adults to read. Many of the literacy centers remained open for years. Such

projects integrated women and children traditionally marginalized from the “imagined community” of the nation.

Some of the modernization projects taken on by Pakistani Girl Guides provoked considerable controversy. In the late fifties, Guides in East Pakistan volunteered to help the Public Health Authorities vaccinate and inoculate against smallpox and cholera. A report in The Council Fire described the hesitance of the community to accept young girls acting as nurses: “Some of the Guide leaders had doubts to the wisdom of allowing young girls to take part in the work; outside people thought the Guides too young and irresponsible to do so; while the parents were utterly opposed to the plan. ‘Our daughters will need police protection if they are not to be molested’, they said, ‘and may also pick up some dangerous disease.”’ The Provincial Secretary, Begum Akhtar Teherani, persuaded par-

ents. At the end of the campaign in January 1959, the Guides had inoculated 200,000 people, many women in pur-
dah who would only allow women to vaccinate them. Provincial Public Health Advisor formally thanked Begum

and declared, “An example has been set and a trail marked out that will encourage other women to enter such fields

of public service.”

414 Leslie E. Whatley, “The Director’s Travels,” The Council Fire 28, no. 2 (April 1953): 37;
415 “Social Service in Pakistan,” The Council Fire 34, no. 4 (October 1959): 143-144.
416 Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Report of the Secondary Education Commission, October, 1952-June 1953, 104; Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in The Invention of Tradition edited by E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14; WAGGGS, Eleventh Biennial Report, 1949-1950, 40; WAGGGS, Thirteenth Biennial Report, 1952-54, 75. Politicians in India attended nearly all-national Guiding gatherings, where they would pose for pictures and present inspirational speeches. At the All-India General Council Meeting of 1950, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of India, posed in a group shot of the Indian leadership of Guides that newspapers across the nation featured. In 1952, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, attended the Scouters’ and Guiders’ Conference in Delhi and spoke of the importance Scouting would play in India’s future. Prime Minister Nehru continued to appear at all of the Guides major rallies, camps, and conferences as well as events they held together throughout the fifties.
From its inception, the Pakistan Guide Association purposefully sought to overcome divisions between East and West Pakistan with similar badges and uniforms, trips, exchanges, and propaganda. In 1953, twenty-one East Pakistan Girl Guides visited West Pakistan for a month representing “the first time since the Partition (1947) that a women’s organization had sent a goodwill delegation from on wing of Pakistan to the other.” One of the East Pakistan Commissioners explained the importance of visit: “We have been able to clear many of the misconceptions of the people of these provinces regarding East Pakistan.” In 1956, the Pakistan government funded the expenses for West Pakistan Guiders to attend the Annual General Meeting in Dacca, East Pakistan. The All-Pakistan Rally Jinnah had originally conceived of in 1952, finally occurred in October of 1959 in Lahore. Khalida Bashir, an attendee de-

scribed, “One thousand Guides and Commissioners from every corner of Pakistan arrived in Lahore by train, bus

and aeroplane.” The Rally included handicraft exhibits that emphasized the benefits of diversity and encouraged participants to have pride in the cultural heritage of both East and West Pakistan. A Guider observed, “Exhibits showed the richness and variety that exists in this field in our country.”

During the fifties and early sixties, Pakistani Girl Guides became ambassadors of modernization. In 1957, The Association created a Centenary Badge that required Guides in urban areas to teach an adult how to read (the

adult also earned a literacy certificate) and in rural areas to go into one home and give the family a very detailed

health lesson. In order to prepare Guides and Guiders for such a challenging task, the Pakistan Guide Association

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fourth part. The Association organized numerous regional camps where for two weeks, large groups of Guides would live in tents at state campgrounds and volunteer at local villages, teaching women and children first aid, knitting, sewing, and crochet work, hygiene, and music and games. At the end, Guides concluded with a camp fire to which they invited all the villagers. The Indian Planning Commission concluded, “These camps inculcated among the youth a sense of dignity of labour and discipline. They served to bridge the gulf between the classrooms and the outside work, between dwellers in the villages and in towns.”


News and Notes: India,” The Council Fire 21, no. 2 (April 1946): 21; “India,” B.P.: 1857-1957 Supplement to the Council Fire 33, no. 2 (July 1958): 12. For example, shortly after Andhra, a Telugu-speaking state in southeast India merged with the Telugu-speaking sections of the Hyderabad State to form Andhra Pradesh, the Association encouraged each Guide to teach one other person her mother tongue. Officers hoped this would help encourage non-Telugu speakers to become part of the community and bridge divides between Telugu and Urdu speakers.

Helen McSwiney, “Eastern Tour,” The Council Fire 30, no. 3 (July 1955): 91-94. One white Guider, Helen McSwiney, described in the early 1950s, “The Movement [of India and Pakistan] is, undoubtedly, appreciated by those outside it as one of the important influences which is helping to build a truly multi-racial community.”

Proctor, Scouting for Girls, 157-163.


The ‘Woman Question’ in Malayan Periodicals,” Indonesia and the Malay World 38, no. 111 (July 2010): 250-270; Brownfoot, “Sisters Under the Skin,” 63-64; Nazreen Tajul Arif, “Ibu Zain - The Champion for Women,” Virtual Malaysia E-Tourism Portal http://www.virtualmalaysia.com/news/ibu%20zain%20-%20the%20champion%20for%20women.html (accessed March 8, 2012); Sushaini Aznam, “Tan Sri Zainun Sulaiman, A Pioneer for Malay Women in Education and Politics, Spoke Up Bravely for the Independence Cause,” The Star online, Sunday January 28, 2007, News http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2007/1/28/nation/16709039&sec=nation (accessed February 24, 2012); Christine Heward and Sheila S. Bunwaree, Gender, Education, and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment (London: Zed Books, 1999), 158; T. N. Harper, The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 29. The one exception I have found, Ibu Zain, a Malay Guide, encouraged Malays to form their own imagined community that embraced Islamic values but supported the broader interpretation of women’s maternal role to society that included nurturing their own families and the marginalized of the nation. Zain, who saw Guiding as essential part of the education of Malay girl as “its principles were and are in accordance with Islamic teachings,” eagerly helped the Association modify the program to ease the concerns of Muslim parents. She designed a modified uniform for Muslim Guides that was khaki-colored instead of blue and completely covered girls’ arms and legs. She hoped Guiders would stress activities that taught Western hygiene and childcare practices and encouraged companionate marriage among Malay girls. According to Zain, Western ideals of maternity complimented true Islam. Zain urged her Guides “to discard customary practices that are out of date or useless and contradictory to our religion.” During the fifties, Zain like many committed Malay nationalists expanded her conception of the nation to include all Malay people – Chinese, Indian, and European. Zain’s expanded conception of the Malay nation reflected the influence of Lady Templer and the shift she imposed on the Malay Guiding Association.

According to her own account, Zain integrated the Guiding program that emphasized multiethnic nationalism into her political platform as the leader of its women’s branch of the UMNO during the early 1950s, and upon independence, a one-term Member of Parliament. Zain’s vision of girls’ education nearly perfectly matched the nationalism embedded within Baden-Powell’s Guiding Program. She wanted to equip the next generation of Malayan girls with Western concepts of nationalism, domestic science, child-rearing, service to the country, and physical activity but also stress the importance of more traditional feminine virtues: modesty, motherhood, marriage, and morality. In her speeches and writings, she remained a committed advocate for the movement and championed its efforts to educate girls of all races along the lines moden dididik agama dibela (modernity nurtured, religion defended). For her and the Malayan parents and male politicians she enjoined, Girl Guiding demonstrated the ideal way to reform all Malay woman to mix the virtues of tradition with Western innovations in hygiene and education.

Margaret Shennan, Out in the Midday Sun: The British in Malaya, 1880-1960 (London: John Murray, 2000), 325-326, 329; “Penang Gets New YWCA Centre,” The Straits Times, July 8, 1952, 4; “Lady Templer Invites Guides,” The Straits Times, November, 17, 1952, 5; “Members ‘Become ‘Efficient Wives,’’” The Straits Times, May 2, 1952, 10; “Lady Templer: I Intend to Help,” The Straits Times, April 1 1952, 7. Most residents were women. Pearl Cox, a Red Cross worker recalled, “The original idea was that each village would eventually be an ordinary village, but some were so isolated and in such horrible places – like tin tailings where it would be very hard to do anything with the land – that they became a community cut off from everyone else, with barbed wire around them.”
Brian Lapping, End of Empire (London: Granada, 1985), 168-190; Virginia H. Dancz, Women and Party Politics in Peninsular Malaysia (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1987), xvii. In 1954, Malaya’s three major parties reflect the major ethnic groups of Malaya: the UMNO (United Malays National Organization), the MCA (Malaya Chinese Association), and the MIC (Malayan Indian Congress) came together to form the Alliance party, which insured that the elites of Malaya’s largest three ethnic communities would determine the course of independence.
women valued their welfare work through organizations such as the Girl Guides as more important than members of the United Malays National Organization (UMNO). As most English-educated Malay women valued their welfare work through organizations such as the Girl Guides as more important than membership in the UMNO. Wade Markel, who has a Ph.D. in history from Harvard, wrote this as a Lieutenant Colonel of the U.S. Army.

Ho, *Rainbow Round My Shoulder*, 92; Param, *A Guiding Light*, 99-101; Joan Alexander, *Voices and Echoes*, 141-159; Lapping, *End of Empire*, 174-178; Butcher, *The British in Malaya*, 1880-1941, 17; James P. Ongkili, *Nation-building in Malaysia 1946–1974* (Oxford University Press, 1985). Gerald Templer, known for his remark “the answer lies not in pouring more troops into the jungle, but rests in the hearts and minds of the people,” believed that in order to defeat the Communists he had to win over the loyalty of Malayan Chinese, the largest racial group in Malaya. He demanded the improvement of conditions at the New Villages, promised independence, and began to rush Malaya through the steps needed to establish a constitutional, multiracial state.

Markel, “Draining the Swamp,” 36-37; Bayly and Harper, *Forgotten Wars*, 36, 101. During Japanese occupation and the immediate postwar years, many Malayan Chinese women became strong supporters of the Malayan Communist Party [MCP] because the Communists provided what the British could not--rural social services, protection from crime, and promises of a better future of independence and improved working conditions during periods occupation and military administration.

Markel, “Draining the Swamp,” 38-40; Bahasa Melayu, “New Village Complains to Lady Templer,” The Straits Times, 14 August 1952, 7. Guiding allowed Templer to approach disenchanted Village women through their daughters. Already uprooted from their homes, forced to live under surveillance, and forswear Communism, these women did not want further Western incursions into their homes. As their daughters accrued free uniforms and completed short excursions, their mothers began to believe that Lady Templer could improve their lives as well. Women petitioned her to help them improve their communities and working conditions.


Joan Alexander, *Voices and Echoes*, 146, 149


Markel, “Draining the Swamp,” 36-37, 46 Ho, *Rainbow Round My Shoulder*, 125-126 Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya*, 187; The Malayan Chinese Association report claimed that girls obtained “a great kick from this form of service” but worried they lacked “a full appreciation of the voluntary and nonpolitical nature of the movement.”


to political groups and remained on the peripheries of political activities, Zain hoped to use Girl Guides as a new recruiting ground for politically engaged women. According to her own account, Zain integrated the Guiding program into her political platform as the leader of its women’s branch of the UMNO during the early 1950s, and upon independence, a one-term Member of Parliament. Zain’s vision of girls’ education nearly perfectly matched the maternalism embedded within Baden-Powell’s Guiding Program. She wanted to equip the next generation of Malayan girls with Western concepts of nationalism, domestic science, child-rearing, service to the country, and physical activity but also stress the importance of more traditional feminine virtues: modesty, motherhood, marriage, and morality. In her speeches and writings, she remained a committed advocate for the movement and championed it efforts to educate girls of all races along the lines moden dididik agama dibela (modernity nurtured, religion defended). For her and the Malayan parents and male politicians she enjoined, Girl Guiding demonstrated the ideal way to reform all Malayan woman to mix the virtues of tradition with Western innovations in hygiene and education.

Puan Seri Janaki Athinahapan was another well-known Malayan who integrated Guiding into her political activism. She cofounded the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC) in 1947 as a veteran soldier of Rani of Jhansi Regiment, the only women’s regiment of Subhas Chandra Bose’s army. During the fifties and sixties, she served the government in various capacities both elected and appointed. Like Zain, she continued her work with Guiding as a government official. When politics grew more sectarian after independence, she remained committed to the multi-ethnic nation Guiding celebrated.


454 Donald MacGillivray, “Malaya-The New Nation,” International Affairs 34, no. 2 (April 1958): 157-163. Donald MacGillivray, the last British High Commissioner in Malaya, wrote, “Men and women of every community have worked together in State and District War Executive Committees, in Town and Local Councils, and in voluntary organizations such as the Girl Guides, the Boy Scouts, the Red Cross, and the St John Ambulance Brigade. Of course, there will always be different community points of view on many subjects, just as in the same way there will always be different points of view on some subjects between the English and the Scots. But at least there seemed to have developed in Malaya a common Malayan outlook generally on the part of the great majority of the people, and a national consciousness to a degree sufficient to ensure that the people would hold together as a nation.”


458 Helen Callaway, Gender, Culture, and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 183-184; Coker, A Lady, 67; Johnson-Odim, “Lady Oyinkan Abayomi,” 151-153. Until 1924, Nigeria had no official association to supervise Guide companies in Nigeria. In 1923, a group of all white Guiders met and created the Central Nigerian Executive Committee. The Committee decided to invite Abayomi to join it as the only African representative, and she attended the subsequent meetings that led to the development of the Nigerian Guide Association. When Olave Baden-Powell visited Nigeria in 1925, she personally warranted Abayomi as the first Nigerian Guide Captain, which is a certified Guide leader. The white leadership may have invited Abayomi to the initial meeting. If they did, she would not have been able to attend as her first husband, Moronfolu Abayomi, had died just months after they were married that year.

that the whole organ for Nigeria to be visited by the World Association representatives, to decide whether or not Nigeria was ready to be visited.

In "Lady Oyinkan Abayomi," Johnson states 1920; in "Grassroots Organizing," "Anticolonial officials for a government-funded secondary school for the girls of Lagos in the early twenties, officials ignored their requests. Consequently, the organizations set up their own fund and raised over one thousand dollars. Abayomi’s British West African Educated Girls Club raised a significant amount towards Queen’s college that historian Cheryl Johnson argue pushed the government to acquiesce. When the government gave in and created Queen’s College, white teachers felt obligated to include Abayomi in the founding staff. Her career at Queen’s College expanded Abayomi’s network of white patrons. Additionally, she became involved in the predominantly white Young Women’s Christian Association, which further increased her appeal to white elites.

Cheryl Johnson-Odim, “Lady Oyinkan Abayomi,” 153; Coker, A Lady, 62, 107; Johnson, “Grassroots Organizing.” 143. In 1927, Abayomi became the only African woman on the founding staff of Queen’s College, which was the first and only government-funded girls’ secondary school in Nigeria until the 1950s. Originally, when women’s organizations lobbied colonial officials for a government-funded secondary school for the girls of Lagos in the early twenties, officials ignored their requests. Consequently, the organizations set up their own fund and raised over one thousand dollars. Abayomi’s British West African Educated Girls Club raised a significant amount towards Queen’s college that historian Cheryl Johnson argue pushed the government to acquiesce. When the government gave in and created Queen’s College, white teachers felt obligated to include Abayomi in the founding staff. Her career at Queen’s College expanded Abayomi’s network of potential white patrons. Additionally, she became involved in the predominantly white Young Women’s Christian Association, which further increased her appeal to white elites.


Addo: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912), 25

Margery Freda Perham, Africans and British Rule (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1941), 85.

Cheryl Johnson-Odim, “Lady Oyinkan Abayomi,” 153; Coker, A Lady, 62, 107; Johnson, “Grassroots Organizing.” 143. In 1927, Abayomi became the only African woman on the founding staff of Queen’s College, which was the first and only government-funded girls’ secondary school in Nigeria until the 1950s. Originally, when women’s organizations lobbied colonial officials for a government-funded secondary school for the girls of Lagos in the early twenties, officials ignored their requests. Consequently, the organizations set up their own fund and raised over one thousand dollars. Abayomi’s British West African Educated Girls Club raised a significant amount towards Queen’s college that historian Cheryl Johnson argue pushed the government to acquiesce. When the government gave in and created Queen’s College, white teachers felt obligated to include Abayomi in the founding staff. Her career at Queen’s College expanded Abayomi’s network of potential white patrons. Additionally, she became involved in the predominantly white Young Women’s Christian Association, which further increased her appeal to white elites.


Eileen Sandford, Come on, Eileen! (Shrewsbury: Shrewsbury Words, 2010), 37.


Eileen Sandford, Come on, Eileen! (Shrewsbury: Shrewsbury Words, 2010), 37.


practice of exogamy continued. Also, in 1953, the local government of Central Australia, a region within the North-

cence,” 871

2002), 244

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original women who traditionally had exercised a high degree of social and

customs. Thus genocide and oppression led Aborigines to adopt a common identity. Until the sixties, most

“Aboriginal nationalists” sought out imperial citizenship. Since pan-Aboriginal nationalism emerged with the Freedom

Rides and the Black Panther Movement in the sixties and the Tent Embassy in the seventies, men led it.


Alastair Davidson, From Subject to Citizen: Australian Citizenship in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 206; Wolfe, “Land, Labor, and Difference,” 873; Anna Haebich, For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900-1940 (Nedlands, Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1988), 308-310; 354-356; Vera Whittington, Sister Kate: A Life Dedicated to Children in Need of Care (Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1999), 318; A. McGrath and W. Stevenson, “Gender, Race, and Policy,” 44, 47, 50-51. The Australian government, in an effort to impose Western gender roles on Aboriginal women who traditionally had exercised a high degree of social and economic autonomy, legally designated Aboriginal women dependents either of their father, husband, or the state until 1985. This meant that male Aborigines or white government authorities had the right to decide if a woman would gain enfranchisement, which demanded she give up all associations with Aboriginal culture.


Davidson, From Subject to Citizen, 193-197.

Moran, “The Psychodynamics of Australian Settler-Nationalism,” 692-693; Meaney, “Britishness and Australia,” 123-135; Davidson, From Subject to Citizen, 46, 68-70, 189. Even today, politicians across the political spectrum emphasize the Britishness of Australia.

Meaney, “Britishness and Australia,” 121.

Davidson, From Subject to Citizen, 188-289, Wolfe, “Land, Labor, and Difference,” 874.

“Australia,” The Council Fire 28, no. 3 (July 1953) : 92

Annette Roberts, Sister Eileen: A Life with the Lid Off (Bassendean, Western Australia: Access Press, 2002), 244-245; Jennifer Clark, “The Wind of Change” in Australia: Aborigines and the International Politics of Race, 1960-1972,” The International History Review 20, no. 1 (March 1998): 109; Wolfe, “Land, Labor, and Difference,” 871-874; Haebich, Broken Circles, 282-283. The government of Australia defined individuals with less 3.125% of Aboriginal blood as white. Thus, more individuals of Aboriginal descent gained citizenship rights as the practice of exogamy continued. Also, in 1953, the local government of Central Australia, a region within the North-
ern Territory, gave the Aboriginal population full citizenship rights. By 1965, legislative and constitutional changes that insured Aborigines the right to vote in federal and state elections did little to improve the quality of life or legal position of Aboriginal women.

Kerr, *The Story of a Million Girls*, 192-203; WAGGGS, *Fourth Biennial Report, 1934-1936*, 100. Dorothy Hawthorn, the Deputy State Commissioner for the Girl Guides’ Association of Queensland, a state in northeast Australia, successfully petitioned the Department of Aboriginal Affairs to contribute to the Association’s efforts to supervise Guiding among indigenous girls in the Torres Strait Islands and Thursday Island. Hawthorne complained that indigenous women had begun Guide companies on the Torres Strait Islands that failed to conform to the standards of Guiding as set out in the handbooks. Her fears of what the girls might learn from their unsupervised indigenous leaders convinced the government of Queensland to pay for one white Guider to oversee the progress of indigenous Scouts and Guiders on the islands. Hawthorne promised, “It will be an interesting and thrilling adventure to help these native girls become true Guides, Their keenness is pathetic, and with training we shall hope to make them Guides of whom any nation might be proud.”


496 Roberts, *Sister Eileen*, 80, 125; Martinez, “Problematising Aboriginal Nationalism,” 141-145.


498 Rosemary van den Berg, “Black Thoughts on Whiteness: Perspectives from an Aboriginal Woman,” *Journal of the European Association of Studies on Australia* 2, no. 2 (2011): 54-55; Haebich, *Broken Circles*, 286. A former resident of Sister Kate’s Quarter Caste Children’s Home recalled, “One of the greatest travesties … is that they never prepared us for the fact that we would one day have to leave the home and go into the outside world and deal with the fact that we were Aboriginal.”

499 Davidson, *From Subject to Citizen*, 188-198


CONCLUSION

At the Seventeenth World Conference in 1960 in Athens, Helvi Sipila, a prominent Finnish women-rights’ lawyer and WAGGGS officer who trained Guiders internationally, triumphantly observed, “Today millions of men and women in the world see Guiding/Girl Scouting one of the best means by which women in the world can be helped to fulfill their role to become better citizens with equal rights as men, but also remain women, wives and mothers.” The delegates from India, Malaya, and Nigeria enthusiastically agreed with her analysis as they had already begun to build Guiding into a training program tailored to future citizenry of their nations.

It was the first World Conference to which WAGGGS had invited delegates from Nigeria and Malaya. Though neither delegation had the right to vote, their presence encouraged WAGGGS to continue to break down the barriers that disempowered non-Western participants. Moreover, Malayan delegates initiated a meaningful relationship with Western leaders that led WAGGGS to place Malayan women in positions of leadership over regional events in Southeast Asia. Nigerian women continued to seek out greater roles in WAGGGS, but Western leaders hesitated to except African leadership at international level until late sixties. Independent delegations from Pakistan and India had attended five World Conferences before the Seventeenth and their influence already had changed the focus of the international movement significantly.

Nationalist Indian and Pakistani Guiders convinced WAGGGS to internationalize many of the nationalist policies that they had implemented before and just after independence. Culturally diverse uniforms became an expectation, and Western officers pressured Pre-Tenderfoot countries to adopt new uniforms to replace the blue British jumpers most Guides still wore.
WAGGGS pursued more extensive refugee outreach after Indian Guiders during WWII had insured the safety of Polish refugees. With independence in 1947, these the Indian and Pakistani movements cooperated with their governments to place Guides on the forefront of their countries’ efforts to modernize. With the same maternalist idea of uplift of less civilized that motivated white colonial Guiders, Guides had become advocates of literacy, hygiene, vaccinations, and nation-building among the disenfranchised poor of India and Pakistan.

The international movement had taken up some of these issues that they believed pertinent to Western and non-Western member states such as refugees, international training, and UN funding. Furthermore, Indian and Pakistani women had joined the leadership of WAGGGS. The governing board of WAGGGS had included one Indian Guider since 1948 when the Twelfth World Conference elected Julia Sen, the Chief Commissioner of India as one of the nine members of the World Committee. Other Guiders from India and Pakistan had taken on positions as traveling commissioners, conference organizers, or international trainers.

As Nigeria, Malaya, and India became involved in international Guiding upon independence, their membership expanded, and their programs began to officialize their nationalist ethos of Guiding through new literature, nation-wide camps, and the participation in national ceremonies. Nationalist Guiders applied the maternal ideal that had once justified the intervention of white Guiders into the lives of the colonized to justify their intervention into the lives of villagers. The villagers, according to the nationalist Guiders, lacked the skills needed to fulfill the responsibilities that citizenship to a newly independent nation. Former Australian Aboriginal Guides found maternalism an ineffectual means to assert power and distanced themselves from the movement.
Many scholars have noted that Guiding complemented and fueled the maternalist imperial ambitions of Western women reformers. My study captures how the nuances of imperialism, the extent of self-government, and the tone of anti-colonial nationalisms affected the flexibility of maternal imperial imports like Guiding. The maternalism that saturated the Guiding program enabled colonial women, mostly those from the Western-educated elite, to imagine belonging to an egalitarian community larger than themselves. Because white colonial Guiders disagreed over what imperial citizenship required, colonial women, mostly colonized, began to assert a nation-based citizenship. Nationalists Guiders prolonged the feminine civilizing mission of maternalism after independence. Instead of white “mothers” nurturing colonized girls, Malayan, Nigerian, Indian, and Pakistani made themselves into “mothers” and assumed responsibility for nurturing the impoverished villagers their countries sought to modernize.

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