The Historical Geographies of European Childhood in Colonial Africa: Children's lives in Nyasaland 1889-1964

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Hull

by

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April 2018

Abstract

The research presented in this thesis recovers the experiences of European children who grew up in colonial Nyasaland, now known as Malawi, in the late nineteenth and early-mid twentieth centuries (1889-1964). These geographical histories of childhood contribute to an increased awareness of the unique spatiotemporal experiences of those who grew up in the spaces of the British Empire. Through a multi-method approach, this thesis reports rigorous qualitative research founded upon thirty-six original semi-structured interviews with Europeans who grew up in Nyasaland, plus extensive archive research and analysis of the memoirs and autobiographies of those who grew up under imperialism. It explores a variety of contexts in which British and other white European (e.g. Greek and Italian) children grew up: from the micro-geographies of their homes in Nyasaland and their relationships with the African natural environment, to their wider experiences of segregated educational institutions and the racialised structures of colonial society. In each context the research considers European children's sociospatial agency through colonial time and space; it also explores the unique construction of their hybridised identities. Further, it employs postcolonial theory to underpin discussions of racial and national identity and conflicting notions of 'home' and belonging. Hence, the project broadens understandings of the late British colonialism of the twentieth century. It critiques simplistic, masculinist and adultist representations of the imperial archive by nuancing, and adding to, knowledge of the various social groups who constituted colonial society. It reinforces thriving interest in the historical geographies of childhood, and proposes a more variegated and original understanding of how European children's lived experiences in colonial contexts can inform and enhance understandings of British colonialism.

Acknowledgements

It has been a few weeks since I 'put down my pen', so to speak, and it feels fitting that now, as I reflect upon those who helped to make this research happen, I am peering out over my laptop at the stunning view of Lake Malawi – one of the many backdrops in front of which my own childhood played out.

Over the last week I have been visiting my family, who still live on the farm on which I grew up. It is very different now, no longer a working farm, but rather a capsule of natural beauty. The estate has been reforested and turned into a nature reserve, a lush beauty spot on the landscape, from which numerous community projects are implemented. This thesis is a study of European children in the colonial period, but as someone said to me during the course of this research, "but you're a 'postcolonial' kid!" I suppose I am – although I had never thought of myself that way. I grew up in Malawi in a postcolonial era of 'Development.' It got me wondering whether I would become the subject of research one day, and how my family and I would be represented in a potentially 'post-Development' era. Suddenly my PhD research felt much closer to home than I expected it to be. I realised the magnitude of what I was asking participants to do in the interviews; to speak to me candidly, truthfully, about themselves and their families, during a period of their lives that has, in time, emerged on the wrong side of history.

Consequently, I remain indebted to all of the participants who took part in this research, for their wilful and enthusiastic cooperation in the interviews, and for their unwavering encouragement for me to go ahead with the project. I hugely appreciate their honesty in recalling what were sometimes difficult and controversial aspects of their childhoods and family life, as well as the happier times. To everyone who took part: thank you. I hope that you feel that I have interpreted your stories true to your intent when you shared them with me, and that your voices are sufficiently heard throughout this text.

There are so many people to thank for their input and support in making this research happen. Firstly, my supervisors Dr Elsbeth Robson, Professor David Atkinson and Dr Rosemary Wall have provided dedicated academic support throughout this PhD. Their constant interest and input in my research has been inspiring and encouraging, and their consistent generosity with their time has

been invaluable. The University of Hull has provided valuable institutional support as well as the financial resources to see this project into fruition. I would also like to acknowledge and thank Paul and Mary Slawson who, through the Royal Geographical Society (with IBG), fund the RGS-IBG Slawson Award, which contributed significantly to my fieldwork costs.

To the many archivists who work in the collections I have visited over the last few years, I have valued your help with locating the all too evasive evidence of children in the colonial archive. A particular thanks to the Society of Malawi Library and Archive for giving me the opportunity to volunteer as their intern, and to the University of Hull Careers Service for funding it. I would also like to acknowledge the University of Malawi, and express my thanks for their institutional affiliation during my time in the field, and the subsequent access that I was granted to the Malawi National Archives.

Alongside the institutional and academic support that I have been privileged to receive, I have had a huge amount of encouragement from my family and friends.

Thank you to all my friends who have supported me through the last few years. A special mention to those alongside whom I have experienced the ups and downs of PhD life; Kalia, Becky, Sharon, Charlotte – you are all an inspiration. Thank you also to all those friends close to me who for years now have listened to my PhD musings with interest and enthusiasm, I have appreciated those conversations more than you know. Ele, Hattie, Susie, Anne, Mike, Rob, Jess, Chris, Heulwen, Chris P, Nicole, Luke and Sarah; thank you.

To my wider family, thank you for all of your encouragement in moments when I've really needed it; Granma, Joe, Ezra Bear, Elaine, Richer, Toby, Laura, Matt and Evie. A special mention to my Grandad, Tony, for his meticulous proof-reading of the whole thesis, it is so appreciated – any remaining errors are fully my own. A very big thank you goes out to my family. To my sisters Bethan and Ania, who have always brought so much fun and laughter into my everyday life, thank you for all your support. To my Mum and Dad, Susan and Wiktor, who have supported me throughout my PhD with their unending encouragement. And finally, thank you to my wonderful husband Aidan, who has unwaveringly encouraged me to finish writing this thesis.

For my Mum and Dad

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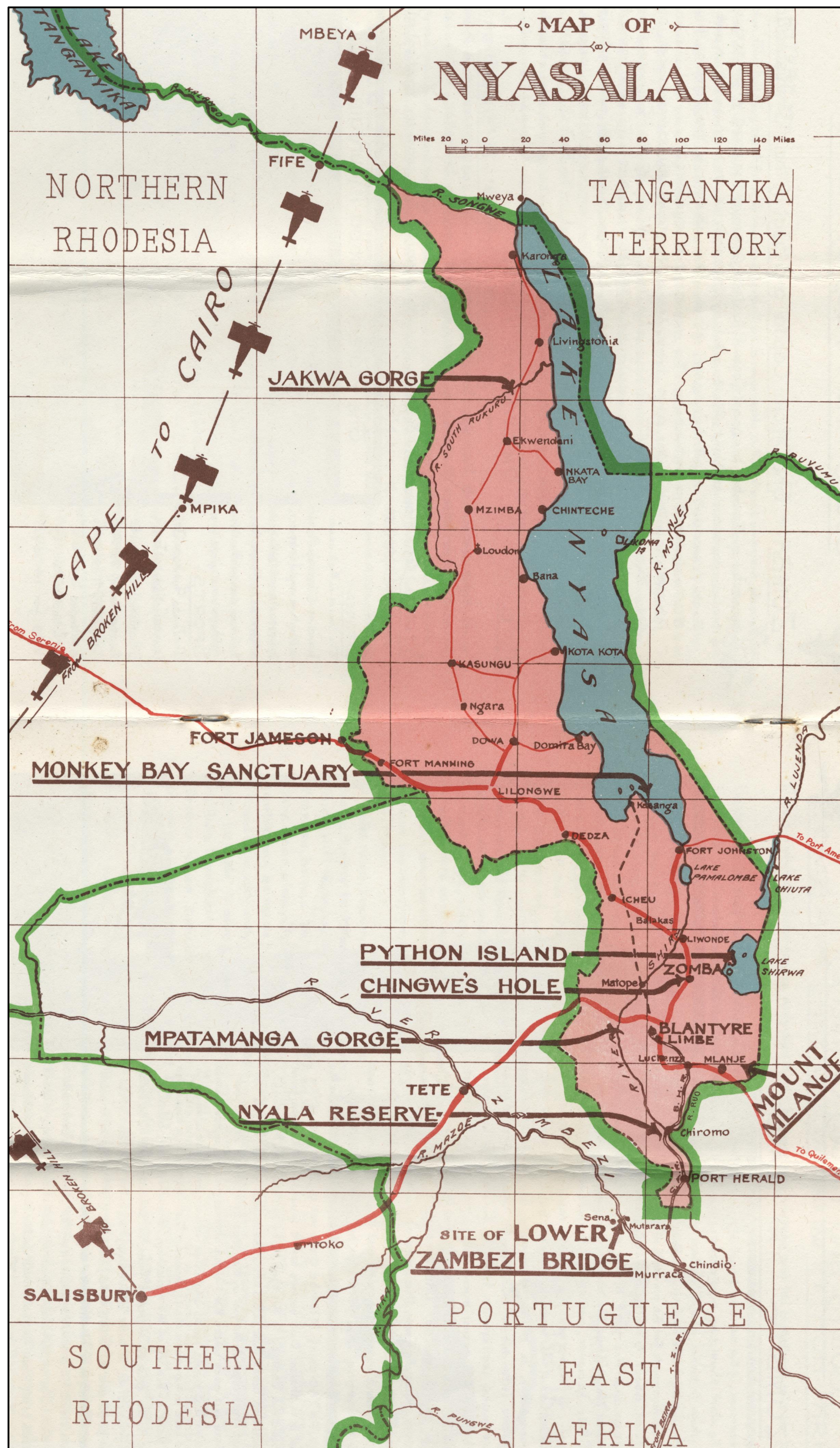

Figure i. "Map of Nyasaland" *Source*: Malawi Department of Tourism and Malawi Against Polio [MAP] (First published in 1929, reproduced in 1990) *Nyasaland*. Malawi: Central Africana

Figure ii. “Map of Malawi” *Source*: Ezilon Maps (2009) *The Physical Map of Malawi showing major geographical features* *https://www.ezilon.com/maps/africa/malawi-physical-maps.html* [Accessed on: 20/02/18]

List of Abbreviations

ALC	African Lakes Company
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNA	British National Archives
CCAP	Church of Central Africa Presbyterian
EUL	Edinburgh University Library Archives
MNA	Malawi National Archives
NCST	National Commission for Science and Technology (Malawi)
NCW	Nyasaland Council of Women
RMS	Royal Mail Ship
SoM	Society of Malawi Library and Archives
UN	United Nations

Chapter One

1. Introduction

It's not so much the monkeys I remember but their trail through the trees;
Swinging branches and shaking leaves.
It's not so much the big snake I remember, but his pale discarded skin
Lying on the red earth;
A fragile framework for dewdrops,
A translucent tunnel for ants,
Starting to shrivel in the heat of the sun,
With the mountain behind.

It's not so much the plateau I remember but the crystals on the path;
Bright relics of the mountain's birth.
Not so much the foxgloves I remember but the speckles in their throats.
I didn't know what formed the crystals.
I didn't know where the foxgloves came from.
I didn't know that I, like them, had ancestors from across the sea;
White child of the red earth.

~ Extract from Lucy Ashley's poems about her childhood in Nyasaland, in Baker (2012: 114-115)

This interdisciplinary thesis recovers the voices of European children in Nyasaland, now known as Malawi. It explores the historical geographies of how European settlement was achieved and understood differently by generational

groups (parents and children), and how these groups of people were constituted in specific geographical contexts. This research makes a significant contribution to wider postcolonial debates, which seek to recover the marginalised voices of those who contribute – in this context – to Malawi's shared social history. It adds new perspectives on the colonial dynamics of race, gender and authority, as racial hierarchies and issues of gender and class, framed European children's lives in the colonies.

In achieving this aim, this research employs aspects of postcolonial theory, which explore issues of hybridised identity. To date there has been a limited amount of research into *white* colonial identity under the banner of postcolonial studies. Yet, Young (2003: 5) defines postcolonialism as 'a body of writing that attempts to shift the dominant ways in which the relations between *western* and *non-western* people and their worlds are viewed' (p. 2 – author's emphasis). This research argues that the European children who were caught up in colonisation – and whose lives have wound up on the 'wrong' side of history (Morrissey et al., 2014; Rutman, 2015) – also went through complex processes of cultural identification, and felt strong affiliations to Africa and African identities. This is particularly relevant in the case of white *children*, as they experienced the colonies in a different way to their parents and adult counterparts, as they did not choose the circumstances under which they grew up. This is strongly alluded to in Lucy Ashley's poem quoted at the start of this chapter, and which will be explored further in later chapters.

This thesis, which combines the study of white children's historical geographies in Nyasaland with postcolonial theory, is an important step toward integrating the histories of both African and European colonial experiences, in order to achieve a more holistic picture of the complex and stratified nature of colonial society. This responds to Suleri's (1992) call for a greater acknowledgement of the inseparability of the experiences of the coloniser and the colonised. However, with this in mind, it is of central importance that the impact of the privileged racial status that European children occupied in society is not only acknowledged, but that it underpins the analysis of their experiences in Nyasaland. How the children dealt with these racialised power relations, and how they either resisted or (re)produced them, is extensively explored throughout the thesis. This approach results in a more holistic understanding of colonial society

and, therefore, produces research that contributes new perspectives to how this shared history between Britain and Malawi is understood.

1.1 Historiography of Malawi

This research is set in the context of Malawi's colonial history when it was known, firstly as the Central African Protectorate (1891-1907) and latterly as the British Protectorate of Nyasaland (1907-1964). Like many contemporary African states, the fraught dynamics of Malawi's history have been wrought with and shaped by, the violence of the slave trade and a subsequent seventy-three year reign of British colonialism. However, as McCracken (2012) points out, violent ruptures in Malawi's social history occurred even before colonialism began. He describes the forty years prior to the establishment of British colonial rule in 1891, as a period of 'exceptionally violent and rapid change' (p. 7). It was over this period of time that the Yao[1] people were heavily involved in slave trading and conquered much of the Shire Highlands and the Upper Shire Valley (areas located in the south of Malawi). Prior to this period in the region's history, the southern area of what is now Malawi was populated primarily by the Mang'anja people (Mandala, 1990). The Malawian historian Elias Mandala describes the dynamic society of the Mang'anja as an interdependent one and warns against the common colonial representation of their political systems as static aggregates of 'autonomous village communities' (p. 17). He states that prior to Western intervention, these communities had vibrant networks of economic exchange in items such as cotton cloth and iron implements as well as human beings (an internal domestic slave trade).

What came thereafter was the domination of British colonial rule. McCracken identifies the two decades following the establishment of a British government to be the most important years in the history of colonial rule in Malawi, when Britain established 'territorial hegemony through force … [and] brought about a fundamental reshaping of the country's economy along lines

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[1] For an in-depth exploration of Yao history in the Malawi region, see: Alpers, E. A. (1969) Trade, State, and Society Among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century. *The Journal of African History*, 10(3), 405-420.

which are still familiar today' (p. 74). Long distance trade in goods such as ivory and enslaved Africans was replaced by the introduction of cash crops, forming a commercial agricultural economy much like the one that exists in Malawi today, based on coffee, tea, cotton and tobacco. Yet, as this thesis endeavours to show, colonialism not only reshaped the economic structure of the country but also left a deep rooted social legacy which stems from the creation of a colonial society, which was co-produced by both Europeans and Africans.

Although Malawi's colonial history has been extensively researched and well-documented, it has largely been represented from the stand-point of elite white male colonial figures, or – later on – prominent male African politicians who played instrumental roles in the transition into independence (Baker, 2006; Baker & Baker, 1997; Dugard, 2012; Lwanda, 2009; Pachai, 1973; Phiri et al., 2013; Power, 2010). However, with the advent of postcolonial and feminist studies since the 1970s and 1980s, researchers have begun to move away from these male-centric, politically-focussed histories in order to examine other experiences of colonisation that had previously been shrouded by these 'official' versions of African history (See for example: Blunt & Rose, 1994; Vaughan, 1987; Whitlock, 2000).

In the specific context of Malawi's history, McCracken has produced valuable archival work. He seeks to recover the 'lost' histories of minority groups, notably the experiences of the Italian community and of white women in Nyasaland (McCracken, 1991; 2011). Likewise, Megan Vaughan has researched minority voices through the exploration of gendered experiences of famine in Nyasaland (Vaughan, 1987). However, in the project to recover minority experiences of colonisation, it is only Lee (2010) who has taken into account the experiences of children in Nyasaland. His work is a valuable contribution to the literature but is limited to a single group of children racially defined during colonisation as "half castes" (p. 34) who were marginalised to the outskirts of society due to the absence of their white fathers and the consequent financial destitution that their abandoned African mothers faced. Furthermore, Lee does not consider the impact of the children's complex social situations on the construction of their childhood identities. However, he does seek to give important retrospective agency and voice to this marginalised group of children.

1.2 Addressing the Gaps in the Literature

The research in this thesis adds to these minority histories that nuance the dominant versions of colonial history, which are predominantly male-centric and political in their stance. Although these political histories are important, they do not give the whole story of colonisation, which includes the participation of many social groups of both African and European descent. There is a small body of literature that points to the misrepresentation of the structures of colonial society and rejects the monolithic and essentialised portrayal of white African colonial identity as well as the myth of the totality of the 'white oppressor/black oppressed' dichotomy.

Errante's (2003) work stands out in this field as she argues for a better representation of the complex social stratification of colonial life, and of the class and racial hierarchies of colonial society that are not represented in contemporary histories of previously colonised countries. Figure 1.2 is a diagram developed by Errante (2003: 8) to illustrate the *actual* distribution of power and status of whites in relation to each other as well as other racial groups. It shows that the complex and stratified aspects of colonial society have been skewed and essentialised by traditional historical representations of colonialism (ibid: 10-13). She does not negate the power structures of colonialism that clearly existed (demonstrated by the blue line in the diagram), but rather points out the need to represent the additional complex realities of colonial social organisation (the white boxes situated around the central blue line).

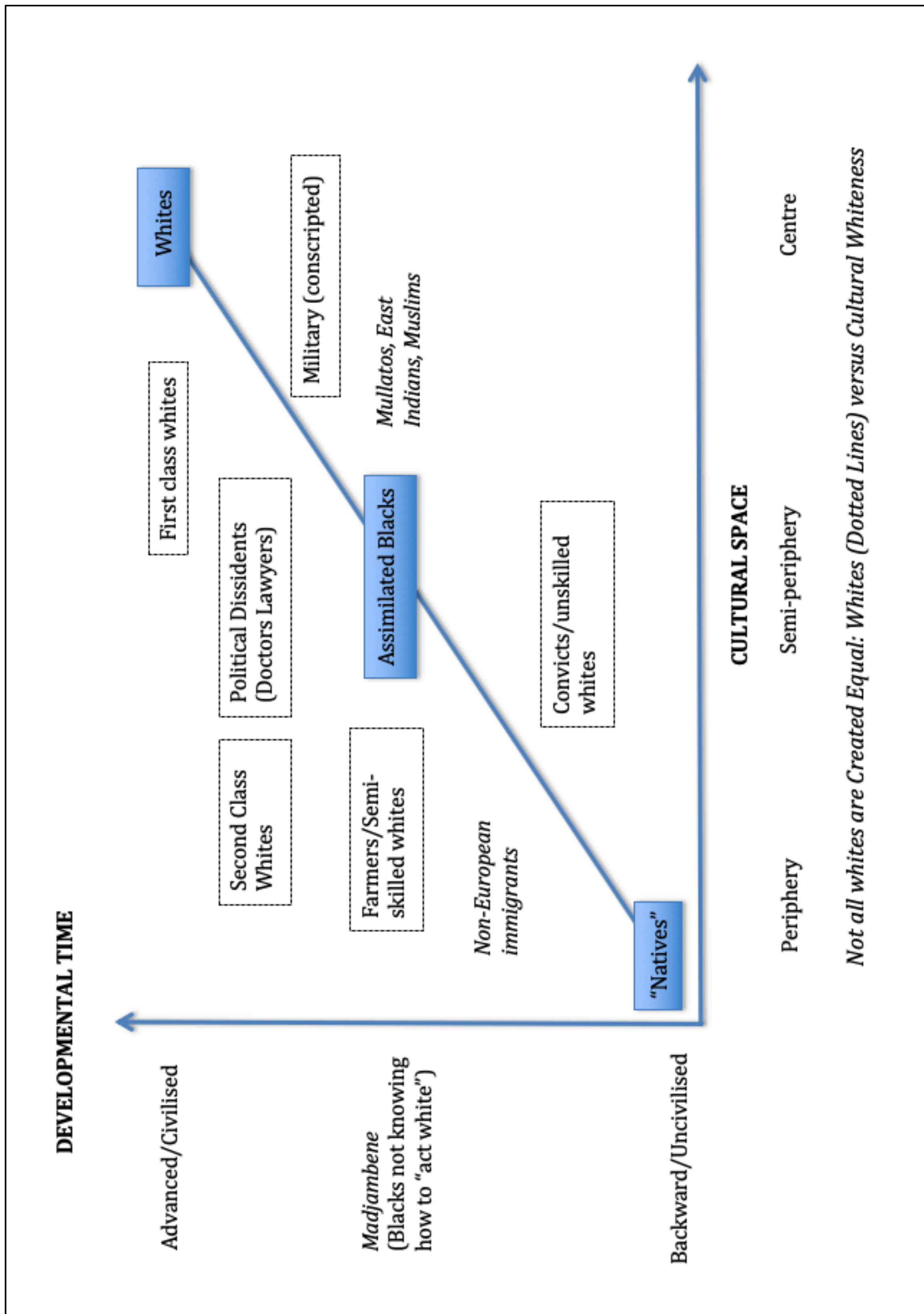

Figure. 1.1. "Errante's illustration of colonial society" *Source:* Diagram redrawn from: Errante, A. (2003) White Skin, Many Masks: Colonial Schooling, race, and National Consciousness among White Settler Children in Mozambique 1934-1974. *The International Journal of African Studies*, 36(1), 7-33.

This thesis builds upon the idea that white and black people did not always occupy their stereotypical 'place', resulting in the co-production of a complex colonial society. Moreover, even when white people did occupy these stereotypical positions in colonial society, more attention needs to be paid as to how these 'geographies of privilege' were played out. In the context of this research it is important to consider how colonial children (re)produced or resisted this position of racial privilege, and how they understood race and race relations. It is important that these histories are revised and that the contemporary monolithic representations of white identity are nuanced with a broader representation of the 'co-produced' society that was influenced by people of different racial, class and generational groups.

This thesis considers the role and position of European children in colonial society using the theoretical frameworks of the new social studies of childhood and children's geographies. Both of these areas of research advocate the recognition of children as agents of their own lives who autonomously negotiate the physical and social spaces that surround them, within the constraints of intergenerational power relations.

Furthermore, the research detailed in this thesis reviews the ways in which colonial history has been gendered, racialised and politicised, to the point that white male political narratives dominate the colonial archive. To address this issue, it considers feminist work, which argues that women's voices in the colonies were silenced and which consequently 'writes back' at traditional versions of history to make women's voices heard (see: Blunt, 1994; Bradford, 1996; Haggis, 1990). This thesis draws on the arguments of feminist scholars who demand the exposure of 'silenced voices' in the colonial archive, as it argues for the importance of recovering the life stories of white colonial children.

Finally, this study reviews how children's experiences of colonialism have been represented in postcolonial studies, and how white children's experiences of colonialism in Africa have largely been excluded from the literature that comprises postcolonial theory. It argues for the validity of white colonial children's inclusion in postcolonial discourses of *hybridity* and *otherness,* which are usually used to describe the experiences of those who were colonised. Despite their positions of racial privilege in the colonies, European children also went

through complex processes of identification (Beana, 2009), which have not yet been fully considered.

It is apparent that there is a clear academic space for the study of white colonial and postcolonial identities in Africa, which rejects the monolithic, essentialised myth of the totality of a 'white rule ruling class'. Although this stratum of colonial society existed, there were other influences on white status and experience of colonial society that did not simply relate to skin colour. There is scope to explore these issues of colonial social structure through the lens of childhood, especially as it is children who developed particularly deep affiliations with their colonial childhood 'home' and whose identities were shaped by their formative experiences of colonial life in Africa. The literature review in chapter two explores these fields of study further and situates the research presented in this thesis within the wider literature. It clearly outlines the contribution that this research makes to the existing literature, demonstrating that, to date, there is a striking lack of research on the European child's experience of colonisation in Africa.

Against this introductory background, the next section outlines the specific aims, research questions and the overall structure of the thesis. It also gives a brief introduction to the types of qualitative data and methods used for the research.

1.3 Aims of the Study and Research Questions

The data that forms the basis of this research is the result of a multi-method approach that is outlined in detail in the methodology in chapter three. A total of thirty-six participants, who had spent all or part of their childhood in Nyasaland (pre-independence in 1964), took part in semi-structured interviews that focused on their childhood experiences. These interviews were then analysed by way of inductive thematic analysis alongside a breadth of data from multiple archive visits to collections both in the UK and in Malawi. This data has been complemented by an array of published and unpublished memoirs that have enriched the scope of this research. The whole process of data collection was designed to encourage a specific focus on childhood experiences whilst allowing for some flexibility of the topics discussed in the interviews or arising from archive

research. However, the data was collected with certain objectives in mind, which in turn shaped the interviewing process and provided a clearer direction for the archive research.

The objectives of this research focus on sociospatial investigations of issues of race, ethnoclass and social hierarchies, identity, gender, culture, health and education. The following research questions are used to investigate these themes, as well as directly framing the structure of the core analytical chapters (4–6) of the thesis:

1) How did family life and the physical 'home' environment shape the children's experiences of colonial life? 1a) How did this spatial and social context impact their understandings of home, nationality, identity and their sense of belonging?
2) How did European children engage with the physical African landscape/environment? 2a) How did their engagement with the environment impact their everyday childhood experiences and understandings of the world around them and their identities?
3) What role did European children's experiences of education play in the construction of white colonial childhood? 3a) How did colonial education systems impact white children's understandings of race and identity?

The structure of inquiry begins with participants' childhood memories of life within the family home in Nyasaland and how this impacted their multi-scalar understandings of home as both a physical space and as nation and empire. It then moves on to explore their interaction with the African environment beyond the walls of their family houses before extending its analysis to the segregated institutions of their European schools.

Chapter four is the first of the analytical chapters, which form the essence of this thesis. It embarks upon the story of the emergence of European families in the region that is now Malawi. Chapter four concentrates on notions of white colonial home-making from the earliest settler families in the late nineteenth century, up to the early 1960s and the eve of Malawian independence. Thereafter, it considers the social structures of white colonial households, and the complex spaces that European children occupied within the racial, generational and gender dynamics of the home. Through an analysis of both the material and imagined geographies of everyday home life in Nyasaland, the chapter raises questions of

how children's agency intersected with these household dynamics, and consequently how this shaped children's early understandings of the colonial world that they lived in. Finally, the fourth chapter seeks to observe the physical space of colonial societies in Nyasaland that framed the children's home contexts, and how their homes shaped and were shaped by the external political influences of imperial ideologies. As a result, the chapter strives towards a greater understanding of the complex interplay of multiple cultural influences which collided with European children's consciousness as they grew up in colonial spaces, and how this impacted the children's understandings of home and their sense of identity and belonging.

The fifth chapter engages with children's interaction with outdoor spaces, and the strong relationships that they built with the African environment in which they grew up. Fuller (2002: 153) dramatically describes the physical attachment that she felt towards the land, in her memoir of growing up as a white girl in Rhodesia:

> '…we are born and then the umbilical cord of each child is sewn straight from the mother onto the ground, where it takes root and grows. Pulling away from the ground causes death by suffocation, starvation.'

Chapter five explores European children's sensory interaction with the environment, which often led to similarly strong feelings of attachment to the land around them. The analysis explores this relationship through their physical contact with the landscape via outdoor play and increased independent exploration, as they got older. The chapter seeks to reveal children's sensory experiences of the environment, and consequently gain a greater insight into how these experiences contributed to the construction of their childhood identities.

The close relationships that children developed with the African landscape was indicative of their increased agency outside the family house, and was often a gateway into new cultural and social experiences. Consequently, the fifth chapter argues that European children's engagement with the natural environment often challenged the European cultural context of their home life and consequently played a crucial role in the early hybridisation of their identities. However, European children's relationships with the environment were two-fold, as they increasingly became aware of the dangers of living in a tropical environment. The second section of this chapter examines how the environmental risks of

dangerous wildlife and tropical diseases, imposed themselves onto European children's spatial mobility (often through adult intervention), and how this impinged on their understanding of, and relationship with, the African environment in which they grew up. Thus, this chapter offers a nuanced insight into the ways in which European children negotiated the time and space that they occupied, and the meanings that they attached to those spaces. Finally, chapter five offers insight into how children develop a 'sense of place' in childhood, and how this in turn impacts the construction of their cultural identities.

Chapter six moves from the sphere of European children's home lives in Nyasaland, and follows them into their varied encounters with institutionalised (mostly British) education establishments. This chapter argues that research into colonial education policy for white children, and the voices of former white colonial schoolchildren themselves, have much to add to postcolonial debates surrounding education. The case is made that their experiences reveal a unique perspective on twentieth-century ideologies and ambitions of the British Empire. Thus, the sixth chapter explores the psychosocial impacts of racial socialisation – through segregation and racialised, Eurocentric pedagogical content – as well as long periods of distant separation from family, servants, friends and their homes in Nyasaland. In Kemp's Nyasaland memoir he recounts the train journey to his boarding school in Rhodesia, which took five days (Kemp, 2006). Most participants recounted similar journeys, and whilst the effects of the separation varied between participants, most struggled to process the upheaval that going to school wrought on their young selves. This chapter considers the significant and complex impact of a white colonial education on European children growing up in the colonies, and how this shaped their identities and contributed to their construction of consciousness as children and young people.

The summative and concluding remarks of this thesis which are captured in chapter seven, explore the resultant privileged social mobility exercised by white children in Nyasaland and reveal how this directly correlated to their racial and generational demographic. It shows how the study of children and childhood of all races is central to gaining a more holistic understandings of imperialism and calls for further research into children's diverse experiences of colonisation.

Chapter Two

2. Finding Space for European Colonial Children in Geographical Studies and Imperial Historiography

2.1 Introduction

In the last few decades there has been an analytical shift in how academics have studied British societies that inhabited the colonies, which has garnered an extensive response to the need for more integration between Britain's domestic and imperial histories (see: Burton, 2000; Gikandi, 1996; Hall, 2002; Lester, 2001; McClintock, 1995; Stoler & Cooper, 1997). Lester's (2001) work on the creation of British colonial societies, cultures and identities extensively explores the notion of collective British colonial identity construction through the study of inter-empire networks of knowledge production and sharing. He uses colonial

communications and the movement of goods, be that material or labour, between the British colonies, to trace the discourses that were constructed across the physical time and space of the British Empire. In doing so, he shows some of the ways in which common settler identities were constructed amongst white settlers in nineteenth-century South Africa. These identities were far from stagnant once formed, but on the contrary they responded to the every move of both the colonised cultures around them, and the interactions and interventions of social and political groups in a detached metropolitan Britain. As such, Lester shows that the identities of British settlers were constructed, and could only *exist* in relation to the given colonised culture alongside whom they lived, as well as common perceptions of, and interactions with metropolitan Britain.

However, by his own admission, the interactions upon which he bases his work are those of men, white men for the most part. He states that the people upon whom his study is based includes 'governors, administrators, missionaries and their metropolitan directors, Members of Parliament and colonial politicians, settlers, journalists, travellers and merchants' (Lester, 2001: ix). This thesis promotes the exploration of wider, more inclusive imperial networks of colonial knowledge that impacted the collective white colonial identity including, for example, European colonial schools in which the lives of white children from across the British Empire collided (see Chapter 6). It suggests locating white European children in the physical networks of home life, travel, communications with home – be that in Europe or Nyasaland – and life at their schools, which were often situated somewhere in between. By locating white children in these spaces, this thesis seeks to build on the important existing arguments of colonial identity construction, nuancing them with a cross-cutting analysis of a different colonial demographic.

The existing literature that seeks to explore how this interconnectedness was also shaped outside of 'official' male colonial contexts is a more recent phenomenon. Much of the pioneering literature in this regard considers the experiences of memsahibs[2] in India, focussing on family and domestic life, and how this too shaped the identities of British settlers in India (Procida, 2002 &

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[2] The name accorded to white married women resident in colonial India

Blunt, 1999). Buettner (2004) points out that although children are often present in these narratives, the focus is on the women's roles as wives rather than mothers. She notes that this is largely due to the fact that the children's lives in India, particularly amongst the wealthier British families of the Raj, were fleeting. Aside from the repeated health and social recommendations that warned against keeping children in India for any length of time, an in-depth analysis of their experiences has been largely left out of the literature.

Buettner's (2004) own extensive monograph, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India*, is a response to this need for further analysis of imperial children and childhoods. Her work actively brings together family history and British imperial history in India, heavily focussing on the experiences of white British children therein. Perhaps one of the most significant contributions of her book is the attention that Buettner pays to the British middle-classes in India, noting that their experiences are often obscured by the more prominently recorded lives of the upper-classes. She observes this trend in studies of British women and domestic life in India, in which the experiences of women married to officers and high-ranking civil servants have eclipsed the accounts of less-affluent British families living in colonial India. Buettner also illustrates how the study of children is integral to identifying colonial class divides, as the poorer families often could not afford to meet the expectation that their children (in particular their sons) would be sent back to Britain to be educated, thus leaving their children to be 'corrupted' by Indian culture. This often resulted in later repercussions for the children in adult life, including rejection by affluent British-educated colonial circles affecting their employment prospects and social status among the white elite. Buettner's work, based largely on archival sources with a small number of participant contributions, is a vital response to the continued need for a more nuanced and variegated understanding of Britons in empire. She makes an important contribution to imperial scholarship by highlighting the importance of children's perspectives and experiences to understanding family life in colonial India.

Another significant contribution to this field, with a novel geographical focus on the Netherlands' Indies, is the widely credited collection of essays by Ann Laura Stoler entitled, *Carnel Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, which was first published in 2002, with a second edition and

extensive new preface by the author published in 2010. Stoler's (2010) work also emphasises the need to understand the lives of a broader European community that reached beyond the wealthy families of high-ranking colonial white men. Through this book, Stoler made a significant and progressive contribution to a greater understanding of the varied and nuanced intricacies of colonial society, making important connections between race and certain aspects of the intimate in European colonial life, all the while grounding it in Foucauldian ideologies of state power and control. In doing so, she makes sex and gender inextricable factors in the analysis of both the intimate geographies of colonial life, and the creation of imperial power.

Although her book does not solely focus on children's lives, the analytical framework renders them critical to it. Stoler seamlessly embeds the ways in which colonial adults' anxieties around childhood and childrearing shaped the colonial state and the intimate spaces of the home into her work. So central are children to this analysis that she dedicates the whole of chapter five to the exploration of children's lives in spaces of home and school, as well as considering the childrearing aspects of colonial parenting practices and children's interactions with servants. Much of the aforementioned chapter is focussed on children of mixed parentage and the problematic ways in which the colonial state tried to racially categorise them as either European or, in this case, Javanese. The state's anxieties are underpinned by the idea that if children of mixed heritage were to be classified and therefore treated as Europeans they might forever remain 'natives in disguise' or 'fabricated Dutchmen' (Stoler, 2010: 114). This sharply brings into focus the obsessive efforts of European adults to 'protect' white children's presumed homogenous European identities from so called cultural corruption, and sheds light on the insecurities of the colonial state which relied on the strict racial categorisation of peoples for the maintenance and justification of elite white rule. Stoler addresses the case of the "full-blooded" European child in the Dutch Indies for only a brief moment at the end of the chapter, revealing the complex contradictions that fed this fear. The example she gives is that of servants, stating, 'servants [were] a marker of privilege and class, but the very presence and proximity of so many servants compromised what white children needed to ingest: what it meant to be Dutch…' (Stoler, 2010: 139). Stoler makes the assertion that colonial Dutch adults had, whether consciously or not, identified that 'power

was constituted in the forming of subjects', the formation of which could be harnessed through thoughts and feelings, rendering human 'sentiments' a crucial site of socio-political contest (p. 139). Consequently, Stoler argues that children are a key area for future research if we are to fully understand the makings and maintenance of colonial power.

Despite the positive moves towards a more variegated understanding of British life and identity in empire, to date there are no other extensive studies that are dedicated to the historical experiences of white European children in British colonial Africa, and only a few recent works that exclusively explore the lives of European children in other colonial contexts. One of these is Brendon's (2005) *Children of the Raj*, which is based on an exhaustive collection of interviews with European adults who grew up in the days of British colonialism in India, as well as using an array of archival sources. Although it is an important reference point for this thesis, and reflects many of the themes that have emerged out of this analysis, it stops short of situating the children's voices in any conceptual, theoretical framework including the important contemporary discourses within postcolonial studies. Nevertheless, it is an important contribution to the burgeoning interest in histories of empire that move beyond the white male ruling class.

However, as Pomfret (2016) has rightly observed in his seminal book on European childhood in British and French Asia, Brendon's book adds to a predominantly Indo-centric body of literature on European domesticity and family life in Empire (see: Blunt, 1999; Buettner, 2004; Procida, 2002). In Pomfret's (2016) recent book, *Youth and Empire: Trans-colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia*, he examines the ways in which childhood and youth were produced in European colonies within Asia, and how this contributes to our knowledge of certain aspects of colonialism such as, the ordering of colonial space, practices of racial reproduction and ideologies of control in imperial imaginations. This is an incredibly detailed and thorough study of the trans-colonial mobilities of childhood through imperial time and space, and although it acknowledges the resultant hybrid complexities of their identities, it also refrains from situating them within postcolonial frameworks of identity production.

However, alongside these crucial studies of European childhood in Empire, there are other important fields of literature that will inform the direction of this study. This chapter reviews the main debates in the literature that provide a

contextual and theoretical framework for this analysis. First, it considers the broad subject area of the history of childhood and childhood studies; secondly, it reviews the representations of colonialism in social memory and how official histories have gendered colonial studies; and finally, it shows the importance of framing these children's histories within postcolonial theory.

Childhood studies is a broad subject area that has benefited from a varied interdisciplinary scope, ranging from medical and psychological research to contributions from historians, sociologists and more recently geographers and anthropologists. The first section of this chapter focuses on the latter developments in childhood studies that have been advanced by sociologists and geographers in the last few decades. This section lays the foundations for using contemporary theory from the new social studies of childhood and children's geographies, and applying it to historical contexts of colonial children's lives in the spatial context of the British Empire.

The second section of this chapter focuses on established representations of colonial history, which are generally written from a white male political standpoint. It explores the idea that colonial history has been gendered to the point that women and children's experiences have been largely silenced. It further considers how 'minority' groups (women in particular) have challenged the gendered and generational misrepresentations of history. It explores how historically 'silenced' social groups have used the genre of (auto)biography to revise the history of the British Empire, by offering new minority perspectives on *actual* lived experiences in the colonies. This thesis highlights that white children are also part of this 'silenced' group, and have been almost entirely omitted from official versions of colonial history. It argues instead that they deserve to be included in 'new' perspectives on colonial history that offer more detailed and realistic representations of the stratified and complex social structures that formed colonial society.

The final section will introduce the two themes in postcolonial theory that provide an overarching framework for the analysis of colonial children's lives; 'O/otherness' and 'hybridity'. Although this terminology and the use of postcolonial discourse has been largely heretofore reserved for those who were colonised, this section argues that white children who grew up in the colonies had complex relationships with their European identities and were also deeply

affected by imperialism. It draws on the work of major postcolonial theorists, as well as other scholars, who have already tenuously made the link between white identity and postcolonialism in past research.

2.2 Concepts of Childhood

2.2.1 Recognising the Child in History

The interdisciplinary field of childhood studies has seen a growth of interest and publications since it was brought to the attention of academic scholars in 1960 by the controversial work of historian Phillippe Ariès. He makes a profound distinction between the *biological* child (less-developed adult) – which had long been recognised within disciplines such as medicine – and the *social*[3] child, which he argues was invisible during the Middle Ages. He argues that the social aspects of childhood were invisible to society because children were quickly absorbed into the life-worlds of adults and were not recognised as a distinct social group, who had their own social needs:

> 'In medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist; this is not to suggest that they were neglected, forsaken or despised. The idea of childhood is not to be confused with affection for children: it corresponds to an awareness of the particular nature of childhood, that particular nature of childhood which distinguishes the child from the adult, even the young adult. In medieval society this awareness was lacking. That is why, as soon as the child could live without the constant solicitude of his mother, his nanny or his cradle-rocker, he belonged to adult society.' (Ariès, 1962: 125)

Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood* has been subjected to much criticism since its publication (Hendrick, 1992; Shahar, 1990; Wilson, 1980), especially Ariès' claim that the idea of childhood is a post-medieval phenomenon. Wilson's (1980) heavy critique claims that this basis of Ariès' argument is, 'riddled with logical flaws' (p. 142), and that the that the lack of awareness of childhood that Ariès identifies in pre-medieval and medieval worlds is in fact a lack of '*our* awareness' of how medieval people understood childhood at the time (p. 142, original emphasis). Further, Cunningham (1995) has critiqued Ariès' methodological approach of studying childhood in the medieval period through artworks. He argues that Ariès

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[3] The *social child* refers to the place that children occupy in society, and the ways in which society treats them differently than adults.

was unaware of other medieval artwork that *does* portray a more 'naturalistic' child, and perhaps Ariès' sources tell us more about the changes in medieval theology and art rather than their attitudes toward childhood (p. 28). However, despite this criticism, Ariès' text is widely acknowledged as an important and influential work, which provided a foundation for the consequent surge in academic attention towards the issue of children and society. It is also now more widely accepted that childhood is conceptualised differently across time, space, generations and cultures. This notion provoked an increase in child-focussed research from the 1970s, which was initially dominated by sociological schools of thought.

2.2.2 Sociology and Childhood

One of the earliest influential works to appear in the sociological field was Jenks' *Sociology of Childhood* (1982) in which he challenged traditional views of the child that he saw as being framed by adult perceptions of morality, social control and theories of politics. He opened up these adultist assumptions to criticism and, in so doing, he destabilised the concept of childhood that had previously been taken for granted. What followed was a wave of (re)conceptualising childhood in the 'new social studies of childhood' (Prout, 2011: 4) which focussed on children as agents of their own worlds who have the capacity to influence social change, family life and education (Corsaro, 1997; James et al., 1998; James & Prout, 1997). Prior to this paradigmatic shift in childhood studies, children were frequently defined negatively, in terms of what they were *not* and what they were to *become* as adults, rather than who they were in the present - as *becomings* rather than *beings* (Alanen, 1988).

However, the 'new social studies of childhood' as a term itself, has recently come under review. Tisdall and Punch (2012) argue that, the social studies of childhood is not so 'new' anymore, and has undergone much change. For example, they point out the growing interdisciplinary nature of childhood studies that now involves a wide range of disciplines. Both Holloway (2014) and Tisdall and Punch (2012) also highlight criticism about the way in which childhood studies has attributed agency to children, highlighting new recognition of the value (and impact) of generational relationships in children's lives, which needs to be taken

into account. They mention work within the field that has emphasized the need to consider both the 'opportunistic and constrained' contexts in which children live (Tisdall and Punch, 2012: 255).

Alongside this shift towards exploring the experiences of childhood as experienced *by* children themselves, came interest from other social sciences including Anthropology (Lancy, 2014; Montgomery, 2009) and Human Geography (Aitken, 2001; Holloway & Valentine, 2000a). These interdisciplinary contributions to the field of childhood studies have challenged what have often been very Eurocentric/Western concepts of childhood. According to Lancy (2014: x) some scholars of long established disciplines within childhood studies (such as psychologists and sociologists), may be 'blinded by the dominance of Western culture in their theories, methods, and population samples'; he stresses that his anthropological work seeks to 'overturn conventional wisdom regarding child development'. In Wells' book *Childhood in a Global Perspective* (2009), she acknowledges the importance of the 'new social studies of childhood', but confirms that this research has been dominated by childhood accounts from North America and Europe (p. 1). Similarly the work of children's and young people's geographers strives to extend and examine the social studies of childhood to include non-Western contexts (Ansell, 2005; Panelli et al., 2007). As such, children's geographers have challenged how children have been theorised over the last thirty years. They have done so by making the unique 'space' and 'place' in which childhoods take place central to its study.

2.2.3 Children's Geographies: The Spatiality of Childhood

The rapidly growing interest in children's geographies has grown out of two main identifiable traditions: the 'new social studies of childhood' and the 'new cultural geography', both of which draw attention to the importance of difference and diversity and how these elements are articulated in a given space or place (Matthews & Limb, 1999). In their article – which sets out to define *an* agenda for children's geographies – Matthews and Limb recognise that the end of the 1990s saw a strengthening demand for a place for children within geography. This demand stemmed from the growing literature in cultural geography that focussed on difference, and marginally defined populations (Matthews and Limb, 1999).

Matthews and Limb (1999) claim that children (as a generational group) had been, up to this point, largely missing as a frame of reference within the burgeoning agenda for cultural geographies. Although geographers and environmental and developmental psychologists had carried out earlier child-focussed spatial research, Matthews and Limb (1999: 63) identified an on-going need for children to be conceptualised as a 'neglected social grouping undergoing various forms of sociospatial marginalisation'. They also called for greater recognition of the interfaces between different disciplines engaging in childhood studies, such as sociology, anthropology and cultural studies. A response appeared in the following year with an edited volume called *Children's Geographies; Playing, Living, Learning* (Holloway and Valentine, 2000). It was produced as part of an edited series of books published by Routledge, which explored various facets of the emerging field of *Critical Geographies* that built on earlier Marxist and radical geographies. The contributors to this first self-proclaimed book on children's geographies, examined the importance of place, everyday spaces and spatial discourses with relation to children: they shed light on the 'ways in which children negotiate [their] childhoods constructed in various times and places' (p. 9).

Prior to the publication of this edited book, Holloway and Valentine co-authored an article (Holloway & Valentine, 2000b) which comments on the shift of terminology within sociology to describe the growing interdisciplinary nature of childhood studies in the late 1990s. They defined the change from 'the sociology of childhood' to 'the new social studies of childhood' as reflecting the 'growing cross-fertilisation of ideas between researchers in a variety of social science disciplines' (p. 764). This, they claimed, had resulted in more geographical research that recognises children as social actors.

Work concerned with issues of children and geography can be traced back to the early 1970s, when geographers predominantly studied 'children's spatial cognition and mapping abilities as well as their access to, use of and attachment to space' (Holloway & Valentine, 2000a: 7). Aitken (1994) also identified this trend in 1994, when he attributed the growing interest in children and geography to the work of Bunge (1973) who studied the spatial oppression of children in North America and Canada. Consequently, two areas of interest within children's geographies can be identified that pre-existed the formal establishment of the subdiscipline, and which still exist today: the first reflects the interests of child

psychologists, and the latter drew on sociological interest in children as social actors/agents. This thesis draws on the latter debates within children's geographies, seeking to give children in history the agency and recognition that was denied them by academic voices of their time.

Aitken (2001) wrote the fourteenth and final contribution to the edited series of *Critical Geographies*. His book, *Geographies of Young People* continues to represent children as autonomous social actors, but is simultaneously concerned with how *place* can both construct and constrain children's lives. Aitken considers this issue of spatiality and applies it to contexts of contemporary childhood. This thesis draws on his analysis of the scales of places and powers in children's lives, but is concerned with the issue of how these factors of *space* and *place* constrained and constructed the lives of children in *history* and in particular in the context of the British Empire.

These important contributions to children's geographies etched out a space for the establishment of children's geographies as an area of study within human geography. In 2003 the first issue of the journal *Children's Geographies* was published, acknowledging the need for a defined space in which to publish this ever-growing body of literature and research. However, in his editorial introduction to the first issue, Matthews (2003) calls for contributing papers to be interdisciplinary in their approach to children's geographies, recognising the interfaces between disciplines that contribute to a more holistic interpretation of children's lived experiences as pointed out by Matthews and Limb (1999). The journal encourages the positioning of children as 'frames of reference in their own right and not as bit-part players on a societal stage' (Matthews, 2003: 3) through giving 'childhood a conceptual autonomy' (Prout, 2002: 69). Matthews (2003: 5) argued that the establishment of the journal signalled that children's geographies had finally 'come of age' and that it would help increase understanding of what it is like to be a young person in today's society. However, he also acknowledges the shortfalls of researching children, and says that children's geographies will always face a 'crisis of representation' as adults reflect on the life-worlds of young people through the lenses of adulthood. Yet, he argues that 'partial understanding is better than not attempting to understand' and that this journal provides the forum to take our levels of understanding childhood 'one step closer to [their] lived experiences' (ibid., see also Matthews and Limb, 1999: 64).

Since the cementing of children's geographies as a subdiscipline of Human Geography, many further publications have dealt with the issue of childhood. Notably there has been an increase in studies that have highlighted the vast variety of childhood experiences across culture, place, race, class, gender and generation (Ansell, 2005; Panelli et al., 2007; Wells, 2009). Karen Wells' (2009: 1) work on children in a global context tackles these issues, as she questions such concepts as a 'global form of childhood', and the idea that children can be internationally governed by instruments such as the UN's *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (see also: Marshall, 2004). She argues that a model of childhood that originates from contemporary western ideas is being globalised through international instruments of governance. Wells refers to this 'globalisation' of 'childhood' in a very contemporary sense, but it is something that is also central to this historical research. This thesis explores the extent to which white children defied the colonial 'European' ideal of childhood, and examines the non-European cultural influences upon their childhoods, which led to a break from the homogenised colonial ideals of childhood.

This research contributes to these contemporary debates in childhood studies and children's geographies through the exploration of European colonial children's agency. Of particular interest is how the children used colonial spaces to construct their childhoods, and how those same spaces operated simultaneously to shape, control and restrict them. This thesis makes the social autonomy of children and their ability to construct their own life-worlds central to its argument, and applies these contemporary ideas to an era that predates these new schools of thought. Consequently, it is important to acknowledge how adults viewed childhood differently at this time. Therefore, aspects of colonial European parenting are also considered in order to help establish colonial adult attitudes towards children in the colonies, and how they contributed to the construction of children's lives.

2.2.4 Finding Children in Historical Geography

Over 50 years ago Darby (1953) commented that the theme of examining relations between Geography and History were well worn. He traces the relationship between the two disciplines back to the early classical philosophers who widely contemplated the connection between people and their

environments. He illustrates this point with a famous seventeenth century quotation from Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmus*:

> 'Geographie without Historie hath life and motion but at randome, and unstable. Historie without Geographie like a dead carcasse hath neither life nor motion at all.' (Heylyn, cited in Darby, 1953: 1)

This position does not discount Geography and History as independent disciplines, but rather acknowledges the significant crossover that occurs between them, and which has long been acknowledged by academics. This relationship, however, has not been simple or unproblematic, and over time has grown into a multitude of different historical geographies, which explore various periods and places, and reflect many different intellectual and political contexts (Butlin, 1993). Until the late eighteenth century, historical geography focussed largely on political histories, which also reflected the mood of historical research at this time. Leading up to the turn of the nineteenth century, this focus was challenged by historians and geographers who sought to represent a more 'realistic' history, which would include 'every aspect of human endeavour, social and economic' (Darby, 1953: 2). This has developed into contemporary ideas in historical geography, which seek to acknowledge the multiplicities of the past and take into account those who have 'fallen on the wrong side of history' (Morrissey et al., 2014: 2) and have consequently been ignored.

Despite the intentions of academics to capture minority histories, historical geographers have largely overlooked the case of children's experiences in spatio-historical contexts. The literature on children's historical geographies remains limited, although there are some key contributions to this area of study – notably the extensive works of Elizabeth Gagen who considers the dynamics of children's lives in early twentieth century America (Gagen, 2000a; 2000b; 2001). In addition to conventional archive research, there have also been recent calls for more research in children's geographies to use retrospective methods of adult reflections on, and memories of, their childhoods (Harris & Valentine, 2017; Philo, 2003).

More recent interest in children's historical geographies includes the work of Wridt (2004) who has critically analysed the historical geographies of young people in Yorkville and East Harlem in the USA. Crucially, she used the framework of the new social studies of childhood and children's geographies to support her

analysis of how children used, negotiated and constructed their worlds through the urban spaces that they grew up in, from the 1940s to the present day. The growing interest in examining children's use of space in historical contexts is further demonstrated by two recent publications advancing knowledge in this area (Kozlovsky, 2013; Sleight, 2013). Kozlovsky's study explores children's relationships with the built environment in post-war England, viewing the child as both the user and influencer of their surroundings; whilst Sleight (2013) delves into the late colonial period in Australia, examining how young people shaped public spaces in Melbourne from 1870-1914. Again, Sleight draws on contemporary theories in the study of young people and children, and places them in the context of the past. He states early on in his book that, 'Youth as a category of *historical* analysis has not … been adequately 'spatialised'' (Sleight, 2013: 11). This research joins the pursuit of 'spatialising' youth and childhood through an historical analysis of children's experiences in colonial spaces.

Although colonial and postcolonial geographies are identified as key themes in the broad literature of historical geography (Butlin, 1993; Graham & Nash, 2000; Morrissey et al., 2014), the discipline lacks studies of how *children* experienced the phenomena of Empire; both in terms of the children who were colonised, and those who belonged to the colonising groups. Following the notion that the colonial endeavour was as much shaped by socio-political and ideological nuances amongst the colonisers themselves as it was by the encounter with the colonised (Comaroff, 1997), this study is particularly interested in the latter group of children, who have thus far contributed a hardly-visible yet critical perspective on the colonial experience. Their presence (and their absence) from European family life in the colonies caused much controversy and debate, and even influenced political decisions (see Chapter 6 for examples of this). Their childhoods were taken out of the spatial context of their family's 'home' nation in Europe and transported across the globe to spaces of empire, where they experienced childhood and developed identities in a way that differed from their contemporaries back in Europe, and that often strayed from British imperial expectations.

As identified by Sleight, there is need for more research into how the spatial context of historical children's experiences impacted the construction of their childhoods, and how they, as children, in turn shaped and negotiated the space

that they inhabited. This thesis addresses this issue through the unique historical geographies of European children in Nyasaland, and seeks to understand how children contributed to the 'invention' of colonial societies (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012), and how they embodied the 'imagined' notions of 'European-ness' and nationhood that they often simultaneously reinforced and contradicted (Anderson, 1991).

2.3 Women and Children of Empire: Images Beyond the Pith Helmet

2.3.1 Gendered Representations of the Colonial Encounter

Much has been written about the 'great white men' of the colonial period (Dugard, 2012; Jeal, 2001; 2008; Ross, 2006). Images of men in colonial uniform, wearing a 'pith' or sun helmet are a widely recognisable trope of European imperialism. Due to the patriarchal characteristics of the colonial period, adult male histories are generally the most accessible to researchers, as their stories are strongly documented in the archives and they often wrote detailed accounts of their travels through diaries or memoirs. Although adult men are well represented in colonial history, they do not form the whole story. Feminist critiques of the male-centric approach to European colonial history have encouraged more recent studies on the roles of women in the colonies (Davidson, 2012; Howell et al., 2013). Studies that sought to revise representations of women in imperial history began to emerge in the 1980s. This new direction developed out of the growing body of feminist literature that surfaced from the 1960s onwards, and has challenged colonial gender stereotypes in traditional histories of imperialism.

However, as Midgley (1998: 1-2) highlights, 'gender history and traditional Imperial History have developed very separately', resulting in the study of women and imperialism having 'marginal significance' and being considered a special interest area which has largely been left to female historians. Indeed, it is apparent that 'women and imperialism' is still very much the project of female academics, as most key contributors to this field are women (see for example: Blunt, 1994; 1999; 2005; Blunt & Rose, 1994; Buettner, 2004; Callaway, 1987; Ha, 2014; Levine, 2007; McEwan, 2000; Procida, 2002). This list is by no means exhaustive, but it illustrates the point. These publications by feminist scholars have addressed the marginalisation of women in colonial histories and contribute towards a

revised history of how European women and their roles in the colonies are represented in conventional imperial histories. Formes (1995) argues that prior to these feminist critiques of colonial history, women had been stereotyped by three main gender-specific characteristics:

> '[1] … white women were allegedly more racist than white men and were responsible for the creation of greater social distance between the colonial and indigenous communities.
> [2] … according to the stereotype, European women aroused the sexual passions of African and Asian men from whom they then had to be protected by white men.
> [3] … white women were assumed to be frivolous, lazy nuisances who contributed nothing to the running of the empire and actually interfered with the work of European men.' (Formes, 1995: 630)

However, as Formes further explains, the response to such stereotypes by feminist revisionist historians has sometimes been to create dichotomies that show women either as a 'victim or villain' or 'villain or heroine' or as in Chaudhuri and Strobel's book – *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (1992) – they are represented as either collaborators or resisters. These dichotomies have not allowed for a 'sense of the broader social context that structured the relationships of these women with British men, with indigenous men and women, and with metropolitan society' (Formes, 1995: 632).

Helen Bradford (1996) adds to this argument by seeking to 'rethink' the history of the British Cape colony in the nineteenth century through the lens of women and gender. She argues that the way that colonial men are represented as *ungendered*[4] is just as problematic as the representation of women as 'gendered beings' with 'implicit or explicit emphasis on their sexual attributes and their familial relationships with men' (Bradford, 1996: 356). She states that representations of men as 'ungendered' and women as 'unimportant' results in an overall flawed analysis of the colonial encounter (ibid: 370). This is important because within this mix of colonial gender dynamics were children. There is no

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[4] The history of colonialism has a tendency to represent men as 'gender neutral' seeing them not as 'men' but rather as people who are linked with categories like economics, politics and race (Bradford, 1996: 356). This oversimplifies men's positions in the colonies, and widens the gender gap between women and men, as it does not consider men within family life, and their familial everyday social interactions with women and children; as well as being colonial officers, administrators and settlers, they were also sons, lovers, husbands and fathers (ibid: 369).

doubt that gender framed children's lives too, though the effects of colonial gender stereotypes on children have yet to be extensively considered.

It is also important to recognise how race cross-cuts these dynamics of age and gender among the white children in the colonies, as this would have created complex hierarchies of social authority and power. Haggis (1990: 114) has critiqued academic work on white women in the colonies for this reason. She claims that although the task of identifying European women's participation within colonialism is a vital part of understanding our own complex heritage, such an endeavour cannot be furthered by 'including white women at the expense of other social groups'. This underlines the importance of considering the stratified, intersecting dynamics of *race* and *age* within the matrix of colonial gender roles and relations, a theme which is foregrounded in the analysis presented in this thesis.

2.3.2 Biographies and Autobiographies: Writing a Voice

There is no simple intertextual passage from map to autobiography.
- *Gillian Whitlock (Whitlock, 2000: 2)*

Daniels and Nash (2004: 449) argue that 'geography' and 'biography' are historically linked through the 'metaphorical mapping' of lifepaths in western culture, that have been 'plotted in an explicitly geographical way'. They insist that 'place' and 'self' are inseparable and that this relationship emphasizes 'the intersection of the geographical and biographical, in overlapping domains of self and place, positionality and identity, spatiality and subjectivity.' They go on to suggest that for this reason, life histories could also be called 'life geographies' (ibid: 450). This approach offers a relevant way of reading the life writing of colonial children (and, therefore, also the memoires of adults who grew up as colonial children) as it reiterates the interconnected nature of history and geography, as well as the importance of 'place' in people's reflective memoirs and life histories. There is a significant resource of autobiographical memoirs of life growing up in Nyasaland as a European – some that have been published independently (e.g. Baker, 2012; 2013; 2014; 2016). Through critical readings of these memoirs from geographical, historical and literary points of view, they became an important resource for the analysis conducted as part of the research

presented in this thesis.

There is a growing academic interest in the study of biographies and autobiographies written both by women and former children who were colonisers, as well as those who were colonised, but the mantle has largely been taken up by English and literary studies. Therefore, most scholars who have produced analyses of such (auto)biographical works, have done so from the perspective of literary criticism (see: Beana, 2009; Simoes da Silva, 2005; Whitlock, 2000). This is an important and growing genre of literature that informs areas of this thesis, and which has the potential to transform our understandings of imperial women and children's lives, especially if considered within their wider historical and geographical contexts.

The opening quotation to this section from Whitlock's book (2000: 2) *The Intimate Empire,* which studies women's autobiographical writing in Empire, emphasizes the web of different experiences that occupied the 'pink spaces' that constituted the British Empire on the world map. As she analyses a diverse range of colonial autobiographical writing, she positions herself with the aim of locating the women 'in complex and contradictory ways' and seeks to disperse 'any sense of a transhistorical female experience, or the notion of the female body as the ground of a unified and consistent meaning' (p. 3). This is important as Whitlock stresses the need to avoid generalising or stereotyping people's experiences within a certain place or over a common time. She draws on the work of Suleri (1992) in pursuing a 'deeper sense of the 'necessary intimacies' between ruler and ruled, and the inseparability of imperial and subaltern subjects' (cited in Whitlock, 2000: 5). Acknowledging the interwoven experiences of 'colonised' and 'coloniser' is important in accrediting agency to the individual lives of those who constituted the different spaces of empire. In reading colonial women's autobiographies from this perspective, Whitlock has produced an in-depth study of the intimate worlds and daily interactions of women in the British Empire. In times when academic versions of colonial history were dense with male accounts of the past, autobiography has been an important genre through which women have expressed and taken ownership of their alternative experiences of colonialism. These memoirs are widely accessible (Alexander, 1983; Blixen, 1954; Lessing, 1995; 1997; Markham, 2010). The stories of colonial women's experiences in

Nyasaland, and records of motherhood and family life recorded in these books and collections of memoirs also inform this thesis.

In her final chapter Whitlock changes tack and delves into the uncharted territory of imperial childhood memoirs. Here, she combines an analysis of the postcolonial autobiographical works of both 'colonised' children and white European children. She identifies two main 'modes' of memory that tend to emerge from the texts of colonial childhood memoirs: the 'utopia' of sweet places and the 'dystopia' of dark places. She argues that colonial childhood memories draw on both of these modes of utopian writing and exist in a tension between the two, which also 'sits uneasily on the boundaries between fact and fiction' (p. 180). Hardwick's (2012) work on semi-autobiographical accounts of colonised childhood experiences in the Caribbean echoes the tension that Whitlock identifies in colonial childhood memoirs;

> 'While childhood often evokes nostalgia and celebration of (a lost) innocence, it is just as frequently used in order to cast a critical eye over significant moments of social conditioning or indoctrination, and their consequences.' (Hardwick, 2012: 1)

Hardwick later uses the literary term of a 'scene of recognition' (p. 16) to describe these moments in a child's life when they come to realise the social injustices of colonial society that frame their existence. It is usually when they figure out an 'unspoken' ugly truth about society; in the cases used in Hardwick's book, entitled *Childhood, Autobiography and the French Caribbean,* it is usually the truth about the slave past in the Caribbean. This terminology encompasses the importance of understanding how children figure out and negotiate the society that they live in, and which events in their lives trigger those moments of 'realisation'. Another key aspect of Hardwick's book deals with how children's identities are shaped and how they perceive the world around them largely through the eyes of parents, guardians and teachers as well as through their own observations. It explores a child's relationship with the space and time that frames their development and how they understand the world around them and navigate it autonomously. Although Hardwick's book primarily deals with Caribbean children's experiences in the French Antilles, it provides a valuable framework within which to read autobiographical and semi-autobiographical memoirs. The themes of gender, race and ethno-class hierarchies that intersect these children's lives and which are

explored in Hardwick's work inform this research, and provide an interesting parallel study for looking at the geographies of European colonial children in South-East Africa.

In other recent publications that deal with colonial childhood narratives, this same tension, defined by Hardwick (2013) as the 'scene of recognition', is identified. Beana (2009: 442) defines these struggles as a *construction of consciousness.* She argues that 'literary criticism generally assumes that the writers are British subjects who happened to live in a foreign country, or that their 'native culture' was British, thus failing to acknowledge the complexity of their process of cultural identification' (ibid: 436). In an earlier article, Simoes da Silva (2005: 476) examines the 'life-narratives' of two white children who each grew up in the immediate post-colonial/post-apartheid context of Zimbabwe and South Africa. He argues that these stories of 'self' are constrained by a heightened 'burden of whiteness' and that they shed light on the conflicting nature of articulating a story of white experience in Southern Africa and writing a 'claim to an African identity'.

This thesis considers this notion of specific moments/events when children became conscious of the internal tensions embodied in themselves, and the spaces and events in which these 'realisations' took place. This thesis brings 'space' to the core of these ideas, in order to combine these notions of 'scenes of recognition', children's 'construction of consciousness' and a 'burden of whiteness'. It does so by considering '*sites* of recognition' in the European children's lives, and recognising the integral role that *spaces* played in the construction of their consciousness of colonial society and their place within it. Each core analytical chapter of the thesis focuses on different spheres of the children's lives; home, environment and school. These spaces in themselves can be viewed as 'sites of recognition' in which the children began to construct levels of consciousness about themselves and the world around them. However, there were also spaces within each of these spatial spheres that triggered children's awareness of uncomfortable truths, such as racial and social inequalities and injustices, and also of their own conflicted and hybrid identities.

Whitlock (2000: 180) cites autobiographical writing as being among the 'most powerful forms which contribute to the social production of memory'. It is certainly evident from this discussion, that certain genres of autobiography have

dramatically challenged the traditional male-centric histories that have dominated the 'official' histories of Empire. However, whilst recognising that these studies are valuable sources of historical and biographical analysis, these scholars – when researching colonial women and children's experiences – have largely restricted their approach to literary critiques of written texts. This thesis seeks a more exhaustive analysis of children's lives in the colonies through using geographical readings of autobiography to complement contemporary oral history testimonies from elderly people who grew up in colonial Nyasaland. This expansion of sources and methods allows for a more in-depth immersion into the daily lives of children, and engages more thoroughly in the social memory of those who grew up in the British Empire. This combination of oral and written life histories/geographies of former children of Nyasaland contributes richly to the often-hushed social memory of British colonialism.

2.3.3 Social Memory and Colonial Heritage

Despite extensive academic interest in different facets of colonialism and colonial memory, there has been very little 'official' commemoration of colonialism itself in the public sphere of Western society. In Britain there is a collective tendency to engage with heroic male figures in Britain's imperial history who have reasons to be celebrated; William Wilberforce and David Livingstone for example, both of whom played key roles in abolishing the slave trade. These heroic characters have been commemorated in books and films that have reached the public through popular culture, a notable example being the film *Amazing Grace* (2006) which represents the British abolitionist movement. It is important to commemorate these histories, but at the same time there is a worrying tendency to gloss over the uglier characteristics of Britain's historical overseas presence. This can be illustrated by a case noted in an article by Atkinson and Laurier (1998), which challenges controversial aspects of the *International Festival of the Sea* held in Bristol in 1996: '…various groups felt angered and alienated by the celebration of a supposedly proud, seafaring, maritime heritage at the event while Bristol's role in the slave-trade was largely ignored' (p. 200).

Likewise, Grindel (2013) refers to the role that school history textbooks play in the politics of memory. She argues that contemporary school textbooks reflect the uncertainties and insecurities of confronting colonisation in the British national culture of memory. The conflict sparked by the memorialisation of a nation's colonial past can also be identified in the dissonance of French imperial history and its place in French social memory. McCormack (2007: 176) expresses the French national silence with regard to the Algerian War. He demonstrates how France has invested hugely in the transmission of memory and knowledge of the Second World War, whilst barely acknowledging the need for memory transmission of the brutal eight years of imperial warfare between France and Algeria (1954-1962). Furthermore, the controversial 'loi du 23 février 2005' [Bill of the 25th of February 2005] reflects this reluctance to acknowledge the undesirable aspects of French imperial history. The law stipulated that only the positive aspects of colonialism were to be taught at schools and universities. Minority groups met the law with vehement rejection and in 2006 it was modified, and the reference to French colonialism having played a positive role was removed (Hardwick, 2013: 3-4).

These increasingly common contestations of 'great' traditional historiographies promulgated by western political memory-making, can be termed as a 'democratisation of memory' (Atkinson, 2008: 381). Atkinson attributes the 'shift' in gaze from traditional history to more commonplace histories of ordinary everyday spaces, to the fact that people are increasingly 'identifying, consuming and producing articulations of history and heritage themselves' (ibid.). This is certainly evident in the pattern that has emerged in colonial memory. The confrontation of traditional Western representations of the colonial past has grown out of a postcolonial tradition, which snowballed in the 1980s and 1990s and served to represent the histories of colonised people. The framework of postcolonial theory (see section 2.4.1) cleared a way for colonised people to (re)address the political and social histories of imperialism and to represent themselves as agents who resisted colonialism. Young (2003: 4) likens postcolonialism to the feminist movement that challenged the dominant views of men, when women were treated as 'objects' who were always there, but who were never accredited the agency of a being a 'subject' (p. 4).

This thesis argues that this is the same for children, especially where colonialism is concerned. Framing the lives of colonial children (both colonised and coloniser) within the discourse of postcolonialism is useful, as it 'shifts' dominant perspectives of how western and non-western people's colonial lives are viewed. There are other theoretical frameworks that could have also been usefully applied to the research presented in this thesis. One example of this is 'intersectionality', which seeks to explore the internally experienced interactions of multiple identities, and the crosscutting nature of external factors upon these identities (Davis, 2008). However, given the context of this thesis, postcolonial theory was deemed the most appropriate framework within which to situate the research presented here, not least because it starts a unique conversation about the complexity of white children's identities alongside that of those who were colonised. This approach emphasises the 'interconnectedness' of colonised and coloniser's experiences of colonialism, which harks back to Suleri's (1992) call for a greater acknowledgement of the inseparability of imperial and colonised subjects. This is particularly relevant in the case of the European children, as they experienced the colonies in a very different capacity to their parents, often having developed close relationships with Africans who worked in the family home, and in some cases the servants' children as well. The next section addresses this relationship between postcolonial theory and the 'lost voices' of white children who grew up in the 'pink spaces' of empire.

2.4 Mixing Masks: Children of Colonialism

2.4.1 Postcolonial Theory

The growth of postcolonial theory has been a continuous collective effort to challenge dominant western knowledge and to provide an alternative to viewing the world through the lens of western ideas. These theories and sets of ideas that postcolonialism have been built on have largely been designed to give voice to those people who identify as colonised - in the context of colonialism this refers to those people who were colonised. Postcolonialism gave previously colonised people an important space within which to re-evaluate the colonial past, and to express the effects of colonial oppression, as well as voice their resistance

to it. This thesis concentrates on two key ideas within postcolonial theory, the first being *otherness* and the second being *hybridity.*

Otherness

'Otherness' is a broad term that encompasses ideas of representation, race and identity. Otherness has long been a preoccupation of postcolonial thought, and refers to those who have been silenced in the past, and in recent times have dared speak *back,* disrupting traditional political representations of minority groups, or acknowledging silenced unrepresented people. Postcolonialism has examined this idea of otherness, questioning what it really means, and how it practically translates into real life situations; does the 'self' and the 'other' literally translate into 'us' and 'them'? Who is the 'O/other'?[5] (see: Young, 2001: 398). Ashcroft et al. (1998) recognise the characterization of colonised peoples as the 'other' through discourses such as '**primitivism** and **cannibalism**, as a means of establishing the **binary** separation of the colonizer and the colonized and asserting the naturalness … of the colonizing culture and world view' (p. 169, original emphasis). They explain the process of 'othering' through the work of Spivak. She explains this process as one that occurs when the colonised 'other' is inserted into the discourse or the gaze of the imperial 'Other':

> '…imperial discourse …provides the terms in which the colonized subject gains a sense of his or her identity as somehow 'other' [and] dependant … it becomes … the ideological framework in which the colonized subject may come to understand the world.' (Ashcroft et al.: 170-171, see also: Spivak, 1985)

In coming to this conclusion Spivak draws on the work of Said, who says that the West itself is defined against the invention/recognition of the Orient (the East). In Said's *Orientalism* (1995) first published in 1978, he refers to the Orient as an invention of the West, where some of the deepest images of the 'other' occur. He argues that *Orientalism* refers to a Western style of 'dominating, restructuring, and

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[5] The distinction between the 'Other' and the 'other' can be traced back to Lacan's theory. In Lacan's theory the 'other' describes the self, while the 'Other' describes the gaze in which the 'other's' identity can be found (Ashcroft et. al, 1998: 170). An illustration of this would be that of a Mother/Father and a child. The parents are seen to *represent* the child, and are those in whom the child can be seen to be embodied. This notion has parallels with the problematic paternalistic nature of colonialism, which for a long time was used to justify the imperial endeavour.

having authority over the Orient' (Said, 1995: 3) and is built on the dichotomy of 'the Occident' and 'the Orient' (ibid: 2).

This process of 'othering' whole nations and geographical expanses of space is something that occurred all over the Empire. However, this process simultaneously initiated the construction of the white imperial 'Other', which was defined in terms of its colonial acquisitions. In other words the worlds of imperialists and colonised peoples defined each O/other. This is an important distinction in the case of European children who grew up in the hybrid cultural context of the colonies, but also within the ideological framework of British imperialist culture. This thesis argues that the 'O' and 'o' of the postcolonial 'O/others' is interchangeable in the case of white colonial children, as they straddled cultures and negotiated ideas of cultural 'belonging'.

Hybridity

> *"Where does one culture begin and another end when they are housed in the same person?"*
> *- Nayantara Sahgal (cited in Walder, 2003: 12)*

Walder (2003: 12) quotes this statement, spoken by Sahgal at a conference on Commonwealth Literature in 1989. Sahgal's words eloquently encompass the complexities of postcolonial identities in a simple question, which simultaneously acknowledges the reality of multiple cultures co-existing within a single person. In this question, she highlights the problematic nature of 'defining' oneself within the confines of a given culture with which one feels they *should* identify. In essence this is the debate upon which *hybridity* is founded. The term in its postcolonial context, is most frequently associated with Homi K. Bhabha and his book *The Location of Culture,* which was first published in 1994. It argues for the interdependence of relations between the coloniser and the colonised. He argues that the mutual construction of cultures takes place in a 'Third Space':

> 'The intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process, destroys the mirror of representation in which cultural knowledge is customarily revealed as an integrated, open, expanding code. Such an intervention quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force …' (Bhabha, 2010: 54)

Bhabha is suggesting here that *all* cultural identities emerge from this contradictory and ambivalent 'Third Space', which in turn denies any one culture superiority over another. In this way he is presenting the idea of hybridity, as a form of resistance against the homogenising ideals of colonial assimilation into British/French or Western cultural 'norms'.

Robert Young's work has extensively problematised much of the terminology that is often taken for granted in contemporary postcolonial cultural theory, including the term 'hybridity'. In his influential book, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Culture Theory and Race* (1995), he illustrates the contradictory origins of the term through an historical analysis of its nineteenth-century meanings. In doing so, he questions the extent to which past understandings of racial difference continue to inflect ideas of race, and whether the essentialist categories of race and cultural identity in the past have now been retrospectively constructed as more fixed than they actually were. As such, he argues that there is an historical genealogy of the term which links the 'cultural concepts of our own day and those of the past from which we tend to assume that we have distanced ourselves' (p. 27).

Young asserts that the term 'hybridity' itself has been historically in a constant state of flux as he traces the use of the term in the English language back through history. In the nineteenth-century the term was used to describe the progeny of miscegenation, and caused much anxiety and scientific debate as to whether people born to parents of two races were degenerate or infertile, or whether they eventually reverted to one or the other of the races from which they originated. Conversely, he also evidences the way in which the term 'hybridity' was used in the nineteenth-century to proudly describe the "English" who were believed to be a combination of 'proximate' white races, as opposed to 'distant' darker races, which was believed to have resulted in 'societal progression' through white racial amalgamation. This shows how hybridity has been used historically as a deconstructive term employed to explain and separate racial difference through its very mixing. This reveals how hybridity has been an ambivalent term in its own right as it has traversed the last two centuries, and how it has shifted in meaning depending on the historical context within which it is being interpreted and mobilised as a concept. Young argues that the apparent collective amnesia of the conflicted history of the terminology in postcolonial

discourse renders postcolonial ideas of hybridity problematic (see also: Acheraiou, 2011).

It seems paradoxical, therefore, that the 1990s gave way to a widely accepted reclamation of the term 'hybridity' through the work of Homi K. Bhabha who used it to revise and (re)construct postcolonial identities, with it quickly becoming an important keyword for subsequent postcolonial theorists. However, as Young has shown, the term hybridity as used by postcolonial theorists to discuss ideas of racial and cultural identity was not a newly coined term, but rather it complicated the understanding of the history of an existing idea. He remarks that the antithetical structures of hybridity in postcolonial discourses of coloniser and colonised, are essentialist categories that run the risk of *changing* but *repeating* imperial ideas of race. In this way he demonstrates how postcolonial thinking is 'still locked into parts of the ideological network of a culture that we think and presume we have surpassed' (p. 27), and illustrates the difficulties of escaping historical conceptual and analytical frameworks that often govern our present.

Although hybridity has been widely theorised and continues to be contested in figurative terms, scholars have meanwhile identified a lack of material histories and geographies of colonial and postcolonial lived experiences that focus on specific communities in order to better understand individual experiences (Blunt, 2005; Parry, 2004). Acheraiou (2011: 103), though critical of how hybridity has been used as a concept in postcolonial discourse, agrees at least that hybridity must be understood as a diachronic product of historical processes, the ambivalence of which is ultimately 'underpinned by political and ideological considerations worth investigating.'

This thesis seeks to add to materialist readings of hybridity which focus on everyday interpretations of colonialism in a given locality and by a specific group of people (i.e. European children in Nyasaland). It looks specifically at their conflicted and complex relationships with ideas of 'home' and nationality, their attachment to Nyasaland, and how they negotiated and constructed their childhood identities and consequently interpreted their adult identities. As such, the term hybridity – in its postcolonial sense – will be applied and analysed in a specific context, and will critically engage with imperial racial politics as well as

considering the cross-cutting politics of identity, culture and nationality (Blunt, 2005; Jackson & Jacobs, 1996).

Other postcolonial theorists have also disputed the term, particularly when it has been employed simply to mean 'cross-cultural exchange' (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 119). Where the transformative cultural, linguistic and political impacts on both the colonised *and* coloniser have been stressed, there has been a danger of masking the obvious cultural differences between the two and 'negating and neglecting the imbalance and inequality of the power relations' to which it refers (ibid.). This is also important in the context of this thesis, which explores cultural exchange and cultural hybridity in white colonial children. It highlights the importance of keeping the children's privileged status as sons and daughters of colonising groups in Africa at the forefront of this postcolonial analysis of their lives. Nevertheless, these children were on the frontline of colonial 'hybridisation' as they negotiated the 'Third Space' that framed the meeting of their European 'national identities' with the transcultural[6] construction of their hybrid 'cultural identities.'

The childhood memoirs of black African and Caribbean authors extensively describe their experiences of growing up 'colonised' and having to assimilate themselves into a Western frame of mind (Achebe, 2009; Chamoiseau, 1996; Condé, 1999). The genre of the 'récit d'enfance' – to which Chamoiseau and Condé's work belongs – deals with the hybrid process of French assimilation in the French Antilles, in the form of semi-autobiographical work depicting childhood memoirs. These texts have attracted detailed postcolonial analyses exploring key themes such as hybridity and otherness in the lives of black Caribbean children (see Hardwick, 2012). Likewise, African authors have used genres of fiction and autobiography to explore the experiences of 'colonised' childhoods in Africa (Adichie, 2012; Dangarembga, 2004; Laye, 1954; wa Thiong'o, 2010). These memoirs sit comfortably (and rightly so) in the analytical framework of postcolonial discourse. Using the example of Tsitsi Dangaremba's

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[6] This term refers to the mutual influences of cultures and cultural practices in various colonies and metropoles; also referred to as the 'phenomenon of the contact zone.' It is usually used in the context of marginal groups being culturally influenced by the culture of a metropole (Ashcroft et al. 1998: 233), but I believe this can also be a useful term in the context of white children negotiating the influences of African culture on their lives.

book *Nervous Conditions* (2004), Young (2003: 23) illustrates the conflicting emotion that is so evident in these narratives; 'The individuals in such a society are subject to the painfulness of what Fanon recognises as a hybridised split existence, trying to live as two different incompatible people at once.' He goes on to describe how this negotiation between identities and the layers of new and different value systems were all part of the assimilation process or in other words 'becoming white'. White children, who lived in the stratified colonial system of values, identities and cultural 'norms', also embodied these issues. The fact that they experienced these issues from a different position of white privilege must be taken into account, but must not be taken as a reason to neglect their unique histories.

In the light of this discussion, it must be noted that there is a lack of literature that deals with the everyday histories of all African children from a social science perspective. The field of the histories of African childhood seems to have been led by literary analyses of (semi)autobiographical texts. There are a few exceptions (e.g. Aderinto, 2015; Diptee & Klein, 2010; Fox et al., 1967; Lee, 2010; Morrison, 2015; White, 1999), but as Wells (2009) points out, the literature about how African children lived in the past remains very limited. Diptee and Klein (2010: 3) state that studying the history of childhood in Africa will result in a 'more holistic portrait of the human experience.' They too acknowledge that the literature is limited but equally identify a 'growing body of scholarly literature dedicated to the history of children and childhood' (ibid: 3).[7]

The important work of Christopher Lee (2010) responds to this need for a recovery of colonial childhood histories. His work on the experiences of multiracial children in Nyasaland is particularly relevant to the research presented in this thesis, as there is very little work that has approached the experiences of historical children in Africa through the colonial archive. Through an in-depth reading of the archives, Lee reconstructs the status and agency of multiracial colonial children by presenting them as 'active participants in the making and unmaking of social orders' (Lee, 2010: 26). He demonstrates the children's acute awareness of their social status and predicaments. However, Lee

[7] See the Journal of Family History, Vol. 35, issue 1. This is a special issue dedicated to various aspects of childhood in Africa. Lee's (2010) article on Children in the Archives is part of this special issue.

shows the agency of children from mixed-race backgrounds, in how they responded to their fragile situations through the writing of letters to the Nyasaland administration. These letters reveal that they frequently asked the government for support from/or on behalf of their British fathers, who had abandoned them and their mothers. He acknowledges the methodological challenges of archival research, particularly in terms of the 'lack of source materials – oral or written – that express the experience and perspective of the child directly from childhood' (ibid: 29). Nevertheless, these faint voices that Lee locates 'speak with a particular voice' and in his assessment he shows that 'these children remained agents of change through personal histories that fundamentally challenged existing boundaries of race and responsibility' (ibid: 40). The archival search for the faint voices of European children in this research presented similar challenges, but equally rewarding results.

2.4.2 Whiteness, Postcolonialism & Children of Empire

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the academic literature focussing on the lives of white European children in the colonies remains limited. Vyvyen Brendon (2005) and David Pomfret's (2016) work remain the most exhaustive studies of white childhood in the colonies. They have both made vital strides in bringing European children's voices into the narrative of colonial history, but this research suggests a further step towards integrating European children's stories into the postcolonial narrative of complex, layered and hybrid identities that were shaped by a shared colonial experience. This thesis builds on the work of two key authors, Beana (2009) and Errante (2003) who both allude to the usefulness of a postcolonial analytical framework when studying white children's colonial experiences, but neither of whom explicitly situate their work within a postcolonial analysis of hybrid identities.

Beana's (2009) examination of Englishness in white colonial childhood memoirs, draws on Brendon's collection of white Indian childhood narratives – alongside well-known white autobiographical childhood memoirs of colonial Africa (Fuller, 2002; Godwin, 1996; Huxley, 1959) – and explores issues surrounding national identity. Beana also briefly makes reference to the work of the eminent postcolonial scholar Gayatri Spivak (1993) when she identifies the absence of attention to the ways in which Empire messed/messes with European

and British identities as well as subaltern ones (Beana, 2009: 443). This reiterates the usefulness of postcolonial theory, which can provide an apt framework within which to analyse the life worlds of *white colonial* children in Africa as well as those who were *colonised*. This has been clearly demonstrated by Errante's (2003) work in Mozambique which was discussed briefly in chapter one.

Errante (2003) addresses the experiences of Portuguese colonial settler children and African children in Mozambique, through the lens of colonial education. Her work seeks to revise and rectify common misconceptions of colonial life in Mozambique that were largely promoted by the colonial metropole. She refers to the 'myth of white omnipotence' and how this was not representative of the majority of white Portuguese settlers who emigrated to Africa. The 'myth of white omnipotence' is a term used by Errante to describe the common view that all white people in the colonies inhabited equally privileged status in society. She disputes this myth by showing that the *actual* distribution of power and status of white people in relation to each other as well as other racial groups has been skewed by conventional historical representations of colonialism (ibid: 10-13).

Errante's paper provides a framework within which to think about colonialism as a complex 'shared culture' (ibid: 8), which was negotiated in unique ways by the white children who occupied a certain 'place' within it. Errante alludes to a connection with postcolonial theory from the outset as her work is entitled *'Many Masks'*, creating an immediate link to the ideas of Franz Fanon (1952) through a direct reference to his book *Peau noire, masques blancs [Black skin, white masks].* Despite this initial direct, intertextual reference to his work, her engagement with postcolonial theory thereafter remains limited. However, Errante does make a convincing case for the need to bring white colonial children into the discourses of postcolonialism. Furthermore, the link that she identifies between white colonial children's experiences and postcolonial studies, has provided a platform for future work to think about colonial history in new ways and from new perspectives.

This thesis continues to broaden and go beyond the work of Errante and Beana, by consciously framing the lives of European colonial childhood narratives in the discourse of postcolonial theory. Fanon's concept of 'masks' that Errante brings into her study of Portuguese children, proved particularly useful in considering the hybrid identities of white colonial children in Nyasaland. The

research presented in this thesis explores the autonomous agency and ability of children to 'pick and choose' their 'masks' depending on the appropriate social context. Combining the study of white children's historical geographies in Nyasaland with postcolonial theory is an important step toward integrating the histories of both colonised and colonisers, in order to achieve a more holistic picture of the complex, stratified and hybrid nature of colonial society.

A shortcoming of a number of the aforementioned texts on white colonial childhood is their oversight of ideas of 'whiteness' and, as Blunt (2005) rightly asserts, its inextricable connection with ideas of 'Britishness' during the British colonial period. In response, this thesis seeks to problematise the European children's 'whiteness' in the colonies by revealing the structures within which ideas of white privilege and white superiority were produced, reproduced, justified and normalised.

Vron Ware's book, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History* (2015), first published in 1992, is a crucial contribution to the field of Critical Whiteness Studies which has expanded rapidly since the 1990s (see: Frankenberg, 1997; Hill, 1997; Najmi & Srikanth, 2002; Rasmussen et al., 2001; Roediger, 1998). Ware has long asserted that contemporary ideas and expressions of whiteness, including the exclusivity of early feminist schools of thought, can be explained through an historical and gendered analysis of the centuries of constructed white superiority from slavery through to colonialism.

In *Beyond the Pale*, she questions why there are so few studies by white feminists on *white* femininity. She promptly suggests an answer to her own question, explaining how it is easy in a predominantly white society to take whiteness as a 'norm', relegating anyone who identifies as non-white to occupy a defined racial category that requires classification. Even though white people were a significant minority in Nyasaland, the imperial constructs of race still asserted whiteness as a social norm which constituted a 'racial standard' to which all colonial subjects were expected to aspire. Ware (2015) argues for the need to dissect whiteness as an ethnicity in itself, rather than being presumed as the 'norm' against which 'other' identities are then pitched. She notes that there is also a political necessity to analyse whiteness as an ethnicity, noting that white feminists have managed to avoid dissecting the 'cultural and racial components of

white femininity' despite being 'eager to hear what black women have to say about their racialised and gendered identities' (p. xx-xxi).

In the quest to try and understand constructs of whiteness during the colonial period, as oppose to framing contemporary whiteness in its historical analysis, this thesis seeks to unravel the ways in which the children's whiteness, regardless of their nationality, was bound up in ideas of Britishness. It begs the question of how the embodiment and perceptions of whiteness by European children in Nyasaland was cross-cut by individual understandings of race, place and gender in the spaces that they encountered in both Africa and in Europe. In Blunt's (2005) analysis of whiteness in the context of Anglo-Indian[8] communities, she observed that during the time of the British Raj in India the construct of Britishness was dependent on the construct of whiteness. Her analysis shows that the lighter the shade of an Anglo-Indian's skin colour, the more accessible becoming British and making a new home in Britain was. This thesis suggests a further notion that this dependency was interchangeable, and that ideas of whiteness were also bound up in ideas of Britishness, i.e. the epitome of whiteness was also to be British. This is illustrated throughout the thesis by the non-British white children's experiences of being excluded from certain elitist white activities, such as the colonial British clubs and sometimes the associated sports teams. It is also evidenced by the partial success of the colonial state to indoctrinate non-British white European children with imperial British values that made them feel at least some allegiance to Britain, the British Empire and the British Monarchy.

European children were caught up in the tangled imaginings of whiteness and Britishness that were projected by the colonial state into their homes, schools and communities. However, it is important to note how whiteness and Britishness are also visible in the ways in which children were dissident from the 'nature of whiteness' that they were supposed to embody. Their sometime brazen rejection of such expectations meant that children transgressed the constraints of their whiteness and engaged with non-white people and their cultures and languages.

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[8] Here, the term 'Anglo-Indian' refers to people of mixed European and Indian descent. Conversely, in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the term was often used to refer to the British in India, and is occasionally still used in this way. However, after the Indian Census of 1911, the term was used to refer to a person of mixed Indian and European heritage, usually of European paternal descent, living in British colonial India (see: Blunt, 2005).

This, of course, was a privilege afforded to them because of their racial status and mobility across lines of race, but it nonetheless illustrates the existence of their whiteness given the very nature that it *could* be transgressed. Whiteness can be dissected in this context through the colonial authorities' stark and anxious reactions to any behaviour by white children that was perceived to veer from the white British identities they were trying so hard to nurture.

However, it is critical to note that attributes of colonial British whiteness were also imagined along gendered lines which were reinforced by colonial ideologies of white and non-white gender stereotypes. The behaviours of white men toward colonised people were constructed differently to those of white women, and both were simultaneously dependent on constructions of racial difference (Blunt, 2005). As such, Blunt warns against the analysis of white gender differences in the colonies that are made visible at the expense of constructions of racial difference. It is therefore important to remember that European boys and girls experienced and constructed whiteness differently in relation to the socio-political world around them that was cross-cut by dynamics of age, race, nationality, geographical location and their family's own nuanced political leanings. Gender is a vital mode of analysis in the case of European children, as even transgression between gendered ideas of whiteness had the potential to threaten the stability of colonial constructions of whiteness.

With all of this in mind, it is important to understand that any categorisation of *whiteness* is susceptible to constant change. Bonnett (2000) warns against simplistic interpretations of whiteness as a 'monolithic and stable racial entity' (p. 127); a criticism he levels at the earlier British anti-racist movement which drove early whiteness studies. Drawing on the work of Ruth Frankenberg (1993), this thesis seeks to underpin a postcolonial reading of European children's lives and identities in Nyasaland within an analysis that considers the changeable and varying articulations of the construct of whiteness, depending on 'geographical origin, generation, ethnicity, political orientation [and] gender' (p. 18).

2.5 Conclusion

As illustrated by the preceding review of the literature in this chapter, the lack of literature concerned with the experiences of African children (of all races) is not unique to Malawi. Current studies of historical childhood in Africa have been dominated by literary analyses of (auto)biographies and have consequently not engaged with important contemporary theories in either the social studies of childhood or children's geographies. A clear gap in the literature emerges from this review, which calls for an in-depth critical analysis of historical children's *spatiotemporal* experiences of empire. Using the contemporary framework of children's geographies and the social studies of childhood, the research presented in the following chapters explores the ways in which European colonial children negotiated the spatial environment of empire in Nyasaland, and how this in turn aided or restricted the construction of their unique childhoods. Although these children cannot be described as 'colonised', they did have stratified and complex worlds of their own that were framed by crosscutting dynamics of race, class, gender and age. White European children in Nyasaland experienced colonialism in unique and different ways to that of their parents or grandparents who largely *chose* to emigrate to Africa. Having established the conceptual and theoretical frameworks that underpin the analysis of the research presented in this thesis, the following chapter elaborates the methodological approach adopted to address the research questions set out in section 1.3.

Chapter Three

3. Mobilising the Voices of History's European Colonial Children: Research Methods and Analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the chosen methodologies for collecting and analysing the stories of colonial childhoods from Europeans who grew up in Nyasaland, in order to address the research questions (as laid out in chapter one, section 1.3) through the conceptual framework of postcolonial theory (established in Chapter 2). This research required a multi-method approach to data collection and thus gathered a thorough and in-depth set of materials for analysis. The main sources used were gathered from six archive collections in the UK and Malawi, thirty-six semi-structured interviews and both published and unpublished autobiographies of life in Nyasaland. The following discussion addresses both the advantages and challenges of using these sources, the methodologies used to gather and analyse this qualitative data and a brief

overview of the ethical considerations that were taken into account. Through this multi-method approach to data collection and analysis, this thesis uncovers and reconstructs the life histories of European colonial children in Nyasaland.

3.2 Narrative Research: Discussing the Sources

The multi-method approach adopted to construct the geographical histories of colonial children, led to a natural and overarching engagement in the complex dynamics of narrative research. The broad label of narrative research emphasises the potential for stories to help us describe, understand and even explain important aspects of the world; how are stories produced, consumed, silenced, contested, accepted and what effects do they have? (Squire et al., 2013: 2). It, therefore, provided a useful lens through which to conduct this fieldwork, as narrative research provides a foundation from which to 'study stories' and asserts that 'narratives carry traces of human lives that we want to understand' (ibid: 1-2).

Squire et al. (2013) break down the theoretical aspects of narrative research into three parts; *event-centred* narratives, *experience-centred* narratives and *co-constructed* narratives. The first '*event-centred* narrative' refers to traditional spoken accounts of past *events* recounted by a narrator/interviewee, whereas the second '*experience-centred* narrative', encompasses multiple forms of media, ranging from recorded oral histories to diaries, letters or visual material such as photo albums, or objects which harbour and represent life memories. These two categories easily overlap and can be used to complement each other in research methodologies, as will be illustrated by the multi-faceted approach adopted for this research in the collection of historical childhood narratives. Visual material from both the archives and respondents' personal collections play an important role in the methodology for the research recounted in this thesis, enriching the interviews conducted with former colonial children.

The third theoretical aspect of narrative research is the idea of *co-constructed* narratives, which refers to the importance of recognising how narratives are *produced* by the interpersonal relationship between interviewer and interviewee. Salmon & Riessman (2013: 202) illustrate how narrative research is an ongoing process of negotiating meaning; 'The speaker's (or writer's) intent is always met with the analyst's interpretation, which in turn is

situated in shifting discourses, history, politics and culture. It is never ending, always open to re-interpretation.' This is highly relevant in this research, as *colonial* childhood narratives are interpreted in the *postcolonial* context of the present day. Furthermore, this point emphasises the need – as the 'analyst' – to write one's position into the process of producing narrative research (see section 3.2.5 for further discussion of author's positionality).

3.2.1 Childhood Memoirs and (Auto)Biographies

For this research, published memoirs of colonial childhood across British South-East Africa, and more specifically those written by people who grew up in Nyasaland, were actively sought out. Autobiographical accounts of colonial childhood in British colonies in Africa are relatively widespread, though the genre seems to be dominated by those who grew up in the larger settler colonies of colonial Kenya and Rhodesia (Acton, 1990; Considine & Rawlins, 2004; Fuller, 2002; Godwin, 1996; Huxley, 1959; Read, 1979). These serve as important primary sources as they are first hand accounts of children's lives in the colonies (albeit recounted through the lens of adulthood) and, form interesting points of comparison between experiences of the different British colonies in Africa.

In the periodical journal of the Society of Malawi, there have also been some shorter memoirs published recalling life as a European child in Nyasaland (Kemp, 2006; Kittermaster, 1999). There is also a small number of self-published memoirs of family life, including Enid Waterfield's memoir of being a mother in Nyasaland (Waterfield, 2008) and the family story of the Barrons who ran the Mbabzi estate near Lilongwe (Barron, 2013). However, perhaps the most extensive of these biographical sources is the collection of memoirs published by Baker. Each of the four volumes of *Expatriate Experience of Life and Work in Nyasaland,* include collections of childhood memoirs (Baker, 2012; 2013; 2014; 2016). The analysis of these memoirs is a new contribution to the field of colonial historical geographies, and both supports and complements the data collected through archival visits and interviews. However, these written accounts of life in the colonies must be read with caution; how and what is remembered and recounted, is always a highly selective and self-censored process. Nevertheless, these accounts provide valuable insight into the daily lives of Europeans (including children) in Nyasaland, which contributes richly to material for

analysis in this thesis.

3.2.2 Negotiating Memory

One of the most methodologically problematic issues when dealing with oral history interviews and with autobiographies is the notion of *memory*. Referred to as *narrativization* in postcolonial literature, authors of memoirs and interviewees can project their present 'self' along with contemporary political/world views onto their past self; '…questioning … the multiple selves of the past and their "truths"' (Walder, 2003: 14). This can suggest a certain degree of instability in the oral history interviews collected, though it does not render them invalid, but rather adds the dimension of the respondent's *reflections* into the interview process. One suggested interview technique which aims to encourage narratives of *actual* lived experiences, advises hearing out the respondent's 'self-analysis' of the past, before continuing to introduce questions that respectfully consider their experience from a range of different angles (McConville & Bryson, 2014).

However, both Abrams (2010) and Portelli (2006) suggest that this aspect of oral histories should be celebrated and embraced as much as it should be treated with caution. Abrams advises that oral history should be approached as a '*subjective* methodology, celebrating its orality [and] recognising that memory stories are contingent and often fluid' and that they 'mediate between personal memory and the social world' (p. 7, author's emphasis). Likewise, Portelli (2006) highlights the potential for oral testimonies to be closer to the narrated events than the written accounts that have recorded them 'officially.' He also emphasises the value of individual remembering, by stating that we must recognise that 'memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings' (p. 37), which in turn, reveals the narrator's efforts to make sense of their lives and past experiences in a contemporary context. Although memory cannot be deemed completely reliable in objective terms, it holds a truth-value for the narrator, and it is important that the interviewer acknowledges this (Abrams, 2010).

In short, oral history and autobiography are complex processes in which respondents and authors recall their life memories in the context of their own 'reflective hindsight.' These recollections will never be delivered in their purest

form because memory is fluid and changing, influenced by the contemporary contexts in which they are remembered and expressed. As a researcher collecting oral history interviews, it is important to create an environment in which a respondent feels that they are able to speak confidentially and comfortably about their lives. Abrams (2010) reminds researchers that memory itself is not just a source, but rather it is a participant's interpretation of their own experiences. Furthermore, the researcher themself adds to the layers of interpretation of oral histories through the process of analysis; at this point they must consider, not just what was said, but also what is left out, as well as the various influences that may have shaped the narrator's recollections.

3.2.3 Oral Histories

Although *oral tradition* has existed for centuries as a method of passing down stories and histories through generations, *oral history* as an academic methodological approach to collecting narratives for social historical study is a more recent phenomenon. It first came into academic discourse in the 1940s when Allan Nevins used the term when recording the memories of a group of Americans, and was further developed in the 1960s and 1970s to become an established method of research (George & Stratford, 2010: 140). Abrams (2010) states that in the early years after World War II, oral history struggled to find legitimacy within the strict disciplinary traditions of academia. This contrasts sharply with contemporary attitudes towards oral history; it has now become 'the methodology of choice (and necessity) amongst the scholars of the twentieth century seeking to uncover the experiences … of groups who [have] traditionally been disregarded by conventional histories' (Abrams, 2010: 4).

These early criticisms were grounded in what was thought to be a lack of legitimacy and reliability that resulted from the informal nature of collecting first hand oral testimonies. For a long time historians who chose to use oral sources in their research met strong criticism, and oral testimonies were not deemed to have validity. Oral history still comes up against such criticisms, but as Abrams (2010: 6) highlights, oral historians have left behind reactions of defensiveness and instead have remodelled oral history as a new and innovative methodology – an 'analytical practice' in its own right.

Portelli (2006: 37) echoes the views of Abrams, and stresses that oral

sources are credible, but represent a *different* kind of credibility to written sources. He states that 'the importance of oral testimony may not lie in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism and desire emerge.' He hastens to add that this does not mean that he believes that traditional written sources are necessarily more reliable than oral ones, but that they carry a *different* credibility and must be approached in different ways. He actually suggests that most 'written documents are often the uncontrolled transmission of unidentified oral sources…' (ibid: 37) and must be treated with as much caution as oral testimony. He gives the example of historical court records, which he says do not reflect the words actually spoken by the witness but rather they are a summary of what was dictated by the judge to the clerk, and were, therefore, open to prejudice. Likewise, he refers to the frequent use – in standard historical research – of Parliamentary records, meeting minutes and interviews in newspapers which all began as oral sources, and in the process of transcription are also susceptible to alteration. This article by Portelli was first published in 1979 when oral sources were not well received within academia, and has since been republished in an edited volume called *The Oral History Reader* (Perks & Thomson, 2006). Although oral history does not face the same prejudices as it did then, Portelli's arguments for the validity and usefulness of this method of research remain strong and relevant for the use of this methodology in the contemporary research recounted in this thesis.

For contemporary scholars, oral history has now become a necessary and vital method for studying the recent past. Thompson (2006) reiterates how reality is complex and many-sided, and suggests that oral histories – to a greater extent than more traditional sources – allow for a wide variety of historical standpoints to be reconstructed. He does acknowledge the potential for an inadequate representation of a given community within an oral history project, but suggests that, as far as possible, the study must include people from as many different social situations as possible. For this research it was necessary to recruit as diverse a sample of former European colonial children as possible, seeking out a similar number of men and women as well as those who lived in urban and rural areas and who had parents and grandparents of different nationalities who moved to Nyasaland for various reasons; e.g government officials, doctors and nurses, missionaries, settlers and farmers.

Thompson (2006: 36) states that 'Oral history is a history built around people' and was pioneered by social historians. However, it has increasingly been adopted as a research method by other disciplines as well. George & Stratford (2010) have extensively engaged in oral history research within the context of human geography and remark that:

> '... [Oral history] has become a useful tool in human geography, illuminating how recollections and representations are *placed* over extended periods and enabling researchers to track and understand changes across spatial scales as well as temporal ones.' (p. 141)

The central concern of human geography is to further our understanding of 'people and space.' By using oral histories in a similar vein to George and Stratford, this thesis maps colonial childhood, not just in relation to time, but also in relation to the everyday spaces in which European children grew up. A central aim in this research is to understand European colonial children's experiences in relation to space, place, landscapes and environments. Structuring the participant interviews to focus on childhood experiences in 'colonial spaces,' provided a detailed, informative and unique data set for further geographical and historical analysis (as outlined in chapter eight).

3.2.4 Stories from the Archives

The methodological challenges of using archives in historical research are evident. Both Mills and Lee have usefully recounted their experiences of encountering childhood histories in the archives (Lee, 2010; Mills, 2012). The children's stories that are uncovered in the archives can sometimes be frustratingly inconclusive; letters which have not been responded to, or photographs with no record of names or dates.

Mills (2012: 358) also highlights that researchers must be aware of the 'politics of the archive' and how different constructions of certain types of knowledge may impact or restrict the research. Thompson (2006: 27) elaborates this idea of a *politically-influenced archive*, identifying a trend which suggests that the more personal, local or unofficial a document, the less likely it was to be archived and to survive. He refers to this phenomenon as a 'great recording machine,' which sought to shape the past in its own image. Despite this challenge, he goes on to suggest that we can use these official records in new and innovative

ways, searching for minority histories within official records by using new approaches. He gives the example of court documents and records, which he says contain a 'remarkable amount of unexploited and ordinary information' (p. 27). The restraints are still clear, but the ingenuity of this approach can lead to a deeper and new reading of 'official' archival documents.

Likewise, Stoler (2010) reads the 'official' archive as a vibrant resource, and searches for the uncertainty and doubt of the colonial imagination in the face of an ever changing imperial world. She regards that which is "unwritten" in the colonial archive as something that does not always have to be interpreted as "hidden." She suggests that it could be understood instead as something that was simply taken for granted in the colonial context, and requires a deeper reading and interpretation of the archive by the researcher.

An apt example of how silenced and hidden histories in the archives can be pieced together and reconstructed, can be found in McCracken's work which tells the story of Elizabeth Pithie's life in Nyasaland (McCracken, 2011). At the outset it would appear that she is only identifiable in the archive by her two marriages to male colonial figures, but through careful research McCracken unearths her story from unlikely sources that are not directly about her; for example, a man who was present at her two year old son's funeral describes her 'calm and resign like nature' (p. 7) during the event. By reading male accounts of life in Nyasaland with the intention of unearthing the stories of women, McCracken was able to reconstruct the remarkable life of a woman who made a significant contribution to the founding Scottish mission in Blantyre, and consequently to the production of colonial society.

Similarly, in her research on the Girl Guide Association, Mills (2012) describes her experience of searching for children in the archives, saying that they are ''out-of-sight' research subjects housed in filing cabinets […] hidden amongst adult accounts' (p. 359). This was very much the experience of searching for European children in the colonial archives that was encountered in the research undertaken for this thesis. The fragmented stories of children's lives were 'hidden' away in unexpected places (see section 3.3.3 of this chapter for further reflection on working in the archives).

3.3 Collecting the Data

3.3.1 Participant Sample and Study Sites

This section reflects upon the sample size and characteristics of the participants recruited for this research. The initial target was to collect 35-40 interviews over the period of time allocated for fieldwork, as this has been identified as an average number of interviews used in qualitative PhD research across different disciplines (Baker et al., 2014). After conducting a total of 36 interviews, 20 in Malawi, 14 in the UK and 2 over skype with participants in the USA and Australia, the data comprised of a good sample of participants that represented a number of different European sectors of colonial society in Nyasaland (this is discussed in more detail later in this section). Towards the final few interviews, it was clear that the interviews had reached a point of 'saturation.' Saturation was monitored through 'constant comparison' of the themes emerging from each interview, and reaching saturation was eventually identified by the frequent reoccurrence of the repeated themes in the final few interviews (Bowen, 2008: 139).

At the time of interviewing sixteen participants lived outside of Malawi, and twenty were still resident in Malawi. Of the sixteen who had left Malawi, one was living in the USA and another in Australia. The remaining fourteen were all living in the UK, of whom a few had either stayed on in Nyasaland/Malawi into adulthood or had moved back there for a period of time in their adult lives before settling in the UK.

The variable of where participants lived at the time of interview did not seem to alter the context of what they recalled about childhood in Nyasaland, such as the hierarchical racial and gendered structures of home life, varying degrees of relationships with servants, the different types of food that they ate and memories from school life. However, at times there was a general pattern change in *how* they recalled their childhoods. Among those who had left Nyasaland/Malawi and had had international careers or settled in the UK, there was a stronger cathartic element to their recollections. In Colin Baker's (2014) third volume of collected stories from Nyasaland, Angela Phillips succinctly explains why this might have been. When she moved to the UK for the first time aged 16, she began to develop

her own socio-political ideas, grappling with the privileged position, as a part of the colonial 'ruling elite', with which she had grown up. She admits that she tried not to bring up her colonial background, saying, 'I rarely spoke about my colonial heritage. It didn't play well in the social circle in which I found myself' (p. 79).

For many of these participants, there was a clear struggle to reconcile the lived reality of their own family lives in a colonial space with the negative collective memory of colonialism in a postcolonial Western world. Many of them appeared to have a more complex relationship with their identities as 'children of the colonial era' than those who stayed, which was projected onto their recollections of their childhoods. One example of how this manifested itself in the interviews, was how those who had left Malawi were overall more apologetic for the colonial terminology such as 'houseboy', which was used during their childhoods.

That being said, the participants who had left Malawi also expressed more nostalgia for the *place* that was once home. They used more sensory language to describe the sights, smells and sounds of Nyasaland that contrasted starkly with their current surroundings and existence. Given that participants who still lived in Malawi were often still living in their family homes, or at least not far from where they had grown up, there was less nostalgia for the *places* where they had grown up. Conversely, the nostalgia expressed by those who stayed in Malawi was centred around a *time* in their lives, a *time* of childhood games and antics, and for some even a *time* of what they deemed to be a politically stable and a prosperous socio-economic environment. Some of the political nostalgia was not easy to hear, but allowing people to talk through their reflections revealed that this was less about harking after a time of British imperialism than it was about lamenting the current political situation and the economic struggles of modern-day Malawi. They spent time drawing comparisons between life in Nyasaland and in the contemporary Malawi they now knew. This created an overall divergent stance from those who had left Nyasaland and now had little to no contact with contemporary life in Malawi, though it did not change the general thematic content of the participants' childhood recollections across the sample.

In order to recruit participants in both the UK and Malawi, a 'snowballing' technique was used, whereby interviewees were invited to suggest other

prospective participants and relevant networks (e.g. the "Friends of Malawi"[9] group who are based here in the UK, and the "Federal Saints Journal"[10] which has a global reach). McConville & Bryson (2014: 58) have warned of the disadvantages of snowballing participants, and advise that researchers check their 'stock of participants' regularly to ensure a good representation of people among the sample. Although snowballing participants proved to be a successful method of recruiting participants in the case of the fieldwork carried out for this thesis, it was important to remain aware of the potential to end up with an inadequate representation of people from various sectors of the white colonial community. It was essential to keep a record of participant profiles throughout the fieldwork to try and make sure a good and varied sample of interviewees were taking part in the study [for details of participants see Appendices 1 & 2]. The participant profiles in Appendix 1 give important background information on the children's lives. The profiles record their age, their parents' occupations, family nationality, the different areas in which they lived (rural/urban) and the location and names of the schools that they attended. Appendix 2 gives a more detailed overview of each of the participants family backgrounds and lives in Nyasaland, including when and where they went to school, and whether they left Nyasaland or stayed on through independence and into present day Malawi.

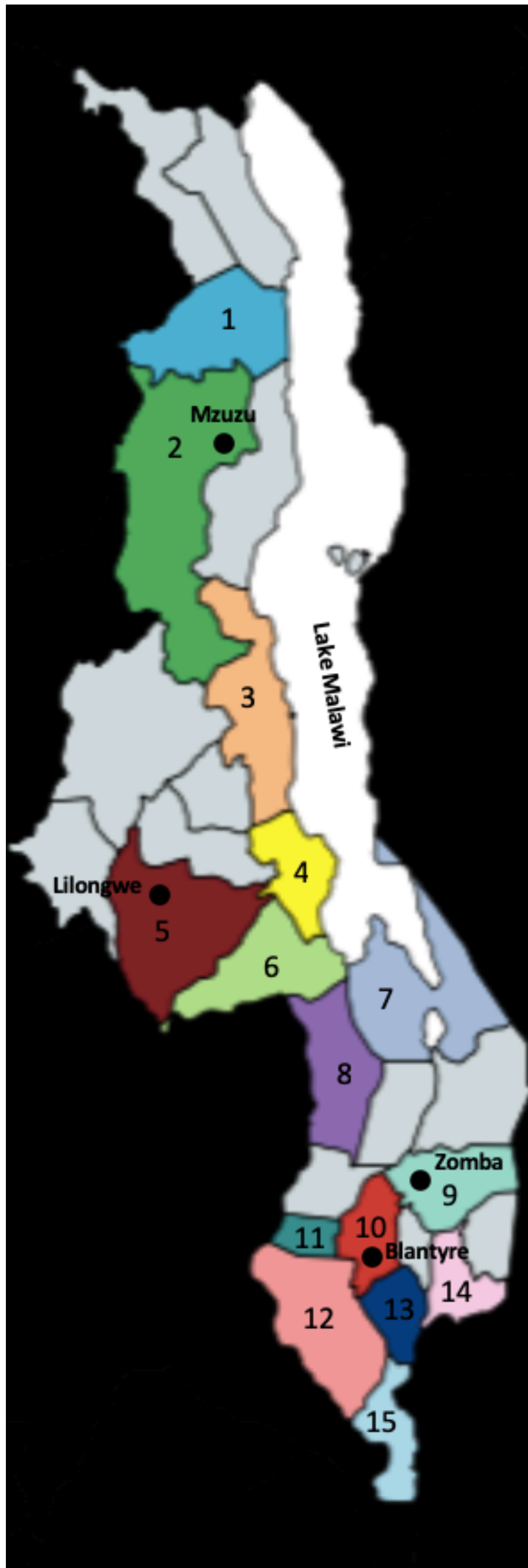
Snowballing, however, was a very successful technique for recruiting interviewees for this research. This was particularly the case in Malawi where it was much harder to communicate with people via email and telephone than it was in the UK. Many people did not have access to the internet on a regular basis, if at all, landline telephones are few and far between, especially in the rural areas and mobile phone reception can be very poor outside of the cities. This often made it difficult to follow up contacts, and consequently made it difficult to access potential research participants. In addition to this, it became clear that in Malawi there was far more reluctance to take part in interviews than there had been

[9] Network of people who used to live in Nyasaland/Malawi and now live in the UK. They meet for social events and hold fundraisers to raise money for development work in Malawi.
[10] A monthly newsletter put together and published by Ian Whitfield in South Africa. It is widely circulated to a mailing list of people who attended either St. Andrews Primary or High School in Blantyre in the 1950s, during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It consists of anecdotes, letters, short memoirs and photographs contributed largely by those who are signed up to the electronic mailing list.

among respondents in the UK and participants were more wary of being recorded. It is possible that previous politically sensitive climates – that many of these interviewees had lived through – played a role in their unease at expressing their opinions or talking about the colonial period on a voice recording. This meant that even once contact had been made with a potential respondent in Malawi, they did not always agree to take part. This posed a challenge to the collection of primary interview data, and hindered the effect of 'snowballing' participants.

One solution to this problem was to create a flyer giving details about the research and the participant requirements, which was distributed around cafes in Blantyre. It also proved useful to give this flier to people who mentioned that they might know someone eligible to be interviewed. This was a successful approach as it had a wide reach, and allowed people to take the flyers away and pass them on to friends/family members who might like to get involved. Additionally, it gave them time and space to think about whether they would like to be interviewed, and gave them full control over their decision to make contact, ask questions and whether or not to take part. After a slow start the first few interviewees in Malawi came forward, and from then onwards things quickly turned around. Contacts began to snowball at such a rate that the fieldwork period was extended by a week in order to have time to interview everyone. Consequently, over a five-month period, twenty participants were interviewed in Malawi for this research.

Due to the target group of participants being quite small, and the sometimes difficult access to willing participants, it was not possible to turn down interviews on the basis that different criteria were required. However, people from particular backgrounds and communities were often sought out (e.g. Greek nationality) after checking the record of participants those that were under represented. In this way, a good representation of both male and female participants was gathered, as well as those who grew up in rural and urban areas of Nyasaland, and those from different European origins and cultures. The interviews, therefore, represent an array of perspectives, which describe peoples' childhood experiences in a variety of colonial contexts, including planters, traders and administrative communities, within Nyasaland. Figure 3.1 shows a summative map, illustrating the widespread areas in which the participants for this research lived and went to school in Nyasaland.



Key:

1. **Rumphi** - Two participants lived here for a part of their childhood in Nyasaland
2. **Mzimba** - Two participants lived here for a part of their childhood in Nyasaland
3. **Nkhotakhota** - Only one participant spent a part of their childhood in Nyasaland at Nkhotakhota
4. **Salima** - Four participants spent some of their time in Nyasaland living here
5. **Lilongwe** - One of the more urban areas, six participants spent part of their time in Nyasaland here. Only two participants went to the school, Sir Bishop Mackenzie's School, that was based here. The school was only established later in the protectorate years.
6. **Dedza** - Two participants lived here for a part of their childhood in Nyasaland
7. **Mangochi** - This was where a large majority of the Greek participants lived. Six participants in total lived here for part or all of their childhoods in Nyasaland.
8. **Ntcheu** - Four participants spent some of their time in Nyasaland living here
9. **Zomba** - Being the colonial capital, seventeen participants spent at least part of their childhoods in Nyasaland living here. Seven of those attended the preparatory school, later known as Sir Harry Johnston, whilst living here.
10. **Blantyre** - Ten participants spent some or all of their time in Nyasaland living here. The St Andrews Preparatory and High schools were based here, and were attended by thirteen participants. The town of Limbe is located in this district, which is also where the La Sagesse Convent school was based. Thirteen participants attended the Convent school at some point in their childhood in Nyasaland.
11. **Mwanza** - Only one participant spent a part of their childhood in Nyasaland in Mwanza
12. **Chikwawa** - Only one participant spent a part of their childhood in Nyasaland in Mwanza
13. **Thyolo** - Three participants spent all or part of their lives living here. There was also a European school located here called Glenae School. It was very small and did not stay open long, but two participants attended whilst it was still running.
14. **Mulanje** - Two participants lived here for a part of their childhood in Nyasaland
15. **Nsanje** - Only one participant spent a part of their childhood in Nyasaland in Nsanje

Figure 3.1 "A summative map illustrating where the participants of this research lived and went to school whilst in Nyasaland" *Source:* Bespoke map created by author using the following website: https://mapchart.net/africa-detailed.html [accessed on 04/01/2019]

Although the sample of European participants is diverse, an obvious shortcoming is the lack of participants who grew up in European missionary families. It proved very difficult to recruit anyone who had grown up on a mission station or whose parents were missionaries in the period before independence. This could be due to the small number of missionary families in Nyasaland compared to the European populations in the civil service and farming sectors. Many Christian missionaries who went to Africa in the colonial period were also single, young men, only some of whom would have started families there.

It is important that the voices of missionary children are not missing from the research; therefore, memoirs and archival material that can shed some light on how European missionary children experienced life in Nyasaland have been actively sought out. One of the more prominent and detailed of these accounts is the autobiography written by Emily Booth Langworthy (1950). She was the daughter of Joseph Booth, one of the most well-known early Christian missionaries to Nyasaland. She talks in detail about her experiences in Central Africa in the late nineteenth century, and her close relationship with her father. There are other short accounts of childhood in mission environments in the fourth book of Colin Baker's collection of *Experience of Life and Work in Nyasaland* (Baker, 2016).

As the majority of early missionaries to Nyasaland were Scottish, it was essential to visit the Edinburgh University Library Archives (EUL) to seek out stories from the early European missionary families. The research carried out in the archives will be discussed in more detail in section 3.3.3 of this chapter. Material such as this has helped to give voice to this group of European children who have not featured in the interviews.

3.3.2 Methods of Interviewing

This next section explores the different interviewing techniques that can be used to collect oral histories, and evaluates the most appropriate method of interviewing adopted for this research. There are three main techniques used in interviewing which have been clearly outlined by Dunn (2010); structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviewing. Structured interviewing uses an interview schedule that is fairly inflexible. The questions are carefully worded

prior to the interview and are a series of set questions that are usually asked in the same order. This technique was considered too regimented and question-focused for this research and was ruled out because it did not leave enough scope for respondents to bring up issues that might have been overlooked, or to freely recall their childhood memories. Furthermore, it would have restricted a fluid narrative on the part of the respondent.

In comparison, unstructured interviews are not question-focused like structured interviews or even content focused like semi-structured interviews. Rather, unstructured interviews are respondent focused, and questions are developed on the basis of the interviewee's narrative on the day. Dunn (2010) suggests that this is the most common interviewing technique for collecting oral histories. However, in the case of this research, some structure and prompting was necessary due to the fact that respondents were being asked to recall a specific period of their life. In this way, the interviews were content focused and consequently a semi-structured format was most ideal for the purposes of the research recounted in this thesis.

Semi-structured interviewing uses prompts and an interview schedule to guide the interview. The interview schedule is a series of questions that can be sent to the respondent prior to the interview. This allows the respondent to begin thinking about their answers before the date of the interview, which can encourage recollections that have been thought through and are then articulated in greater detail during the interview itself. A question schedule can also put the interviewee at ease, as they have a better idea of what to expect from the interview. A drawback to using prompts and pre-worded questions to guide the interview is that it has the potential to cause the narrative to come across stilted. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the interviewer to use the prompts in a sensitive manner, and to make sure that the interview flows naturally and that the respondent still feels comfortable to bring up topics that have not been covered in the interview schedule.

The need for structure in this research was evident after conducting an initial pilot interview in April 2015, with the first respondent. The interviewee was keen to talk about events later in his life when he had returned to Malawi as an adult. This information was useful, but too much time was spent on adult events and memories, rather than those from his childhood. This showed there was a

need for clearer prompting and wording of questions in order to guide the interview more effectively towards childhood memories. Consequently, interview schedules were sent to subsequent respondents prior to the interview (for the reasons discussed above). Whilst it was made clear that the respondent was not obliged to stick to the question schedule, there was some guidance throughout the interview to stay focused on childhood recollections.

As such, the interviews followed a semi-structured format, with the aim of allowing each respondent the freedom to talk about their life history without the restriction of too many questions. This successfully resulted in participant-led narratives, and culminated in detailed accounts of their childhood memories. These primary sources provided a valuable analytical tool for investigation into the social, geographical and political structures of colonial society, observed through the lens of childhood experience.

3.3.3 Archive Visits

Due to finite time and resource restrictions on the research, the number of archival collections that were consulted for this research was restricted to five, namely; The Oxford Colonial Records Collection; the British National Archives (BNA); The University of Edinburgh Library Archives (EUL); The Malawi National Archives (MNA) and The Society of Malawi Library and Archives (SoM).

The final two collections mentioned are based in Malawi, and their sole content is focussed on Malawian history. Consequently they both contributed the most data to this research. The other collections were chosen on the basis that they have large colonial depositories, and because Nyasaland featured on their online catalogues. However, it was often difficult to know from an online search how much material the archive held on Nyasaland, and the only way to find out was to go to the archive and view the files in person. As Nyasaland was a small and resource-poor colonial territory, it was found that there was also far less archival material documenting its history than the larger ex-British colonies. This was immediately evident on my first archival visit to the Oxford Colonial Records Collection, where they had very little material on Nyasaland in comparison to the larger former British colonies such as Gold Coast, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. The collection was very centred around male memoirs of life and work in Nyasaland, and the two Nyasaland memoirs that had been written by women

contained little to no mention of children as they themselves didn't have any. Although there was very little relevant written material, an important discovery came in the form of a photo album under the name of E. Price Roe, which contained a number of photos of (unnamed) European children in Nyasaland. The album showed the children in their home environment, playing with toys, sitting on animal skins/posing alongside animal skulls, dressing up and being looked after by young African servants (see examples in figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2 "Examples of images of European children from the archives, c. 1900-1921" *Source:* Price Roe, E. (1900-1921) *Photograph Albums belonging to Edward Price Roe* [Photographs]. MSS/Afr/t/32, Oxford Colonial Records Collection, Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford University (Images reproduced with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library).

Photographs were perhaps the most overt and fruitful form of documentation in terms of locating the presence of European children in the colonial archives, as further albums and photograph collections were located at both the Society of Malawi Library and Archives, and the Edinburgh University Library Archives. All of the aforementioned archives must be acknowledged and thanked for their kind permission to reproduce the images that have been used in this thesis. Unfortunately, sources such as letters and children's diaries were extremely rare in the archive material on Nyasaland. However, as suggested by Mills (2012), it was possible to seek children out from their archival 'hiding places' among the plethora of material that records the histories of adult life. It was, therefore, necessary to turn to government reports that mentioned the existence, or discussed the needs, of children in Nyasaland. This was much more fruitful and resulted in the discovery of documents such as bursary applications to the government for support to send children to boarding school abroad. This revealed, for example, the plight of the poorer European families and the circumstances of children living with widowed mothers who were struggling to make ends meet.

To give an example of this kind of data, figure 3.3 shows the case of a European widow who could not afford to send her 13 year-old son to school on the meager allowance she received from her older 21 year old son. In an application to the Nyasaland Government she states her case for assistance for school fees.

CONFIDENTIAL.

FORM OF APPLICATION BY PARENT OR GUARDIAN

FOR REMISSION OF SCHOOL FEES.

1. Name of pupil

2. Name of Parent or Guardian Widow.

3. Number of children in Family stating age three 23, 21, 13. (Eldest Son is in England at present & not Contributing.)

4. Amount of fees to be remitted The total amount, or such Percentage as His Excellency may decide in the Circumstances.

5. Total amount expense of education of children. nothing is being paid out at present for .

6. Gross amount Income of both Parents (as returned for purposes of Income Tax.) I have no income at present apart from my Earnings £8/10/- per month & a contribution from my second son towards his Board when at home.

7. Any other information relative to the claim. It is possible I may receive contribution from my Eldest Son in the near future, but the amount he will be able to allot me will be much smaller than last year.

Figure 3.3 "Archives, Bursary Application from 1932" *Source:* Nyasaland Government (1932) *H.G's (Widow) Application for financial assistance* [Government document] MNA S1/86/32, Malawi National Archives, Zomba

Interestingly and unexpectedly, it was possible to trace the lives (at least in terms of their education) of the poorer European children in the archives more so than those who were well off. This was due to the fact that it was the poorer families who sought government assistance for education. It would appear that the children of well-off families were not recorded in the archives because there was no cause for the colonial government's concern with regard to their accessing suitable education.

On the other hand it appeared that the *wealthy* children were the children whose photographs were present in the archives, largely due to the high number of family photo albums that have been donated to the Society of Malawi's collection. The children in these photographs can seem a mystery, as the photographs are often not dated or named. However, it is possible to surmise

through the clothes they are wearing and the adults they are pictured with, that they were from the wealthier sector of Nyasaland's European inhabitants (see for example figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 "Remarriage of Sally Curtis (Bishop) in 1954 to Bill Harvey" (with names of adults but not of the children) *Source:* Bishop Family (1954) *Remarriage of Sally Curtis (Bishop) to Bill Harvey* [Photograph] SoM Bishops Family, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph Collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

This section briefly gives an idea of the kind of material that was available in the archives. However, in addition to the documents already mentioned, there were also sporadic birth and death registers for the early 1900s, figures regarding the European population in the late 1930s, School Magazines from the late 1950s, men's diaries that occasionally mentioned children and reports from the Nyasaland Women's Council on education and issues such as children's transport to and from school. However, given the disjointed nature of the archive data presented in this thesis, this research echoes the frustrations of children's historians such as Mills and Lee (discussed in section 3.2.4) regarding the inconclusive nature of children's stories in the archive.

3.3.4 Reflexivity and Positionality

It is important to consider one's positionality as the researcher within the research process. This was particularly important with regard to conducting interviews. 'Reflexivity' requires a researcher to self-consciously refer to him or herself in relation to the research topic (Roulston, 2010). As stated by Finley and Gough (2003), reflexivity is an on-going act of self-evaluation throughout the research project;

> 'Reflexivity requires critical self-reflection of the ways in which researchers' social background, assumptions, positioning and behaviour impact on the research process' (p. ix)

As I spent my own childhood in Malawi it was essential that I remained acutely aware of my own experiences and memories of growing up there, despite the fact that my childhood was embedded in a very different socio-political context of an independent Malawi in the 1990s. This in turn brought to my attention the issue of 'intercultural' interviewing and I had to ask myself the important question; 'what is my 'social' relationship to the interview participants?' Although we shared experiences of growing up in the same geographical space, the political context and social fabric of our experiences was vastly different. Nevertheless, having my own experience of a white African childhood meant that I might overlook aspects of the interviewees' responses as 'normal' or miss certain themes that might otherwise be considered as unusual and noteworthy. In response to this, I carefully read and re-read the transcripts several times and asked my supervisors to comment on extracts of the interview content to consider their thoughts alongside my own careful readings of them.

In addition to this, I was also very aware of the generational gap between the respondents and myself, which exposed different viewpoints and outlooks on society, particularly with regard to gender and race. My position as a young white female researcher undoubtedly impacted on how participants spoke to me and how they recounted their memories. However, it is impossible to measure the full extent of the impact this might have had on the interviewing process, and, therefore, required careful reflection after each individual interview. This was an aspect of the interview dynamics that I continually critically reflected upon throughout the interviewing process.

In order to deal systematically with these issues of positionality, Dowling (2010) suggests keeping a research diary in order to create a space to be 'critically reflexive' of oneself;

> '…a research diary is a place for recording your reflexive observations. It contains your thoughts and ideas about the research process, its social context and your role in it.' (p. 31)

Using this approach of regularly writing reflexively in a research diary, it was possible to hold myself accountable and to conduct the analysis of the research data with more clarity, having openly addressed my position and relationship to the research topic throughout the research phase.

Although it is essential to critically think about these issues, it is also important to remember that the encounter between the researcher and the respondent is in itself an interesting and significant part of the interview process. Howitt and Stevens (2010) point out that most human geography research is cross-cultural, because we are drawn into thinking about other people's constructions of place and how they read their cultural landscapes. Therefore, the issues that arise from cross-cultural research apply to most human geographers in the field. They warn against 'interpreting someone else's culture for one's own reasons' (p. 41). Again they suggest a methodology that embraces 'critical self-reflexivity' (p. 47), in order to constantly ask yourself *why* you are doing the research with this group of people and *how* you will represent them in your research.

Sean Field (2012) talks reflexively about his fieldwork collecting oral histories in Cape Town, and how he approached the cross-cultural nature of his research. In dealing with issues of contemporary racism among coloured[11] communities in South Africa, he acknowledges that his analysis as a white South African is an 'outsider's analysis', but that it is also an 'outsider's analysis that is shaped … by years of political and research work in coloured communities' (p. 38). He also talks about his fragile positionality as a white South African working in coloured communities, and states that his hybrid and sometimes-contradictory

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[11] Field uses the term 'coloured' in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, where he states that the term is widely used and not intended to be pejorative. He explains that the term was originally intended to encompass those of 'mixed-racial ancestry', but under apartheid it became a category to place various ethnic minorities including Chinese South Africans (Field, 2012: 181).

identity can provide an uncomfortable position from which to write. He recognises that this is something that he must come to terms with whilst also considering how this might shape respondents' answers to his questions. However, he emphasises in his conclusion that his main aim is to make a productive use of his privileged position as an academic and to disseminate the life stories of those he has interviewed to many audiences.

I have also had to come to terms with my own positionality within this research, and consider the ways in which I reacted to the cultural outlook of my respondents, which often differed from my own. Portelli (2006) highlights this issue within cross-cultural research, by recognising that acts that were considered legitimate and even necessary in the past may be considered unacceptable in the present. In the cultural context of recalling experiences that took place in the colonial past being recounted in the context of the postcolonial present, similar scenarios arose. However, as I was investigating the very issues of race and identity, I decided to record any openly expressed views on sensitive topics such as race, but to also remain neutral to controversial remarks for the duration of the interview. Any openly adverse reactions to their answers to my questions might have shut down vital lines of communication.

However, most interviewees were very self-reflexive in terms of both the colonial context of their young lives, and the racial terminology that was used during their childhood, and so this was only more of a challenge in some interviews than others. As has been suggested by Finley and Gough (2003), reflexivity is an ongoing process, and as such I had to continually question what my position was within the research, and also how I was going to represent my respondents' positions in the thesis. Figure 3.5 gives a short example of an excerpt from my research diary that grapples with some of the issues above, and which helped me to constantly evaluate my role as the interviewer.

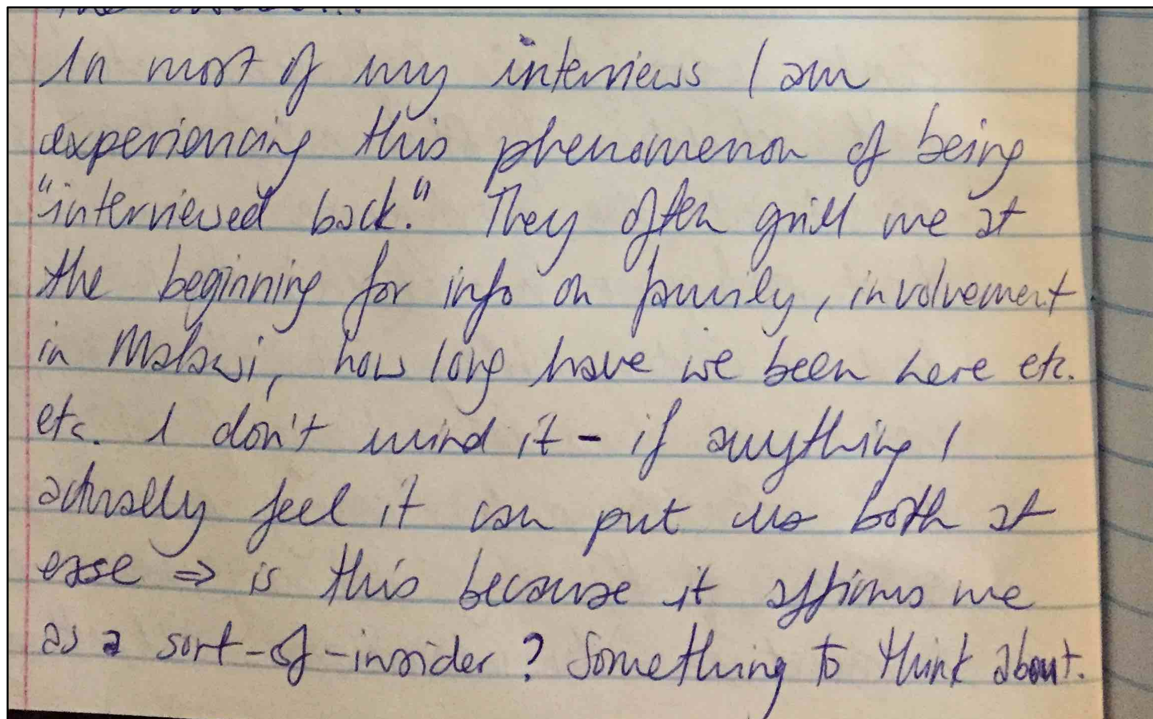
In most of my interviews I am experiencing this phenomenon of being "interviewed back." They often grill me at the beginning for info on family, involvement in Malawi, how long have we been here etc. etc. I don't mind it - if anything I actually feel it can put us both at ease ⇒ is this because it affirms me as a sort-of-insider? Something to think about.

Figure 3.5 *"*Excerpt from author's Field Research Diary: 18th November 2015" *Source:* Author's diary

3.4 Data Analysis

3.4.1 Inductive Thematic Analysis of the Interviews

The analysis of the interview material began with transcribing over fifty hours worth of the recorded audio files. It was important to personally transcribe all of the interviews, as this resulted in a close familiarity with, and knowledge of, the data (Langdridge, 2004). Because of the nature of this research – which sought to uncover how people made sense of life in the colonies and how and why they acted as they did – it was not possible to only do partial transcriptions of the recordings. As far as possible, entire interviews were transcribed; it was only when participants talked about very unrelated life events (e.g. a recent holiday) that excerpts of the recording were omitted from the transcript. Flowerdew and Martin (2005) explain the importance of transcribing whole interviews in the context of trying to understand people's recollections of a past experience:

> 'If you are looking at how and why people did things or made sense of them, you may need more detailed transcripts including perhaps comments on tone of voice, hesitations, and the exact ways people put things…' (p. 220).

For this reason, interviews were transcribed as accurately as possible, including the writing in of pauses, tone of voice and any visible emotions (this supplementary information was marked in square brackets). Throughout the transcribing process, it was also essential to keep a note of recurring themes in the interviews. This was useful when it came to analysing the interviews and beginning the process of coding the interviews using both manual methods of analysis, and the qualitative data analysis software programme NVivo (see later in this section for an elaboration of analysis methods).

King and Horrocks (2010: 154) have suggested a useful three part coding process for approaching the analysis of qualitative interviews, which has been paraphrased below:

1. **Descriptive Coding:** At this stage, it is necessary to go through the interview transcripts and code sections of narrative by describing relevant features of the participant's accounts of life stories and events.
2. **Interpretive Coding:** They suggest that after coding the interviews descriptively, the second step of analysis must 'go beyond describing relevant features of participants' accounts and focus on your interpretation of their meaning' (p. 154). However, they also advise at this point that it is unwise to engage with theory, as this will result in tailoring your coding to fit a specific theoretical framework.
3. **Identifying Overarching Themes:** This final step to the analysis, before writing up the results of your data collection, involves identifying themes that characterise key concepts in your analysis. They suggest that it is at this point in the analytical process that you can also draw on theoretical ideas that underpin your research.

These guidelines were used for the analysis of the interviews. Descriptive codes were applied to each transcript whilst transcribing the audio file. Figure 3.6 shows an example of the notes that were kept whilst transcribing – mostly in the form of spider diagrams – in order to keep a note of the dominant topics that were surfacing in each interview and to get an early idea of common themes across the sample.

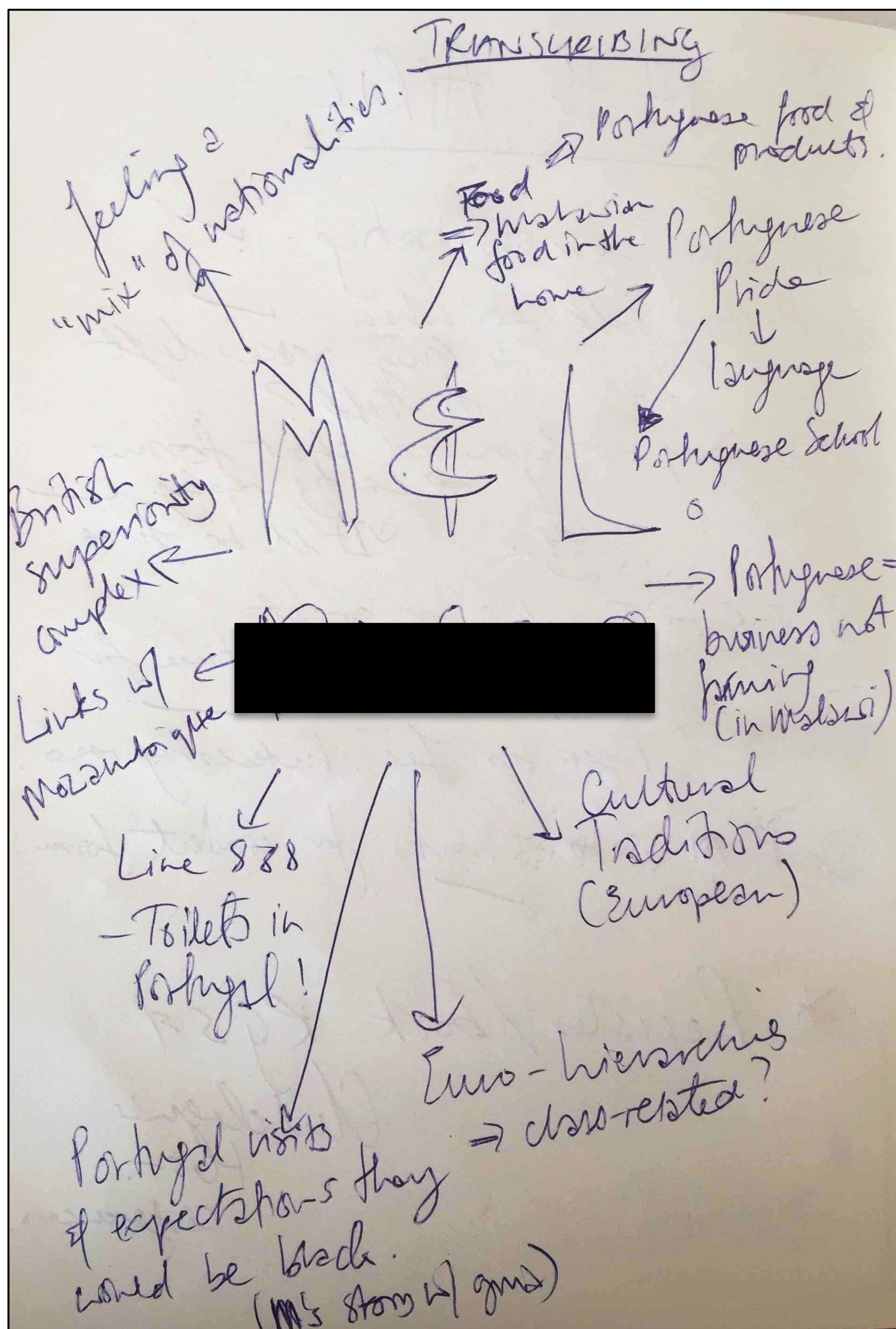

Figure 3.6 "Transcribing: notes on interview themes" *Source:* Author's transcription notes

This method of allowing themes to emerge post-interview can be described as an *inductive* analysis. Namhila's (2014) study on Namibian women who were political prisoners during apartheid is a good example of how this method of data analysis can produce interesting and unexpected results, that are framed by the narrator's stories rather than the researcher's preconceived ideas:

> 'Life history follows an induction approach … using the stories to create a method and a framework for presenting the story. … I find it very useful as method of

> obtaining data about the life of a person and analysing it not according to some pre-determined framework but to use the story itself as the framework for structuring and presenting the text.' (Namhila, 2014: 253)

Through coding the interviews to find recurring themes, and subsequently conducting a thematic analysis of the data (Alasuutari et al., 2008), it was possible to further understandings of how childhood was experienced and is remembered by those who grew up in spaces of empire.

Once all of the interviews had been transcribed, the *descriptive* phase of the coding process had identified the initial recurring themes in the interviews (following King and Horrock's (2010) three-part coding process as described above). At this stage, it was possible to move onto the *interpretive* phase of the analysis and to begin to identify, in more detail, the themes and sub-themes of the data. This was done both manually, and using NVivo. A tactile approach to creating visual analysis boards, in which the transcripts were printed out and relevant quotations were cut out and attached to large boards that represented a given theme, was very fruitful. This resulted in a new, dynamic and vibrant relationship with the data, which was conducive to seeing the themes as a whole and beginning to identify and construct a common narrative from the interviews. However, it was also vitally important to develop a structured approach to the organisation of the data, and to create a way of searching for and tracing the themes later on the writing-up phase of the PhD. NVivo presented itself as a useful solution to these issues. The interviews were stored on the programme and sections of the interviews were coded to reflect the themes and subthemes that had already been identified manually. This worked as a quality control mechanism as well, as the additional step of coding the interviews again, provided extra rigor within the analysis process. It was also possible to use the programme to search for key words, in case any important quotations had been missed using the manual approach to analysis adopted earlier on (see figure 3.7 for an example of the coding process in NVivo software).

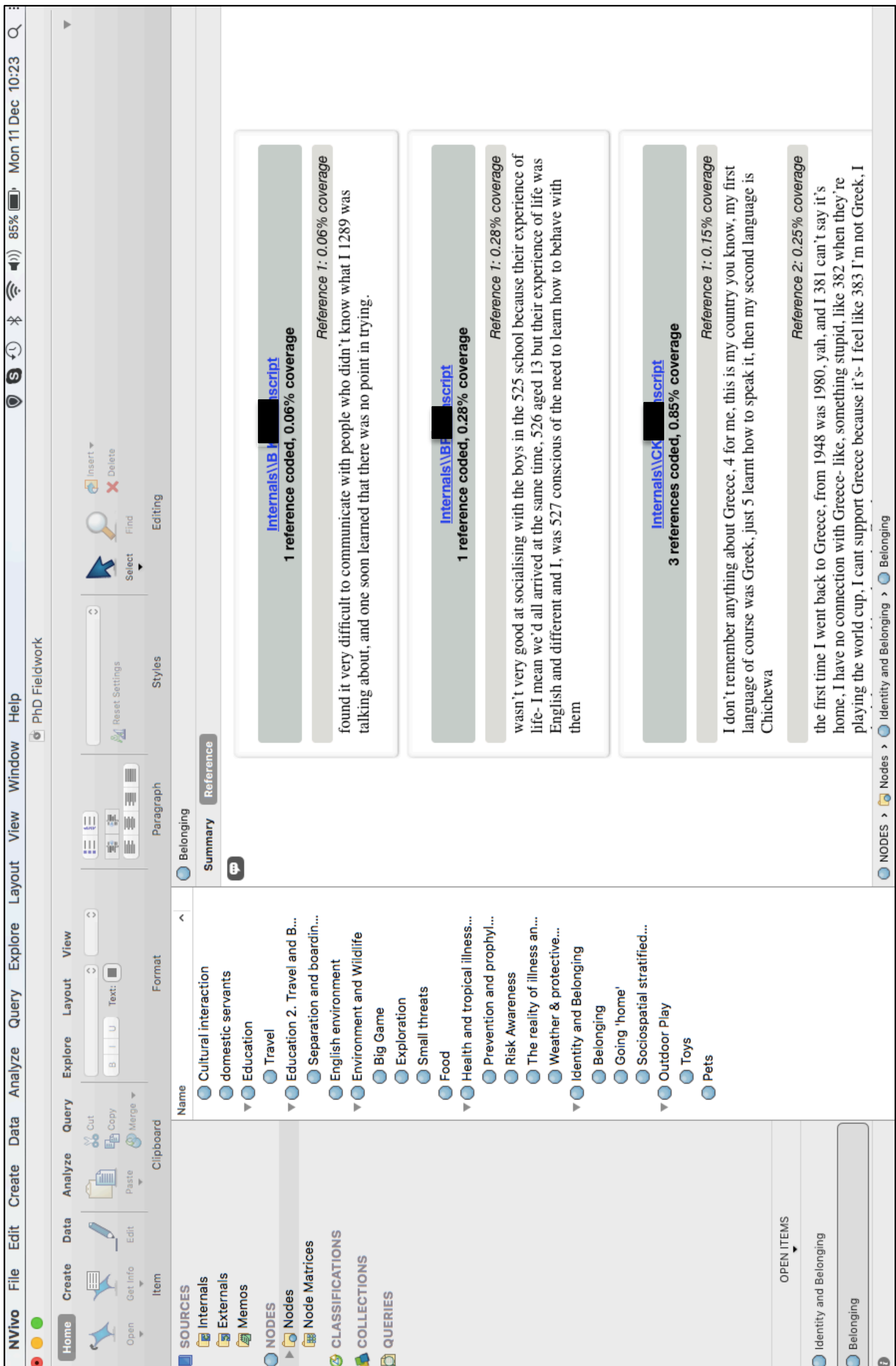

Figure 3.7 "NVivo Qualitative Analysis Software: Coding example" *Source:* Author's NVivo analysis of interviews

After this phase of interpretive coding, step three of the coding process was applied and *overarching themes* were identified. The recurring themes were grouped into four main categories; 1) Home life, 2) The outdoors, 3) Education and 4) White colonial identity/society. From here the structure of the analysis chapters of the thesis began to take shape, and the research questions were reworked to reflect the themes that were emerging from the inductive analysis of the interviews. At this stage it was possible to draw on the theoretical approaches that would underpin the analysis.

3.4.2 Analysing the Archives

When Lee (2010) carried out archival research looking for evidence of children's agency in the archive, he noted the potential for 'agency' by children to be over determined by the researcher. However, Jordanova (2012: 7) also raises this important question of 'the relationships between scholar and sources,' and says that this idea of 'agency' can and should be used productively by historians. With particular reference to historical artefacts as visual data, she suggests that the artefacts have 'passed through the minds and bodies of people who exercised choice in the past.' This research argues that the same can be said for historical documents, and photographic evidence from the archives. The people who wrote the documents, took the photographs, created the photo albums or even posed for photographs, must be understood as 'historical actors [and] as witnesses to past states of affairs' (Jordanova, 2012: 7).

Nevertheless, to a certain extent, the results of archival research will always be shaped in part by the researcher's approach to the material, as well as their understanding and analysis of the archival records. As such, Roche (2010) suggests that a competent researcher will contextualise archival records within a larger picture of what is already known about related topics. He continues by explaining that identifying key quotations is only half of the process of archival research. He argues that in order to build an argument one must, 'select ideas in a logical way from the pre-existing literature and then use them to provide an informed discussion based on what you have found in the archives' (p. 187). In this way, the research can achieve the desired goal of producing an informed

interpretation of archival data. Although archival research exploring minority histories cannot always guarantee a 'fixed set of historical outcomes' and often leaves questions unanswered, it does generate history in the sense that it seeks to explore and give voice to 'idiosyncratic personalities that appeared on the stage of history' (Lee, 2010: 40).

With specific reference to *visual* data, Jordanova (2012: 7) suggests a similar analytical method to Roche, offering a three stage approach to the analysis of historical artefacts and images; firstly *description*; secondly, *analysis and contextualisation*; and finally the production of *visual evidence*. She advises that historians begin by *describing* the object or image (this can come in the form of captions and titles or longer descriptive passages giving information about the object/image (p. 24)). The second stage is to *analyse and contextualise* the visual data. However, Jordanova is careful to point out that that 'there is no clear dividing line between description and analysis … Returning to and refining further a description are integral parts of assessing and deploying visual and material evidence and of clarifying historical questions' (p. 19). Therefore, the description and interpretation of visual data work hand in hand to produce the third stage of Jordanova's analysis: *visual evidence*. Visual evidence is the final verbal/written analysis produced by the historian to describe, explain and interpret the evidence presented by the visual material.

Although this thesis is not a study of visual evidence in and of itself, the visual material that has been used (mostly photographs) plays an important role in the narrative. It also often serves to visually illustrate and reinforce the analysis of textual and interview data. However, it is important to keep Jordanova's approach to visual analysis in mind when deploying photographs as visual historical evidence, and not to use them as mere 'aides' to the narrative, but rather to treat them as important sources of historical experience in themselves.

In order to use the archive material productively throughout the narrative of this thesis, the data was approached with a similar thematic analysis method that was applied to the interviews. In contrast, however, it cannot be described as an *inductive* approach as the archive data was actively woven into the themes that had already been identified through the interviews. In this way, existing themes were assigned to the archive data that provided additional evidence to the

interviews, and in doing so enhanced the themes that were already shaping the thesis narrative.

In order to achieve this successfully, a programme called *Picasa* was used, which allowed the data to be organised in a coherent way. A large amount of visual data was collected from the archives, as well as a number of digital photograph collections from some of the interviewee participants, meaning it was imperative to develop an organised method of storing and labelling the data for later use. The programme enabled the labelling of photographs/documents with descriptive captions, making it easier to assign them to one of the four main themes identified from the analysis of the interviews (see example in figure 3.8).

The archive data is scattered throughout the narrative of the thesis, providing insight into the everyday life-worlds of children (for example through photographs of everyday activities as shown in figure 3.2). Many of the archival documents also bring to light the important perspectives of European parents and the colonial government with regard to European children's lives in Nyasaland (this is particularly evident with regard to children's health and education in chapters 5 and 6). The addition of archival and visual data has greatly enriched the narrative of the thesis, and has provided evidence of children's voices and agency in surprising ways.

Figure 3.8 "Picasa: Organisation and analysis of archival data" *Source:* Author's archival work on Picasa

3.5 Ethical Considerations

3.5.1 The Ethics of the Interview

Where social research involves interaction with human subjects, it is essential that participants are protected by appropriate ethical procedures. In quantitative studies, it is possible for true anonymity to be attained, as the respondents can complete questionnaires anonymously and the researcher can reduce the respondents' identities to numbers. This is not possible in qualitative research methods where the researcher meets their respondents in person and builds relationships with them. In this sense a qualitative researcher cannot promise a respondent complete anonymity, but instead they can provide and reassure the respondents of confidentiality throughout the research process and anonymity in future publications. Confidentiality refers to the obvious things like the omission of details such as respondents' names and addresses, but also less obvious things such as avoiding descriptions that give enough detail that they might be identified by others. This must be achieved without changing the details to the extent that meanings associated with persons are lost (Warren & Karner, 2005).

Therefore, it is important for the researcher to take seriously their responsibility to respect the respondent's wishes, whilst also presenting the outcomes of the research in a reliable and thorough way. In order to conduct reliable research and respect the rights of research participants, it is also important to follow the ethical guidelines and requirements of the institution to which the researcher is affiliated, as well as those of the setting where the research will be conducted (Roulston, 2010). Before conducting fieldwork in the UK and in Malawi, ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Hull and also in Malawi, from the *National Commission for Science and Technology* (NCST). These guidelines were not only important in terms of gaining access to participants, but also in providing a helpful framework within which it was possible to think carefully about how to best conduct this research. The following short sections highlight some of the prominent ethical issues that were raised by the fieldwork conducted for this thesis, and how these issues were approached within the context of this research.

3.5.2 Informed Consent

All participants who took part in this research gave written consent for their interviews to be included in this thesis. Prior to the interview, participants received an information sheet outlining the purpose and aims of the research, as well as a question schedule that gave them an idea of how the interview would be conducted. It was made clear that participation was voluntary and they were free to withdraw from the study at any point in time. In addition, participants were asked to sign a consent form, which clearly outlined how their interview was going to be used. On the form they were able to select, for example, whether or not they wished to remain anonymous in the thesis and future publications, and whether they were agreeable for their interviews to be given to archive/museum collections to be used for future research purposes. There was no requirement for interviews to be translated, as all participants spoke fluent English. Therefore, there was no issue of a third-party gaining access to the interviews at any stage of the research. A number of participants also kindly contributed personal photographs to the research. In all cases where participant photographs have been used in this thesis, participants have indicated their prior permission on the consent form (See Appendix 3 for examples of the information sheet and consent form).

3.5.3 Privacy and Confidentiality

It was made clear to participants that they were in no way obliged to answer questions that caused them to feel uncomfortable, and were free to ask for certain information to be withheld from the thesis and future publications. There were a couple of examples where participants had disclosed personal details about family members in their interview, which they later asked to be withheld from any publications. This has been respected, and such details have been omitted from transcripts and from the thesis.

Participants had the option to be named in the thesis or to remain anonymous. The names of identifiable and traceable others, who were mentioned during the interview, have also been anonymised where requested. In addition, the names of organisations and family businesses, particularly where sensitive information was concerned, have also been renamed in order to respect participants' anonymity. In this way, the individuals' right to privacy has been

respected as far as possible. Sensitive information has not been attributed to named individuals or organisations where it has been requested that the information remains anonymous. The only people who have been privy to such information, aside from the researcher, are the project supervisors (this was made clear in the consent form).

For this reason, those who indicated on the form that they would like to remain anonymous, have been given pseudonyms throughout the thesis. Those who gave permission for their real names to be used, have not been assigned pseudonyms in order to respect their wishes. However, in the interest of protecting the anonymity of those who requested it, there is no indication as to whose names have been anonymised and whose have not. The list of names and pseudonyms, alongside participant numbers, is shown in the table of participant profiles in Appendix 1. Only first names of interviewees have been used or replaced by pseudonyms, as the detail of surnames is not essential to the content of this thesis.

3.5.4 Accountability and Transparency

I have remained vigilant in how I have stored the fieldwork data. I have stored the information on personal electronic devices, so as to eliminate the risk of sensitive information entering the public domain. Where participants have allowed it, the anonymised transcripts will be made available to the Malawi National Archives and an appropriate archive collection here in the UK, so that they will be publicly accessible in both countries. Upon completion, this thesis will also be a public document that will be accessible online, and will be available for participants and others to read if they would like to do so.

3.5.5 Ethics in the Archives

Ethics in archival research is something that can be too easily overlooked and dismissed by researchers of social and historical research (Roche, 2010). Mills (2012) points out the need to consider the ethics of publishing personal information of someone who is no longer alive, and states that '…[the archivist's] role and advice should not be overlooked in terms of gaining permission and accessing (past) young lives' (p. 360). She further states that the ethical considerations of researching (possibly deceased) young people in the archives

should reflect those of researching young people alive in the present day.

In an earlier paper, Moore (2010) grappled with these issues in the context of her research that explored the historical geographies of abortion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries in Lancashire. After much consideration, Moore decided to change the names of her research subjects despite their records already being accessible in public archives. She made this decision on the basis that the women had tried to act in secret in the context of the past, and so there was a need to respect their privacy in the present. This is something that has been carefully considered in relation to this research, particularly in dealing with sensitive topics. An example of this would be the evidence of a family's delicate financial status (and subsequently their social status in the European community), through the allocation of government bursaries to assist with the payment of school fees (as shown earlier in figure 3.2). The bursaries were marked in a confidential file, suggesting that the identities of the recipients would have been restricted knowledge at the time, and, therefore, this original decision has been honoured.

However, there are other instances where identities in the archive have not been anonymised in this thesis. This was largely down to discretion, but the decision was based on whether or not the identities within any given document would have been considered confidential at the time. For example, the names of the children recorded in the birth and death registers have not been anonymised, as these were, and are, publicly accessible documents. As far as possible, the privacy of all persons who have contributed to this study through primary sources, has been respected.

3.6 Conclusion

This research used a multi-method approach to data collection, allowing the use of multiple sources in order to produce reliable and thorough research that responds effectively to the research questions. The analysis of this data has been tailored to the qualitative nature of the source material, and began as a simultaneous exercise of transcribing and coding the interviews. This ensured strong familiarity with the data, and produced detailed descriptive codes at an early stage of the analysis. Throughout the research a continual process of 'critical reflexivity' has been adopted, through the use of a research diary. In this way, it

was possible to be held accountable and continually assess my position within the research and in relation to the participants. Throughout the process of data collection, ethical principles discussed in this chapter have been adhered to and the privacy of the respondents who took part in this research has been respected. Following this detailed description of the approach and methods used to gather data, the next four chapters turn to the analysis of European children's lives in Nyasaland. The opening analytical chapter considers the environments of European colonial homes, and explores how children interacted with the home spaces in which they grew up. It seeks to understand the ways in which colonial homes in Nyasaland both shaped, and were shaped by, the European children who occupied them.

Chapter Four

4. "Home": Places of Cultural Fusion and Racial Exclusion?

4.1 Introduction: Interconnected Notions of Home and Empire

In their discussion on *Key Thinkers in Space and Place,* Hubbard & Kitchin (2010) conclude that *place* 'emerges as a particular form of space, one that is created through … the distinctive activities and imaginings associated with particular social spaces' (p. 6). This is in line with earlier definitions that define *place* as a form of *space* to which humans have attributed meaning and which has, therefore, taken on a defined character (i.e. 'home'); *space* begins as something abstract and unidentifiable and becomes a *place* as humans familiarise themselves with the setting and build up lived experiences within that space (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977).

The concept of home is not straightforward, and has long been a topic of much study, debate and contested ideas. The sociological journal *Childhood* published a special issue in 2010 entitled *Childhood and migration: mobilities, homes and belongings.* In their introduction to the collection of papers, Ní Laoire et al. (2010) put forward a strong argument critiquing scholars who bind the concept of 'home' to a fixed, distinct physical locality. Instead, they suggest that

'home' is better articulated as a 'mobile concept in relation to multiple social fields of attachment and belonging' (p. 157). Although they acknowledge that 'home' for many children can be associated with multiple localities and spaces, there is a tendency in their argument to undermine the importance of immediate physical spaces in their discussion around the concept of 'home.' Regardless of how many different physical localities represent 'home' in a child or young person's life, the importance of these *spaces* in which homes are constructed is crucial to an understanding of how children experienced them. This casts their argument in opposition to that of the earlier humanistic geographers.

Lynne Manzo (2003) suggests taking a more balanced and moderate approach, by considering people's emotional relationships with home spaces, that are also situated within the wider socio-political contexts in which they live. This draws on earlier work that has already observed that the meanings that people assign to places, are imbued with the power relations and ideologies of their day (see: Hayden, 1995; Groth & Bressi, 1997; Massey & Sarre, 1999 – in Lynne Manzo). Feminist theorists have also done much to nuance the common humanistic narrative of home simply being a positive relationship with a given space, often represented as a 'refuge'. Gillian Rose (1993) pointed out that such an interpretation of home is reliant on men's experiences of home as a refuge from work, but fails to take into account that for many women it can be associated with feelings of isolation, not to mention its historically perceived role as a place of women's work (albeit unpaid) and household labour (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). It is vital that these complex layered constructions of home spaces are read along lines of social and domestic power dynamics including gender, age and race. Massey (1992; 2001) also rejects the interpretation of space as singular and fixed, and instead usefully describes it as 'the crisscrossing of social relations [...that] make up something of what a place means, how it is constructed as a place (2001: 462).

Following from these ideas, this thesis draws on the ideas of *critical geographies of home*, as developed by Blunt and Dowling (2006). This chapter illustrates how children's experiences of home in Nyasaland can be explained through the three major components of critical geographies of home as laid out by Blunt and Dowling, namely: 1) the home as simultaneously 'material and imaginative', 2) the connections between 'home, power and identity' and 3) home

as 'multi-scalar', reaching beyond the bounds of the lived-in space (p. 22). This analytical framework is a useful one when considering European children's experiences of home in Nyasaland. Firstly, it allows scope to think about the physical sites of the children's homes both in Nyasaland and in Europe, as well as their often ambivalent feelings associated with both; secondly, it takes into account how children's identities were constructed in the home, in part through the power relations that existed within and outside of the home, and which were constructed along lines of gender, race and age; and finally, it supports multi-scalar thinking when conceptualising home, that does not restrict home to a closed locality but rather leaves it porous and open to the public and political worlds through which it is constituted, ranging over different scales from lived-in homes, to nations and empires.

This kind of multi-scalar and socio-political spatial thinking has already been used to bring new and nuanced understandings to imperial practices and ideologies of home. Conceptualising home in the context of imperialism has become an area of scholarship in its own right. It has been widely observed that the European family home in spaces of empire was a crucial location for reproducing ideologies of empire and imagining a given European colonising nation as home. A wide range of work has already explored the interconnected relationship between the construction of home and empire, and how this was played out through intersecting dynamics of imperial politics, domestic space and colonial discourses of gender (Blunt, 1999; George, 1994; Grewal, 1996; McClintock, 1995). As such, women's efforts to provide familiar domestic surroundings, similar to those which might be found in the metropole, have been recognised as integral to the reproductions of settler communities' ideas of home (Lester, 2001). However, imperial notions of home were reciprocal. Ideologies of empire also impacted British domesticity in the metropole. British narratives of racial purity and the need for a strong breed of empire builders was inextricably tied to imperial ideologies (Davin 1978; McClintock, 1995). Furthermore, a growing material consumption of commodities imported from countries in the British empire such as textiles and food, contributed to the material culture and promotion of empire in British homes in the metropole (McClintock, 1995). This follows Burton's (1994) convincing argument for less separation between British imperial and British national historiographies, saying that 'Empire was not a

singular place; nor did 'home' exist in isolation from it' (p. 483). David (1999) supports Burton's notion that the construction of imperial homes in Britain and in empire were interdependent. She observes that in an imperial context, 'English domestic values are elaborated abroad as evidence of a superior colonizing culture and in the process gain reinforcement at home [in Britain]; the artefacts of empire (the fabrics, the furniture, the recipes, and so on) are then snapped up for English domestic use' (p. 571). This reveals how the material and imaginative geographies of home, both in Britain and in empire, were inextricably linked.

It is clear from existing scholarship that the home was an important site for reproducing imperial power, and reveals the traditional notion of home as a 'private sphere' immune to the influences of the 'public world of politics' to be unfounded and untrue. Instead it presents the important role of symbolic and material aspects of home in shaping and reproducing imperial power structures (Blunt, 2005). The expectation upon women to establish appropriately British homes in the colonies was crucial to the realisation of imperial ambitions to reproduce the 'domestic, social and moral values legitimating colonial rule' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006: 150). One example of this is the racial hierarchies symbolised by the infantalisation and domestication of African servants which served to reinforce imperial ideologies of race.[12] Such examples of reproductions of imperial power in the home illustrate how imperial homes were politicised spaces. The private and intimate space of European colonisers was itself colonised by the demands and expectations of empire (Procida, 2002). This has been identified across European empires. In Stoler's (2002: 17) work on the Dutch East Indies, she asserts that nothing could 'make clearer that the discourses of European nationalism, middle-class sexual morality, and imperial exigencies were inextricably bound than the detailed protocols outlined in colonial housekeeping manuals.' Marie-Paule Ha (2014) has similarly revealed that women's home-making and management in the French empire served as a 'bastion for the racial and cultural preservation of "authentic Frenchness"' which was created and sustained through 'a range of socio-cultural practices in home furnishing and

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[12] See also Cook (2007) for an exploration of imperial domesticity in a globalised world, with a compelling study of 'Western' homes in contemporary Pakistan. Cook investigates how notions of imperial domesticity can be traced in Western women development workers' domestic spaces in the modern day through continued intersections of gender, race and class relations in the home.

management, dress code, food consumption, child rearing, and leisure and socialising activities' (p. 17).

Evidently the home was an important politicised site of imperial reproduction that extended far beyond the lived-in domestic home spaces, and must be understood as both a material and imaginative site imbued with 'national and imperial significance, whereby domestic reproduction was intimately bound to power relations within, but also far beyond, the home' (Blunt & Dowling, 206: 146). This thesis adds to the already rich historiography of imperial domesticity in its quest to understand how European children reinforced and resisted such politics within the home, through an exploration of their material, sensory and emotional experiences of 'home' both in situ in Nyasaland, and through their imagined notions of home attached to various European countries, and the wider British empire.

Keeping these important analytical frameworks in mind, the following analysis of remembered spaces and descriptions of 'home', given by the respondents of this research, seeks to show the importance of the interconnectivity between the embodied emotional and sensory experiences of the child and the physical spaces within which those experiences were situated. As previously discussed in chapter two, the resulting *spaces* are consequently transformed into *places* that have now been attributed meaning by the children who experienced them. These places can be described as 'children's places' as opposed to 'places for children'. The latter is distinguished by the deliberate construction of places *for* children *by* adults (Rasmussen, 2004: 165). This chapter explores this notion of 'children's places' in colonial homes.

Given that children are capable of occupying and using the space around them, and are consequently also able to assign their own meanings to those spaces, this chapter seeks to identify how 'children's places' within the context of the colonial home can reveal the ways in which they understood and negotiated the socio-political dynamics that shaped the home space. The chapter takes into account the interdependent material and imagined geographies of European homes in Nyasaland, which contributed to the shaping of European children's understandings of home and identity. The chapter is structured in two parts. Part I considers the physical space of the family home and how this interacted with children's family relationships and the intergenerational dynamics of places

within the home, before examining the children's experiences of food and eating, and how they attributed this to different places in and around the home. Part II moves on to examine the unique relationships that European children formed with the African servants who worked in their homes, bringing the intergenerational and interracial power dynamics of the European children's homes into a discussion about how they used and constructed space. The discussion reviews how the socio-spatial context of the children's lives started to shape white European children's understandings of the colonial world that they were entering into as they grew up, as well as their own feelings of belonging and identity that they associated with the real and imagined homes with which they interacted.

Part I: Colonial Families and 'Home' in Nyasaland

4.2 Setting up Home

4.2.1 Colonial Homemaking: Gender, Race and Age

In 1947, the Nyasaland Council of Women[13] (hereafter NCW) published a book called the *Nyasaland Cookery Book and Household Guide.* This book, written by a group of white colonial women, sought to enlighten those who were 'fresh from Britain' on how they might successfully make their home in Africa. The book opens with a section called *Hints to New Settlers,* and states that the 'newcomer' would find 'herself faced with many problems, some of which may be taken lightly as an amusing part of a new adventure. Others call for qualities of patience, the glad suffering of apparent fools, and some courage' (Nyasaland Council of Women, 1947: 1). In the opening lines of this publication, the white female colonial authors assert an image of the colonial home environment as a space of enduring hardship. Their aim was to prepare the incoming women from Europe for the challenges that they would face whilst trying to create what they deemed to be an acceptable

[13] NCW: A colonial women's organisation in Nyasaland, largely focused on discussing social issues of concern to white women in the colonies – including the education of European children.

“home” environment. They perceived the daily struggles, such as a lack of basic amenities, difficult access to resources - e.g. clean water and food - and the tropical climate, as obstacles that needed to be overcome in order to emulate the standards and environment that might be expected of a good ‘British’ home.

The advice that they gave to female newcomers alludes to a sense of adventure that these new ‘home-making’ experiences and challenges would bring, but simultaneously highlights the tensions of domestic racial dynamics in a very overt way. The book quite openly advises women that they would inevitably be faced with the ‘suffering of apparent fools’, and encourages them to adopt an attitude of patience with such people. The context of the passage leaves the reader in no doubt as to whom they are referring; the African domestic servants who worked in their houses. This plainly illustrates the preconceived patronising racial ideas and prejudices that underpinned the construction of a colonial home. The passage goes on to caution women of the ‘likelihood of pilfering’ by the ‘boys,’[14] and urges them to lock all possessions and foodstuffs away, suggesting that it is ‘more economical to keep the key in one’s possession’ (p. 1). The use of the word ‘boy’ exposes colonial preconceptions of race and sets the precedent of authority and superiority, exercised by the white European master or mistress over the black African servant. In a similar vein, Pomfret (2016: 61) writes about the ‘infantalisation’ of female amahs[15] in the colonies of British Asia, and attributes this to the established colonial discourse, which had a tendency to construct men as ‘boys.’ He identifies this as a way of undermining the autonomy of servants, and consequently preventing any threat to white adult authority, and in particular to white *female* authority, within the intimacy of the home.

This also sheds light on the presumed gender roles of the colonial home, which placed women in the realm of managing domestic servants, house-keeping and looking after the children. In her memoir, Enid Waterfield (2008) describes her early experiences of setting up home in the adverse and extremely rural conditions of Karonga, where her husband was working as a colonial officer in the

[14] *Boy:* The term used for men of all ages who were in the employment of colonial families.
[15] *Amahs:* Female servants who worked as nannies to look after European children in the British Asian colonies.

north of Nyasaland. In her book, she recounts a conversation with her husband regarding the kitchen, and notes his surprise at the issue she has to raise:

> '"The kitchen? What about it?" [he] was genuinely surprised.
> "Have you ever been in it? No, I thought not. It's just a smoky hut with nothing in it but a few pots and pans we brought with us. No stove, no chimney, no door, no window, just a fire over three stones on the ground, like African women have. I can tell you there won't be bread or anything else unless something is done about it."' (p. 79)

Her husband dissociates himself from the kitchen space, clearly defining it as his wife's concern. After some silence he concludes that he will find someone for *her* to speak to in order to improve the facility, as she knows what it is that she wants. She promptly notes in her memoir that she certainly knew what she wanted but there was little chance of getting it. Her experience of setting up home in 1950s Karonga resonates with the tones of the NCW's *household guide* and reiterates the role of colonial women to create and manage a comfortable home for the European family whilst their husbands were at work.

It is clear that colonial family homes in Nyasaland were spaces largely constructed by the European women, but often controlled and regulated by their husbands. Callaway (1987) sheds light on this tendency in her book, which is dedicated fully to the experiences of colonial women in Nigeria. She quotes from the memoirs of Constance Larymore – the wife of a civil servant in Nigeria in the early 1900s - who states that, 'no English housewife … – if she is "worth her salt" – will spare herself in the endeavour to, at least, turn "quarters" into a "home", even if only for a few months.' Callaway interprets this as the 'common fate' of colonial wives, stating that 'they had to make a 'home' in whatever location they found themselves' (pp. 174-5).

As this chapter unfolds it will become clear that although the responsibility of 'home-maker' fell into the care of European wives and mothers, there were a number of other people who contributed to the construction of the physical lived-in space as a 'home'. Not least of these were the European children. The following chapter considers how the children experienced and interacted with the 'home' on a local scale within Nyasaland as opposed to a national or global scale, which is discussed further in later chapters. Central to this chapter, is the way in which the children used and shaped the physical space of 'home' that surrounded them to suit their daily wants and needs, as far as they were able, and how this space in

turn shaped their childhood identities and their early understandings of the colonial world in which they were growing up.

4.2.2 The Emergence of the Colonial Family: Early Missionaries and Traders

White presence in Nyasaland increased three-fold in the aftermath of the Second World War as people sought new lives and careers away from the difficult and war-torn environment of post-War Europe (McCracken, 2012). However, there was also a significant white presence in the earlier days of the protectorate, most of whom were missionaries. On the eve of the First World War, McCracken (2012) suggests that there were around 200 missionaries, 107 planters and 100 government officials. These figures omit the significant presence of women and children among this white male demographic. In 1912 there were in fact 773 Europeans living in Nyasaland, 539 of whom were male and 234 female[16] as well as 24 European births recorded in that year alone.

Although they are often left out of the narrative of Malawi's history, there is significant evidence in the archive that European women moved to settle, work and start families alongside their husbands, in the region that later became Malawi, as early as the 1880s. The earliest European birth officially recorded in a birth register for the region, was that of the child of Livingstonia missionaries, Robert and Margaret Laws. Their daughter, Amelia Nyasa Laws, was born aboard the boat "SS. Lady Nyasa" on the 10th of August 1886. The births register describes the birth as having taken place 'on board the SS. Lady Nyasa, near the palm trees, above the Elephant Marsh, Lower Shire River, Eastern Central Africa.'[17] However, there are graves in the Blantyre Mission Graveyard that mark the lives of European children who were born even earlier than this, and who did not survive infancy (figure 4.1).[18] José Fenwick, who was born in 1881, was the first son of George and Elizabeth Fenwick, and was arguably one of the first European children to be born in the region now recognised as Malawi. He passed away in

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[16] It is suggested that the figures in these records include children though it is not stated explicitly. SoM Archives, *British Central African Protectorate Blue Books 1905-1938,* Year 1912
[17] SoM Photos, *Album 200 Registrar's volumes*, Scan 0005
[18] Author's photographs, January 2016, CCAP St Michael and All Angels Graveyard, Blantyre, Malawi

1883, a few months after his second birthday and his younger brother George, who was born earlier that year, passed away just a couple of months later.

Figure 4.1 "The gravestone of José and George Fenwick who both died in 1883, aged 2 years and 3 months, and 9 months respectively. **Tombstone reads:** In Loving memory of Jose Milton Nunes Fenwick, Born 27th July 1881, Died 22nd October 1883, And, George Robert Fenwick, Born 23rd March 1883, Died 27th December 1883, Thy Will be done" *Source:* Author's photograph, CCAP St Michael and All Angels Graveyard in Blantyre, 2016

McCracken (2011) briefly touches on the short lives of the Fenwick children in his article on the life of their mother, née Elizabeth Pithie, but other than this meagre mention of their existence, the lives and deaths of early European children in Nyasaland have been largely wiped from contemporary accounts of their parent's lives. Their encounters with Nyasaland – although often short-lived – have not been recognised in historical accounts of early European presence in Central Africa, despite the indelible mark that their, sometimes white, headstones left on the African landscape.

In Thomson's (2001) edited volume of the memoirs of an early Scottish trader in Nyasaland, Frederick Moir, the birth of Moir's daughter, Annie, in 1887 goes unmentioned. Neither does he write of the births and deaths of Frederick's brother's children Bessie and John Moir, who died and were buried in Blantyre in

1884 and 1886 respectively.[19] The brothers, Frederick and John Moir, were appointed joint managers of the Livingstonia Central Africa Company upon its creation in 1878. The name changed in 1883, when it became The Africa Lakes Company (hereafter ALC) and by which time the company had become known more colloquially as "Mandala" (Ross, 2013: 36). The men have been extensively written about in their own right, as well as having been actively included in all mainstream narratives of Malawi's colonial past, as significant historical figures in shaping the Protectorate of Nyasaland (Macdonald, 1975; McCracken, 1977; McCracken, 2011; Pachai, 1973; Ransford, 1967; Ross, 1996; Tindall, 1967). However, all of these accounts fail to acknowledge the presence of the men's wives who accompanied them. Jane and Helen Moir, the wives of Frederick and John, have been systematically written out of their husbands' stories and there is certainly no mention of the births and deaths of their children.

The history of these two related families is significant, and directly influenced the course of Malawian colonial history. The ALC was a crucial step towards the establishment of the British Protectorate of Nyasaland, and greatly reduced the governing and political roles that the missions had previously been undertaking (McCracken, 1977). The Moir brothers proposed the formation of the ALC with the aim to eradicate the slave trade, through means of 'legitimate trade'[20] (McCracken, 2012: 48). In 1881, the Moirs had a two-storey house built near the Mudi River, two miles from the Blantyre mission site, which was to serve as the ALC manager's house. This is where they lived and where they were later joined by their wives, and in due course by their children.

This mud-brick family home, known as 'Mandala House', now lays claim to being the oldest colonial building in Malawi and houses the Society of Malawi[21] reference library and archives. Inside the house, as it now stands, there is much evidence of ALC business having taken place there. The large company boardroom sits proudly in the centre of the first floor; an enormous Scottish flag adorns one wall and a pair of crossed rifles is mounted on the opposite one, whilst

[19] SoM Archive, Box 036, *Burials CCAP Blantyre Newer records,* Entries 22 and 23
[20] For an exploration into the reality of the ALC's claim that slavery was replaced by 'legitimate trade', see Hanna, A. J. (1960) *The story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* London: Faber and Faber.
[21] The Society of Malawi (SoM) is a historical society, previously known as the Society of Nyasaland. They hold an extensive archive, which is a valuable collection of personal and state material, documenting the Protectorate years.

photographs of the Moir brothers hang on the other (see figure 4.2 for photos of Mandala House and the ALC board room.) The presence of the white male hunter and the company's ivory trade is dominant in the room. Their wives are subtly acknowledged in other rooms of the library, but the children are completely absent. There is no evidence of the four Moir children who also lived within its aged walls. This is a vivid representation of the common absence of children across colonial archives and traditional colonial histories.

Figure 4.2 "Mandala House & ALC Board Room (located on the first floor of the house) which dates back to 1881" *Source:* Author's photographs of Mandala House, Blantyre, Malawi, 2016

It took a deeper search into the archives - which are held in a small room on the first floor of the old colonial home - to encounter the Moir children's fragmented stories, despite being in the very space within which they began their lives. The shelves that now line the walls of what was the Moir's family home, hold records of historical events, most of which precede the children's brief lives in Africa. Tucked away in one of the boxes, are the records of the CCAP[22] graveyard in Blantyre. They reveal the early deaths of John and Helen Moir's[23] two infant children; Bessie who was born and died in 1884 at just 6 months old, and John, who was born in 1886 and died in 1889, just two months after his third birthday.[24] Neither child's birth was officially recorded, as the birth register for the Nyasa region only began in 1886. However, their graves are still visible amongst the over grown foliage that has consumed many of the colonial graves which lie there (figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3 "The Gravestones of Bessie and John Moir, CCAP graveyard, Blantyre **Tombstones read:** Bessie Moir, Born 23rd May, Died November 1884, "In His Bosom" John A. I. Moir, Born 9th March 1886, Died 7th May 1889, "Blessed Be The Name Of The Lord" *Source:* Author's photographs, CCAP St Michael and All Angels Graveyard, Blantyre, 2016

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[22] CCAP stands for, *Church of Central Africa Presbyterian,* which was established by Scottish Missionaries in the late 1800s.
[23] Helen Moir's full name was Helen Elizabeth Moir. However, it appears from her sister-in-law's letters home to Scotland that she was known as "Bessie" (Moir, 1991). Her first-born child was named after her.
[24] SoM Archive, Box 036, *Burials CCAP Blantyre Newer records,* Entries 22 and 23

In the meantime, Bessie and John's cousin Annie, and their younger brother, Henry, were both born in 1887. Their births are recorded as the second and third entries in the births register, and both entries show that the children were born in Blantyre, in Mandala House itself.[25] The three infants lived together in Mandala House until John's death in 1889, when Annie was two years old and Henry just eighteen months. A collection of Jane Moir's letters to family in Scotland reveal that within the year following the infant John's early death, John and Helen Moir had returned to Scotland with their surviving son Henry and their young niece, Jane and Fred Moir's daughter, Annie (Moir, 1991).[26] It is highly probable that the tragic deaths of John and Bessie greatly influenced the Moirs' decisions to take their children out of Africa. The practice of sending children back 'home' to be looked after by relatives in their parents' country of origin, became commonplace among the European residents of Nyasaland in the early years of the twentieth century, and was already an established practice among colonial families in other parts of the British Empire (Brendon, 2005; Pomfret, 2016).

The Moir children's absence from the present-day historic site of Mandala House leaves a gap in the memory of this colonial home, which was inhabited by all four of the Moir children over the course of the 1880s. However, despite this apparent absence from their African home, it is evident that in *their* present day, the children were far from an invisible part of its infrastructure. This is exposed by the evident anguish in Jane Moir's letters, both to family and to her young daughter Annie in Scotland. On the 3rd of October 1890, she writes a letter in which she describes her return to Mandala House, after four months of travel to Lake Tanganyika and back with her husband Fred Moir:

> "We got to our own Mandala home about eight o'clock, and felt a dreary loneliness on coming into the lonely house [...] I somehow dreaded coming back and wished inexpressibly that we had our little daughter to come home to." (Moir, 1991: 66)

Holloway (2014) recognises these interdependencies between adults and children, and calls for a greater focus on the intrafamilial intergenerational relationships that shape both children's and adult's lives. She points out that *children's geographies* extend 'beyond micro-analyses of children's every day lives

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[25] SoM Photos, *Album 200 Registrar's volumes*, [births register] Scan 0005, SoM, Blantyre

[26] The first edition of this book of letters was printed in 1891 in Glasgow, Scotland

[…] to explore the ways adults' lives are shaped by the presence (or absence) of children' (p. 384). In the context of the British Empire, children became, and remained, the dilemma of early European settlers; their presence in the colonies caused anxiety but their absence, when sent to live away from the perils of tropical diseases, caused a sense of grief, loss and separation, leaving a tangible void in the home.

A poignant example of the intrafamilial intergenerational relationships that developed in the colonial home, is the unusual father-daughter duo of Joseph and Emily Booth (figure 4.4). Joseph Booth was an early missionary in Nyasaland known for his radical approach to life in Africa, and his anti-colonial conviction that Africa should belong to the Africans. Despite his pacifist ideologies, his close relationship with John Chilembwe – who was the leader of the violent *Nyasaland Native Uprising* of 1915 – eventually placed him in direct conflict with colonial authorities.[27] However, a significant and understudied aspect of his life in Africa can be found in his young companion with whom he travelled, and eventually began his life in Nyasaland. Booth's daughter, Emily, was arguably the first white child to follow in the famous footsteps of the early European explorers, and to journey up the Zambezi and Shire Rivers and into the interior of Africa. In 1892, aged only nine years old, she began the long journey with her father.

[27] For details on the lives of Booth and Chilembwe, see; Langworthy, H. (2002) *Africa for the African: The Life of Joseph Booth*. Malawi: Kachere. And Shepperson, G. & Price, T. (1958) *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Uprising of 1915*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University.

Figure 4.4 "Joseph and Emily Booth pictured together in South Africa in 1893. Emily is 10 years old" *Source:* Edinburgh University Library, (EUL) *MS. 2503/3 (1) Photographs c. 1873-1926*

Prior to their life in Africa, the Booth family were British colonials in Australia where they lived just outside Melbourne. This is where Emily's father became convinced of his call to preach the Gospel in foreign fields, and planned to sail to Africa. However, Emily's mother never left Australia with them. She died just three weeks before they were due to set sail. In the midst of the grief of her mother's death, Emily suffered a second loss when her older brother was sent to pursue further education in England. Despite the turmoil of their family life at the time, Joseph and his young daughter Emily continued on their journey to fulfil his calling, but along the way he was advised against taking her with him to the Highlands of Nyasa. Emily recalls in her memoirs that Dr Elmslie of the

Livingstonia mission in North Nyasa, had warned her father that he should not bring his 'little daughter' with him, saying 'you will dig her grave on the river's bank. God knows, we want no more graves in Africa!' (Booth Langworthy, 1950: 24).

Against this advice, Joseph and Emily Booth continued their journey together. In her memoirs, Emily Booth Langworthy reflects on the dilemma that her father must have faced at the time; 'I have often thought of what a dreadful handicap I must have been to Father, and, at the same time, how greatly he needed me, for I was part of Mother and of home [...] What a lot I should have missed if that companionship with my father in Africa had not come to me' (p. 24). Here she highlights the intensity of their dependency upon each other through this pivotal time in their lives. The interdependency of their relationship is also evident in their experience of making their first home together in Blantyre. Emily's memories of her childhood home in Africa, are perhaps the first recorded European childhood memoirs of 'home' in the region that is now Malawi. She describes their first house as a 'misused native hut' on the Mandala site, which was placed at their disposal. She gives a detailed description of these early days:

> '...we moved in. There wasn't very much to move. Just our personal luggage, some provisions, two camp cots, and a little black bent-wood chair with a cane seat, which Father had carried over land and sea so that I might have one thing from our home in Australia. It gave me much comfort, that little black chair. Our other equipment was dreadfully limited. Packing boxes became our chairs and table; Huntley and Palmer biscuit tins became our wash-basin and saucepans. [...] Our watchwords came to be "Smile, Dot", - "Smile, Da". That native hut called for a lot of smiles, to carry on. The thatch roof leaked like a sieve in torrential tropical rains [and] rats got into our biscuits and raisins...' (p. 39)

Their hut was basic and required them to adapt to their new surroundings. Emily recalls her fear upon hearing the sound of hyenas 'screeching' outside the hut at night and how her father used to hold her hand across the space between their beds and urge her not to be afraid. She remembers the distant, persistent sound of African villagers drumming in the night, and how these unfamiliar sounds of Africa contrasted with her father's comforting stories of the 'English skylark with its lilting notes of floating melody,' and stories of his boyhood in England, when he would go 'hunting for violets and primroses beside the brooks

in the spring time' (p. 42). Yet, with the help of their African 'cook-boy' John,[28] they began to feel that 'the Mandala hut was something of a home' (p. 41). As their own and shared experiences gradually became associated with this basic space, it was assigned meaning. It became a *place* that the young missionary's daughter could associate with 'home'.

4.2.3 Physical Surroundings of the Family Home

The basic living space that is described in Emily Booth Langworthy's memoirs is not dissimilar to the conditions that Europeans were still negotiating decades later. In the 1930s and the early 1940s Europeans in Nyasaland were living in much larger houses, but most households still functioned without the amenities of running water and electricity, particularly those in rural areas. In an interview for this research, Cris described the scale of her family's house in Namwera where her parents were tobacco planters; '…our house was huge, but I can't tell you how huge it was … can you imagine one room having 5 doors? That's how big the rooms were.'[29] Despite the grand scale of the house, she went on to reveal that she grew up without running water or electricity and certainly no phones. This echoes a tendency among participants to define their home space, not in terms of what they *had* but rather in terms of the things that were absent. This translates into a wider discourse among participants, which portrays the colonial home as a hub of self-sufficiency that children were very much a part of. William described the resourceful and recycled material objects that featured in his home life:

> '…petrol came into Nyasaland in two 4 gallon tins that were in a box, two of them in a box, and these tins were what we used for carrying the water, in fact everything was made out of these tins, pots and pans were made out of these tins, you know the Africans used to take them apart, because obviously with thousands of these tins, they all came into the country, and the furniture was made out of the

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[28] In 1892, John became the house servant of Joseph Booth, and as is evident in Emily Booth Langworthy's memoirs, took on caring duties for his daughter in the early years of their life in Africa (Shepperson & Price, 1958). He later became the leader of the Nyasaland Native Uprising in 1915, and is now known by his full name, John Chilembwe. He is a famous and revered figure in contemporary Malawi.

[29] Cris, lines 586-588, p. 19

> boxes.[30] […] I remember milk came in gin bottles with a piece of chimanga [dried maize cob] stuck in the top to seal the bottle.'[31]

The majority of the participants also mentioned the use of oil and paraffin lamps in the absence of electricity in their homes. Patrick talked briefly about his first home where there was no plumbing and the outdoor toilet was known as the 'thunder box.'[32]

However, as Cris pointed out, '…that was my way of life […] I knew no better and I loved it.'[33] As children, they were largely unaware of the apparent 'hardships' that might have been felt by their parents, and so they interacted with the spaces of their homes through differing amounts of engagement with the self-sufficient running of the household. Bill recalled going out on his bicycle into the nearby villages as a young boy to barter objects, such as bottles, in exchange for eggs for the family. He said he could remember testing whether or not the eggs had gone off by 'going back home and putting them all into a bowl of water, and those that floated you threw away.'[34] Amy remembered standing on a stool in the kitchen washing plates whilst the cook who worked for them would supervise to make sure it was done properly,[35] whilst Elisabeth used to love simply watching their cook preparing peanuts for her parents' evening parties at their house:

> 'I loved Cook […] watching him roast peanuts- monkey nuts on the fire […] I can remember him sort of sifting and shaking this great tin tray over the fire in the back yard and blowing off the skin, and then when it was done enough sprinkling salt on them. So you didn't go out to the supermarket to get nuts you made them yourself.'[36]

The senses that define these memories and recollections of their childhood homes, can be understood as visual and tactile sensory experiences. These European children found meaningful spaces in colonial home-making practices that directly engaged them with the surrounding physical space that they were living in, and characterised that space as home.

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[30] William, lines 228-233, p. 8
[31] ibid., lines 302-303, p. 10
[32] Patrick, line 39, p. 2
[33] Cris, lines 412-413, p. 13
[34] Bill, lines 1251-1253, p. 39
[35] Amy, lines 206-207, p. 7
[36] Elisabeth, lines 89-94, pp. 3-4

Participants also engaged with memories of 'home' through remembering auditory experiences. Teresa recalled the subtleties of the kinds of sounds that still take her back to her childhood; 'when we lived in Ncheu, of course we didn't have electricity we had paraffin lamps, and even now if I hear a hissing of a lamp it reminds me – you know a hurricane lamp – it reminds me of my youth.'[37]

Similarly, a few participants recalled the crackling sounds of the BBC World Service that was listened to religiously by their parents, and which for some, represented the sound of a distant land in Europe that their parents referred to as 'home.' This was a particularly prevalent feature of interviews with those who lived in Nyasaland through the Second World War. Hugh remembered how the radio became a central part of family life during the war:

> 'I was very resentful of the war, because, my parents had a huge map up on the wall with lots of little flags, Union Jacks and Swastikas, and every day there was this, you know, you just had to listen to the home news to know what was going on in Europe and they would spend hours- and not allowed to talk, be silent, listen to the news, over a sort of crackly telephone coming from Daventry, and all these little flags were moved the whole time you know, and there was war talk.'[38]

Susan also recalled her father 'tuning up' the 'bush radio' to listen to news of the war from Europe. She remembered how they 'had to be quiet, [while father] was trying to listen to the news, but another time we were listening to the King speaking as well and we all had to be very hushed to listen to the King speaking.'[39] Likewise, Rupert remembered how there was only one radio in their house, which was normally tuned to BBC World Service. However, he also recalled that his parents had a record player, which introduced him and his siblings to European music such as Gilbert and Sullivan.[40] Bill also found a love for western music during his childhood:

> 'they [his parents] had an old valve radio set that was […] powered by a car battery and it would glow, you know with the valves […] so that was the only music that I heard, Haydn quartets and Mozart, it was all classical music really and I absolutely adored it[41] […] every Sunday morning they used to broadcast a concert from Brazzaville I think – and this incredible noise came out, you know with the different parts, and I had no idea what it was, but I was absolutely sold on it.'[42]

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[37] Teresa, lines 199-202, p. 7
[38] Harry, lines 250-256, p. 8
[39] Susan, lines 386-390, pp. 12-13
[40] Rupert, lines 570-573, p. 18
[41] Bill, lines 1331-1335, p. 41
[42] ibid., lines 1396-1399, p. 43

However, he added that in order to listen to his parents' music, he would have to venture out 'into the bush' to find natural alternatives to use as a 'needle' for the 'wind up gramophone' when his parents had run out. Similarly, Julian Hoyle (J Hoyle in Baker, 2012: 139) wrote about how him and his siblings would also go out collecting large thorns in order to then 'whittle the blunt ends down to a size that they could fit into the gramophone arm head.' He recalled that this worked quite well but commented that, 'one thorn was only good for one record, so we were constantly changing needles, but as thorns were plentiful, it was not a real problem.' This illustrates the juxtaposition of the children's European and African worlds that will be expanded upon in the next section. Lucy Ashley (L. Ashley in Baker, 2012: 119) eloquently conjured up this image in a section of one of her poems about her childhood memories, where she recalled hearing African drums at night; 'When the last record [was] back in its sleeve, And the strains of Mozart or Beethoven died away, The ancient rhythms of Africa took us to our dreams.'

In their research Wilson et al. (2012) extensively considered children's sensory experiences in the home, but 'taste' was not one of the senses that the demographic of children in their study associated with their home spaces.[43] However, food - and how food tasted - has emerged as a significant theme in the remembered experiences of European children's homes in Nyasaland. As the following section endeavours to show, the growing, gathering, preparation and consumption of food was an important aspect of European children's lives, and to an extent, demarcated different spaces within and around the home that the children engaged with.

[43] The children who took part in this study lived with parents who were alcohol dependent and/or substance abusers.

4.3 Food in the Colonial Home

4.3.1 The Significance of Food

I remember the scent and texture of guavas,
The subtle colouring of red banana skins
With the pink flushed flesh beneath,
And the taste of chambo straight from the lake.
~ Kota Kota by Lucy Ashley, in Baker (2012: 118-119)

Horton & Kraftl (2006) observe that many disciplines outside of Human Geography treat *spaces* as 'rather blank, neutral, calm and lifeless' or in other words as 'mere containers for action.' They argue that children's spaces are in fact the opposite, and are 'enlivened by all of the real, fun, dangerous, meaningful and meaningless things that happened there' (p. 272). But how do these activities and banalities of children's daily existences interact with the physical space around them in order to bring it to life? Wilson et al. (2012) suggest that this happens through a continuous series of embodied, sensory experiences of domestic space. They note that in their research interviews with children about their home environments, they were unexpectedly given answers in the form of visual, olfactory, tactile and/or auditory descriptions of the spaces that the children had lived in. Through an exploration of how children interacted with food in the colonial home, this section seeks to adopt this sensory perspective in its understanding of children in the colonial household, and further considers the children's embodied and sensory experiences of 'taste' and 'eating', and how this also defined the spaces that they grew up in and their understandings of 'home.'

Children, Food and Identity in Everyday Life (James et al., 2009) is perhaps one of the most extensive collections of papers to consider how food consumption and everyday food practices shape the identities of children. These papers are overwhelmingly contemporary in their focus, which reflects much of the wider current literature on the relationship between children and food (See for example: Elliott, 2010; 2013; Johansson et al., 2009; Namie, 2011; Pike & Kelly, 2014). This field of research tends to focus on contemporary adult anxieties surrounding children's diets and their heathly/unhealthy eating habits. They explore children's agency as consumers, as well as the specific marketing techniques that target children, and consequently they consider the ability and extent of children's

decision making with regard to their food-choices. However, James et al.'s (2009) edited volume brings the theoretical, sociological framework of *childhood studies* into the discourse surrounding children and food, and argues that children's identities are shaped by the ever-changing foodscapes[44] that surround them:

> '…food consumption in children's everyday lives is changing. Increasing levels of fragmentation and individualisation, in terms of both the provision of food and where and how children's meals are consumed, are accentuating food choices and involving children in new kinds of identity formation.' pp. 4-5

Although this collection of papers seeks to highlight the increasing agency of children to guide their own food choices and how this contributes to the construction of childhood identities, all the authors stress the importance of the intergenerational relationships – both intrafamilial and extrafamilial adult influences – which affect children's interaction with their given foodscapes. Brembeck et al. (2013) suggest that food can be used as a way of establishing and maintaining social relations 'between food and eater, between individuals eating together and between the one who makes/serves the food, and the eater' (p. 80). They further suggest that children's foodscapes can reflect confusing and complicated social relationships when scattered over multiple locations. In their research this refers to the varied and changing family compositions among the children who took part in their study. However, this can also reflect the experiences of children who interact with multiple cultural foodscapes, situated in multiple localities, on a daily basis.

In Brembeck's (2009) contribution to *Children, Food and Identity in Everyday Life*, she considers this phenomenon with reference to Bosnian and Iraqi immigrant children in contemporary Sweden. Surprisingly, there is very little research that connects children's relationships with food and the construction of their *cultural* identity, particularly from an historical perspective. However, in her chapter on 'food and becoming' in immigrant children's lives, Brembeck considers children's relationships with food when living outside of their culture of origin,

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[44] This term has been used here in the same ambiguous, but useful, vein as Dolphijn (2004), taking it quite simply to represent the conflation of food and landscapes, and to consider the context of the everyday spaces within which food exists. This encompasses food in all its diversity, and the concept of a 'foodscape' describes the processes through which the cultural aspects of food as well as its consumption (or lack thereof) can reveal insight into concepts of, identity and the self; space and place; and power, capitalism and the state. See: Dolphijn, R. (2004) *Foodscapes: Towards a Deleuzian Ethics of Consumption*. Delft: Eburon.

and how children navigate the different cultural foodscapes that they come into contact with. She talks about food as a means for children to integrate with, and feel that they somehow *belong* to an additional and different culture from that of their migrant family. She explores the different foodscapes that the children have to negotiate daily, in both their home and school environments, and how these begin to merge. She coins this phenomenon as a 'frontiering foodscape'; borrowing Dolphijn's (2004) definition of the term 'foodscape,' and introducing the additional concept of 'frontiers' or borders between cultural foodscapes that migrant children encounter. Brembeck identifies the unique ability of migrant children in Sweden to bridge these frontiers, which in turn evidences their agency with regard to cultural food choices and cultural identity formation.

This discussion of children's identity and food, highlights the intergenerational dynamics of children's foodscapes, alongside children's agency to independently make their own choices about the food that they eat. It also sheds light on the important role of food and eating practices in the construction of childhood identity. As James et al. (2009) conclude, food has the 'power (symbolic or otherwise) … to mark out particular kinds of identities for children and young people' (p. 6).

The following section considers how European children in the colonies negotiated the different foodscapes that they encountered, and how this contributed to their experiences and memories of their 'home' environment. It also argues that food played an important role in building intergenerational and intercultural relationships in and around the home, and also represented an early understanding of the different cultures that constituted the world in which they were growing up. This analysis of European children's engagement with colonial foodscapes endeavours to show how the different food spaces that children experienced, sensory and otherwise, also contribute to a further understanding of *children's places* and *places for children* in the colonial home. It seeks to illustrate that food not only has the power to mark out different identities for children, but furthermore has a certain 'power' to demarcate different cultural and physical spaces in which those identities are shaped.

4.3.2 Food as Cultural Origin and Transmission

Conversations surrounding food in the interviews with research participants, strongly reiterated the self-sufficiency of European homes in Nyasaland, and children's interaction with this aspect of their home life. Almost unanimously, participants talked about their family's vegetable gardens and the need for European families in Nyasaland to grow their own food. The level of dependency on the land varied between the more urban and the rural environments, as did children's interaction and engagement with growing and gathering their own food. In the very rural areas, on the tobacco and tea plantations, families also kept their own livestock:

> 'We had [...] chickens, we had rabbits, she [mother] had her own goats, her own sheep, [...] and cattle, so everything you know- fresh milk, fresh butter [...] Very self- sufficient. Baked our own bread, made our own cake and things like that.'[45]

Eve lived very rurally on one of the large tobacco estates in the central region of Malawi and emphasised that everything had to be grown and made on the farm, 'there was nothing like there is today, everything was from scratch.'[46] Cris lived on a nearby estate and also reiterated the self-sufficiency of rural life:

> 'Well we had our own vegetable garden, it was a big must.[47] Every afternoon my mum and I, and my sister, we'd walk to the garden which was a little bit far away because we used to have to have water to have a garden [...] we used to walk and sing through the garden [...] like half an hour to get to the garden, half an hour back [...] you couldn't walk in the day, it was too hot. So we always walked like half four, and then come back half five, six.'[48]

Intergenerational relationships were formed not just at a dinner table, or through family decisions over what to eat, but right from the initial stages of planting, growing and harvesting food. Susan, whose father was an Agricultural Officer, lived in multiple locations around Nyasaland. When they lived in less rural areas, she remembered trips to the markets to buy rice, potatoes and meat, which was usually either chicken or fish when they could get it. However, upon moving to a very rural and remote location, she recalled that her family had quite a big

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[45] Eve, lines 67-75, p. 3
[46] ibid., lines 404-405, p. 13
[47] Cris, line 631, p. 20
[48] ibid., lines 1149-1160, p. 36

vegetable garden and grew as much as they could, 'it was really much more of a culture of, plant it if you can […] and keep your seed and plant again next year.'[49] She also remembered local people coming to the back door of their house to sell vegetables to the family, and so they ate locally sourced vegetables in addition to what they could grow. However, she also recounted quite a unique scenario in which her and her family would forage, using local African knowledge of what they could find in the area that was edible:

> 'we did eat the local vegetables as well, and go foraging because that's what the locals ate, black jack leaves, what we call blackjacks, I've forgotten the Malawian name for it now – bonongwe! – and pumpkin leaves of course. We ate all those and enjoyed them, because that's just what came in front of you.'[50]

Although this was quite a unique example of a European family engaging with local methods of gathering food, most of the participants similarly recalled collecting fresh fruit from trees and bushes. This is also echoed by the passage from Lucy Ashley's poem *Kota Kota* at the beginning of this section, which describes her memories of food, and particularly fresh fruit, when she was growing up in Nyasaland as a young girl (Baker, 2012). Likewise, Orestis recalled climbing trees as a child and collecting mangoes and guavas[51], while Elisabeth used to eat pawpaws and passion fruits from their garden.[52]

This concept of 'living off the land' permeated through the vast majority of the interviews. A significant number of participants were not just engaged with planting and growing food as children, but also with rearing, hunting and killing it. Patrick recounted his memories of shooting with his father on Sundays; 'he would go out with his shotgun and take me with him and go out shooting Nkwali[53]- […] he'd done that as a boy in England, shot rabbits and so forth.'[54] Richard also talked about hunting as young boy:

> '…to eat, yah, […] you know I haven't shot anything for many many years, but in those days when you were young and in Africa you did, you went out and got duiker and small deer and stuff, you know.'[55]

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[49] Susan, lines 189-190, p. 6
[50] ibid., lines 168-172, p. 6
[51] Orestis, lines 378-380, p. 12
[52] Elisabeth, lines 213-215, p. 7
[53] Patrick described Nkwali as a 'kind of wild bush chicken.' p. 5, line 127. The English translation from the Chichewa word is a 'Franklin'.
[54] Patrick, lines 125-137, pp. 4-5
[55] Richard, lines 220-226, pp. 7-8

Another male participant talked about how he loved to go out cycling as a child, and as he got older he was allowed to take a 2.2 rifle with him to shoot birds and bring them home for food. He also stressed the point that he keeps away from guns now.[56] William also went shooting with his father and a family friend but admitted that it was only on a couple of occasions:

> '…there was a load of bush and a lot of game so, you know, relatively easily you'd find a buck and shoot it, and then you could eat it, and I suppose that was a bit of a treat because otherwise it would be scrawny cattle or scrawny chickens.'[57]

Participants who grew up near the lake also recalled catching and eating fish. Orestis grew up on the shores of Lake Malawi, and fish was a staple in his family's diet:

> 'I know fish very well, […] we used to eat fish alive! When I say alive, they just came out of the water, it was still bouncing about […] it would be cut open, cleaned out […] of course salt put on it and then there was a fire […] put it on the fire, my gee whizz! […] I learnt slowly, gradually from my uncles as well, it wasn't the biggest one that you caught, it was the medium sized, that was the sweetest.'[58]

Although it was the male participants who predominantly talked about hunting for food in the interviews, it was by no means an activity that was exclusive to young boys. Amy remembered going hunting as a young girl with her uncle and her cousin. She recalled walking for hours on end, only returning when they had shot a pigeon or two, which would be their evening meal.[59] Similarly, Susan talked about killing their chickens for food; 'we would wring their necks as well, and pluck them and do all that sort of stuff.'[60] Although she didn't hunt animals in the wild, she recalled the graphic scene of slaughtering their family goats for food:

> 'I also remember […] at Chintedzi I think, where at the back of the house, a tree, and every now and then a goat used to be killed there, and I would quite happily watch it being slaughtered, throat cut and hung up and all of that, it was just normal behaviour really, and as a child you just watched that and it didn't distress me at all as it would in England. It was just the way life was lived. And then the goat was hacked down and the meat cut up and- with great knives and bits distributed for staff and we took some.'[61]

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[56] Rupert, lines 134-140, p. 5
[57] William, lines 408-411, p. 13
[58] Orestis, lines 395-402, p. 13
[59] Amy, lines 190-194, p. 7
[60] Susan, lines 159-160, p. 6
[61] ibid., lines 146-153, p. 5

Despite the food being locally sourced – and children's engagement with, and awareness of this process – the preparation and consumption of food in the colonial home came to represent the cultural origins of European families, not the local African environment from which it came. This is also apparent in the NCW cookbook, which initiated the discussion on colonial homes at the beginning of this chapter. The cookbook prides itself on its collection of recipes that show European women how to produce European dishes such as Fish Pie, Liver Paté, Beef Stroganoff and Lemon Soufflé, using nutritious local ingredients sourced in Nyasaland. Once all the ingredients were gathered within the home, food became a vehicle for European cultural engagement and education within the family. In a similar way, Brembeck (2009) unveils the important role of food in the transmission of culture in migrant homes. She writes about the sorrow felt by the mothers of migrant children in Sweden, when their daughters showed little or no interest in learning how to make 'homeland specialties', as the mothers saw this as an 'important way to keep a link with the homeland, with relatives and with customs' (p. 133). It is clear from this case, illustrated by Brembeck's research with migrant mothers, that parents – and mothers in particular - felt an obligation to pass on their cultural heritage to their children, and food was one method of doing so. This is clearly evident in the everyday food-practices of European families in Nyasaland, who created and maintained European foodscapes within the walls of their homes.

All of the interviewees talked about the food eaten in their homes as the kind that would align with their family's country of origin. This was particularly evident among the Southern European communities, for whom food emerged as a particularly important aspect of family identity. Eve talked about her Greek culinary upbringing on a remote tobacco farm:

> '…our food, it plays a very big part […] cheese was a very big factor, my mother made the best feta, the best yoghurt- and there was no sell by dates- […] the cheese was kept in a tin with brine in it, and you know the yoghurt, she'd get the culture and we'd have yoghurt and we wouldn't worry about it if it was a month old. […] They made us maintain the culture, the Greek culture.'[62]

Similarly, Federico talked about how he has always strictly kept to his origins, and relates this to his life-long Italian diet; 'I've always eaten Italian food, from day one

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[62] Eve, lines 403-411, p. 13

to day now when I'm seventy [laughs], I'm very Italian okay […] but that was all of us hey, we kept strict to our origins.'[63] Cris also recalled that her mother used to bake a lot of bread, 'because the Greeks *eat* bread!', and reminisced about the phenomenal aromas of the bread that her mum baked weekly in their outdoor wood-burning brick oven.[64] Children who grew up in British homes also referred to British themed foodscapes in the home. Rupert said that his childhood breakfasts consisted of porridge, bacon and eggs or toast and marmalade; 'A very British breakfast.'[65] However, it appears that for British families in the colonies, food was also closely linked to class and status, rather than purely to a sense of retaining one's national identity:

> 'you would eat English food, because that's what people of our status would eat, and my father would not let those standards slip.[66] […] I cannot remember any difference between what we ate there and what we would have here [U.K]. We had a cook called Basil […] who had been with my Dad since 1946 and he had learnt how to cook English stuff.'[67]

One participant also talked about the family silver that had been given to her father by relatives in England to take out to Nyasaland with him, and she presumed it was to keep up 'English standards.'[68] Another participant of British heritage recalled the very colonial mindset of his parents with regard to meal times:

> '…we had to have three meals a day, I mean there was breakfast definitely, lunch definitely, supper definitely, *tea*- tea at 10 o'clock, tea at 4 o'clock, […] very colonial attitude […] Tea and 10 o'clock, you know.'[69]

Giancarlo who grew up in a wealthy Italian home also recalled his parents' strict attitude towards eating practices, which framed the Italian foodscape that he experienced at home:

> 'So yah, it was very Italian the whole thing […] our meals were quite formal, […] kids were not allowed at the table, so we had our own room where we ate. So because there's quite a big gap between my brother and my sister and myself, I would have the meal on my own, just sitting in our playroom, and the guy who had

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[63] Federico, lines 313-317, p. 10
[64] Cris, lines 646-651, pp. 20-21
[65] Rupert, lines 101-106, p. 4
[66] James, lines 205-207, p. 7
[67] ibid., p. 6, lines 163-166
[68] Susan, lines 189-190, p. 6
[69] Paul, lines 317-320, p. 10

been allocated to me to play with me and look after me, he'd be bringing me food and stuff.'[70]

He goes on to explain that it wasn't until he was nine or ten years old that he was allowed to dine with the rest of the family in the formal dining room. These examples reveal that children encountered their European family foodscapes, in spaces that were largely mediated by adults. Despite children's active participation in collecting food, it seems that their agency was reduced within the walls of their homes, where their meals were overwhelmingly decided by their mothers, cooked by the servants, and served around dining tables at family meal times. Therefore, the spaces in colonial homes where children encountered these European foodscapes can be observed as *places for children*; spaces that were assigned meaning *by* adults *for* children. The places within the home where food was shared as a family, served adult purposes of cultural transmission and education, family social bonding, nutrition and in some cases discipline. Adult authority was asserted in these places, and adult-centred designations of children's identities were played out. This does not mean that children did not often engage positively with these places, but only that their own potential to explore and experiment with identity, especially in relation to food, was somewhat constrained.

In contrast to these spaces, which were largely constructed by the children's parents, European children found other spaces in their home environments that allowed them to explore food, culture and identity in a less contained way. In the introduction to their edited book on children, food and identity, James et al. (2009) admit that the major gap in this collection of papers can be characterised by a lack of research into children's activities as consumers of food in public spaces, away from adult supervision. They highlight that there has been hardly any work in this area, particularly with regard to children's own experiences and perspectives. Although they mean this in the contemporary context of children independently going to fast-food restaurants and sweet shops for example, the concept can also be translated into the colonial historical context in which this study is situated. The interviews reveal that European children interacted with local African foodscapes, to varying degrees, but always on an

[70] Giancarlo, lines 290-296, pp. 9-10

independent, child-led basis. Only three interviewees said that they did not try *nsima, ndiwo*[71] or other typical local Malawian foods when they were growing up in Nyasaland. All three of these participants lived in the government capital, Zomba, and were the children of high-profile British government employees. The participants who grew up in more remote, rural areas – and particularly those from farming families – tended to have more freedom to engage with the African cultures and environments that surrounded them than those who grew up in the towns. Most of this exposure came through the social relationships that they made outside of the family unit, either with domestic servants or local children.

Many participants talked about the friendships that they made with local African children who lived on their parents' estates or in the villages surrounding their homes. George recounted how his friendship with young estate workers led to his participation in local African foodscapes:

> 'we used to go out early early morning, and we'd go out and we'd walk and walk and walk until we came to the first village and meet our little friends and you know kids fool around and things, nothing very intelligent for a while, and then one would say let's go and see so and so, and so we'd go down a path and *uko* [over there] maybe a mile away we'd find another little village and meet up there and play around, and then we'd pinch whatever fruit was available, pawpaws, mangoes, guavas those sort of things, all native fruits and then we'd sometimes go down to the river, the little streams […] and go down and catch the little mud fish and cook them in *kazinga* [vegetable oil]. In 1941 we had the great red locusts, […] and I always remember one day we'd come back because we were told the locusts were raiding our homes, so we came back quickly to find the place, the lawn, just about brown and there were bamboos […] and they were eating every leaf […] and a couple of the, the younger [estate workers] who we were friendly with us said, they said "You've got mosquito nets." I don't know how they knew we had mosquito nets, nobody had such things in those days. "Go and get your mosquito nets and we'll catch them and we'll have a feast." So [sister] and I went and pulled our mosquito nets down, smuggled them out into the field and we draped them up in the bamboo between the clumps and we caught tens of thousands – tore the nets to pieces [gasps] oh we got into terrible trouble for that, […] and we must have had the biggest feast ever held in [the area] on a single day, and we used to make you know *kazinga kanthu* [frying pans] on a little tin thing, you know how they do mealies, [draws an in breath] so tasty, we used to just pull the head off, whip the wings off, whip the legs off and fry them. Oh they were really fantastic!'[72]

This example of George's and his sister's vivid experiences of local African food outside of the home, show that European children interacted with food and local

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[71] *Nsima* is a staple food in Malawi. It is a traditional dish, which is firm and "patty" like in appearance, and is made from maize flour and water. *Ndiwo* is a relish that can be made with meat or vegetables, and is eaten alongside the *nsima*.

[72] George, lines 279-316, pp. 9-10

food practices in spaces that were not regulated by parental or adult authority. Others echoed similar experiences; Edward would catch flying ants when they were in season and fry them up with a bit of salt,[73] whilst Susan would go into the villages with her brothers and eat with the children who lived there:

> 'I used to play in the villages there with my brothers, [...] and so I would toddle along and they would look after me as their little sister which was very nice, and they still do [laughs] [...] But we used to play in the villages and play with the kids and eat their stuff and go looking for food and grass hoppers and mice and that sort of thing together, and that's what I remember, [...] well the flying ants of course, the *Inswa*- I don't think that I actually went hunting for them but I was often given them when I was in the village because somebody else had caught them and cooked them and I would eat them with them, I don't remember actually catching them myself.'[74]

This quotation further exemplifies that European children engaged in activities as food consumers in African rural spaces outside of the private sphere of European domestic family life, and although some of these experiences clearly took place further afield in local villages, they were recounted within the context of the children's 'home life'. Other participants also recounted similar experiences closer to home. John remembered how he and his siblings would often go and eat with their domestic servants, 'we always used to go to the boys' quarters to eat, they had much better food than we did, well we thought anyway [laughs] with their fish and their relish, it was lovely.'[75] However, it appears that children were sometimes reprimanded for eating with servants as Julian recalled in his interview. He said how much he and his siblings used to love eating with the servants, but that his mother used to get frustrated that the children then wouldn't eat their food in the house, and said that it was not fair that the children were eating the servants food.[76] However, this disapproval was not something that appears to have been echoed by the servants themselves, who would invite the children to join them if they were nearby:

> 'I remember very distinctly you know, we had servants in the house [...] come half past 5, their wives would come with their Nsima bowl - you know those basins and on top another little basin, tied up on their head walking - and they'd go to the back of the house where we had a rondavel, where there was always a fire going, all day long [...] and they used to go there, and if we used to be anywhere in the

[73] Edward, lines 590-591, p. 19
[74] Susan, lines 73-92, pp. 3-4
[75] John, lines 208-210, p. 7
[76] Julian, lines 118-120, p. 4

> vicinity they always used to say "Karibu, come and join us." My sister *always* ate with them, but me, to this day I've never liked Nsima.'[77]

By both accepting and refusing the invitation to eat with the servants of their house, Cris and her sister both demonstrate the ability of children to make child-led decisions about their food choices and actively engage with a foodscape that was different to that of the one that they shared with their parents. The fact that Cris was able to say no to a meal because she did not like the taste of the food, shows that the spaces in which the children engaged with African foodscapes were more fluid than those of the regimented structures of European family meals in the house. The interviewees also suggested that as children, they understood that these different types of food that they ate *belonged* in different spatial contexts. This can be illustrated by the unlikely story that Susan told in her interview:

> '…people used to go burning bits of the bush to go and get at the mice, so he [father] wanted to see what it tasted like, but we'd already eaten it in the village […] so we had it, and it was presented, I remember, in a silver dish with our second "boy" we called him – I'm sorry about that, but that's how we called them in those days – […] and these mice came in on the dish, little cooked mice on a silver dish…'[78]

Whilst recounting this story, Susan recalled her and her brothers' amusement at the situation. It is clear that although the children had eaten mice in the villages, they recognised that it was unusual to be eating them from a silver dish, with their parents and at the dinner table. This visual juxtaposition of their two worlds represents a collision of spaces, and subsequently reveals the different childhood identities that had also been moulded in those spaces.

To adopt Brembeck's (2009) term, these foodscapes that the children were navigating in their daily lives can be recognised as 'frontiering foodscapes,' which delineated not only the different cultures that they were exposed to, but also the different spatial contexts in which these cultures began to be understood by the children. It is clear from the examples given in this discussion, that European children had greater agency in the spatial context of the local foodscape than in their family foodscape, to make their own decisions and to integrate with local people through sharing local food. These spaces can be identified as *children's*

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[77] Cris, lines 549-548, pp.17-18
[78] Susan, lines 212-221, p. 7

places, as they represent the places where European children were able to explore identity and culture in a less contained way.

Part II: Reproducing Imperial Power: Ordering Domestic and Social Space

4.4 Servants in the home

4.4.1 Relationships with Servants

The presence of domestic servants permeated colonial home spaces to the extent that most participants included their household servants amongst the people who they spent the most time with whilst growing up in Nyasaland. Mary Procida (2002) brings to light the integral role that servants played in running British households in the Raj, and points out that domestic servants were entrusted with the crucial mechanisms of running a colonial home. She argues that the British (women in particular) were relegated to a symbolic, though still authoritative, presence in the home. Through their relationships with their servants, European women were expected to 'serve as exemplars of European superiority' (p. 87), and to instil imperial values of discipline and respect in their Indian domestic servants. The NCW's *Household Guide* echoes this expectation by placing women in a position of authority over household servants and emphasising that 'household servants are engaged by the employer and enter into the home by *her* arrangement' (p. 1 – italics added). In other words, the colonial home was expected to uphold and reflect the social and racial hierarchies of the colonial governments that were ruling at the time.

Pomfret (2016) reiterates this point within the context of the British Asian colonies, where the elite status of European families relied upon the appointment of domestic servants and, in particular, *amahs*[79] for their children. As such, he observes that the home emerged as a site of colonial power, but in the process also became wrought with irony, as children developed intimate interethnic

[79] Asian women employed by European families to look after their children. Sometimes also referred to as *ayahs*.

relationships with Asian women. He recognises the impact of these relationships on European children, and states that 'childhood in colonial contexts was profoundly porous, mixed and disruptive of the very claims for racial homogeneity that it was called upon to impart' (p. 54).

This section considers this statement in relation to the everyday lived experiences of children in Nyasaland. Through an exploration of the co-existence of white European children and black African servants in the shared spaces of the colonial home, the following discussion seeks to expose the intergenerational and interracial dynamics between European children and the servants who worked for their families. Having considered the intrafamilial, intergenerational relationships between children and their European parents – and how this created a space of European cultural education at home – this section further argues that the home was also a space of African cultural education that resulted from the extrafamilial, intergenerational relationships that the children developed with the servants. It also explores the important role of children's relationships with their servants, in the development of European children's understandings of the harsh realities of racial inequality in colonial society.

The NCW *Household Guide* includes a brief section of childrearing advice for European newcomers. The passage warns against the blistering heat of the midday sun, the dangers of snakes and harmful insects and, of course, the necessary precautions that must be taken to reduce the risk of children getting malaria. However, among these warnings the European women also include a word of caution with regard to leaving African servants in 'sole charge' of their children (p. 8). In practice, however, it appears that European parents largely ignored this advice and frequently left their children in the sole care of domestic servants.

Only one participant interviewed in this research gave an account of parental attitudes that corresponded with and acted upon such advice:

> 'I think our English nurse governess, so appointed because of course mother didn't want us to have Africans unfortunately[80] [...] she was very sensitive of matters of cleanliness and things and didn't want us playing around in villages and so on, but we managed to do so from time to time.'[81]

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[80] Bill, lines 694-695, p. 22

[81] ibid., lines 82-84, p. 3

Bill expressed regret in his interview that he had not had an African nanny, and suggested that this had resulted, for him, in a lack of engagement with the African people, language and culture that surrounded him as a child. As he notes in the above extract, he and his sister would subvert their parents' wishes and on occasion managed to sneak out to go and play in the villages. Evidently, children were curious about their surroundings and despite white adult wishes, followed urges to explore life beyond their own European home environments. However, for many European children, the bridge into the African world that both intersected with and lay beyond their family homes was built by their relationships with the servants who looked after them. Whilst growing up in Nyasaland, the overwhelming majority of research participants in this study were supervised in and around the home by the African domestic servants who worked for their parents. The children were usually looked after by a female or male nanny, specifically appointed to oversee and care for them. Children frequently formed close bonds with their nannies and were exposed to the world outside of their European colonial homes through these relationships. The nannies of European children were often given the specific task of with playing with and entertaining the children, particularly in very rural areas:

> 'we did develop quite a close relationship with the member of staff we had been allocated, in my case it was a guy named Alfred, who I used to play with [...] we were quite good mates, although he was obviously older you know, he was still quite young.'[82]

Other participants also reiterated this bond of friendship that grew out of their playful relationships with their young nannies. Charles said that before he left for school in South Africa, aged eight, he spent much of his time with his 'boy' Paulus, who became his 'constant companion.'[83] He recalled how they would play together in the garden with his Meccano Dinky Toys and how Paulus would always accompany him (on foot) when he went cycling around Blantyre.[84] George also talked about playing in the garden with his male nanny and commented on the closeness of their relationship; '...he and I were really buddies you know, I mean I

[82] Giancarlo, lines 296-304, p. 10
[83] Charles, line 248, p. 8
[84] ibid., lines 358-359, p. 12 & lines 209-216 p. 7

learnt everything that a white child could ever learn of a black culture.'[85] Although the exact ages of children's nannies are not known, the playful relationships that they built with the European children suggest that they were not yet adults themselves. The images below illustrate this observation, as the African nannies in the photographs appear to be very young in age (figures 4.5 & 4.6).

Figure 4.5 "European child being cared for by a young African nanny" *Source:* Price Roe, E. (1900-1921) *Photograph Albums belonging to Edward Price Roe,* Oxford Colonial Records Collection

[85] George, lines 180-182, p. 6

Figure 4.6 "African nanny and European child playing outside" *Source:* Price Roe, E. (1900-1921) *Photograph Albums belonging to Edward Price Roe,* Oxford Colonial Records Collection

The tendency to employ young Africans as nannies may have been a deliberate choice by European women for a number of reasons; they posed less of a threat to adult authority; they were more likely to fulfil the role of 'playmate'; they were not yet tied to family responsibilities of their own. However, later in the protectorate years, older female nannies also took on caring roles in European families, particularly where babies and young girls were concerned. In cases where participants recounted their experiences of being looked after by older female nannies, it appears that these women took on much more of a caring role than their younger counterparts, who were more like supervisory older playmates. Teresa described her female nanny as having played a very motherly role in her life, making sure that she was dressed properly in the morning, getting

her breakfast and walking her to school.[86] Where European children were looked after by older adult nannies, they would often find their playmates amongst the servant's children, which again provided opportunities for them to interact with the African culture and landscape that surrounded them. It was predominantly through the African servants and their children, that European children were introduced to the world within which their European colonial homes existed.

This resulted in the construction of close relationships between the children and the servants who looked after them. Participants often described servants in family terms; Patrick described his nanny, who the children called Amayi,[87] as a 'sort of deputy' mum,[88] and Elisabeth talked about how she loved their family cook, and regarded him as an uncle figure when she was a child.[89] Susan described the staff as 'part of the wider family' and exclaimed, 'Oh we loved them!'[90] The number of servants working in a colonial household varied according to the wealth and status of the European family, but Charles remembered a total of twelve servants working for his family, and states that this kind of number was not unusual.[91] He remembered among them, the different domestic roles that they performed, 'there were two, if not three house boys, a cook, a *sukumbali* - whose sole job was to wash up the dishes – […and] three garden boys.'[92] It was not unusual for servants to be assigned a single domestic chore as their job; other participants added '*dhobis*'[93] and 'water boys' to this list. The former was assigned to wash the family's clothes and linen, and the latter - more prevalent in rural areas - to collect water for the house. As Rupert recounted, servants often outnumbered the family members for whom they worked:

> 'They were in the majority in the house, because Dad was out at work, often on Ulendo [rural work trips] for some time, so we saw more black faces than white, and you'd keep coming across them when you wandered through the house […] continuously coming across them and chatting to them, and watching what they were doing, just out of interest.'[94]

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[86] Teresa, lines 510-518, p. 16
[87] *Amayi* is the word used for 'mother' in Chichewa
[88] Patrick, line 765, p. 24
[89] Elisabeth, lines 554-555, p. 17
[90] Susan, lines 246 & 229, p. 8
[91] Charles, line 266, p. 9
[92] ibid., lines 260-265, p. 9
[93] The term *dhobi* is borrowed from the colonial language of the Raj. In South Asia dhobi means washerman or washerwoman
[94] Rupert, lines 263-266 & 165-166, pp. 9 & 6

The presence of African servants in colonial homes framed the children's everyday lives, and these daily encounters between servants and children, resulted in the growth of close relationships. This has already been partially explored through European children being welcomed into the informal spaces where servants ate and shared local food with them. However, these close relationships were marked – particularly in the family house – by complex intersecting dynamics of age and race, which challenged colonial ideals of European racial authority.

4.4.2 First Experiences of Colonial Hierarchy?

Despite the established ethno-class hierarchies of colonial society, which meant that white children were born privileged, and 'superior' to those of other races, children's early relationships with black African nannies and carers points to evidence of black adult authority which presided over their early years. Participants emphasised the respect that they had for servants as children, and recounted occasions when servants had reprimanded them in the home. Mark recalled the cook who worked for his family and described him as a 'brusque' man; 'I remember getting into trouble for pushing my luck in the kitchen […] [he] was quite brusque and I can remember getting into trouble for wanting to eat the peanuts before he'd finished cooking them.'[95] Eve remembered how their *dhobi* played a more disciplinary role in her life than her parents:

> 'We were petrified of him, we were more petrified of him than our parents, because he had been in the Kings African Rifles, […] and he was very disciplined, and I've got to say that we learnt a lot of discipline from him, more so than our parents because we used to go out and get ourselves filthy dirty and he used to say "look at you, you should be ashamed of yourselves" you know, but we respected him so much. […] and, our clothes were immaculate- […] He was an extraordinary man, and I must say he made an input on all our lives, because we remember him more like a headmaster if you know what I mean, than somebody who worked for you.'[96]

Teresa's parents gave the domestic servants, including her nanny, 'full authority' to discipline her and her siblings. She admitted to having been a naughty child who was always getting into trouble, but said her parents were very unsympathetic.[97]

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[95] Mark, lines 496-503, p. 16
[96] Eve, lines 308-320, p. 10
[97] Teresa, lines 545-547, p. 17

Cris also remembered being told off by the man who used to collect their water for the house:

> 'we had the guy – I can even remember his name, Robert – he used to carry the water on- […] he had a drum, a 20 litre here and a 20 litre there [either side of his neck, hanging on a pole], and he'd fill up the drums, and if he saw you opening the water he would shout, because he had to carry it to fill it up again – that was his job all day, I can still see him, up and down.'[98]

She added that her mother didn't say anything to him as she already felt sorry for him having to carry all that water. In a more playful manner, John talked about the way in which he and his siblings had a 'love-hate relationship' with the servants who worked in the garden, 'because they wouldn't let us pinch the veggies [from the vegetable garden] […] but it wasn't anything serious, it was more a battle of wits.'[99]

Despite the authority that servants were able to exercise over young European lives, the children also understood that domestic servants were employees of their parents and worked for the family. Charles recalled how 'life was so easy with all that staff, that if you dropped your handkerchief, one of the boys would come and pick it up for you.'[100] As she got older, Cris also remembered asking a member of their staff to make the twenty-five mile journey by bicycle to the nearest town, in order to go and post a letter for her. Although children began to exercise their own authority over servants, as they got older, there was often still an element of give and take, and even co-dependency, in the relationships. Julian recalled writing a letter for one of the servants who couldn't write it himself; 'I remember writing a letter for one of the servants […] and I remember writing [it] in Chinyanja for the person, […] he was sending it to somebody in South Africa.'[101] John also fondly remembered the compassionate nature of his sister who as a young girl, felt that one of their servants had 'too many clothes to iron, so she used to go in at night and do all the ironing for him.'[102] Although this kind of empathy with the servants' workload was rare, it was not the only act of concern shown for the domestic servants by the children. When Giancarlo was about nine

[98] Cris, lines 594-598, p. 19
[99] John, lines 285-289, p. 9
[100] Charles, lines 326-328 p. 11
[101] Julian, lines 484-487, pp. 15-16
[102] John, lines 304-305 p. 10

years old, he was considered old enough to join the family to eat in the formal dining room, having previously eaten with the governess[103] in the playroom. He recalled feeling sorry for the men who stood barefoot during dinner waiting to serve the family:

> '…they used to be barefoot, they didn't have shoes- they used to stand back and wait to serve the people, I think it was three guys all the time, they used to stand in the corner, then because it was winter and there was- they were standing on bare cement, […] I felt sorry for them, so I took some sheets of paper from somewhere, and I went and put them under their feet so they could stand on the paper, so anyway I think my mother thought it was quite amusing, so she allowed it to pass for one meal and that was it [laughs] that was just the one meal.'[104]

This was not the first time that Giancarlo had shown his allegiance with the servants. He had a very close relationship with a young African man, Alfred, who had been assigned to look out for and play with him during the day. However, as he was part of a particularly wealthy family, his parents' had employed a European governess to teach and look after him and his siblings, but neither he nor Alfred got on with her:

> 'I was very young, it was one of my earliest memories actually I must have been about five or six or something, and I remember he didn't get on with her, and the one evening I was also quite cross with her so we were sitting and I remember him from the door saying, "hit her!" so I don't know what came over me, I just went and I punched her – not in the face, I think I punched her on the shoulder or on the chest or something, and she was quite a softy […] and went running off to my mother – and he was quite chuffed that he'd managed to instigate this thing [laughs] but that is quite a stark memory, I remember him behind the door going like this [motions punching her].'[105]

Other participants recalled usurping white adult authority with the help of the servants. Barbara recalls eating *nsima* and beans 'on the sly',[106] whilst Rupert said that their pantry was kept locked but their cook, Saidi, would 'occasionally sneak us some currents or raisins.'[107]

Despite the close camaraderie between children and domestic servants in the colonial home in Nyasaland, it is clear that these relationships were defined by complex social dynamics that were shaped by intersections of race and age. During

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[103] Wealthier families sometimes employed European governesses to teach and look after their children.
[104] Giancarlo, lines 436-445, p.14
[105] ibid., lines 346-355, pp. 11-12
[106] Barbara, line 540, p. 17
[107] Rupert, lines 168-169, p. 6

the early years of children's lives, their 'child' status allowed for a temporary subversion of colonial dynamics of power, and of colonial social and racial norms. However, Julian's experience of the changing dynamic of his relationship with his male nanny, Samu, illustrates the temporary nature of this phenomenon:

> 'He left because he said I was getting too old and I was becoming a young *bwana* [boss] and he couldn't tell me what to do, and my mother said, "no that's not true, you do tell him- you can discipline him", but he said, "no it's very difficult for me to do that", which is interesting, so she wanted him to stay, but he said no because at some point he felt that it was wrong for him to tell me what to do, to discipline me[108] […] he was a very nice, kindly man and so yah I was disappointed because I liked him […] I think he just felt he had to move on because that was the reason that he apparently gave.'[109]

These changes are also evident in cases where children grew up to work with, or take over family businesses. Orestis expressed the ease with which he was able to transition into working with the family business, as he had known many of the staff since he was a young boy. He said that 'when it came to running the show […] when I'd grown up, I fitted in like a glove, they accepted me, I didn't have to prove myself.'[110] Relationships between European children and their servants were complex and fluid, and the power balance of authority shifted with the increasing age of the child, as they headed towards white adulthood.

4.4.3 Spaces of Cultural Education

The complex social dynamics between children and their servants were not the only factors of child-servant relations to subvert colonial ideals. The presence of servants in the home was, on the one hand, a lesson in colonial hierarchies of race, and on the other, a window onto the outside world that undermined the racial constraints of the segregated colonial society in which they lived. As Procida (2002) observes in the lives of colonial women in the Raj, the presence of servants in colonial homes was meant – at the very least symbolically – to reinforce the coloniser/colonised dichotomy of the white and black races. Instead, however, the servants' presence became the very means through which children began to

[108] Julian, lines 205-211, p. 7
[109] ibid., lines 275-279, p. 9
[110] Orestis, lines 495-496, p. 16

engage with African culture and obscure the homogeneity of the European cultural identity that was expected of them. This is can be particularly well articulated through the example of children learning local languages.

Not all participants who were interviewed for this research were fluent in Chinyanja as children, but even those that were not had had a basic exposure to local languages during their childhoods. However, most interviewees *did* speak Chinyanja with their nannies and the domestic servants, and for some it even became their dominant language at home. Julian recalled how his mum had to enforce the use of English in the house; 'when my mother realised that we weren't learning English, because we were off talking Chinyanja to each other, she made us speak English in the house.'[111] Others remembered occasions when their parents had relied on them to relay messages in Chinyanja to the servants. Linda spoke in a hybrid mix of Chinyanja and 'pidgin' English with the locals, and recalled that, 'Iyat the gardener understood us but not our parents. So when our mother wanted to brief Iyat about what to do she would have to tell us, and then we would tell him.'[112] Similarly William remembered translating for his mother; 'dad spoke [Chinyanja] fairly well, mother was alright but if it got complicated with the cook or something, I got called in to do the talking.'[113]

The children's fluency in Chinyanja not only made them go-betweens for parents and servants, but also allowed them to engage in relationships with servants' children and experience servants' family lives (figure 4.7). Julian and his brother and sister would play outside with the servants' children, making little cars and pushing rimless bicycle wheels along with a stick.[114] This also opened up children's opportunities to engage in local food practices – as has already been discussed earlier in the chapter – and to experience the physical spaces of local homes and engage in typically African children's play activities.

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[111] Julian, lines 106-108, p. 4
[112] Linda, lines 135-138, p. 5
[113] William, lines 251-252, p. 8
[114] Julian, lines 103-104, p. 4

Figure 4.7 "Julian and siblings having tea with one of their servants and his wife, and a local friend of Julian's from the village taken in the early 1940s" *Source:* Participant's private collection of family photographs

Through their relationships with servants, and consequently spending time in local African homes, the children began to notice the inequalities between them and their African counterparts, although most of them confessed to accepting it as the status quo; 'Yah … you were aware that we had a different standard of living to them, but what was I going to be able to do about it?'[115]

Some children thought more critically about these things but this was only expressed on a couple of occasions in the interviews. Linda was particularly concerned as a child and struggled to grasp the inequalities of the social context that she grew up in:

> '… My 9-year-old bedroom at home was the same size as the room in the boys' quarter, [which was] occupied by the cookboy and his entire family …none of this seemed right to me.'[116]

[115] Rupert, lines 624-625, p. 20
[116] Linda, lines 143-148, p. 5

John also remembered witnessing the scale of the stark physical differences between the space that his family lived in, and the small spaces that the servants and their families occupied:

> 'we used to go and see the one room that they were, you know, eating and sleeping […] and how they had their food and everything else like that. Obviously I mean subconsciously I knew that there was a big divide […] me and my siblings had a room- two rooms and then my mum and dad had a room and there was a sitting room and a dining room […] because it was a big house. […] whether you were aware of it every minute […] I don't know, I don't think so.'[117]

Through their experiences of both European and African home environments, the children held a unique position in colonial society, which allowed them to exist in two parallel worlds, often without even having left the compound of their family house and garden. African servants, therefore, played a crucial role in exposing children to local cultures, and greatly impacted the development of European children's understandings of colonial society. It was through the servants that children began to learn local languages, eat local food, play games with local African children and to be exposed to the realities of the racial divide between white and black, that was so physically manifested in the spatial disparities of living spaces. Richard articulated this by stating that, as a child, he was able to cross the cultural 'bridge'[118] between black and white, and added that he could easily 'go between the two…'.[119] Thus, the colonial expectation upon children to maintain homogenous European racial and cultural identities was disrupted and hybridised by the close relationships that they formed with servants who worked in their family homes.

In the light of this discussion about the physical aspects of children's homes in Nyasaland, the following section considers the second part of the first research question (1a.), which asks how the spatial environment of children's lives in Nyasaland impacted their broader understandings of the society in which they lived. The spatial spheres were not only drawn along lines of race, but were also cross cut by ideas of class and nationality within the white European community. It considers how this spatial ordering impacted and informed European children's feelings of home, belonging and their own identities.

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[117] John, lines 782-789, p. 25
[118] Richard, line 752, p. 24
[119] Richard, lines 742-743, p. 23

4.5 Children's 'Place' in Spatial Reproductions of Imperial Power

4.5.1 Sociospatial Stratifications in Society

As well as the racial divisions between those who were white and non-white, it is important to highlight the nuanced strata within *white* colonial society that crosscut other hierarchies of age and race. This section discusses hierarchies of European nationality within Nyasaland, alongside evidence of social status and class prejudice that emerged in Nyasaland's larger white settlements of Zomba, Limbe and Blantyre. The presence of non-British Europeans living in spaces of empire governed by the British has not been widely considered (see McCracken's (1991) study of Italian farmers in Nyasaland for a rare example). However, they were a significant presence in Nyasaland, and their European and white identities were often a source of contestation by the British community. This section explores how these hierarchies of nationality played out, and is explored further in chapter six which considers European children's experiences of attending British colonial schools.

Errante's (2003) paper (discussed in chapter one) makes a clear and convincing case for the need to move away from the simplistic dichotomy of a white ruling class and a black oppressed people. She does not deny that these extremes of racial ordering were at the foundation of colonial governance, but urges colonial historians to look beyond such dichotomies and to nuance the colonial narrative with greater understandings of the complex ways in which the strata of colonial society was also inflected by dynamics of social class, wealth and occupation. Through her analysis she suggests that, 'not all whites are created equal' and seeks to challenge what she calls the 'myth of white omnipotence' in the colonies (pp. 8-13). This thesis seeks to expand on this analysis by agreeing that – in the context of white colonial presence – not all whites were created equal, but that colonial society did create/construct all whites as *privileged*. It was within this privileged sector of colonial society in Nyasaland that additional intersections of age, gender, wealth and social class crosscut and complicated the common narrative of a collective white colonial identity.

James succinctly illustrated the complexities of the racial and social dynamics in his family's home. He grew up with a particularly strict father who

was very high up in the colonial civil service and who was especially conscious of hierarchy:

> '…it was just taken for granted in our household that there was a hierarchy and, there was an unbridgeable gulf between white and black, and then there was a pretty unbridgeable gulf between white and Indian, but even within the whites, there was a very clear distinction between colonial servants and non-colonial servants. You know there was a sort of hierarchy that the army were just below [civil servants] and the police just below that and anybody who was in trade was just below that. And it impinged upon me when I, for instance had a- came home from kindergarten with a girl friend who was the [daughter] of an electrician and my father was distinctly uncomfortable about that.'[120]

Others also expressed these hierarchies within the white community, that appear to have been more pronounced in urban areas than in rural Nyasaland. When Susan talked about the differences between her early years spent in rural Nyasaland and her teenage years in Zomba, she remarked, 'oh the towns were much more Europeanised and the whole cultural set up was European, and the pecking order was European as well [laughs] your pecking order at that stage was what your father was in his pecking order.'[121]

Others described how this 'pecking order' manifested itself in domestic spatial representations of social status. It emerged that the different residential areas of the town demarcated different social statuses among whites in Nyasaland. This was most evident in the example that many participants gave of the specific ways in which housing was allocated in the colonial capital of Zomba. Paul explained that 'there was very much a hierarchy there, in that the further up the mountain you lived the more senior you were in government, and you very definitely had stratas of people, you know, Governor and then tiers coming down, oh yes, yah.'[122] James echoed this statement in his interview and added that those hierarchies 'kind of pervaded the whole ethos of the town.'[123]

Although Carol grew up in Limbe, her grandparents lived at the foot of Zomba mountain where they ran an inn. During her interview she remembered the hierarchies that they encountered well, saying that if you lived at the bottom of the mountain then 'you couldn't invite the people from up, down, but the people

[120] James, lines 194-204, p. 7
[121] Susan, lines 285-288, p. 9
[122] Paul, lines 138-141, p. 5
[123] James, line 16, p. 1

from up [the mountain] could invite the people from down up' adding, 'it was extremely snobby in Zomba, very.'[124] Hugh, who lived in Zomba recounted a similar situation for his family:

> 'I don't remember being terribly conscious of it as a child. I mean we were outcasts if you like because we were in the private sector, we weren't government right, but there was quite a lot of class consciousness among the colonial civil servants.'[125]

These hierarchies of white status seem to have been exacerbated in Zomba where the majority of British civil servants were based, however they were still apparent in other towns among the white community. Mark's father was an engineer for the British Government in Nyasaland, based in Blantyre, and Mark recalled how at some point during his childhood the family were upgraded to a new house. He said that depending on your father's 'rank' the 'government houses were grade 1, grade 2, grade 3 whatever, and we lived in- I think grade 1 was the small one, and then we moved up to a grade 2 later.'[126] He also noted that although his parents' had a very active social life, and the family would go to various colonial clubs and events, he knew that there were 'different social levels' who would do 'different things.'[127] He added that as a youngster he was 'conscious of there being people who were aloof […] posher than we were […] there was definitely an elite who were the government elite initially and then possibly a sort of you know, banking type people.'[128]

The phenomenon of spatial ordering is clearly evident in the context of Nyasaland. The above quotations describe the spatial hierarchies along lines of social difference, which existed in urban white colonial communities in Nyasaland. However, these spatial boundaries that demarcated social class and status cannot be considered in isolation, as the spatiality of these white British hierarchies was further crosscut by spatial boundaries of race and nationality. This was immediately visible in white colonial home environments where, as Linda recalled, the 'boys' quarters' were situated 'at the bottom of the garden.'[129] Within

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[124] Carol, lines 723-726, p. 23
[125] Hugh, lines 638-641, p. 20
[126] Mark, lines 429-431, p. 14
[127] ibid., line 699, p. 22
[128] ibid., lines 704-709, p. 22
[129] Linda, lines 15-16, p. 1

the spheres of their own homes, European children were exposed to the presence of physical spatial boundaries that reflected the wider spatial ordering along lines of race, status and nationality in colonial settlements.

The image of the large white family house and the African servants' quarters situated on the peripheries of the European home space serves as an allegory for the racial ordering of colonial space. However, as Errante (2003) points out, there were many other spaces situated in between these two extremes. This has been illustrated already by the differences within the white British community between those in government and those working in trade, but additional layers of hierarchical space intersected these existing layers of white *British* hierarchy.

Satish Kumar (2002) has highlighted this phenomenon of 'spatial ordering' in urban colonial contexts through a study of boundaries and their resultant spaces in India, in the colonial city of Madras (now Chennai). He focuses on the evolution of pre-colonial spaces into urban colonial spaces and the consequent spatial boundaries along lines of race, which quickly ensued. He argues that 'the city became a space for assimilating differences' (p. 90). In his detailed analysis of Lilongwe's evolution as a colonial city in Nyasaland, Kalipeni (1999: 77) states that the city grew to mirror most colonial settings where, 'physical space was invariably used to promote the separation of social space' (see also: Myers, 2003; Simon, 1992). The notion of spatial ordering along lines of ethnicity and race in a colonial context is not new, but the exploration of how white children moved within, around and across such segregated spaces is. As this section continues, it explores the extent of European children's agency across the social and racial boundaries of European colonial spaces of everyday life.

In her interview for this research, Linda explained that the Indian community were largely the traders in Zomba and owned most of the shops in the town. She recalled how she became confused by an anomaly in the town's spatial ordering, saying, 'there was a Greek family who lived on the same road as the Indians but went to our school, and it was explained that this was because they were European. Their father had a tailor's shop.'[130] A Greek participant echoed the

[130] Linda, lines 266-268, p. 9

spatial isolation described by Linda that Greek families experienced within white communities in Nyasaland:

> 'The actual government people in Zomba, we had very little to do with them – unless you went to see the dentist or the hospital or whatever […] but the actual 'colonials' so to speak, the British people, they didn't have time for us. You know, we were foreigners, not that my folks minded […] Namwera was buzzing and they had their own crowd…'[131]

Another Greek lady expressed a similar sentiment in more explicit terms saying, 'the British people always looked down on us foreigners, and that's a fact. […] They used to call us "Oh you bloody Greeks".'[132] Paul, whose family was of British origin, confirmed the kind of discriminatory attitude that the British held towards the Greek community in Nyasaland. When he talked about his school being exclusively European he promptly added, 'and Greek children [laughs] we joke about that.'[133] He added that when he was older and he worked in the tobacco industry, his boss 'didn't consider them [Greeks] to be Europeans' and recounted how 'he would go to these field days and when he'd come back he'd say, "well you know, there was sort of three or four whites and there were a lot of Malawians and there were some Greeks" [laughs].'[134]

These derogatory views of certain British residents towards Greek people in Nyasaland were reflected in the spatial ordering of where they lived. In the urban areas, Greek families largely lived on the peripheries of the towns and occupied a trading status that was seen to be beneath that of white government employees. Otherwise, they largely occupied rural areas where they farmed, with the largest Greek community living around the southern shores of Lake Malawi. However, Orestis made a point in his interview of saying that as a young Greek boy in Nyasaland he was not overly aware of the prejudices held towards the Greek community. He remarked that he was 'too young for that,' but did acknowledge that the times when he had felt 'a little bit of friction' was when he went into business as a young man, and if he 'happened to go to sports clubs.'[135]

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[131] Alexia, lines 909-914, p. 28
[132] Cris, lines 290-295, p. 10
[133] Paul, line 451, p. 14
[134] ibid., lines 452-459, pp. 14-15
[135] Orestis, lines 147-149, p. 5

The British colonial clubs in Nyasaland were particularly exclusive institutions with strict membership criteria. Orestis commented that – as part of the Greek community – in order to go to one, you had to have 'associations.'[136] Eve echoed this in her interview saying that she was not allowed to join the hockey team at the Blantyre or Limbe sports club because she was not British:

> 'I wanted to play for say Blantyre or Limbe club- I wasn't allowed to, so in the end I joined the Goans, because they were Indians and I could play with them, and they were a much better team to be honest than- we used to beat them.'[137]

She went on to explain that her father would sometimes go into the clubs because he was a well-known figure and had a lot of friends among the British District Commissioners who would frequent the clubs. She said that as long as his British friends were there he would be able to go in and join them. This illustrates Orestis' point about needing 'associations.' For Eve, the colonial clubs illustrated some of the social prejudice that she faced growing up in the Anglo-centric environment of Nyasaland:

> 'What I'm telling you, so they did make allowances although you know the British were, they were different in those days to what they are- they weren't politically correct in any way, and anyway let's be honest, if you were black, Indian, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, we were a second class citizen and that's that. Later on they became a bit more you know, they allowed you to join in these things and whatever…'[138]

Evidently, the colonial clubs were spaces that were exclusive along lines of European nationality as well as race. However, Joanna confirmed in her interview that the British clubs were even more specifically spaces for the British *elite*, and consequently also excluded British people who were perceived to be of a lower social status. In her interview she recalled the important role that the Zomba Gymkhana Club played during her formative years in Nyasaland, and reflected on the social circle that her family belonged to:

> 'I would have said that my parents and my family, we probably would have been amongst the sort of highest echelons of society, but then a lot of people were and that was all the people we mixed with, and life very much centred around the Club, the Gymkhana Club, which is still there […] and that was a very very important

[136] ibid., line 150, p. 5
[137] Eve, lines 488-491, pp. 15-16
[138] ibid., lines 507-512, p. 16

> part of our lives and our parents' lives, um we'd spent a lot of time there, but that was just the sort of the get-together place for the British colonials.'[139]

Upon reflection she also remarked that she could not remember seeing a particular girl from school at the club, who was from a poor British family who lived in Zomba. She added that even her best friend's family, of whom the father was medical hygienist employed by the government, did not socialise at the club, as they were probably not on the same 'social level.'[140]

It emerged from the interviews that European children were acutely aware of these spatial representations of racial, ethnic or class identities, and furthermore that their lives frequently collided with the multiple spaces of colonial urban settlements. The next section considers how European children understood these places, and how they interacted with them and consequently interpreted their 'place' within colonial society. It further explores the contradictory ways in which European children both reinforced the sociospatial boundaries of colonialism and conversely, at times, transgressed them.

4.5.2 Switching Masks: Participating in and Subverting the Status Quo

Space was clearly a central component in the social and racial ordering of colonial settlements and, as has been illustrated in the previous section, this sociospatial ordering impinged upon European children's lives and their understandings of colonial society. However, as Satish Kumar (2002) has illustrated with regard to indigenous populations' engagement with colonial spatial ordering, colonial space was full of contradictions. He shows that although spatial boundaries 'were perceived as fixed', in reality they were 'constantly transgressed and fluid' (p. 97). As the next section reveals, the same conclusion can be drawn from colonial European children's constant negotiation of colonial space and the ways in which their identities were shaped in and through these particular spaces.

James et al. (1998) situate spatiality as a crucial element of the social studies of childhood, and have consequently highlighted the adult control of children's spaces as a central issue therein. They focused on the spaces of the

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[139] Joanna, lines 942-949, pp. 29-30
[140] ibid., lines 959-968, p. 30

‘home’, ‘school’ and the ‘city’ and emphasised the ways in which these spaces were dedicated to the control and regulation of the child’s body and mind through regimes of discipline, learning, development, maturation and skill’ (p. 38). Holloway & Valentine (2000b) have expanded on this interdisciplinary theorisation of children’s interaction with space, by adding that although children are often subject to adult spatial control over their lives, they also exercise agency in their ability to resist it. In their research they showed that children would often resist prescribed adult uses of space by forming ‘strategic alliances’ with adults in order to create their own spaces. Examples of this have already been illustrated in this chapter, which gives evidence of European children’s agency in their ability to move beyond the regulated ‘white’ spaces prescribed by colonial society, often through their close relationships (or ‘strategic alliances’) with African servants. However, as Pomfret (2016: 281) succinctly points out, ‘[European] children’s agency [in the Asian colonies] did not necessarily always entail ‘resistance,’ but neither were young people merely passive recipients of race and place.’

The following discussion expands on this notion that children’s agency over colonial time and space, resulted in both the reinforcement of colonial sociospatial hierarchies, and resistance to them. Through this discussion, examples emerge of the ways in which European children altered their behaviour depending on the different cultural spaces that they encountered. Consequently, this thesis argues that European children’s position in colonial society – defined by their young age and privileged racial status – gave them greater flexibility in their social mobility than any other social group resident in the Nyasaland Protectorate at the time. It is here that Fanon’s (1952) concept of ‘masked identities’ becomes a crucial point of reference as European children began to internalise and express the multiple cultural influences to which they were exposed.

In Pamela Shurmer-Smith’s (2015) book on the white diaspora in Northern Rhodesia, she quotes a short anecdote from a white woman called Lindy Wright who said that her brother was part of the reason that the family left at independence:

> ‘We had to get out of Zambia as my Dad was in the police reserve and my brother Patrick did not take kindly to sitting next to anybody that was not white – at school they were getting close to asking him to leave, so we left with all we could fit in our car. Mom, Dad, Mik, Pat, me and our dog Suzy.’ (p. 149)

A few participants in the research undertaken for this thesis, expressed similar sentiments when faced with the blurring of the sociospatial boundaries that had defined their lives for so long, and like Lindy's brother, reacted in ways that reinforced the spatial ordering of race as they understood it. James who, as mentioned earlier, came from a family that was very class conscious, talked about his confusion towards the end of the Protectorate era, when his father began to work with black Malawian politicians:

> 'The only Africans I knew were servants. Now of course all this changed when we left- just before we left, because in 1964 [the year of Malawian independence] […] my father was a member of the cabinet in which all his colleagues were black. […] it was a big transformation for me to find black men coming to the house as equals, I was just gobsmacked you know, I didn't do anything about it, I was just, it was- yah.'[141]

James was extremely honest about the extent to which, as a child, he had internalised the racial superiority that framed his childhood years. He stated that he 'didn't do anything about it' when the spatial ordering of his life began to break down, but a story that he recounted later on in his interview contradicts this claim. The following extract shows that as a young ten-year-old boy he was active in reinforcing the hierarchical constructs that he knew, even in the face of a changing socio-political climate that was challenging racial segregation and the social structures of colonialism:

> 'The divide between us and anybody with a darker skin was absolute. And when it got to 1963/64 and it was all changing, there was a huge amount to learn. I'll give you another little story, which I find acutely embarrassing but I will tell you anyway. In 1964 a gentleman whose name I can't remember, who was the Minister for Transport came to our house for a meeting with my father and my father was delayed at the office […]. And, he was there in the living room with my mother, which was unusual for me, and my mother asked him what he'd like to drink and he said "I'd like to have a Fanta" and my mother said I'll have the same and told me to go and sort it out, and I went out and got two fantas and I brought them back with my mother's in a glass and his in a bottle, because he's black, and my mum […] I think she found it very amusing, but she in a rather superior manner said, "no no, get a Fanta glass for him." But looking back at it, that- you know was the minister of state, that was so- a terrible thing to have done, acutely embarrassing. […] Yah, I- that's- black men drank out of bottles- I wouldn't have thought twice about it, I wouldn't have got him a glass. I mean it's just terrible…'[142]

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[141] James, lines 237-243, p. 8
[142] ibid., lines 646-665, p. 21

James's specific reaction to a black man, who was not a servant, entering into his home – a space he perceived to be otherwise homogenously white – reveals that children exercised agency over the spaces that they occupied. They were not passive recipients of colonial spatial ordering, but rather they were able to actively (re)produce colonial ideologies of race and place. James's childhood 'logic' that 'black men drank out of bottles', belies the extent to which he had internalised colonial dichotomies such as civilised/uncivilised and white/black, to the point that these dichotomies underpinned his understanding of space and influenced his expectations, behaviours and decision making within those spaces.

In an anecdote recounted by Bill during his interview, he told a story which also illustrates European children's active agency in reinforcing colonial racial ideals. When Bill was about nine years old he was given a bicycle, which greatly increased his independent mobility and expanded his use of space beyond the bounds of his family home. He recalled a specific occasion when he was out cycling and came across a crowd of Africans:

> 'A couple of lions had been shot [...] and of course there was a crowd around and I turned up on my bicycle, this must've been 1949 something like that, before I went back to school in England, and somehow the deference was evident, you know the African crowd made a way for me even though I was only nine and much to my shame, which I've never really admitted to the family, I then lauded it (pause) I said "no well you can look next, and you can look-" you know this sort of thing, quite inappropriate, you know it was just unnecessary. But I didn't think like that.'[143]

Contrary to James et al.'s (1998) central observation that children's spaces are controlled and regulated by adults, this is an example in which structures of racial hierarchy supersede hierarchies of age and generation, and the result is the regulation of *black adult* space by a *white child*. Bill's father held a prominent position in the Nyasaland Government as a Provincial Commissioner, and as a consequence had jurisdiction over a large rural area. This additional dynamic of social status and the influential position held by his father, may have also influenced the 'deference' that he felt the crowd of Africans showed him as a young white boy. However, it also points to an important example of how European children imitated the roles, status and authority of their parents.

[143] Bill, lines 800-808, p. 25

However, Bill's regulation of black space was contradictory and inconsistent. At another point in his interview, he stressed his unwavering respect for the African servants in their household and said that his mother and father, 'were absolutely emphatic that as far as the house servants were concerned that they should never take orders from us, at all, and we were told to behave properly.'[144] At this point in the story recounted in his interview, Bill has re-entered a space regulated by white adult authority where, as discussed earlier in this chapter, there is a fragile balance of hierarchies of race and age between white children and African servants. This ambivalence in the spatial ordering of the home was expressed by Joanna in her interview:

> '…a sentence I can still remember that I used to say […] it was "Inu. Ali kuti zapato?" which as far as I know means "You. Where are my shoes?" but- and I just thought this showed how obnoxious I must have been and always sending my nanny running around looking for my possessions and things, […] But also there's been doubt cast […] about whether it was me who was saying it to my Nanny or whether it was my Nanny saying it to me because I'd never had my shoes on when I should have had them on, and it kind of seems quite likely it was the other way around.'[145]

This quotation demonstrates the fallibility of memory, but moreover, the ambiguity in the detail of Joanna's recollections reveals how memories can also be shaped by that which is forgotten. However, in this instance it is the spaces of forgetfulness that are most revealing in that they allude to the interchangeability of child/servant authority in the home.

This ambiguity between hierarchies of age and race recurred throughout the interviews carried out for this research, revealing that children both embodied colonial ideologies of racial ordering whilst simultaneously contradicting them. In talking about the sociospatial dynamics of his home life, Richard articulated this ambivalent space that white children occupied:

> '…while I mixed with [Africans], there was a colonial divide you know, in the home, they were there and we were here, but I could go between the two, […] I could cross that bridge quite easily […] [but] there was always that sort of barrier between them and me, you know what I mean? There was always that barrier there. Not that it was you know- but you could sense it.'[146]

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[144] ibid., lines 839-841, p. 26
[145] Joanna, lines 296-312, p. 10
[146] Richard, lines 741-759, pp. 23-24

Richard was one of the research participants who lived in rural Nyasaland and had experienced an immersion into African cultures and languages as an infant, which resulted in him speaking fluent Chinyanja. He put this social mobility, which he describes as crossing a 'bridge' between the two cultures, down to his fluency in the language. However, even having experienced this level of integration, he described a very physical 'gap' between white and black, as he used the analogy of a 'bridge' to cross between his two spheres of social interaction. He explained this in spatial terms saying, 'they were *there* and we were *here*' [author's emphasis].

Teresa also verbalised this divide in her interview, and how it seemed to widen as she got older. She explained that while the white community were not opposed to her friendships with Africans when she was a child, people began to disapprove as she approached her late teens. She reflected upon this saying, 'you know I was older and maybe they felt that was the time to come and say, "well it's fine when you're little, but-" um…'.[147] This example reveals that it was not only early cultural integration and language that played a role in European children's social mobility, but that *age* also strongly affected children's ability to move across social boundaries of race. Susan alluded to a similar shift in her life as she left her childhood years behind her:

> '…later on after I went to boarding school, then […] I had gone a different way as it were and they [African friends] were still staying where they were, so we didn't keep up that much after we left- when we went to Likuni I think and Chitedzi, we were just a bit older, it was Chitedzi really we were really back in European culture and didn't have local friends as such, because of moving you didn't keep up with those who you started playing with early on, you know […] also culturally we had gone much more apart in different directions. […] it was different and also of course having started going to boarding school and having taken on a real European culture, and the difference would have been there.'[148]

Here, Susan picks up on the emergence of her growing awareness of cultural 'difference' as she got older. Through this quotation, she identifies the socialisation that she experienced at school, and the fact that she had taken on a 'real European culture,' as the cause of the increased spatial divide between her and her previous friendships in African communities. Susan's notion that culturally she had gone in a 'different direction,' implies that she did not consider

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[147] Teresa, lines 320-322, p. 10

[148] Susan, lines 255-271, pp. 8-9

the African culture, which she had previously embodied as a young child, as compatible with her 'European self' that she later became so conscious of.

Julian claimed in his interview that going to boarding school did not impact on his relationships with his African friends in Nyasaland, however, he did express a growing cultural divide similar to that expressed by Susan in the previous quotation:

> '[We] had what was called a play house, just a little house- an out house if you like, and all the toys and everything- we had toys- were in there, and then we had a Meccano building set, and the same kids [African friends] would come and we would make things together, we would build Meccano things together. *It was like I had two lives*, and then in the evening if there was a social and we would go into Lilongwe for an evening, for Scottish country dancing which was the big thing, then you know, I would meet with other white children from around the area would come into the club and we'd be together and then I would go back.' [Author's emphasis][149]

Despite the fact that Julian continued his friendships with African children after he had started going to boarding school, his "European life" with other white children in the colonial towns was clearly very separate from that of his friendships with African children. As he became more involved in colonial European cultures in the towns, the social differences between his two spheres of existence became more apparent. This is clearly illustrated in the way in which he reflects on his childhood and articulates this as having had 'two lives.' This notion reinforces the incompatibility between the different cultures that defined his young life, whist also highlighting his ability, like Richard, to go between the two. This demonstrates children's agency in terms of their mobilisation of a unique social mobility within colonial society; their ability to move across sociospatial boundaries of race on their own terms, and to engage with multiple cultures and languages. This demonstrates European children's active engagement with colonial space and their ability to switch between different 'masks' depending on the cultural spaces that they encountered.

Some interesting parallels with Fanon's (1952) notion of *Black Skin, White Masks* can be drawn here, although there is a crucial difference. For Fanon, the notion of a 'white mask' represented the whitewashing of black people and black culture, through the active negation, by colonial oppressors, of their cultural

[149] Julian, lines 610-619, pp. 19-20

heritage and identities. Although white children's space was often prescribed by white adults, as this thesis shows, they largely experienced extensive spatial freedom in Nyasaland across spatial boundaries of race. The fragile balance between racial status and age that white children embodied, arguably allowed them a greater social mobility across boundaries of race than any other social group in Nyasaland during the protectorate era. This allowed them to occupy 'white spaces' which were consistent with their own cultural heritage, and to socialise within 'black spaces' and develop unique social relationships with Africans, both of which impacted the construction of their childhood identities.

However, the social mobility of white children cannot be considered in isolation or at the expense of other social groups in the colonies. Their position in colonial society, which allowed them to easily move across sociospatial boundaries, was a privileged, 'one-way' mobility that was not reflected among children or adults in non-European communities. Teresa critically reflected upon her own experiences in her recollections of the different spaces that she encountered in Nyasaland:

> '…there were adults around sure [in the villages], or the mothers or whatever but they seemed to be quite happy- but then when you look back it was a colonial time, even if they weren't happy they were certainly not going to say anything, so they- possibly they weren't happy but they were really stuck between a rock and hard place, they could hardly say "get out!" So yeah we spent a lot of time there.'[150]

Here Teresa identifies the inequalities in how colonial space was used, and the fact that her own extensive spatial freedoms were founded on her and her family's white status in colonial society. This can be succinctly illustrated by another example of spatial boundaries around the colonial clubs that she gave in her interview:

> 'Well we used to go to watch films and also TV programmes- […] there was Batman and Robin and they used to sort of have "POW" and "BIFF" would appear on the screen, rather than you hearing the noise, it would come up in a sort of triangle, and we used to go in and watch that, and watch cartoons at the club […]. Or else we'd go and play on the cricket ground, and they would have all kinds of events there, you know like fetes and that kind of thing […] you certainly never saw an African there unless they were serving, yah. But we used to take a lot of our [African] friends with us, I do remember that, they would come with us because we often wouldn't go unless they came along too. […] but I do remember that they

[150] Teresa, lines 157-162, pp. 5-6

> didn't come in- they were outside, so we would go outside and play with them outside.'[151]

This example provides a visual representation of the privileged social mobility of white children across racial lines. The walls of the colonial club represent a very physical racial division of space that white children were able to easily move between. Even though European children experienced segregation and it impinged on aspects of their lives, they could not experience it in the same way that non-European children did. There were few spatial restrictions acting upon their movements as children in Nyasaland, and they were largely able to negotiate the spatial boundaries constructed by colonialism because of a fragile balance between their privileged racial status and their young age. John sums this up in a quotation taken from his interview, in which he is talking about the African children with whom he played football and rounders; 'you never asked them to come into your house, but you expected to be able to go into theirs whenever you wanted to, you know.'[152]

European children's privileged ability to cross socially constructed colonial boundaries of race meant that they were able to experience multiple cultures in multiple spaces, and in ways that other social groups in Nyasaland could not. On the one hand they embodied the colonial project and the future of empire, and on the other they represented a discursive break with the colonial "ideal" of racial segregation and an exclusively white society. Consequently, the construction of European children's identities was ambivalent over colonial time and space, as children employed different behaviours, languages and cultural practices within the different social spaces that framed their lives. The following discussion will reveal how European children's identities were shaped by their ambivalent understandings of space; spaces that were both 'real' and 'imagined,' and that existed both in Nyasaland and in Europe.

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[151] ibid., lines 617-637, pp. 19-20
[152] John, lines 797-799, p. 25

4.5.3 'Home', Nation and Empire: Complex Relations with Europe

> *"A white child, opening its eyes curiously on a sun-suffused landscape, a gaunt and violent landscape, might be supposed to accept it as her own, to take the msasa trees and the thorn trees as familiars, to feel her blood running free and responsive to the swing of the seasons.*
> *This child could not see a msasa tree, or the thorn, for what they were. Her books held tales of alien fairies, her rivers ran slow and peaceful, and she knew the shape of the leaves of an ash or an oak, the names of the little creatures that lived in English streams, when the words 'the veld' [the flatlands of the African bush] meant strangeness, though she could remember nothing else.*
> *Because of this, for many years, it was the veld that seemed unreal; the sun was a foreign sun, and the wind spoke a strange language."*
> *~ Doris Lessing*

This passage is taken from a collection of fictional stories, first published in 1951, and written by the renowned author Doris Lessing (2013: 5-6). In this short story titled *The Old Chief Mshlanga,* she explores the emotions of a young girl who is the daughter of white Rhodesian farmers. Lessing deals with the child's complex relationships with the African *veld,* which frames her everyday life, and the imagined landscape of England, to which she feels she culturally belongs. The story continues to follow the life of this young white girl in Rhodesia who, eventually, through personal interaction with the natural environment and the Africans with whom she shares it, finds an identity rooted in Africa; '…slowly that other landscape faded, and my feet struck on the African soil, and I saw the shapes of tree and hill clearly […] I thought: this is my heritage too; I was bred here…' (Lessing, 2013: 13).

Although Lessing's collection of stories is fictional, she reveals that they are based on real observations of life on white Southern Rhodesian farms at the time that she lived there. Doris Lessing was born in Iran (then Persia) to British parents before the family moved to Southern Rhodesia in 1924 when she was just five years old. She has written extensively about her own complex childhood experiences of growing up in colonial Africa and negotiating her white, English identity in her autobiography *Under My Skin* (Lessing, 1995). The extent to which Lessing's own experiences are channelled through the story of this young girl is unknown. However, her memoir does frequently deal with the duality of the imagined and real environments that framed the construction of her young

identity, and her knowledge of England through her parents' wistful musings of 'home'; 'They daydreamed aloud, about Home, and Harry [younger brother] and I smiled and escaped into the bush' (p. 129).

This section further explores this conflict between the 'real' and 'imaginary' spheres of 'home,' which are so clearly illustrated by Lessing's account of the young white girl in Southern Rhodesia. It also considers the interfaces of the 'imagined' geographies of Europe – passed down to the children by their parents – with the research participants' own 'real' experiences of visiting and living in Europe as young people and as adults. It was often at this stage in the interviews when participants began to reflect upon their sense of (un)belonging to their national culture of origin, and their consequent ambivalent sense of identity.

Blunt & Dowling (2006: 140) reveal the ways in which 'home' as a lived-in space, both in Britain and in the colonies, was 'an integral location for imagining the nation as home.' The earlier sections of this chapter have already opened up this debate, with regard to European homes in Nyasaland, and the ways in which the 'lived-in' home was a site of European cultural transmission from parents to children, through food, language, material cultures and the practice of European traditions. As such, this section extends beyond the physical realm of home, to reveal how these lived-in spaces of home contributed to the imaginative geographies of European 'home nations' in the children's lives.

As implied by the aforementioned 'wistful musings of home' expressed by Lessing's parents in Rhodesia, the notion of 'home' among colonial adults was often characterised by a nostalgic yearning for a distant and romanticised land. Blunt (1999: 421) exposes these sentiments through the events of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886, in which she reveals that Britain as 'home' was 'imagined as a unique and distant place that can neither be discovered nor reproduced elsewhere and thus remains a site of continual desire and irretrievable loss.' These sentiments of loss, separation and desire were passed on to European children, despite the fact that they had often never been there themselves. Joanna explicitly remembers expressing this to her mother when she was a child:

> 'My parents and other British colonials all used to talk about England as though it was some sort of a paradise, and I said to my mother, I think I was about seven years old, and I said to my mother, one time, people who live in England must be really lucky, and she actually agreed with me and said yes they are, and so I really

just thought that England was going to be- you know must be somewhere completely fantastic.'[153]

Susan alluded to a similar feeling of separation from her 'true home' when she was a young girl in Nyasaland, suggesting that she always understood England to be her ultimate home, and the final destination where her family would eventually end up:

> 'Well I always knew that we were British and that Malawi wasn't our true home, although it was my home in other ways because of growing up there for so many years, I always knew that we belonged to Britain, [...] and that my parents would retire back to Britain, that was always at the end of the journey as it were.'[154]

However, this notion of a distant 'home' was not only reinforced through the children's home lives, but also through interaction with other social spheres of colonial life. Elisabeth fondly recalled the huge scale of the Queen's Birthday Parade at the club in Zomba (figure 4.8). Whilst looking through family photo albums during her interview, she commented on how such events reinforced her feeling that Britain was home saying, 'oh yes, it was *always* home.'[155]

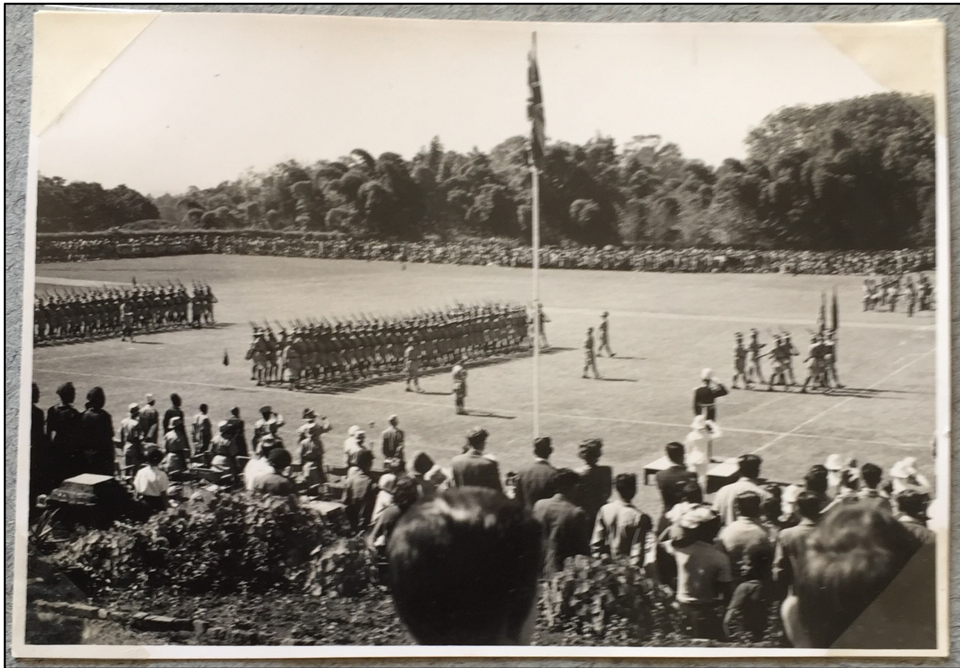

Figure 4.8 "The Queen's Birthday Parade in Zomba in the 1950s. **Its caption in the photo album read:** Sir Geoffrey Colby takes the salute. The Birthday Parade in front of Zomba club." *Source:* Photograph from the personal collection of participant Elisabeth

[153] Joanna, lines 196-201, p. 7
[154] Susan, lines 373-377, p. 12
[155] Elisabeth, line 377, p. 12

The idea of an 'Imperial Monarchy' was used in the colonial project, to present the reigning British monarch to Africans through 'the 'theology' of an 'omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent' figurehead of the British Empire (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). The divine-like figure of the monarch became a key ingredient in unifying the colonies and imagining Britain as the 'home' of the British Empire. However, this ideology was not only mobilised amongst British *colonised* subjects as the British monarch was also a crucial presence in the lives of British colonisers and non-British whites living in Nyasaland. It appears that the British monarchy was also widely mobilised among generations of white colonial subjects, for whom the Queen played a central role in their spatial imaginaries of home, nation and empire. Elisabeth went on to illustrate this as she described her fascination with the royal family as a girl in Nyasaland:

> 'Everyone was a royalist, […] but I just was fascinated by the Queen and the whole thing- first of her getting married and then of her being crowned […] we had a lot of royal books and I used to spend hours, just turning the pages and drinking in all these pictures of the royal events, and the queen had a governess, […] and she wrote a memoir of her time bringing up the royal girls which was very - *The Little Princesses* - and I read all of that and I thought it was absolutely wonderful. I knew more about the Queen and everything than anyone else alive I think.'[156]

A photograph from James's private collection depicts how this fascination with the royal family was fostered and encouraged in colonial homes.[157] The photograph shows two children re-enacting the Queen's coronation as part of the extensive celebrations that were held in Nyasaland. An ornately dressed little girl – 'Queen Elizabeth' – is seated on a throne, as she earnestly looks up towards the crown that a young boy, dressed as the Archbishop of Canterbury, is about to place upon her head. The sincerity of the children's faces belies a certain reverence for the event that they are portraying.

This fascination with the Queen was further echoed by one of the Greek participants, showing that notions of the monarchy as 'home' transcended the 'lived-in' spaces of European homes, and were also present in the imagination of non-British whites in Nyasaland:

> 'I had another friend […] she was English, because she used to go home every now and again for a six month holiday […] [on] the boats and we were *so envious*. I mean where did we go? We went to Namwera on a lorry and then went to the lake

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[156] Elisabeth, lines 854-865, p. 26
[157] Permission to use the original photograph in the thesis was not granted.

> for two weeks and we thought we had really- until [she] would come back with all her tales from the UK. "Did you see the Queen?"; "Did you have tea with the Queen?"'[158]

Images of the royal family, and in particular the British monarch, became synonymous with European children's imagined images of Great Britain. However, they were not always synonymous with a sense of *belonging* to Britain as a country. George, who despite describing himself as a staunch royalist, found that when he eventually visited the UK, he was disenchanted with the realities of everyday life in Britain, and described his eagerly awaited return to Nyasaland:

> 'Oh it was wonderful to be home and to see the blue sky, not that bloody weather in Britain, oh it's depressing, and half the people are depressing, you know they don't even look you in the eye you know, they walk on the pavement and they look at their feet, I'm not very good at that. […] I went back [to Britain…] in 1953 when I went to see *my* Queen crowned. We were all born royalists you know.'[159]

The emotion of disappointment upon encountering the lived realities of Britain was commonly expressed throughout the interviews, by both British and non-British participants. Linda remembered how her parents told her that she was from England, and commented that she 'knew that the locals belonged in Nyasaland and we didn't,' adding, 'it was their place, not ours.'[160] Although Linda came to feel that she was not meant to belong in Nyasaland, when she eventually encountered England as young eleven-year-old girl, she said that it was, 'dreadful' and that she was 'left in a cold, alien, English prep school.'[161] Charles only went to Britain for the first time when he was eighteen to join the Royal Navy, but found that his childhood images of Britain were also shattered by the reality of what he encountered:

> 'Well, reality then struck, and the reality was that all the sort of glamorous things that I'd always imagined and harboured about Britain and things like that weren't all true, of course not, you know it's an impossibility, you've got to have good with bad, and the good was apparent, […] but the [pause] the reality of the slums of London for example, and the reality of London the less glamorous areas, I mean they weren't all that attractive, you know there wasn't too much glamour about that. So, it was coming to terms with all that, took a time, took a bit of readjustment…'[162]

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[158] Alexia, lines 838-847, p. 26
[159] George, lines 696-701, p. 22
[160] Linda, lines 237-238, p. 8
[161] ibid., line 413, p. 13
[162] Charles, lines 889-896, p. 28

Bill left for boarding school in Britain to begin his secondary education at a much younger age, but was also met with an unpleasant contrasting reality to all that Britain had been built up to be over the course of his childhood in Africa:

> '…while we were out in Nyasaland – my mother particularly, but also my father to a certain extent – extolled the, the wonders of the British spring and the flowers and all this, and we arrived I think in the spring, I didn't go to school until the September but, I remember thinking well this is all rather overstated […]. So it was all quite stuffy, but the worst thing of course was the weather, I mean it was appalling [laughs] unpredictable, dank, […] when I went to school, I mean, it was a pretty austere place […] it was mandatory to have the windows open throughout the year in the dormitories and all that sort of thing and really it was pretty awful…'[163]

It was not only British participants who recalled feeling disenchanted with the reality of life in Britain. Amy, one of the research participants of Greek origin, was particularly disappointed and surprised at her first experiences of the UK:

> 'I had never been to the UK, okay, I only went when my son was graduating, so I went, and from the way the British – with all due respect, I'm not trying to degrade or anything – the way they used to talk and they used to say things, you sort of think, […] everything must be really running smoothly- I mean the UK, there must be order, there must be a lot of discipline, there must be, there must be- […] when I went to the UK for the first time, I was so disappointed.'[164]

However, she also only visited Greece for the first time as an adult and commented that, 'it felt a bit odd at the beginning' because it was 'completely different' to everything that she was used to in Africa.[165] Alexia visited Greece for the first time with her cousin when she was fifteen, and remembered that she 'was so delighted to be able to eat all the Greek things that [her] mother used to talk about,' but that everyone very much considered them to be from 'abroad' and remarked, 'you know how people think "oh well they come from Africa" you know…'.[166] She recalled her surprise at the fact that they did not even expect her to be able to speak Greek. Orestis spoke about his visits to Greece in similar terms saying, 'you know yes, Greece is nice but, you're a stranger- […] I might be Greek but, straight away as you land there, they notice, they *know* you're not Greek.'[167]

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[163] Bill, lines 293-306, p. 10
[164] Amy, lines 279-286, p. 9
[165] Amy, lines 315-317, p. 10
[166] Alexia, lines 626-627, p. 20
[167] Orestis, lines 185-187, p. 6

For many children, their first encounter with their European country of origin can be recognised as a 'site of recognition' (as defined in Chapter 2) they realised their 'difference' and began to consciously acknowledge their sense of 'unbelonging.' As such, the European countries that they encountered contributed to the ambivalent construction of their identities over time and space. Joanna, who had commented to her mother that people who lived in England must have been really lucky, came to a harsh realisation when she moved there for secondary school. She remarked that, 'England generally wasn't what it had been made out to be, […] you know leaving the country that I thought I was really hard done by having to live in, and finally realising how lucky I'd been, living somewhere so fantastic.'[168] She continued to describe how even though her parents had always considered England to be the family's 'home,'[169] when she first arrived in Britain she remembered feeling like 'quite an alien.'[170]

These ambivalent relationships that children developed with European spaces, resulted in their (re)negotiation of the real and imagined spaces to which they felt they belonged, and consequently their notions of 'home' and national identity. The children's contested ideas of home and identity are explored throughout this thesis, as it continues to analyse their interactions with the various spheres of life in colonial Nyasaland that they encountered. The next chapter considers how the children's interactions with, and understandings of, the natural African environment within which they lived, contributed to their ambivalent feelings towards home. Their immediate experiences of nature were often juxtaposed to those of the often nostalgic images of European 'homes' that were recounted by their parents. It was also their interaction with nature that often led children into situations where they encountered African people who were not their servants, and where they engaged in the everyday lives, practices and languages of the African cultures amongst whom they lived.

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[168] Joanna, lines 764-768, p. 24
[169] ibid., lines 783-785, pp. 24-25
[170] ibid., line 775, p. 24

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore how colonial family life and the physical 'home' environment shaped European children's experiences of colonial life, and how it impacted upon the early construction of their childhood identities and understandings of home and nationality. In doing so it has highlighted how intergenerational and interracial relationships in the home contributed to European children's understanding of the world around them, and their place within it.

This chapter demonstrates how these relationships greatly impacted the way in which European children navigated the home spaces that they occupied. It shows that although children were able to exercise autonomous agency over space, they were also acting within certain prescribed boundaries that restricted their agency, and which were presided over, and decided by, adults. As such, this chapter uncovers some examples of how different spaces within the colonial home could be demarcated by differentiations between 'children's places' and 'places for children.' It found that the former were often experienced, and remembered in interviews, through sensory engagement with space. It illustrates this through an exploration of children's 'foodscapes' in their home environments, and shows how the gathering, preparation and consumption of food sheds light on children's agency over space and time.

This interaction inevitably led to children's early engagement with multiple cultures, and subsequently significantly contributed to the construction of European children's young identities and the different cultural spaces within which those identities were shaped. This engagement with multiple cultures, both European and African, initiated further exploration of children's relationships with Africans in the context of their everyday lives at home in Nyasaland. As such, this chapter not only illustrates the intergenerational relationships between children and their parents, but also the close extrafamlial relationships that they had with Africans, particularly with their servants. This section exposes some delicate themes of the often-contradictory dynamics of generational and racial authority, which existed between children and the African servants in their

homes, and which recurs as a theme throughout the thesis. It also sheds light on children's early realisations (or lack thereof) of the racial hierarchies within which they were situated.

These racial hierarchies also translated into subtler ethnoclass hierarchies within the European community in Nyasaland. Through a close reading of how children observed colonial space, this chapter shows how home spaces and residential urban areas were also demarcated along lines of nationality and class. It reveals that children were acutely aware of these ethnoclass spatial boundaries, but often transgressed them and undermined colonial authority in the process. It is revealing of the more nuanced ways in which imperial domesticity was not only used to reflect the racial politics of empire, but also the hierarchical structures of empire that can be read along lines of race, ethnicity, nationality, class, gender and age.

Against this complex socio-political backdrop, this chapter explores and exposes the 'real' and 'imagined' spaces of home that European children encountered and which resulted in their hybrid *notions of belonging*, both to Europe and to Africa. It shows the ways in which children's encounters with their cultures of origin, which were largely experienced through their families' cultural practices and their parents' attachments with 'home', resulted in ambivalent 'real' encounters with their respective European countries of origin later in life. This consequently disrupted and complicated the imagined European aspects of their identities that had been influenced by their everyday experiences and interactions growing up in Nyasaland.

In short, this chapter illustrates the different ways in which the spaces and relationships experienced by children in home spaces contributed to the construction of European childhood identity. It has shown that whilst children clearly demonstrated levels of autonomous agency over colonial space and time, they also moved within certain parameters – prescribed by both European and African adults – which framed their everyday existence. This resulted in multiple cultural influences upon their young selves, and reflects the strong theme of *hybridity* that can be traced throughout this thesis. This is explored in more detail in subsequent chapters, starting with the following chapter, which delves into European children's relationships with the African environment, and explores the

complex ways in which they engaged with and understood the natural world around them.

Chapter Five

5. Children's Relationships with the Natural Environment

5.1 Introduction: Children and Nature

Environmental psychologists propose that children's sense of 'self' is influenced by their individual encounters with nature and their sense of being connected to their environments (Phenice & Griffore, 2003; Roszak, 1992). In a recent study published in the *Children's Geographies* journal, Collado et al. (2016) explore how children experience and conceptualise nature through their research with contemporary Spanish children, living both in urban and rural settings. They argue that the types of daily experiences that children have in relation to nature, impact how they conceptualise it. They found that children who live in cities and in rural mountainous areas conceptualise nature with feelings of freedom and relaxation, whereas children from agricultural areas added work activities such as harvesting to their descriptions of the natural environment. Consequently, they argue that children's experiences of nature are shaped by the socio-cultural context in which they live.

This strengthens researchers' acknowledgement that children's concepts and understandings of nature are not universal, as their 'psychological proximity to nature appears to be associated with different types of daily exposure to natural environments' (Collado et al., 2016: 717). Their research points to the positive emotions that children experience when they interact with natural environments, and in doing so, reflects much of the recent scholarship that identifies children's contact with nature as an important factor contributing to their well-being (Chawla et al., 2014; Fjørtoft, 2001; Ridgers et al., 2012; Wells, 2000). Running parallel to this research is a proliferation of literature focussing on the negative developments for modern-day children, especially in urban areas, who are increasingly spending more time away from nature (Kreutz, 2014; Phenice & Griffore, 2003; Valentine & McKendrck, 1997); a phenomenon that stems, in part, from the increased indoor media and technology-focussed cultures of children in predominantly Western countries, since the mid to late 1990s. Louv's (2005) bestseller, *Last Child in the Woods,* spurred significant international dialogue, challenging parents and carers to save this generation's children from what he terms a 'nature-deficit disorder.'

Despite this strong emphasis across disciplines on children's positive cognitive responses to spending time in the natural environment, there has been only limited research which examines children's relationships with the natural environment in terms of its impact on the construction of identity, and more specifically children's *cultural* identities. Similarly, in light of the fairly recent spatial turn in education (Soja, 2009), Charlton et al. (2014) have highlighted this need for more discussion with children about how they perceive and represent their place-related identities. Their interdisciplinary research triggered discussions with children about their place-related identities through reading children's literature that had a strong focus on *place,* and by encouraging children to draw maps, and to write and talk about their perceptions of the places they had lived in. They found that the children's perceptions and representations of place were complex, and featured multiple environmental and social factors that comprised their sense of place and identity.

The research in this thesis adds to these important insights into how children reflect upon and represent the environments that frame their lives, and how this consequently impacts their identities. However, through an examination

of European colonial children's *physical* contact with the natural environment, through outdoor play and independent exploration of their surroundings, this chapter proposes a more nuanced understanding of children's interaction with the natural world. It seeks to understand how these tactile experiences influenced their interpretations of the spaces around them, and consequently contributed to the construction of their childhood identities as European children growing up in Nyasaland.

As a founding member of children's geographies, Matthews' (1995) key paper on Kenyan children's sense of place explicitly examines the importance of cultural settings to children's awareness of the environment. He gives the example of the space around children's homes in Kenya being demarcated by gendered chores; girls were tasked with domestic jobs in and around the home, whilst boys were sent further afield to collect firewood. Matthews makes the observation that when children begin to move and engage with their environments, they enter into worlds that are culturally construed, meaning that the emergence of children's 'place knowledge' and environmental understanding are, in part, tools of socialisation (p. 293). However, this statement presumes that children understand and engage with the natural environment from a mono-cultural perspective. This chapter explores the experiences of children who entered into natural environments that challenged the culturally European contexts of their homes, and consequently contributed to the cultural hybridisation of their childhood identities. It considers the conflict between the 'imagined' European environments to which they 'biologically' belonged, and the real, tangible African environments in which they lived and to which they subsequently attached their own meanings of belonging.

As this chapter pursues an understanding of white children's complex relationships with both European and African landscapes, it moves away from a meaning of space that implies a static physical environment. Instead, it conceptualises 'space', and in particular the space that constitutes the natural environment, as a dynamic relationship between space and time; constantly waiting to be determined by relations between both living and non-living entities (Massey, 2005). This evokes Relph's (1976) long-standing notion of space, cited in the previous chapter, which depicts space as unidentifiable and abstract until a bond has been created between people and locations over time. However,

Massey's notion of space additionally implies that space is always in a state of 'becoming', and is a process that, in a sense, remains eternally 'unfinished' (p. 107). With this in mind, the following discussion seeks to explore colonial children's relationships with space in terms of their tactile sensory engagement (or lack thereof) with the natural environment, and how this enabled them to continuously make and unmake space, in both their 'real' and 'imagined' environments of Africa and Europe. Taking children's emotional and sensory experiences of space into account can shed light on *how* children develop a 'sense of place' in childhood (Bartos, 2013: 90; Mackley et al., 2015).

This chapter approaches the analysis of colonial children's place-related identities by using, in part, the more traditional 'representational' mode of inquiry, which considers how the research participants – during their interviews – perceived and represented the surrounding environment in which they grew up. However, it also seeks to go beyond this approach, and to develop a more nuanced examination of white children's relationships with the African landscape, which can be revealed through their everyday sensory experiences of outdoor play and exploration. This chapter also considers the more uncomfortable aspects of children's relationships with the natural world. It explores European children's awareness of the dangers posed by living in a tropical environment, and their emotional and sensory experiences of tropical illnesses, which sometimes caused them to encounter emotions of grief, fear and bereavement. Through this varied sensory approach to children's everyday lives, the following discussion explores the different ways in which European children engaged with and understood the natural world around them, and the processes through which they attached their own meaning and sense of belonging to the physical African landscape of Nyasaland.

5.2 Encountering the Environment through Play

5.2.1 The Hybridity of Play

When talking about their experiences of play, research participants almost exclusively referred to playing outdoors. There was very little evidence of spatial constraint upon their childhoods, and most (both boys and girls) were allowed to

roam fairly freely, albeit in groups with other European or African children. A minority of participants remembered having a more confined sense of space, as they were not permitted to play outside the grounds of the family's garden, but even in these cases, participants expressed a sense of spatial freedom. Giancarlo recalled that he was not allowed to 'run wild' as a young child, as his mother was quite strict. However, he did not remember being spatially constrained, as he spent a lot of time running around the garden and playing football with friends and 'doing the normal things that boys do at that age.'[171]

Giancarlo grew up in a very rural area of Nyasaland, where Europeans lived in large houses with extensive and spacious gardens, providing children with large outdoor spaces to play in that were still within the boundaries of their family homes. However, urban areas were also characterised by low-density, detached housing for Europeans, set in spacious grounds, which resulted in urban children's experiences of outdoor play, being not too dissimilar from that of their rural counterparts. Linda, who lived in Zomba, the colonial capital, fondly remembered her garden which she described as having had a 'big avocado tree and mango tree, pineapples, and other fruit. Also several large boulders, under one of which I dug a den.'[172] She also recalled playing in a gully that ran down one side of the garden, and the 'wonderful freedom'[173] that she experienced whilst playing outdoors.

In all of the interviews for this research, participants placed a lot of emphasis on the fact that they spent most of their time outside, inventing games and entertaining themselves, as Barbara expressed in her interview; '…my parents were very lax. […] We just did our own thing and we amused ourselves because that's what we did in those days […] you made your own entertainment.'[174] However, this kind of unstructured outdoor play was not unique to European children who grew up in the colonies. Colin Ward's (1978; 1988) seminal works on how children use and experience space, reveal that children in Britain in the mid-to-late twentieth century also engaged in creative, imaginative outdoor play. He explored the spaces where children played, observing that children's preferred outdoor 'play places' were very different from the structured adult-provided

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[171] Giancarlo, (2016) lines 380-390, pp. 12-13
[172] Linda, (2015) lines 13-15 p. 1
[173] ibid., lines 48-49, p. 2
[174] Barbara, lines 30-35, p. 2

spaces in rural British villages. He uses the example of a small stream to illustrate this point; '…a little stream has great play potential. It can be paddled in; turned into a moat in the imagination [or] crossed by means of stepping stones…' (Ward, 1988: 102, 104).

These kinds of examples of child-led outdoor play were plentiful in the interviews carried out for this research, suggesting that European children's experiences of play in Nyasaland reflected, to some extent, the norms of play experienced by their European contemporaries at that time. However, the crucial difference between the European children engaging in outdoor play in Europe and those doing the same in Nyasaland, is the cultural and environmental context within which these play activities took place. Unlike European children who grew up 'at home' in Europe, white children in Nyasaland were immersed daily into a landscape that contradicted the European cultural heritage and identity of their families, as well as the European children's books and stories that they encountered in their home life, and later on at school. The elements of children's outdoor play activities in Nyasaland that reflected those of their contemporaries in Europe, were inflected by the African environmental and cultural context in which white children in Nyasaland grew up. As such, the African environment became a site of hybridisation, and Bhabha's (2010) notion of the 'Third Space' began to emerge. This can be identified as the realm in which European children's cultural identities in Nyasaland were shaped, and where the presumed homogeneity of their European identity was undermined.

As white children engaged with the surrounding African landscape through play, they began to express their own individual hybrid cultures that developed largely outside of the structures of white adult interference. This notion of cultural hybridisation through play, will be explored through two different facets of children's play activities; *tangible* and *intangible* forms of play (Darian-Smith & Pascoe, 2013). The former will focus on the objects, materials and physical settings used by white children in Nyasaland to facilitate their play activities, and the latter on the more fluid oral cultures of children's stories, rhymes and imaginary games.

5.2.2 Tangible Play

When talking about their memories of playtime in the interviews, only five of the male participants recalled playing with commercially manufactured playthings such as Dinky Toys,[175] while a few more participants talked about having cricket sets and footballs and a significant number owned a pellet gun:

> 'There were a mixture of toys, I mean they may have been toys that we were given, they may have been toys that we bought, they may have been balls, all sorts of different games, you know cars and model cars and so on and so forth.'[176]

> 'yes I mean- that was it, Meccano and dinky toys, oh and Hornby electric trains if you could afford it. So that was very typical of the age.'[177]

> 'What do kids do? They just play [laughs] I remember I had a pellet gun…'[178]

The majority of the research participants also remembered owning a bicycle or tricycle at some point during their childhood. However, beyond this short list of manufactured objects, imported toys were not commonplace among European children living in Nyasaland. Barbara was the only female participant who talked about having a doll – if other participants had had dolls as young girls, they didn't mention them. Barbara's doll was a rare and prized possession; 'we always only got one present [for Christmas], and the doll I had, I had for years, she was a rubber doll […] she lasted for years because we weren't given a lot of presents. My father and mother couldn't afford it.'[179] The earlier photograph of the little girl with her young nanny (figure 4.5), shows the girl holding a small doll similar to that described by Barbara. However, the consensus among the research participants was that they didn't really have toys, either because they simply were not available to buy in Nyasaland, or because their parents couldn't afford them. Figure 5.1 gives an example of the alternative toys that European children in Nyasaland played with, and which would often substitute the manufactured toys that children would otherwise, probably have had access to in Europe. The photograph

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[175] 'Dinky toys' were popular in Britain from the mid to late twentieth century. They were miniature vehicles manufactured in the UK by Meccano Ltd.
[176] Harry, lines 482-484, p. 15
[177] Charles, lines 349-351, p. 11
[178] Edward, line 252, p. 8
[179] Barbara, lines 622-625, p. 20

below shows a young child hugging a wooden African carving of a woman, which appears to be being used as a doll.

Figure 5.1 "Young child with an African carving of a woman" *Source:* Price Roe, E. (1900-1921) *Photograph Albums belonging to Edward Price Roe,* Oxford Colonial Records Collection

Hugh said that because he didn't have access to manufactured European toys, he also used to play with African-made toys instead, although he remembered making most of these himself or with the African children who he played with:

> '…we used to make toys you know, vehicles out of these pith things and that sort of thing, yah mainly what we did […] out of wood, and you know the sort of pithy wood, you get it on the lakeshore […] it's almost spongy, but it isn't, it's still fairly stiff. And all sorts of things like that.'[180]

European children's material play culture in Nyasaland was heavily dominated by African-made objects and locally sourced natural materials, which were used in order to facilitate games and entertainment. Even in the cases where participants remembered playing with their European toys, the outdoor environment provided the crucial physical setting for their games; 'I remember being in the garden with these Dinky Toys with Paulus, and you know, in the ordinary earth

[180] Hugh, lines 170-182, p. 6

there, building roads for them and that sort of stuff, that was playtime.'[181] Similarly, Bill remembers building miniature African huts in the mud outside; 'I would make little African villages out of mud and so on, and then they would get washed away every time it rained […] so there were those little projects which I would spend ages doing.'[182] Bill not only used the natural environment to create his own tangible objects of play, but also used it to recreate miniature scenes of local African houses, rather than his own European home. This clearly illustrates how the African context that European children grew up in, informed their interpretation of play.

For many of the participants this also translated into playing African games and engaging in local children's material cultures of play. Julian recalls how he became very good at the African game *bawo*[183] which he played a lot with the children in the villages, and remembers how he 'would go into the villages and sit and talk, squat down […] and play *bawo* with people.'[184] The board used for the game was most often carved out of pieces of wood, but was also sometimes physically dug into the earth (figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 "Images of the board used for the *Bawo* game" *Sources:* http://bawo.sourceforge.net/shop.html and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=adj562Mb03M [accessed on 26/03/2017]

[181] Charles, lines 358-360, p. 12
[182] Bill, lines 1058-1061, p. 33
[183] Bawo is a popular East African two-player board game, in which each player seeks to win the other player's counters. (Pictured on next page.)
[184] Julian, lines 670-671, p. 21

Teresa also remembered playing *bawo* with local children, and described the game as 'a wooden thing with little holes in it' and recalls that they used to use small stones as counters.[185] However, she noted that although they did play structured games as children, most of their time was spent, 'running around the place, hiding and playing- we never had sort of really constructed games as such.'[186] In particular she remembered that they used to entertain themselves by rolling small fruits along the road with sticks:

> '…you had, what were very unkindly called kaffir oranges, they were sort of like a round hard green- they looked like a green hard orange that grew and we used to get those off the tree and then you'd get a bamboo stick and hit it along the road.'[187]

Harry also gave an example of small fruits – similar to those in Teresa's description – that were re-appropriated as objects of play. During his interview, he read from his older brother's unpublished memoirs, as he recalled a game that unintentionally emerged between him, his brother and the children who lived on the estate that his father managed:

> 'Another of our games evolved when father took us on the motorbike to Monjezi estate and we were unloaded at the local camp [Harry interjects to explain: "that would have been where the headquarters of the estate was"] to amuse ourselves while father went off to inspect the tobacco fields. All the lads on the estate would appear, one by one. As their numbers built up, so they grew braver and drew closer. Getting nervous we would shout at them to "*choka*" [go away], they would back off and then start their approach again. We then found a species of Ulofia [tree] bearing yellow ball shaped fruit- highly poisonous to livestock. Collecting these fruits we started throwing them at the insurgents who far from being intimidated warmed to the battle, and the balls came painfully showering back. Outnumbered and badly bruised we called a truce. We selected two of the bigger lads, told them to pick teams and thereafter we had enormous fun until father returned and our erstwhile friends disappeared from whence they came.'[188]

Using these yellow ball shaped fruits as ammunition, a game – something akin to what might be recognised as the contemporary game of dodge ball in the West – emerged, and through this spontaneous play, initial feelings of fear, uncertainty and hostility were dispersed. The initial scenario of white versus black dissipated into two organised teams where rivals quickly became allies. Through engaging in play with each other, this group of boys overcame the boundaries of race and

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185 Teresa, lines 120-121, p. 4
186 ibid., lines 127-129 pp. 4-5
187 ibid., lines 122-125, p. 4
188 Harry, [Reading from the memoirs of his brother during interview] lines, 357-373, p. 12

language, albeit temporarily, that had initially caused anxiety and uncertainty among them.

Bill, whose parents employed a European nanny and forbade him from playing in the villages, also talked about play as a unifying experience. He recalled becoming embroiled in a project to build a raft to take out on the Lilongwe river, and how whenever he was at home, he would be 'itching to get away'[189] and back to his boat building activities. For this project, he remembered accruing the help of some Africans who lived in the area, and although he recalled that they enjoyed each other's company, he admitted that these relationships were confined to building the raft together:

> 'I built my first boat, if you can call it a boat, a raft I suppose for the Lilongwe river, and there were some Africans who used to help me with that; one a night watchman from the PWD [Public Works Department] depot and the other his son and so on […] we enjoyed each other and chatted […] they were so much more competent than I was [laughs].'[190]

Other participants also remembered constructing larger contraptions that they used play with. John remembered building a sort of 'go kart', and commented on its precarious nature; 'how the hell we lived sometimes I'm not too sure!'[191] He also remembered making foofy slides [ziplines] and tree houses with the children of their European neighbours. Much like the den – quoted earlier in the chapter – that Linda dug under the boulder in her garden, these spaces are examples of *children's places*, carved into the landscape *by* children *for* children. These spaces demonstrate the children's agency and ability to adapt the space around them to accommodate their interests and needs. However, others carved out spaces in the environment without making any physical change to the landscape. Barbara described tree-climbing as one of her favourite pastimes and revealed how being in the trees gave her time to be alone; 'I used to climb trees to learn my poetry because I could climb high and shout as loud as I liked, and that's how I learnt my poetry for the convent [the school that she attended].'[192] She would also climb trees to help her brothers collect birds' eggs from high up nests:

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[189] Bill, line 1041, p. 32
[190] ibid., lines 640-645, p. 20
[191] John, lines 221-222, p. 7
[192] Barbara, lines 586-588, pp. 18-19

> '[I had] three elder brothers, one lot were twins, so they were just self-sufficient, they would go off and do their own thing. Sometimes they would grab me and say "we want you to climb that tree because we want a birds egg out of that nest" and I did it. I was always very good at climbing trees[193] […] they were interested in birds' eggs, I wasn't, but I'd climb a tree and get an egg, I could retrieve an egg. […] They wanted to make sets of eggs […] they didn't hatch them, they blew them and kept them, and I think they had quite a big egg collection in the end.'[194]

Similarly, John spoke about the extensive butterfly collection that their neighbours kept, and recalled how, as children, they used to all go 'butterfly catching'[195] together to add to the collection. Bill also described how he and his sister collected caterpillars to keep in boxes, and watched them grow and change in appearance:

> '…in the rainy season, we used to collect caterpillars and have them in cardboard boxes, because you wanted to see how big they got and what colour they turned into, whether they were hairy or kind of- some wonderful things would happen, most incredible skins and so on, when they developed. So that was great fun, and [sister] had a box and I had a box, and you would go out looking for them, and then you had to remember where they were found, rather than just pick them off, because that was what they were supposed to be eating and then you would go and replenish their food and put it in the boxes.'[196]

These stories illustrate the children's instinctive curiosity towards the environment that they grew up in, and their fascination with the natural world. Again, the notion of children collecting insects to keep at home is not unique to European children who grew up in Nyasaland, however, the African environment in which the European children's curiosity for nature was satisfied, and which inflected their relationship with nature, does render this a rather unique phenomenon. The more that European children began to explore their natural environment and gain an understanding of the world around them, the more that the presumed homogeneity of their supposedly inherited European identities was compromised.

This is further illustrated by the children's involvement in typically African childhood activities of hunting and gathering food. This aspect of European childhood was mentioned in the previous chapter, but it is important at this stage to stress the recreational element of this work/play activity in everyday African

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[193] ibid., lines 582-585, p. 18
[194] ibid., lines 602-609, p. 19
[195] John, lines 222, p. 7
[196] Bill, lines 745-754, pp. 23-24

childhood. Objects used for hunting became part of European children's material culture of play as they engaged in local hunting practices. When asked about what kind of games he played as child, William responded, 'I remember we used to trap birds and so on with the African kids, they, of course, were quite adept with nooses and all this sort of thing, and we used to go and do that.'[197] In his unpublished memoirs, Julian also describes in detail the different methods that he used in order to try and catch small birds and insects:

> 'We made traps to catch the guinea fowl that went into the small fields of maize foraging for food. This consisted of a flexible stick that was pushed firmly into the ground. A piece of string with a noose at the end, was tied to the other end of the stick, and bent over, with a trigger over a trip mechanism, and a few grains of maize on the ground below the noose, which was placed on four small sticks so it was elevated an inch above the surface of the ground. The idea was that the bird would peck at the grain, trip the trigger, and the stick would spring back, catching the bird around the neck in the tight noose. My own traps were never very good, and I did not have any success, but these traps certainly did work for those skilled enough to make a good one. I tried catching birds by lifting a large rock and propping it up with a stick, to which a string was attached, and grain scattered around, and pulling the stick away from a distance when a bird wandered under the stone, but that never worked. Nevertheless, it was fun trying to achieve success, and we spent countless hours of the day trying to catch birds in this way. […] If we could not catch birds, we were sometimes able to catch cicadas, which are large fly-like insects, which reach a length of 1-1½ inches. At a certain time of the year, they are found in the tops of trees, making a loud noise for which they are well known. We would obtain sticky latex sap from a certain tree that I cannot remember, make a ball out of it, and fix this to the end of a long bamboo pole. We then looked upwards into trees from where we could hear the cicadas calling, and try to bring the sticky mass at the end of the pole slowly and carefully down onto the cicada. If we were successful and the cicada had not flown away, it would be firmly stuck to the end of the pole. The insect was pulled off, its wings removed, and placed into a bag or tin. When we had collected enough of these, they were roasted on a metal tray over an open fire. I was never very good at this, because I was not strong enough to hold the long bamboo pole steady enough, and the end always waved wildly in the air, with the result that the cicada saw me coming from a long way off and was able to fly away before I was anywhere near it.'[198]

The 'countless hours' of time spent by Julian engaging in these activities, with mixed success, clearly suggest a strong recreational element to using traps to catch birds and insects for food. As well as trying these local methods of catching insects and small animals, European children would also use catapults to try and shoot at birds and monkeys. These were usually homemade, and were not usually used to hunt for food, but served more of a purely recreational purpose:

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[197] William, lines 375-377, p. 12

[198] Julian, (u.d). *Can I carry your Suitcase?*. [Unpublished memoir] pp. 26-28

> 'I mean the one gardener, […] when I used to come home [from boarding school] he would have a – what do you call it – a catapult, made me a new one you know, and we would go there and try and knock the monkeys or whatever, but that was like [whistles with delight] a new catapult!'[199]

When asked about their memories of play activities, Richard and Joanna also mentioned playing outdoors with their catapults.[200] Joanna referred to her 'cat gun' as one of her toys when she was in primary school in Zomba. The research interviews showed that while children participated in these local methods of hunting for food, which were often experienced as play, they were also exposed to hunting with guns from a very young age.

Guns were a prominent feature of colonial life, and were a particularly prevalent part of rural life in Nyasaland, as Orestis described in his interview; 'we were brought up with guns, the .22 used to hang on the veranda – all the time – because there were always birds and so forth.'[201] As discussed in the previous chapter, European children (both boys and girls) often joined European adults when they went out hunting with guns for food. As they got older, this became a social activity among groups of children, though this was far more prevalent in the interviews with male participants; 'when I grew up a little bit, then we used to go shooting with friends of mine, we'd go and shoot guinea fowl and monkeys and stuff like that, not very nice.'[202] Thomas also recounted his experiences of going out shooting with his brothers, 'we had a little pellet gun and we'd go off and shoot a few little birds or whatever, just as a pastime.'[203] Going out shooting was initially an activity that children did with adult supervision but in the interviews with *male* participants it transitioned into a recreational 'pastime' as they got older.

Although girls were not sheltered from the reality of hunting and guns, it appears that the *recreational* side of going out shooting was much more prevalent among European boys. Shooting was one of the few gendered recreational activities that emerged from the research interviews. This could be due to the fact that guns, as tangible objects, were already gendered by stereotypical male roles in society, such as soldiers and – particularly in the colonies – 'great white

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[199] Alexia, lines 513-516, p. 16
[200] Richard, line 426, p. 14 & Joanna, line 98, p. 4
[201] Orestis, lines 366-367, p. 12
[202] Giancarlo, lines 622-624, p. 20
[203] Thomas, lines 390-391, p. 13

hunters.' Young boys' aspirations to mimic these male roles in colonial society can be illustrated by seven year old Phillip's contribution to the 'When I Grow Up' section, in the 1958 issue of the St Andrew's Preparatory school magazine; 'When I grow up, I am going to go into the bush and shoot and shoot until I have a lot of animals and people will say I am the best hunter in Africa.'[204] Figure 5.3 illustrates this popular pastime among young white boys, as it shows two European children sitting on top of at least five dead Elands (antelopes) that had just been killed by the hunting party.

Figure 5.3 "Photograph of two European boys with hunting party, c. 1930" *Source:* Smithyman Family Photographs, (c.1930s) *Fred Smithyman Sr. Hunting Party,* [Photograph] SoM Smithyman Family Zomba 1919+, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph Collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

However, as participants recounted their stories of playtime in Nyasaland, it became evident that the majority of European children's play activities were not gendered. The lack of manufactured toys – that were usually gender specific – meant that there was less of a pronounced difference in *how* boys and girls of the same age played, and the kinds of objects that they used to facilitate their play

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[204] P.B, (1958) *Entry in the 1958 St. Andrews Preparatory School Magazine, Vol.1 No. 3* [School magazine] MNA Periodicals, p. 31, MNA, Zomba, Malawi

activities. The only time that gendered play was obvious in the interviews was when participants talked about playing with manufactured items (i.e. pellet guns, dinky toys and dolls). This observation of genderless play was also reflected in the children's *intangible* play activities, which included more fluid oral cultures of imaginary play, rhymes and children's stories.

5.2.3 Intangible Play

Many of the research participants struggled to remember and identify the specifics of imaginary games that they used to play as children, and most referred to themselves as having spent most of their time running around and playing outside. Orestis talked about spending his time climbing trees to collect mangoes and guavas[205] while John recalled mischievously roaming the neighbours' gardens and picking any fruit and vegetables that they could find:

> 'We weren't restricted to the gardens, although each house, had well over an acre for a garden, and we went up to the top of Mpingwe [hill], we went to anybody's house that had peaches or you know paws paws or bananas or stuff like that, even you know carrots and stuff like that, we used to go and raid everybody's gardens…'[206]

European children clearly spent most of their playtime outdoors, often simply roaming the surroundings. The weather was also conducive to this outdoor lifestyle, which allowed them to grow up in such close proximity to nature. Orestis recalled 'playing in the sand, playing with water and sun, climbing trees […] somehow the day went by, we did- you know whatever you may say as a child would.'[207] A similar sentiment was conveyed by Teresa when she talked about spending whole days at the top of Zomba plateau, near where she lived; 'we just used to walk up- you'd go out and walk up to Ku Chawe [a place near the top of Zomba mountain], […] and spend the day there […] but in those days you could go and play, and just spend a whole day doing nothing really!'[208] Julian also described how he and his siblings used to enjoy simply running around in the torrential tropical rains during the rainy season:

> 'After a long and hot dry season, the rains would usually break around November of each year, with a thunderous fury, and sheets of water would cascade down from the darkened

[205] Orestis, lines 378-380, p. 12
[206] John, lines 214-218, p. 7
[207] Orestis, lines 62-66, p. 3
[208] Teresa, lines 85-93, p. 3

> skies and pound into the dry red soils. This was a fun time for us, and we would run and dance in the rain, getting thoroughly soaked, especially standing under the eaves of the house where the water ran down in a solid stream.'[209]

Children found spaces of entertainment by assigning intangible traditions and activities to the natural elements around them. This is also evident in Harry's fond memories of rolling in the dew with his brothers:

> 'Well one special memory was, it, after a heavy dew, mum and dad would say "get up! Out you go. Take your pyjamas off and go and roll in the dew!" So we had to go and roll in the dew on the grass, brrrrr you know, of course we loved rolling, and it was freezing cold but after that we got a good rub down from mum and dad you know and a biscuit [laughs] I remember that very much indeed.'[210]

Other participants remembered more structured activities that evolved as part of their outdoor play, like Bill's '*Ufa* chases' [paper chases, but using maize flour] through the *bundu* [the African bush]. He recalled that his mother and their servants used to set up the game for him and sister to play, but instead of leaving paper lying around, they would use maize flour that would get washed away with the next rains.[211] This example shows how both parents and children used typically European games, adapted them and placed them in a new environment. Giancarlo also alluded to this, saying that he would run around the garden playing 'Cowboys and Indians' with his nanny Alfred,[212] while Joanna talked about how her and her friends would go and play Robin Hood in the forests on Zomba mountain. The inspiration for these imaginary games that the children played was probably derived from their contact with imported books and stories, and are the kinds of games that were likely to have been played by children growing up in Europe during the same period. Similarly, Teresa recalled playing typically European games that she described as, 'the usual things, skipping, that sort of thing, or chase, even things like 'what's the time Mr Wolf?' and hide and seek.'[213]

Evidently, European children did engage in play that was characteristically and culturally Western, and which was probably inherited from parents, teachers and older European children, and adapted these games to suit their own environments. However, these forms of European culturally inherited games were

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[209] Julian, [memoir, u.d] p. 24
[210] Harry, lines 486-491, p. 16
[211] Bill, lines 718-726, p. 23
[212] Giancarlo, line 382, p. 12
[213] Teresa, lines 125-127, p. 4

not prominently recounted in the research interviews, as participants tended to focus on unstructured play. Chanting games, such as 'What's the time Mr Wolf?', were not frequently mentioned, although this may have been because participants could not remember the chants rather than evidence of their absence. However, the only other occasions where such games were mentioned in the interviews, were cases in which children learnt rhymes and chants in Chinyanja:

> 'But I also remember being in the village and helping *kusinja* [pounding maize with a large wooden pestle and mortar], you know, when you're actually pounding the maize and also doing that with peanuts to get the oil out for cooking, that sort of thing, so I would sometimes take my turn with somebody else when we were, you know, one, two do it together, one after the other in a sort of rhythm and singing at the same time. […] it was in Chinyanja.'[214]

She was not able to recall the songs that accompanied this typical African activity of village life, but Chinyanja songs and the rhythms of helping *kusinja* became part of her intangible cultural experiences of play during her childhood. Julian expressed a similar experience in which he learnt African chants that accompanied specific games. He gives a detailed example of this in his memoirs, in which tangible and intangible elements of his childhood experiences of play collided:

> 'During the "rainy season", which started in November, and ended about April, wild gladioli flowers bloomed, and they could be easily recognized by their distinctive leaves and flowers. My mother would sometimes tell us to look for these gladioli plants, and to dig up the bulbs, for which she would pay us one penny per bulb, to plant in her garden. […] Besides selling the bulbs to make some money, the flat cylindrical gladioli bulbs, known in Chinyanja as "*tombo*", could also be used to make a wonderful "whizzer" toy. We would carefully bore two holes just off-center in the middle of the bulb, and thread a length of string through each, and tie the ends, to make a loop of string, which ideally extended about ten to twelve inches on either side of the bulb. Then holding each end of the string, with the bulb in the middle, we would spin the bulb round and round for a number of turns to twist up the string, then by gently pulling on the string backwards and forwards, you could get the bulb to rotate backwards and forwards, just like a propeller, and at the same time it made a very satisfying whirr, whiz, whirr, whiz, sound. However, one very important ritual in this was to say a special rhyme as you were starting to spin and get the bulb whirring,
>
> *"Tombo, tombo, lira, lira.*
> *Tombo, tombo, lira, lira.*
> *Uka panda ku lira,*
> *Ndidza ku ponya*
> *Pamene ali fisi".*

[214] Susan, lines 129-141, p. 5

> which loosely translated means,
>
> "Tombo, tombo, sing for me,
> Tombo, tombo, sing for me.
> If you do not sing for me
> I will throw you in the place
> Where there are hyenas."
>
> The implication being of course that *tombo* will sing, because it will not want to be thrown to the hyenas and be devoured. An alternative song used the word "*ngona*" instead of "*fisi*" saying that "you will be thrown far away, where the crocodiles lurk all day".'[215]

In this example, Julian's experiences of play were inflected by cultural, environmental and linguistic elements of African life. Using naturally sourced materials to play with, the children created a game that reflected the dangers of the environment that surrounded them, through chanting an accompanying rhyme in Chinyanja.

European children clearly engaged – to varying degrees – with both European and African cultures of play. This reveals the different ways in which white children straddled a space between the white and black cultures that framed their lives. As such, the recreational times and spaces of their childhoods began to shape their understandings of the world around them, and consequently their own identities. The multi-faceted nature of their outdoor play created hybrid cultural experiences that inflected the children's identities as they grew up. Their tactile relationship with the environment, through play, resulted in their close proximity and relationship to the African landscape, people and livelihood activities.

However, alongside participants' memories of idyllic outdoor childhoods, a paradoxical narrative of fear and danger emerged. This theme highlights the daily risks posed to children by a tropical environment, which in turn, countered the nostalgic portrayal of an idyllic outdoor playground paradise. This dichotomy within their narratives, which portrays the tropical environment simultaneously as a land of paradise and a land of danger, chimes with early Western imaginings of the tropics (Johnson, 2009). Words such as 'danger', 'disease' and 'darkness' were used alongside the colonial narrative of an abundant tropical paradise (Arnold, 1996). The next section considers how this dichotomy and the counter-

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[215] Julian, [u.d] *Memoir*, pp. 29-30

narrative of danger and disease affected European children's relationships with, and understandings of, the African environment they were growing up in.

5.3 Nature's Paradox: A Dangerous Paradise

5.3.1 Encounters with Wildlife

On the 17th of September 1912 the Afrikaans missionaries Louis and Noelline Murray lost their infant son George. The burial records report that he died of diphtheria; a direct result of the wounds that he sustained after being attacked by a lion. George was buried on the southern shores of what is now called Lake Malawi, in the Nkumba Mission cemetery, with the Afrikaans inscription 'God is Liefde' [God is Love] inscribed into his tombstone.[216]

Although recorded incidents of this kind are rare in the archives, George's death is a tragic example of the very real threat that wildlife presented to all residents of Nyasaland. As such, European children grew up with a strong awareness of the dangers presented by wild animals, although some interview participants expressed this more acutely than others:

> '[I was] frightened of animals, the elephants that would sometimes come through the garden and leave a great deposit sometimes in the drive [...] or when we walked through the bush with the other kids from the villages, I remember seeing elephants, or hearing them and being frightened of them [and] leopards of course [...] I also remember a very frightening episode when a lot of us kids went off to a stream, it was very dry but there was a little stream running through a valley, quite a lot of sand on it still, and we went to the other side and then we saw a whole troop of baboons between us and going home again and that was really frightening, but we managed to get home and avoid the baboons. So that was an early memory, fear of the animals.'[217]

This heightened fear and awareness of wildlife described by Susan, was more evident among the participants who had grown up in rural areas. At this point in her childhood Susan lived in a rural area near Salima, which is located in the southern region of Malawi, close to the western shores of the lake. Andreas and Alexia both grew up on the other side of the lake near Namwera, also on very remote farms, and recalled their fear upon hearing the lions roar:

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[216] SoM Archive, Box 036, *Burials Nkhumba, Nkhumba Mission Graves,* SoM Library and Archives, Blantyre

[217] Susan, lines 108-124, p. 4

> 'I don't know what age I was but let's say between three and five- we had a lot of lions […] well one experience that I do remember very vividly, and I don't know why I only remember this incident, but the lions used to roar, I remember once I went underneath the chair- we had all these old wooden chairs, they were quite high up, and I went underneath to try and hide from the roar.'[218]

> '…they [lions] used to roar under our window, it was terrifying. […] And they would roar and the windowpanes – you know the old houses, the windowpanes were small, […] and the windowpanes would go "zzzzzzzzzzzzsh" like this with the vibrations. Then we were gone- [sister] and I were in Mum and Dad's bed. That's, you know, scary.'[219]

Despite the evident awareness that children had of the surrounding wildlife, the majority of research participants only associated their fear of animals with the night. Cris remarked how it was strange that she 'never thought of animals in the daytime' and continued to add that it was probably because they 'never saw them during the day, it was always at night, at night they attacked […] at night they destroyed the sheep and the goats, it was everything at night.'[220] Almost unanimously, participants recalled that they were under strict instruction from their parents to be home and indoors by dusk, due to the increased hunting activities of wild animals. Where children enjoyed unsupervised spatial freedoms during the day, their movements were heavily restricted by late afternoon when they had to make sure they were back indoors:

> '…the big threat from our parents was that we were going to be in big trouble if we didn't get back before dark but that was because that was when the leopards and hyenas came out, and this was a real danger but I think we were more worried about the trouble we were going to get into for being back late.'[221]

However, it was not just their parents' rules that caused European children to be cautious of staying outside in the late afternoon and after dark. Linda remembered being very aware of leopards, as they had been told that the previous residents of their house had had their dog taken by a leopard at four o'clock in the afternoon.[222] Similarly Barbara recalled that their neighbour's dogs were taken by leopards: 'the friends that we had, had a house that had a big high wall all round it, they had an enclosed courtyard and they did lose dogs- leopard from the mountain.'[223] A few

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[218] Andreas, lines 196-202, p. 7
[219] Alexia, lines 403-412, p. 13
[220] Cris, lines 1129-1136, p. 35
[221] Joanna, lines 89-93, p. 3
[222] Linda, lines 51-52, p. 3
[223] Barbara, lines 707-709, p. 22

of the research participants also recalled having pets of their own that were killed by lions and leopards. This always occurred in the late afternoon, the evening or at night, emphasizing the heightened threat of animals after dark. Cris recalled the terrible incident when a lion killed her mother's dog: 'he [the lion] caught [mother's] dog, and he came round the house to where we were sleeping and we could hear him, there were two, eating our dog, crunching the- it was horrific.'[224] Eve also recalled a similar incident when a leopard attacked their family dog, although this time the dog survived:

> 'we had a lovely dog called Achilles, he was an Alsatian […] and he had fought with a leopard and I remember Dad taking him to the vet in Fort Johnston – now to do that it was like a day's thing – and they stitched him and so on and got him back.'[225]

On another occasion, the same dog, Achilles, was cornered on the veranda of the family house by a lion before Eve's father realised what was going on, and shot a couple of gun shots out of the bedroom window to frighten the lions away.[226]

In the 1940s and 50s there was significantly more wildlife in Malawi than there is today given the rapid growth in the country's population over the last 60 years.[227] Many of the interviewees recalled seeing a lot of wildlife along the roads when they went on long drives across Nyasaland, or ventured away from the more populated, urban areas. Alexia recalled a specific incident when she was going home from boarding school with her father and they were held up by a pride of lions:

> 'I was at school here at the convent and my late Dad brought down a load of tobacco, because they used to drive their own crops down […] and he picked me up with another young boy [name] and his father, and we got to Chikala – it's the Namwera mountains, they're not long, they're about I think 8km or 8 miles, but they're like this you know [shows steep gradient with arm] – […] And at one point there was a pack of lions sleeping across the road, […] of course it was quite exciting there you know, "oh look at the lions, look at the babies" then after about 10 or 15 minutes I wanted to go home to my mom now, enough – because there must have been about 6 or 7 – and my Dad would hoot, nothing, he was banging on the side of the lorry, they were banging on top, nothing, he was shouting and nothing, till they decided- there was quite a big pack – that now they've had

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[224] Cris, lines 462-464, p. 15
[225] Eve, lines 439-442, p. 14
[226] ibid., lines 444-457, pp. 14-15
[227] The population has grown from fewer than 4 million people in the early 1960s to more than 16 million people in present day Malawi (The World Bank, 2017).

enough and they got up and they left, it was a good hour and half later, so they left slowly and they went their way and we could pass.'[228]

This abundance of wildlife was reiterated throughout the interviews. Richard talked about the unfortunate decline of wildlife in Malawi today, and recalled that when he was a boy it was a 'wild, wild place.' He remembered driving to their family farm in Mwanza, a rural area west of Blantyre, and seeing 'herd and herd of eland and sable and elephants [...] there wasn't a soul there.'[229] Jayne also mentioned a well-known road sign (figure 5.4) on the way to the lake that read "Beware of elephants on this road",[230] affirming the prolific presence of wild animals at the time.

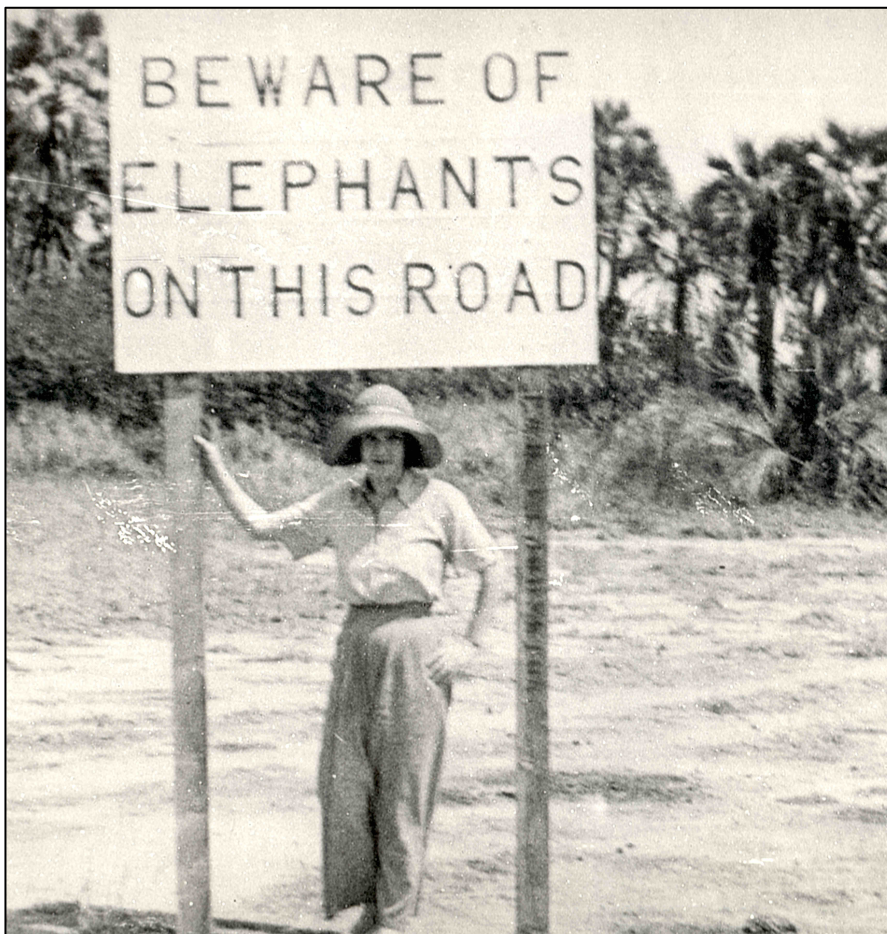

Figure 5.4 "Warning sign on the route from Zomba to Lake Malawi, c. 1940-50" *Source:* Tate, A.T, [1940-1950] *'Beware of Elephants on this Road.' A well-known and well photographed sign on the way to the lake* [Photograph] SoM Photographs Album 5/Scan 0017, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

[228] Alexia, lines 412-430, pp. 13-14
[229] Richard, lines 165-170, p. 6
[230] Jayne, lines 433-434, p. 14

Similarly, Federico talked about his awareness of the danger of leopards on the roads when he was a teenager in the early 1960s:

> '…we were very very aware of wildlife, we used to go with scooters, with Fiat Lambrettas and Vespas to dance in Zomba where all the expat young girls were and at night time, you know, three in the morning, four in the morning, we had to come back to Thyolo, from Zomba, […] and you know if we had punctures – we used to meet leopards in the tea area there, on the road – so if you had a puncture or the scooter breaks down, all the others go around you revving up, lights and everything, you change the puncture or whatever- very aware of wildlife because there was wildlife wherever you went.'[231]

However, as Federico went on to explain, attitudes towards wildlife in colonial Nyasaland were very different to today's contemporary conservationist ideas. He said that they were very wary of animals whilst growing up in Nyasaland, and added that there was a prevailing attitude of fear towards wildlife, rather than thinking of it as 'something nice to look at.'[232] Throughout the research interviews this sentiment was echoed among participants, most of whom had witnessed the shooting of wild animals as children.

Guns were the primary means of defence used by European families against large animals. Most participants gave accounts from their childhood memories of shots being fired, either to scare away or kill lions and leopards that were in the local area. As a child, John witnessed the shooting of a leopard in Limbe when he was ten years old, which he described as having left a 'vivid mark on his psyche.'[233] Cris acknowledged that in a contemporary context shooting big game is not widely accepted, but exclaimed 'you know how many people were eaten by lions in those days? You've got no idea.'[234] Harry recalled the traps that his father used to make to catch and kill leopards, and reiterated Cris's point by exclaiming, 'you *had* to do it if the leopard had been around in the village, you know, the local villages nearby, attacking people's chickens or even their animals, or possibly even human beings!'[235] He clearly recalled seeing a dead leopard caught in one of his father's traps, which he described as:

> 'quite simple things, a small *kraal* [enclosure] was made out of timber, a gun was set up – my father's gun – was set up above it, firing down into this passage way

[231] Federico, lines 421-429, pp. 13-14
[232] ibid., lines 433-435, p. 14
[233] John, lines 242-248, p. 4
[234] Cris, lines 456-459, p. 15
[235] Harry, lines 968-970, p. 30

> […] a live goat was put inside, […] when you went through the entrance door you automatically hit something which caused the door to shut, so the leopard was trapped, and at the same time, simultaneously it would pull the trigger. And that killed the leopard.'[236]

Harry suggested that there was a certain level of expectation from the local Africans living in the surrounding communities to be 'protected in this way'.[237] This was also implied in Cris's story about her older brother who was called upon to shoot a lion that was taking local livestock at night:

> 'He put one of the goats hanging as bait […] and they [the lions] came there but of course it was dark, there was no lights outside […] and he was in total darkness, and he killed one, didn't die straight away, it walked towards the mangoes like that [injured] and it died there, the other one was wounded but walked that way [other direction], and we could hear it all night [deep voice sighing] "whouh, whouh" like that, it was wounded, so my brother thought okay, I've got to kill it now. So we had military trucks in those days because that's the only thing you could get […] I remember my brother and a lot of the Africans jumped on, and they – it was hard to find because this big grass – but as they heard the thing- you know, the moan, it was wounded, anyway they found it eventually and killed it, and do you know they carried my brother all the way home, high up […] he was a hero- they used to eat their goats, their sheep everything.'[238]

European children were not sheltered from these events; on the contrary, they were exposed to the realities of hunting from a young age (figure 5.5). Susan clearly remembers joining in with the celebrations when a leopard was shot in their area:

> 'I also remember a leopard had been caught in the village and the kids- we were all jumping on it, dancing on it because people were so pleased that this leopard had been actually caught, and I remember jumping on this leopard as a kid as well which was fun.'[239]

European children understood the dangers of wildlife around them, and as such came to accept, even expect that lions and leopards would be shot and killed. In the context of European family's lives in Nyasaland, the elimination of threats from wild animals was normalised and even celebrated

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[236] ibid., lines 962-968, p. 30
[237] ibid., line 976, p. 30
[238] Cris., lines 438-454, pp. 14-15
[239] Susan, lines 115-119, p. 4

Figure 5.5 "Young child photographed sitting next to a dead leopard – date of photograph is unknown" *Source:* Unknown Child, (u.d) *Unknown Child with Leopard* [Photograph] SoM Photographs Album 40/Scan 0042, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

Many of the participants also talked about how their parents would keep trophies such as the skulls or skins of animals that they had killed to use for display at home (examples in earlier figure 3.2 and below figure 5.6). Susan recalled seeing leopard skins pegged out in the village to dry after they had been caught and killed, and how her mother used to collect them.[240] Thomas remarked that his father shot a leopard that was subsequently skinned, mounted and hung over the back of a long bench in their sitting room,[241] whilst Paul and his brothers watched a leopard being skinned, that had been shot by their father upon the request of the local chief.[242]

[240] ibid., 113-115, p. 4
[241] Thomas, lines 727-728, p. 23
[242] Paul, lines 679-680, p. 21

Figure 5.6 "'Mrs Anderson's Betty' seated on a leopard skin with her African nanny – the date of the photograph is unknown" *Source:* H. Brown [u.d] *Mrs Anderson's Betty* [Photograph] SoM Photographs Album 55/Scan 0022 Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

The above photograph of Betty, which shows her sitting on rug made from a leopard skin with one of her toys – a monkey teddy bear – and one of the family servants, depicts the normalisation of hunting and of domestic use of animal skins in colonial homes. European children grew up with a heightened sense of the dangers that wild animals posed to them, and, therefore, showed an acceptance of this 'need' to eliminate marauding wildlife from local surroundings. However, the perceived threat of big game that emerged from the research interviews had a far less tangible effect on the children's lives than the peril of many smaller creatures that lived and thrived in tropical environments. It is these threats that are examined in the following section.

5.3.2 Snakes and Insects: "Always empty your shoes out first"

European children encountered smaller creatures such as snakes, spiders, flies and insects on a much more frequent basis than they came across big game. As such, small wildlife presented a much more imminent environmental threat to the children than the larger wildlife discussed in the previous section. Teresa recalled that they were very aware of snakes and insects as children, however, she did not remember feeling scared of them, rather she suggested that as children they took their own precautions to try and avoid any nasty incidents:

> 'I guess because we were so used to it going on the whole time it didn't seem to be problem, like snakes, […] they were there, you know, they were around you so you didn't really worry about it […] well we saw things- so many- especially when we were out in the bush, scorpions, you got to the point where you'd always look under your bed before you got out of bed, always empty your shoes out first, […] always sort of flick your clothes if you've put them on the chair or if they're hanging up to make sure there's nothing in there; red ants was the worst one, the number of times you'd sort of get covered in red ants- they were really nasty!'[243]

Eve also knew to take sensible precautions, and consequently she and her siblings used to only cycle in clear areas to avoid snakes that were more likely to be found in the heavily vegetated places.[244] As a child, Edward felt that it was simply instinctive to be aware and careful of snakes,[245] whilst John said that he often saw snakes when he was a child but he also knew not to go near them or to aggravate them.[246] It is evident that European children did develop their own understandings of how to negotiate and avoid such risks presented by the smaller creatures living in their environment, although occasionally, as in Eve's case, this was learnt through experience:

> 'We only had one bicycle, so it was my turn on the bicycle, and the chain had come off, so I was just putting the chain on, and at that moment […] a man arrived on his bicycle with a letter to my mother […] and while she's reading this letter I'm crouched on the ground putting the chain on the bicycle, underneath the bag comes this Cobra, you know the spitting cobras? I was nine at the time, and this thing is looking at me and I'm looking at it, and the guy who'd bought the letter said "don't move, just keep very still, don't move your eyes, don't move anything" and he got a stick and he killed it. […] Any movement! […] You have to keep very still!'[247]

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[243] Teresa, lines 418-431, pp. 13-14
[244] Eve, lines 50-52, p. 2
[245] Edward, line 398, p. 13
[246] John, lines 236-239, p. 8
[247] Eve, lines 238-255, p. 8

Mark remarked that the African servants who worked for his family were also particularly cautious when it came to snakes, and would kill them before they had even had a chance to escape. He recalled a story from his childhood, in which the cook who worked for his family sent him a clear message about the danger that snakes posed:

> 'I had chickens and we had a broody hen, and she had some chicks, and the other hens were attacking the chicks, so after that when I got a broody one I'd take it away and keep it somewhere else, and I had this broody hen and put her in her little run in the garage, and when the chicks hatched and I took her back and put her in a run outside. I was cleaning out the thing and I lifted up the place where she slept and where she brooded the chicks, and there underneath were six little tiny mamba snakes, had just hatched recently, and I put them – thinking obviously the mother had escaped quite recently – so I put them in a jar and took them round to Cookie and within seconds he'd got them in the fire, just chucked them in- […] I mean I don't know if they were black mambas but anyway Cookie was not taking any chances.'[248]

Incidents with snakes were still rare among the interviewees who took part in this research, but where such a situation arose, it was the servants who were quick to ensure that the snake was killed. James retold a family tale from before he was born, of an incident when their gardener spotted a snake curled up in the cot where his older brother was sleeping, and subsequently chopped off the snake's head with a *panga* [machete].[249]

However, some of the most prevalent threats to children's well-being in Nyasaland were far more difficult to identify and eliminate before they could do any harm. Around a fifth of the research interviewees – who had lived exclusively in rural areas of Malawi – made some reference to the minute jigger flea, known as *matakenya* in Chichewa. The female jigger flea (the *Tunga penetrans*) burrows under the skin, usually in people's toes, heels or the soles of their feet. The flea uses the human host in order to develop fully by sucking blood and increasing its body volume by a factor of 2000 (reaching up to a centimetre in size) within two weeks (World Health Organization, 2017c). Alexia explicitly remembered her mother insisting that she must always wear shoes; 'a couple of the labourers would have them [jigger fleas] and my mom would say you see that's why you have to wear shoes, you can't walk around like that.'[250] However, European

[248] Mark, lines 770-781, pp. 24-25
[249] James, lines 346-352, p. 11
[250] Alexia, lines 736-738, p. 23

parents in Nyasaland did not always enforce strict rules about wearing shoes and/or their children did not observe such rules, and consequently children occasionally found themselves infested by the jigger flea. Bill talked about a weekly ritual, in which he and his sister would have their feet inspected:

> 'Our headboy, Mac had excellent eyesight, so every Sunday evening, in the evening after our baths we had to have our feet inspected [laughs] and he would have a look at them you know, it became quite a ritual, somebody would sterilise the needle and that sort of thing, […] so occasionally he would say yes there is one there, still too small because the smaller it was – as long as you could see it - the easier it was to get out, and he would just tear away the skin and gently get it out with the tip of the needle which had been sterilised and dispose of it.'[251]

However, he went on to describe how he and his sister hated this procedure, and would do all they could to conceal the first symptoms of an irritable itch. He remembered a particular occasion when he somehow got a jigger flea under his thumbnail rather than in his foot, and, therefore, managed to conceal it from Mac and his parents for long enough that it became quite large, and he had to go to the doctor in Blantyre to have it removed.[252] This example shows the children's acute awareness of these subtle but nasty environmental risks, but perhaps a lack of understanding as to the severity of such infestations if left untreated. Untreated multiple infestations of the jigger flea can lead to painful disfigurements of the feet and consequent restrictions in mobility (World Health Organization, 2017c). However, the real implications for Bill and his sister were far more focussed on Mac's weekly inspections of their feet and the unwanted, painful fate of having the jigger flea dug out with a needle.

A similar number of interviewees also mentioned the putzi fly (also known as *tumbu* or mango fly), which also infests itself under the skin. It is a temporary infestation of fly larvae which develops for eight to twelve weeks under the skin, before the maggot-like larvae matures and exits the skin on its own (Palmieri et al., 2013). Patrick was very aware of putzi flies as a child, and in his interview he recalled how he and his siblings would squeeze the little bugs out of their own skin:

> 'I remember the iron was a charcoal iron, so he [the '*dhobi*' who washed and ironed their clothes] had to have that- and all the seams on the clothes had to be really well ironed, and that was to stop putzi flies laying their eggs there […]. The

[251] Bill, lines 169-177, p. 6

[252] ibid., lines 180-185, p. 6

> putzi fly lays its eggs in the dampness of the seams, and then you put your underpants on for instance and the eggs as they hatch burrow into your skin and the larvae forms in there and it comes up like a boil […]. And you have to wait until you can- it comes up and it's really sore and full of puss- and then you squeeze it out and out comes this little bug [laughs] […]. Oh yeah, we all got putzi flies […] clothes had to be really thoroughly washed- dried rather- and then when they were dry they had to be really carefully ironed along the seams.'[253]

Putzi flies were not a major threat to children's health, and as this quotation reveals, the children were able to deal with the consequences of a putzi fly themselves. Patrick and his siblings show how European children adapted to these minor environmental risks that inflected their daily lives, and how they developed understandings and processes to deal with them. However, jigger fleas and putzis were not mentioned in every interview, and presented a relatively minor, short-term threat to children's health in the tropics. The preventative measures of wearing shoes and ironing clothes thoroughly were also effective ways of eliminating the risk of contracting either parasite. Other tropical insects and flies carried much greater threats of disease, and were feared by European communities for their lethal legacies. For example, the threat of malaria was something that was mentioned in every interview and that haunts the medical and burial records of the archives.

The next section considers how tropical diseases impacted European children's lives and the lives of people around them. It considers the ways in which tropical diseases inflected the children's daily routines through the precautions that were taken against infection, and how this in turn impacted their understanding of the tropical environment in which they lived, and finally how the risks of tropical disease framed their lives through emotional experiences of illness and grief.

5.3.3 Death, Degeneration and Disease: Victorian Images of Africa

Amongst mobile British military populations in the nineteenth century, death from disease was far more serious than death in battle, and it was recorded that the death rates of soldiers in the tropics were at least twice that of soldiers who stayed at home (Curtin, 1989: xiii - 1). As such, Africa was created as 'a unique space, as a repository of death, disease, and degeneration' in the nineteenth

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[253] Patrick, lines 69-89, p. 3

century European mind (Vaughan, 1991: 2). In the latter half of the twentieth century Curtin wrote an article on the lingering image of Africa, and West Africa in particular, as 'The White Man's Grave', despite the existence of many medical and scientific advancements that defined the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Curtin, 1961: 94). Before it was discovered that hygiene was a defining factor of high death rates in tropical regions, and before diseases such as malaria were fully understood, it was believed that Europeans suffered ill health in the tropics due to the change in climate. Anderson (2006: 76) has called this the 'white man's climatic burden' as it was believed that white bodies needed to be "seasoned" or "acclimatised" into tropical environments (Curtin, 1989: 109).

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, doctors had reached the consensus that Europeans were unable to achieve true acclimatisation to a tropical climate (Collingham, 2001). Africa was, therefore, perceived as a place where only Africans could work, and where Europeans could "go out" for brief periods, albeit at considerable risk to their heath (Curtin, 1961: 94). It was believed that even if Europeans did survive long periods of time in the tropics, 'the adverse conditions of 'long continued' heat on the European body could not be prevented' (Collingham, 2001: 177). Some of the perceived 'symptoms' that were observed in Europeans who had stayed in the tropics for a long time were 'the loss of digestive activity, diminution of respiration, impoverishment of metabolism, and in some, a tiring of the blood that gives rise to nervousness of the sort one sees in local races' (Anderson, 2006: 77). This last point is particularly poignant, as blood and race were seen to be synonymous at the time, and any deterioration of European blood was seen as a deterioration of race (Collingham, 2001).

The notion that European blood deteriorated in tropical climates was a common belief among nineteenth century Europeans, who would allegedly suffer from symptoms such as pale and sallow skin. Although it can now be concluded that such symptoms were highly likely the result of parasitic diseases such as malaria or hook worm, the nineteenth century diagnosis of this was known as 'tropical anaemia' (Anderson, 2006: 85). D. H. Cullimore, who lived in India in the latter half of the nineteenth century, affirmed this belief that prolonged amounts time spent in India by Europeans, would result in racial deterioration and that he, or at any rate his children, would 'assume many of the mental, moral, and physical traits of the half-caste, and even of the native himself' (Collingham, 2001: 178).

This brings to attention the heightened anxieties that surrounded white children's bodies in tropical environments. Fears about children's health and the belief in the racial deterioration of Europeans in tropical climates, founded adult European attitudes and debates regarding the presence of white children in the tropics well into the twentieth century. Pomfret (2016: 22) found evidence of this in the colonial archives of British and French colonies in Asia, where children were described as "pallid and listless", drifting into weakly health from which they would never fully recover from the damage suffered. This belief in racial deterioration that was held by colonial adults was projected onto children who were born and raised in tropical environments, leading to the belief that children's physical rhythms would be accelerated by the heat of the tropics. It was feared that an early transition into adolescence, therefore ending childhood early, would consequently curtail a child's mental development:

> 'If European children came of age in tropical colonies the problem was they would never fully recapitulate. And environmentally acquired defects would become fixed flaws... [leaving European youth] racially and culturally marooned at an earlier stage of civilisational development than that of their metropolitan peers.' (Pomfret, 2016: 29)

Not only did this instil fear in European adults for their children's health, but also for the future of the colonies themselves. As Pomfret further reveals, children's assumed vulnerability to this notion of racial deterioration had the potential to undermine the "civilised" and "morally informed" rule that the children were called upon to demonstrate and embody. It was feared that the unruly European child would cause future implications for the Imperial rule of the colonies. This can be illustrated by comments made by Allan Lacey, the chairman for the select committee on European education in Nyasaland in 1933; "the effect on Africans of untrained and undisciplined white children could only be disastrous."[254] As such, adult colonial anxieties surrounding the well-being of white children's physical and mental health in the colonies, reveal a manifestation of the belief in racial degeneration of white bodies in tropical climates.

Against this backdrop, the following discussion seeks to shed light on European children's actual lived experiences of illness, the reality of death within

[254] Nyasaland Select Committee on European Education [1933] *A Report upon the Primary Education of European Children Resident in the Protectorate*, [Report] European Education – School in Blantyre, CO 525/148/16, p. 6, BNA, London

families, and the adult anxieties surrounding their children's health that impressed upon their daily lives. It seeks to show how these nineteenth century beliefs of racial degeneration, and the legacy of high death rates in the colonies, continued to inform colonial education policy in Nyasaland well into the twentieth century.

5.3.4 Tropical Disease and the Legacy of Infant Mortality

In the original manuscript of her memoirs, Emily Booth Langworthy wrote that missionaries at the Livingstonia Mission in Central Africa told her father that if he were to take his young daughter into the interior of Africa, he would 'be her murderer.'[255] This was toned down in the published version of her memoir, saying instead that he was told; 'she will die of malaria and you will dig her grave on the river's bank' (Booth Langworthy, 1950: 24). However, the severity of this strong warning was not unfounded. The high death rate among European soldiers in the tropics during the nineteenth century, was reflected among European children living in the tropics. Of the thirteen European children born between 1881 and 1891 in the Shire Highlands region – before Emily and her father journeyed up the Shire river in 1892 – five did not survive beyond the age of three.[256] Although this small sample may not be fully representative of children's chances of survival in Nyasaland in the late nineteenth century, it does translate to a very high 38% of child deaths. However, as the birth and death records for Nyasaland are incomplete, and many Europeans who lived on rural mission stations may not have even registered births and deaths during this time, this statistic may be quite inaccurate. In addition to this, some European children's gravestones are simply marked with their name, or even just 'baby' or 'infant', but with no accompanying date (figure 5.7). This makes it difficult to deduce accurate child mortality statistics for Europeans in a given time period, and suggests that the incidences of European child mortality at this time may have been even higher. Although infant

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[255] E. Booth Langworthy (1939-1952) *Into Africa with Father, This Africa was Mine,* [Book transcript] MS 2503/2(2) p. 51, EUL, Edinburgh

[256] This data was gathered from the surviving death and burial records that remain in the Society of Malawi Archives. See: SoM Photos, *Album 200 Registrar's volumes*, SoM, Blantyre and Box 036 *Burials*, SoM, Blantyre

mortality rates were still high in Britain in the late 1800s, they were significantly lower than in the tropical highlands of Nyasa. Hatton (2011: 961) suggests that infant mortality rates in the late nineteenth century in Britain averaged about 15% (approximately 150 deaths in every 1000 children under the age of one).

Figure 5.7 "The headstone of baby Eleanor May Browne; unmarked date of birth and death; below her name, the headstone reads 'Aged 11 months'" *Source:* Author's photographs, CCAP St Michael and All Angels Graveyard, Blantyre, 2016

Although Emily escaped death as a child in Nyasaland, she did not escape the predicted battle that she would endure with malaria. She describes a bout of malaria that she suffered from when she was about ten years old. With her father away, it was John (their African servant) who cared for her:

> 'The days were long with Father away. I was weak and sometimes half-delirious. Late one afternoon – it has, somehow, stayed clearly in my memory – I woke up and found that Father had not yet returned. Unreasoning panic possessed me. I got out of bed and went out-of-doors in my nightgown. I started to run down the path, calling for Father. My strength gave out and I fell in a heap. John, who had tried to restrain me, came and gently picked me up. He carried me in his arms and

laid me down on my cot. "You no cry, Miss Dot," he said, "your Father come back soon." I must have slipped off to sleep for a brief time, and when I woke up again in restless longing for Father, John was sitting on a packing box beside my camp cot. His soothing voice said, "I no leave you, Miss Dot. I stay till your Father come." I was comforted and at peace. Gradually I came out of my malaria.' (Booth Langworthy, 1950: 41)

Many European children and adults were not as fortunate as Emily, and did not survive attacks of malaria. When another European family of missionaries came to join her and her father at the Mitsidi mission station where they lived, Emily quickly made friends with their sons who were around the same age as her. She notes in her memoirs how she loved showing them around, taking them to the stream where there were roses and pineapples, and playing with them and her three pet rabbits. It wasn't long after the family's arrival that their youngest son, Arthur, fell ill. Unlike Emily, Arthur did not survive. He was buried at the Mitsidi mission site, just five hundred yards from the house in which they lived. Emily talked about the sorrow that settled over the mission site on the day of his funeral. At dinner that evening she recalled the 'presence of emotional stress [which] was almost a tangible thing' (p. 99).

When interviewed, Elisabeth talked about a similar feeling when her infant brother got ill with dysentery, albeit many decades later in Nyasaland. She said that she knew that he had died when she came out onto the *khonde* [veranda] and everyone was silent.[257] It was an event that cast a shadow over their family's life in Nyasaland, and clearly had a deep impact on both Elisabeth and her brother as children. Her brother William focussed on how much their brother's death had upset their mother, rather than talking about his own emotions, although it was clear that it brought back memories of a difficult time in his life. At the time the family were living in a very rural area of northern Nyasaland. When William returned to Malawi as a volunteer later on in his life, he went back there to find his infant brother's grave:

'I had a brother born in [northern Nyasaland], or well he was actually born in Lilongwe whilst we were living in [northern Nyasaland] in about 1952 I guess, but he died as a baby, probably 4 months, 5 months old and he's buried [there] and I- the grave I guess is lost now, but when I first went back on VSO [Voluntary Service Overseas] I did find the grave, and it had a proper headstone and so on.'[258]

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[257] Elisabeth, footnote to interview on p. 2
[258] William, lines 334-338, p. 11

A photograph in the Lyon family collection in the Society of Malawi's photographic archives, shows a lady who, like William, returned to Malawi with her own daughter to visit her still-born baby sister's grave (figure 5.8).

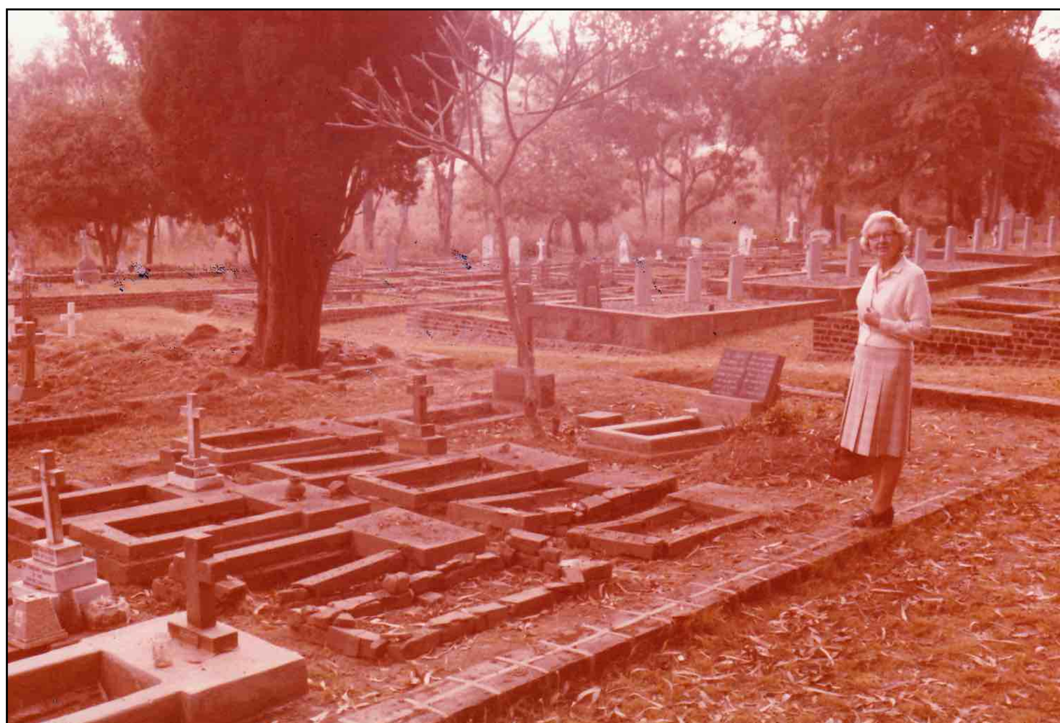

Figure 5.8 "Joyce Bailey in 1981, visiting the grave of her baby sister at the Blantyre Mission CCAP graveyard" *Source:* SoM (1981) *Joyce Bailey (nee Lyon) in the cemetery in the Blantyre Mission where her still-born sister was buried* [Photograph] SoM Photographs Lyon Family Mulanje, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

These small graves with miniature headstones that surround the burial site of Joyce's little sister, are undoubtedly the graves of other European infants and young children; children whose families often later returned 'home' to Europe, leaving them behind in Africa. Petersson (2016: 143) argues that cemeteries and graves are 'material expressions of grief that enable […] encounter and meaning making to take place', revealing that burial sites are as much spaces for the living as they are for the dead. It emerged that the inability for interviewees to visit the graves of their siblings caused feelings of separation through this absence of a tangible, material expression of their grief. Similar to William's recollection of the burial site of his baby brother, Emily Booth Langworthy wrote about the snapshots that would come to her much later – when living in America in the 1950s – of 'that very spot at Mitsidi in Nyasaland, where that dear brother of mine

is buried'[259] (p. 99). In this quotation she alludes to the vast distance that lies between her and her beloved brother's resting place.

Many research participants suffered the loss of siblings and family members. Some never had the opportunity to meet them, but lived in the knowledge of their absence. Harry talked about his uncle who passed away before he was born, and recalled how he had been named after him:

> 'Harry [uncle] […] was working in the roads department in- when he was- he died of black water fever[260] in Ntcheu and that was just- that was shortly before I was born in 1935, so I was named after him. […] but that just sort of shows you the associations with the country really, you know, I mean there are good things and the tragedies and sorrows that occur as well.'[261]

Although Harry never had the opportunity to meet his uncle, he grew up in the knowledge that – in a way – his own young life embodied the memory of his uncle, whose death exemplified the very 'tragedies and sorrows' that many Europeans associated with life in tropical climates. Another research respondent, George, also lost both his older brother and his grandfather to black water fever in 1931. They both died just ten days after he was born. His brother was only a year old when he died, and was buried in the Blantyre mission graveyard[262] alongside the many other European children who, over the decades of white presence in Nyasaland, also did not survive infancy.

At the time that Emily Booth was a child in Nyasaland in the late 1800s, very little was known about malaria or how best to treat it. In her memoirs she talks about the inevitable 'sorrow and death' that malaria brought to 'all settlements of white people,' and how 'nothing was known of the anopheles mosquito, nor of the need for protection against its sting.' She recalls that they took daily doses of quinine as a preventative measure and as treatment for malaria, but adds, 'it did not always cure' (p. 97). It was not until 1900 when Sir Patrick Manson, a Scottish physician, confirmed that mosquitos spread malaria that more effective preventative measures could be taken against the disease. At this point steps were taken to interrupt the cycle of the disease by draining

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[259] Here Emily is referring to the death and burial of her older brother 'Eddie' Edward Booth who died shortly after joining her and her father in Nyasaland when he was 18 years old.
[260] Black water fever is a complication of severe cases of malaria
[261] Harry, lines 132-137, p. 5
[262] SoM Archive, Box 036, *Burials CCAP Blantyre Newer records,* Entry 232

swamps, removing stagnant water from their surroundings (stagnant water acts as a breeding ground for mosquitos) and screening the windows of their houses to try and keep mosquitos out (Marcus, 2009). However, it wasn't until the Second World War that effective alternatives to quinine were available as prophylactics against the disease (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016). Despite these developments, European infant mortality in Nyasaland remained high in comparison to Britain. From the incomplete records that are available in the archives, it is possible to decipher that in the early 1920s infant mortality in Nyasaland, although lower than in previous decades, was still around 20%,[263] whereas in Britain around the same time it had dropped to less than 10% (Hatton, 2011: 959).

European children in Nyasaland lived with this legacy of high infant mortality and the effects that this had on them and their parents. Barbara remembered how her mother 'became very particular about malaria' after losing her first baby to the disease.[264] As such most of the research participants grew up with strict preventative measures against contracting malaria – as well as other diseases – which were built into their everyday routines.

5.3.5 Preventing Tragedy

Most participants described the task of taking prophylactic malaria tablets as a daily ritual. Cris described how she used to take Paludrine[265] for 'many many years' and that it was just there 'on the breakfast table.'[266] Mark recalled a similar experience and described his memory of taking the pills; 'we used to take our Paludrine everyday day, religiously, just rolled out across the table leaving a little white line [laughs].'[267] Bill, who was born in Malawi in the late 1930s remembered the days before tablets were available and recounted his experience of having to take quinine:

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[263] This figure was derived from the surviving birth and death records in the Malawi National Archives. This is an approximate figure of infant mortality (deaths before the age of 1). See: Nyasaland Government (1919-20) *Births and Deaths,* [Birth and death register] S1/567/19, MNA, Zomba, Malawi
[264] Barbara, lines 751-752, p. 24
[265] Paludrine is the brand name for *Proguanil hydrochloride,* which is an anti-malarial medicine which is taken daily.
[266] Cris, lines 961-971, p. 30
[267] Mark, lines 755-756, p. 24

> '…there was the ritual in the evening of quinine taking in the early stages, which was an awful taste, you had a tablespoon of the stuff and you had to drink it down solidly, so after bath time [laughs] you had to do this. But it wasn't an imposition, you realised that it was necessary.'[268]

Even as a child Bill remembers assuming an attitude of acceptance towards this daily undertaking. He remembered feeling the weight of the necessity that it carried and therefore, did not resist his obligation to take the medicine. Charles expressed a similar sentiment when he recalled the 'ghastly' taste of quinine, which they took 'religiously' every day with supper. He said that he was never happy to take it, but commented 'well, one had to.'[269] Julian also remembered quinine as 'vile tasting stuff', but equally he also understood that 'malaria was the big thing' and so he too resigned to taking it every day.[270] However, Julian also recalled the welcome change from drinking quinine to taking daily tablets instead:

> '…then Mepacrine came out, and that was considered great, a yellow pill but it made everybody a jaundiced yellow colour [laughs] but the Mepacrine was fine because then we didn't have to take quinine, and then after Mepacrine came Paludrine which was a white pill and Paludrine was great because that didn't make you yellow.'[271]

Even though children generally complied with taking prophylactic medication against malaria, it was not always effective. Despite diligently taking his medication, Julian said that he still got a bad bout of malaria, which only manifested itself once he had arrived at boarding school in Johannesburg in South Africa. He remembered spending at least a week in the school sanatorium before he was well enough to go back to classes. He recalled the physical symptoms and feelings of having malaria:

> 'I remember feeling very cold, and would spend my spare hours lying on a low stone wall at the side of the playground in an effort to keep warm. Finally one morning, I actually fell asleep in class after breakfast, and I was lifted from my desk and carried out by the teacher, and I still remember waking up as he reached the door. […] I went to see the matron at the school sanatorium, where she took my temperature, and immediately put me to bed.'[272]

Although he recovered after a week or so and was well enough to return to school activities, Julian remembered that he had visibly yellow skin from the sheer

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[268] Bill, lines 137-142, p. 5
[269] Charles, lines 459-478, p. 15
[270] Julian, lines 281-287, p. 9
[271] ibid.
[272] Julian, [u.d] *Can I carry your suitcase?* p. 62

volume of mepacrine that he had been given to combat the malaria. He recalled that this was a great source of amusement to the other boys at school. Joanna also recalled a time when her younger sister caught malaria, but only after her had parents fought a losing battle with her over taking Paludrine pills:

> 'My younger sister did have malaria because you know we- I just remember the Paludrines being stuck down our throats every day and my older sister Linda and I we just did as we told and took them, but she absolutely would not, and then they tried dissolving it in her orange squash that she took to school with her, but then because it made it taste bitter she didn't like it so, they didn't realise she was always giving it to a friend to drink and so she did get malaria.'[273]

Again, with the improvements in medication by the mid-twentieth century, Joanna's little sister survived the bout of malaria. However, this shed a stark reality of the disease over the family and Joanna expressed that malaria was 'continually a great worry to her parents.'[274]

It was not only the daily ritual of taking tablets that became part of children's everyday routines of disease prevention. Teresa pointed out the care that had to be taken not to get bitten, and added that everyone always slept under mosquito nets,[275] so much so that Linda commented upon the 'bizarre nakedness of beds when [they] got back to England.'[276] However, it was not only the threat of malaria that children were taught to guard themselves against. Other diseases that were prominent in the recollections of research participants include bilharzia,[277] sleeping sickness,[278] polio and rabies. Orestis remembered contracting bilharzia when he went to high school. Despite the fact that he grew up by Lake Malawi – where bilharzia is now a significant problem for local populations – he said that they were very unaware of the disease. He recalled that he only contracted bilharzia once he went to school in Blantyre and presumes that he 'picked it up from the rivers and hunting and so forth, but never from the lake.'[279] Cris

[273] Joanna, lines 570-576, p. 18
[274] ibid.
[275] Teresa, line 323, p. 8
[276] Linda, lines 164-165, p. 6
[277] Schistosomiasis (known as bilharzia) 'is an acute and chronic disease caused by parasitic worms […] People become infected when larval forms of the parasite – released by freshwater snails – penetrate the skin during contact with infested water. (WHO, 2017a)
[278] Human African Trypanosomiasis (known as sleeping sickness) is a parasitic disease transmitted to humans by the tsetse fly. Symptoms include fever, headaches, joint pain and itching. If left untreated it can reach a neurological stage, which results in 'changes of behavior, confusion, sensory disturbances and poor coordination.' (WHO, 2017b)
[279] Orestis, lines 310-312, p. 10

reiterated that in the 1950s there was no bilharzia in the lake, and said that it was later on when the population around the lakeshore grew, that it became a problem.[280] Rivers were more of a threat and Linda can remember being conscious of avoiding stagnant water, which was more likely to be infested by snails harbouring the parasite, and only paddling in streams where the water was flowing.[281] Mark expressed a similar notion when he talked about his awareness of bilharzia in the reservoir in Blantyre where they used to go sailing:

> '…but we were aware of bilharzia, my friend T.M I told you about, got bilharzia. So we were very aware of that, though we spent an awful lot of time in the water, and there were bits of our dam, the Mudi dam were we sailed, where we clearly knew not to go because of stagnant water and more likelihood [of bilharzia].'[282]

These two instances illustrate how European children developed understandings of tropical diseases and where and how they could be transmitted, and in response showed an ability to develop ways to avoid or reduce the risk of infection. This was easier in cases like bilharzia, where the disease could be associated with certain locations, i.e. bodies of infested water. However, it was a lot harder for children to develop strategies to avoid diseases like sleeping sickness and polio, which were both prevalent in Nyasaland in the early-mid twentieth century.

Although none of the participants had any personal or family experiences of sleeping sickness, it was another disease that presented a very tangible threat in the children's lives. Joanna remembers that there was 'quite a lot of talk about tsetse flies and sleeping sickness' and that 'tsetse flies were something they were always on the lookout for.'[283] Both, Julian and Elisabeth also recalled the government precautions that were taken to prevent the spread of the disease in rural areas of Nyasaland:

> 'We were aware of sleeping sickness, tsetse flies, but again when we were living in Salima, Salima was supposedly in a tsetse fly belt, we passed- I remember driving from Lilongwe to Salima there were these big houses that the cars would go in and the guy would go with a spray gun, trying to see if there were any flies […] I've been bitten by tsetse flies […] but not every tsetse fly carries sleeping sickness of course […] a tsetse fly bite is- it's a red hot needle going into you [laughs] it's pretty sore.'[284]

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[280] Cris, lines 999-1009, p. 31
[281] Linda, lines 166-167, p. 6
[282] Mark, lines 749-753, p. 24
[283] Joanna, lines 605-607, p. 19
[284] Julian, lines 293-301, p. 10

Elisabeth also described how, when they went on journeys through Nyasaland, they went from 'province to province being decontaminated' by driving through a large corrugated iron structure. She remembered that 'you would drive in, and the doors would be closed and the car would be sprayed […] decontaminated, the whole car- underneath, wheels, tyres and then you would drive out at the other side. I suppose a bit like a car wash.'[285] It was physical experiences such as this – that were associated with specific diseases – that made the disease of sleeping sickness more tangible to the children. These physical methods of disease prevention affirmed the existence of certain diseases in the children's lives and contributed to their awareness of them.

In a similar way, the visible, physical manifestations of diseases in other people contributed to children's heightened awareness of how disease could affect their own lives. Linda recalled that she *knew* polio could affect her because there was a child at her school who had a paralysed leg as a result of it. When there was a polio scare in Nyasaland, she and her sisters took courses of a 'new anti-polio drug on sugar lumps.'[286] Two of the research participants actually became infected with the virus as children and Patrick recalled his experience of this as a child:

> 'When I was four, just before I had started school, I got polio, and I was probably caught up in the last sort of polio epidemic, and I got polio in this arm, and I remember […] we were walking home with my mother […] going home for dinner I guess, and I was having difficulty with something and I remember my mother said, "well lift your arm" and so I lifted it and she said "well put it over your head" and I couldn't, and anyway shortly after that I was diagnosed with polio- and I was very fortunate, there was a physiotherapist, a doctor I think Dr Smith, a woman, and I was handed over to her and she used to put my arm through the most strenuous and sometimes painful exercises. And then I went, we went back to England on a plane in 1953, on what was called "home leave", and I had to have my arm in a special sling before I set off for that, […] an aeroplane sling [laughs] anyway I got over it.'[287]

Another participant suffered longer lasting effects of the disease and consequently still lives with restricted mobility, although this has never hindered her lifelong love of horse-riding and a career in farming.[288]

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[285] Elisabeth, lines 943-957, p. 29
[286] Linda, lines 169-171, p. 6
[287] Patrick, lines 199-213, p. 7
[288] An & Jayne, line 242, p. 8

Rabies was another disease that was prevalent in the memories of research participants. Joanna commented that it was 'right up there' with being something that the European community were extremely vigilant of, and as children they were brought up to be very wary of dogs that they didn't know.[289] This was echoed throughout the interviews, and rabies emerged from the recollections as a real fear among European communities. Hugh said that his father refused to even have dogs on the farm when he was growing up,[290] and Harry recalled that rabies was *always* a danger around their farm, and that you would never pet a dog that you did not know.[291] John said that rabies was probably the 'biggest threat that [the children] ever thought of because there were stray dogs around and you know, you'd never touch a dog.' He went on to explain how you had 'tie ups' which meant that you had to keep your dog tied up otherwise it would be considered a stray and would be shot.[292] Despite these precautions and the heightened awareness of rabies that permeated the European community in Nyasaland, two participants were bitten by dogs as children and had to have injections to prevent any likelihood of infection. Richard remembered how his mother refused to take any chances when a stray dog bit him. They were not sure if the dog was rabid or not, but his mother took him straight to hospital in Blantyre to have the injections in his stomach. Teresa also recalled having to go for injections after being bitten:

> 'In those days you had 28 injections if you were bitten by a dog or an animal they suspected was rabid, and in fact if you were bitten by anything they just assumed it was rabid, because by the time they found out if it was or not, if you hadn't had some kind of protection you probably were infected, but you had injections usually in the stomach, then as time went on, before I left, they narrowed it down to fourteen […] I mean I remember having sort of seven in each thigh.'[293]

Teresa was also in Malawi when a girl who was at St. Andrews, the European secondary school in Blantyre, died from rabies and remembered it as a 'horrible, horrible time.'[294]

Despite the prevalence of disease in Nyasaland, and the children's personal experiences of illness, death and the constant precautions taken against getting

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[289] Joanna, lines 612-614, p. 19
[290] Hugh, lines 354-355, p. 11
[291] Harry, lines 905-908, p. 28
[292] John, lines 253-264, pp. 8-9
[293] Teresa, lines 381-387, p. 12
[294] ibid., line 377, p. 12

sick, participants emphasised that as children they did not worry about their health. Cris articulated this, saying 'we never ever thought we might catch malaria or whatever. If you caught malaria, you caught malaria.'[295] This matter of fact attitude was consistent throughout the interviews, and the *awareness* of diseases that all of the participants talked about, did not translate into feelings of fear. On the contrary, children sometimes showed a complete disregard for health risks as in the case of Giancarlo and his sister:

> 'I can't say that we were very careful about it, I mean I remember we used to spend a lot of time at the lake, but I remember we used to have competitions to see who could have the most mosquito bites, because my sister used to attract mosquitos a lot and so did I- and I remember we used to have 30 or 40 bites, "how many have you got?", "No I've got more" [laughs] "I'm going to go and get another few".'[296]

Joanna said with regards to health, 'that wasn't our worry, that was our parent's worry [...] I don't remember myself being the remotest bit worried about anything.'[297]

It is evident that children's health *was* a prominent preoccupation of colonial adults' anxieties. Parental worries about the physical and mental effects of bringing children up in tropical climates extended to the level of state policy. In the 1930s it was compulsory for children attending the European primary schools in the protectorate to undergo regular health inspections. The purpose of these health checks was not only to check the physical health of the child and to stop the spread of disease, but also to assess the mental development of European children in Nyasaland:

> 'The inspection is required so that definite information may be available not only on the subject of the general health of European children but also on their educational capabilities as compared with those of children in non-tropical countries. Their physical condition must react upon their intellectual capabilities and we can scarcely judge the latter without knowledge of the former.'[298]

Informed by earlier nineteenth century ideas about the damaging effects of tropical climates for Europeans (as outlined earlier in section 5.3.3), this led to government policy that encouraged European parents to send their children out

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[295] Cris, lines 951-953, p. 30
[296] Giancarlo, lines 896-901, p. 28
[297] Joanna, lines 568-569 & lines 592-593, pp. 18-19
[298] Lacey, E. (1932) *Letter to the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, Zomba, from E. Lacey, Director of Education* [Letter] S1/1229/30 p. 5, MNA, Zomba, Malawi,

of Nyasaland by at least the age of eleven and to have them educated in a more temperate climate.[299] As such the Protectorate government refused to provide secondary education for European children in Nyasaland for health reasons.[300] This policy persisted until 1953 when the Director of Medical Services in Nyasaland finally declared that it 'need no longer be injurious to the health of European children to take their secondary education in Blantyre,' and plans were made for the construction of a secondary school.[301] This policy – that was only reversed in the last decade of the Protectorate years – resulted in common practices of sending European children away to boarding school from as young as six years old; the impacts of which are examined in the following chapter.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter considers how European children interacted with the natural environment that framed their everyday lives growing up in Nyasaland. It has sought to uncover how the colonial children's relationships with the African landscape contributed to their understandings of the world around them and the negotiation and construction of their identities and their sense of belonging.

Through exploration of children's tactile sensory engagements with the African environment, this chapter shows how European children gained unique knowledge of their environments, and how they used and negotiated the outdoor space around them to create their own *places* to which they attached their own meanings. This demonstrates how children were able to exercise agency, and make and unmake space according to their own needs and wishes at different times and places. This analysis of European children's sensory experiences of the African outdoors reveals the construction of a close relationship with the African natural environment that often contradicted the European context of their family life, and the 'imagined' environments of their parents' homelands.

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[299] Nyasaland Government [1938] *Report of the Education Department for the year 1938* [Government report] SoM Box 102 Education No. 25 p. 15, Blantyre, Malawi

[300] Nyasaland Protectorate Post-War Development Committee (1925) *Interim Report No.2 – Education* [Report] SoM Box 102 Education No. 32 p. 1, Blantyre, Malawi

[301] Nyasaland Government (1954) *Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Year ended 31st December, 1953* [Government Report] SoM, Box 102 Education No. 9 p. 10, Blantyre Malawi

The exploration of European children's tangible and intangible play activities, and their consequent interaction with new social and cultural spaces, provides an example of the postcolonial notion of a 'third space' in which the presumed homogeneity of children's European identities was undermined, contradicted and hybridised. European children began to negotiate space independently and to their own advantage, expressing a resultant cultural hybridity, which developed largely outside of the structures of white adult authority. As such, European children experienced the natural environment of Africa in a unique way, and attached meanings of belonging to the physical landscape in which they grew up.

This chapter reveals how European children straddled spaces between African and European cultures, and shows how their recreational spaces of everyday play began to shape their understandings of the world within which they existed and the construction of their own cultural identities. Their tactile sensory experiences with the natural world around them resulted in their close relationships with the African landscape, which reflects their hybrid senses of belonging as they grew up.

However, these positive recreational and cultural experiences of the African outdoors were inflected by the simultaneous dangers presented by the natural environment. The second half of this chapter provides a counter-narrative to the often-nostalgic European narratives of colonial life growing up in Africa. It considers how the perceived dangers of wildlife and tropical diseases impacted upon children's everyday lives. It found that children were acutely aware of the dangers posed to them, but that this often did not translate into a fear of the outdoors, nor did it tend to restrict their mobility during the day. However, these anxieties were largely associated with the night, and European children were often set time parameters about when they could go outside, with strict instructions to be home by dusk. This illustrates the observation that anxieties over children's welfare and health were largely held by European adults, and not by the children themselves. Although children were acutely aware of the risks posed to them by the environment, it was the precautions put in place by adults that impinged most upon their young lives. This ranged from taking routine preventative medication, to the extremes of sending children away to boarding

schools located in places that were considered to be less 'hazardous' to children's health.

For European children, the decision to send them away to boarding school meant a separation from their home environment, and everything that was familiar to them. Even where children stayed in Nyasaland for their primary education, they were often sent to white European boarding schools in the bigger towns. This meant an upheaval from the environment with which they were so familiar, and led to their experiencing new environments across the context of the British empire and often back in Britain. Many children had to travel across large expanses of empire, sometimes for weeks, just to get to school, and some would do the journey up to three times a year to go home in the school holidays. This gave the children a strong sense of the scale of empire as they processed the long journeys that connected them from one colony to another, or back to the British metropole itself. It gave them a sense of the variegated environmental context of empire as they traversed it and attended schools in new places. Many would have to stopover in other countries before catching their next mode of transport which led to close encounters with the environments of other British colonies, and which contributed to their spatial understandings of empire. The next chapter will consider the impact of this distant, segregated colonial education on European children who grew up in Nyasaland, both for those who remained in the Protectorate and for those who left to be educated abroad.

Chapter Six

6. A White Colonial Education

6.1 Introduction: Education as a Colonial Tool for Racial Socialisation

In the chapter of Maryse Condé's autobiographical novel *Le cœur à rire et à pleurer* [Tales from the heart] (1999) entitled 'School Days', she describes a particular incident at school in France that exposed her to her own conflicted identity; something that she would go on to explore and write about throughout her literary career. As a young black Antillean girl, Maryse's understanding of her identity was thrown into disarray by a white French assimilationist education. This chapter will consider the parallel, yet contrasting, experiences of white children in Empire, and how an ethnocentric, segregationist European education also interfered with the construction of young white identities. Although Maryse's experiences cannot be directly compared with those of white children in Empire,

her story provides a foundation upon which to discuss imperial attitudes towards education, and the resulting conflicted and complex identities housed in all children who encountered colonial schooling.

Maryse grew up on the island of Guadeloupe, in the French Antilles, in the 1940s and 50s, and was the daughter of wealthy parents who were proud members of the black bourgeoisie. Her father was a *fonctionnaire colonial* [an official in the French colonial service], and consequently was granted regular trips to France, the *Métropole*, with his family. It was during one of these trips that Maryse was confronted with an uncomfortable truth that threw her sense of 'self' into disarray. She was thirteen years old and was enrolled in a French school, the *Lycée Fénelon*, for the duration of the family's stay in France. Leading up to the end of her time at school a well-meaning teacher had an idea and proposed that Maryse give the class a presentation of a book from her island. She recalls that this well-intentioned proposition plunged her into a 'deep quandary' (Condé & Philcox, 2001: 974). Her French assimilationist education had left her with little knowledge of Antillean literature, and she did not know of an author that she could speak about. Faced by this pressing dilemma she turned to her older brother, an aspiring writer himself, for help. After a long search, Maryse and her brother came across *La Rue Cases-Nègres* [Black Shack Alley] (1950) by Martiniquan author Joseph Zobel. After concluding that Martinique was, after all, the sister island of Guadeloupe, Maryse decided to read and present this novel to her French class at the lycée. Little did she know at the time that this semi-autobiographical novel, about a Martiniquan boy named José Hassam, would provoke in her young mind a political awakening that would shape the rest of her life. She describes the book as:

> '…the story of one of those little ragamuffins my parents dreaded so much, who grows up on a sugar-cane plantation amid the pangs of hunger and deprivation. While his mother hires herself out to some white Creoles in town he is brought up with many a sacrifice by his grandmother, Mama Tine, a cane bundler in a dress quilted with patches. His only escape route is education. Fortunately he is intelligent.' (Condé & Philcox, 2001: 975)

Entranced by José's story, Maryse was exposed to a world in the Caribbean that was so far removed from her own that she found the whole story 'exotic' and 'surreal.' All at once she was confronted with a narrative of 'slavery, the slave trade, colonial oppression [and] the exploitation of man by man,' (p. 975) which

nobody had ever talked to her about. She remembers that she was frightened of admitting to her teacher and her classmates that the ‘real’ Caribbean, the Caribbean of José Hassam, was one that she did not know. Feeling immense outside pressure to identify with the Antillean literature that she was bringing before her class, she succumbed to expectations and ‘dressed up’ in the identity of José, her newfound hero. She recalled that she ‘gave a dazzling presentation in front of the whole class, leaving them spellbound’ (p. 976). However, for Maryse the presentation left her with a new and stark awareness of the milieu of society to which she belonged; ‘I had become bleached and whitewashed, and because of it, a poor imitation of the little French children I hung out with. I was a "black skin, white mask" and Frantz Fanon was going to write his book with me in mind’ (p. 976).

Maryse Condé’s account of her experiences of colonial French assimilationist education and its effect on her identity, are echoed in the writing of other postcolonial authors who have spoken back against the ‘whitewashed’ European colonial education to which colonised children were subjected. As Condé points out, in 1952 – around the same time as her own experiences that took place in school in Paris – Fanon himself would write about the conflicting identities housed in black people who received a Western colonial education. As the title of the book suggests – *Black Skin, White Masks* – Fanon openly confronts the situation of black people in whom the ‘inferiority complex has taken root’ and the assimilationist effort of colonial policy has dispossessed them of their ‘local cultural originality’, causing them to reject their blackness and become ‘whiter’ (Fanon, 2008: 2-3).

Okoth (1993) has written about this phenomenon in the colonial African context of Uganda, which was colonised by the British in 1894. He argues that the imperial school curriculum in Uganda was propaganda of the colonial state, and was used to disenfranchise African Ugandans of their cultural heritage, and create hierarchical divides between those who were educated and those who were not. He goes as far as to say that ‘the self-image of black Ugandans derived from the colonial experience of education was such that they were British in all but colour’ (p. 143). He does stress, however, that even those Ugandans who did not directly experience colonial education were not immune from the influences of colonisation, and that in order for colonialism to be effective, it was necessary to

colonise and 'civilise' the minds of Africans to think and behave like Englishmen. In response to this cultural and linguistic oppression, Ngugi wa Thiong'o also published a collection of essays called *Decolonising the Mind* in 1994. These essays candidly speak of his own experience of intellectual and linguistic colonisation in Kenya, and call for Africans to reject the languages of colonising countries (particularly English), and to write in African languages instead in order to maintain the identity and dignity of African arts and culture.

Education clearly played an important role in both the British and French Empires, and was used by the colonisers in their attempts to 'civilise' and control colonised people. In doing so, the French approached African education from an assimilationist point of view, which aimed to create 'a [black] elite cherishing metropolitan values', whereas British colonial policy emphasised the notion of 'cultural adaption', which claimed to adjust colonial institutions to 'suit' local political and social contexts, and consequently create a group of educated Africans who would still be 'rooted in their own culture' (Clignet & Foster, 1964: 191). Despite the fact that British and French colonial education policy differed in theory, the contrasts between the two system's policies have often been exaggerated (ibid.). As has been illustrated in the previous discussion, contemporary postcolonial voices confirm that, in the end, both systems had the same effect of Fanon's 'white masks' and resulted in the disenfranchisement of indigenous African identities. As such, the role of education in Empire has attracted much academic attention and has rightly become a significant debate in the field of postcolonial studies. This body of literature has mainly focused on the imperial school curriculum as an integral and effective source of political power and socialisation of black children in the colonies, and as the cause of complex and layered identities that *colonised* children developed under its influence (See Achebe, 2009; Bude, 1983; Mangan, 1982; Mangan, 1993; Mart, 2011; Windel, 2009).

However, the case of European children's education in white European schools in the colonies has received far less academic attention, and has not yet featured in postcolonial debates on colonial education policy. This is likely due to the conflation of European children in the colonies with their contemporary peers in the European metropoles, and the consequent presumption that they simply received a European education abroad. This is not an unfounded assumption to

make, as many of the schools followed European (mostly British) curriculums. It is, therefore, highly probable that European children in British colonies were exposed to the kinds of children's literature and the same imperial textbooks that were being circulated in schools in Britain. Bratton (1986) and Maddrell (1996) have both contributed important work on the presence of empire propaganda in children's literature and school textbooks in the UK, whilst Pamela Horn (1988) has considered the patriotic imperialist propaganda that influenced elementary teaching in Britain before the First World War. However, none of the aforementioned work has considered the impact of such pedagogy in British schools in the colonies. This chapter argues that the educational experiences of European children who lived in Nyasaland, both for those who stayed in Africa for their schooling and for those who were sent 'home' to their family's country of origin, are distinct from those of their contemporaries in Europe.

This chapter highlights the importance of European children's voices in postcolonial debates surrounding colonial education policy, and the new and unusual perspective that their experiences reveal in terms of twentieth-century imperial ideologies and ambitions for the future of the British Empire. It endeavours to show the psychosocial impact of a colonial education on the construction of white colonial children's identities, and how this manifested itself in their daily lives.

In doing so, it firstly considers the provision – or lack thereof – of education for European children living in Nyasaland, and secondly, it explores the consequent experiences of children's long journeys to and from school, and the impact of long periods of separation from family and their home environment in Nyasaland. The chapter continues by exploring their experiences of attending racially segregated schools, and how this induced a conscious awakening to the ethno-class hierarchies (including those amongst Europeans) that structured the colonial society they were living in. Finally, it exposes the 'assimilationist' aspects of British colonial education in European schools in Africa that promoted a white imperial mindset founded on British values. This chapter in no way suggests that the assimilation of black children into European cultures can be compared with that of white colonial children's experiences, but it does suggest some parallels that have emerged between the two systems of black and white education in Africa; where black children's identities were negated, white children's identities

were exaggerated; where African culture was repressed, British culture was celebrated; where black children were made to feel inferior, white children were instilled with a superiority complex.

The British education system specialised in making and breaking identities, and this was no different among white children for whom colonial education policy also had a clear agenda. European schools in the colonies attempted to make white children even 'whiter', but as this chapter will reveal it was not that straightforward. The presumed homogeneity of white children's identities and allegiance to British and European countries was significantly overestimated, and many children who were uprooted from their lives in Nyasaland and sent to school elsewhere struggled to relate to the British education that they went on to receive. Consequently, this chapter argues that education had a significant and complex impact on young white colonial children's identities that has not yet been fully acknowledged.

6.2 Educating European Children: A Colonial Predicament

6.2.1 The State of Education in Early-Mid Twentieth Century Nyasaland

The report of the Education Department of Nyasaland for the year 1939 declares that, 'the history of education in Nyasaland is the history of the missions.' [302] Despite the fact that the Department of Education had been established in 1925, some 14 years earlier, the report states that there was still only one educational institution in the Protectorate that was operated directly by the Education Department. This was a unique case as most schools were run by missionaries of various Christian denominations that were active in Nyasaland, and were subsidised by a 'grants-in-aid' scheme from the Protectorate Government. This was no different in the case of white children. There was no direct Government provision of education for European children in the Protectorate, and the first private and missionary primary schools for European children only opened in the early 1920s.

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[302] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1940] *Report of the Education Department for the Year 1939*, The Government Printer, Zomba, Nyasaland [Report] Box 102 Education, p. 3, Malawi, SoM

By 1926 there were 264 European children living in the protectorate, of whom 69 were of school age, being over the age of five, and only 59 were registered at schools within the country.[303] During the next year the number of school-aged children grew, and over 100 children were enrolled in the four schools that offered primary education to European children in Nyasaland.[304] Two of these schools were established by mission organisations and the other two were small private initiatives. The largest mission school was in Limbe, and was founded by the Marist Fathers Catholic mission, and run by five European nuns. This school was called *La Sagesse* but was commonly referred to by interviewees as 'The Convent.' This was arguably the first school in Nyasaland for European children, as the mission proposed the opening of a school to the government as early as 1920 and it was then opened a year later.[305] The other missionary school that was in existence by the mid 1920s was founded by the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, and catered mainly for Afrikaans children. It was known as *Mkhoma School* and was situated near the southern shores of Lake Malawi, near the Dutch South African mission station. This remained a small school throughout its existence, and a number of years later in 1933 it still only had 32 pupils enrolled.[306] The other two schools were privately run by European individuals who were resident in the country. The first of these schools was a small school of around 20 pupils, run by a lady called Mrs Dally in Zomba. However, the larger of the two was situated in Blantyre, and was founded and run by Mr Wratten and his wife. This school was established in 1925, but came under criticism from parents and later the Education Department, who considered its facilities inadequate.[307] In 1926 the school had 43 pupils enrolled but only a year later it had dropped its numbers by half. The reason for this reduction in student numbers was two-fold,

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[303] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1929] *Letter to Mr Green outlining the situation of European Education in Nyasaland* [Government correspondence], European Education, p. 2, CO 525/131/14, London, BNA [There is evidence to suggest that the other 10 or 11 (there is a slight discrepancy in the numbers recorded) of these children were being sent to schools outside of the protectorate, see; Nyasaland Government Correspondence [1930] *European Education*, [Correspondence] CO 525/138/5, London, BNA)
[304] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1929] *Letter to Mr Green*, p. 3
[305] Marist Fathers [1919] *Letter from Marist Fathers proposing a European school in Limbe*, [correspondence] Education Facilities in Nyasaland, S1/679/19, MNA, Zomba, Malawi
[306] Nyasaland Select Committee on European Education [1933] *A Report upon the Primary Education of European Children Resident in the Protectorate*, [Report] European Education – School in Blantyre, CO 525/148/16, p. 17, London, BNA
[307] ibid.

firstly, the school had run into some financial difficulties, and secondly, Mr Wratten had come into public conflict with one of Nyasaland's 'influential families.'[308] It was not long afterwards that the government decided to give 'block grants' to the existing schools in order to financially 'bolster up' the provision of primary education for European children.[309]

However, European parents in Nyasaland were dissatisfied with the unregulated and inadequate levels of primary education offered by these institutions. Furthermore, the only school that offered boarding facilities was the Convent at Limbe, and a number of parents expressed views that they did not want their children attending a Catholic school.[310] As early as 1926 – not long after the Education Department was founded in Nyasaland in 1925 – parents began petitioning for a government school for European children. In 1929 the *Nyasaland Times* newspaper reported the on-going lack of centralised European education provided by the government as, 'the crying need of this country.' Their argument being that education needed to 'go beyond the 3 R's' and that 'the boy must be self-reliant, self-controlled, [and] impressed with the responsibility of his position…'.[311] This was a common argument used by the European community for better provision of education for their children, and which was later also employed by Hubert Young, Governor of Nyasaland, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1933. He unsuccessfully petitioned London for funds for a European school in Nyasaland claiming that:

> 'The full development of the protectorate in the interests of all concerned, natives as well as non-natives, depends on the presence of an intelligent and educated European community, it follows that I consider the promotion of the education of the European children resident in the protectorate of vital importance.'[312]

However, the British government in London was unwilling to fund a state primary school in the Protectorate and further refused to provide or support any education within Nyasaland for European children above the age of twelve. A

[308] Nyasaland Government Correspondence [1930] *European Education*, p. 2, [Correspondence] CO 525/138/5, London, BNA
[309] ibid., p. 18
[310] ibid., p. 72
[311] The Nyasaland Times [1929] *European Education*, [Newspaper Article] European Education, CO 525/131/14, London, BNA; This quotation highlights the gender implications of colonial attitudes towards education. This will be explored in more detail later in the chapter.
[312] Hubert Young [1933] *Letter from Governor of Nyasaland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies,* [Correspondence] European Education, p. 43, CO 525/148/15, London, BNA

number of reasons can be extracted to explain this uncompromising response. Firstly, it was the policy of the government 'to leave elementary education in the hands of the missionary societies so far as is possible.'[313] Secondly, this stance was justified through reasons of health (as described in the previous chapter), as it was still commonly believed that children would endure 'physical and mental retardation due to prolonged residence [in a tropical climate].'[314] To this effect, in 1932 the government instituted the systematic inspection, by medical officers, of all European children attending school (as highlighted in section 5.3.5 of the previous chapter), in order to 'provide adequate recorded evidence as to the effect of climate upon children in Nyasaland.'[315] In 1930 the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services in Nyasaland reinforced the attitude that children's prolonged residence in Nyasaland would be detrimental to their health, when he commented that:

> 'It may be that there are parents who cannot afford to send their children to a non-tropical country for education and whilst it may be considered advisable to make some provision for those who are in this unfortunate position, I do not think that those who possibly can send their children to a non-tropical country should in any way be encouraged to educate them in Nyasaland over the age of 8 or 9 years'.[316]

This quotation points towards the third and final reason that the British government was unwilling to increase local provision of education for European children. There is evidence to suggest that the government held strong views about the class of settlers that they were willing to accommodate in Nyasaland. It was suggested in 1930 that the provision of increased educational facilities for Europeans would encourage the 'wrong type of settler' to move with their families to the protectorate:

> 'It cannot be denied that the prospects for the small man (the kind of man who cannot send his children out of the protectorate for their education) are not encouraging. The settler of this class is in fact a liability to Nyasaland at present and we do not want to increase his numbers. […] It may be that the mere fact that there is no government school for European children has the salutary effect of discouraging the immigration of people of small means; if so, the proposal to establish a government school, even on the small scale now proposed, is open to objection.'[317]

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[313] Nyasaland Government Correspondence [1930] *European Education*, p. 17
[314] Hubert Young [1933] *Letter to Secretary of State for the Colonies,* p. 45
[315] ibid.
[316] Nyasaland Government Correspondence [1930] *European Education*, p. 71
[317] ibid., p. 10

However, by 1933 the numbers of European children below the age of 16 had risen to 316. Of these children 181 were considered to be of school age (between 5 and 15 years old), revealing that the number of European children in the Protectorate had more than doubled since the establishment of the Education Department in 1926.[318] It would appear, despite the government's best efforts, that the number of families struggling to find the funds to send their children to be educated outside of the country, was also growing. Additionally, many of the existing European settlers had been affected by the great depression of the 1930s. In fact, by this stage a number of families were writing to the Protectorate government asking for financial assistance to send their children to school both within and outside of Nyasaland. In 1932 a settler father wrote to the government in Zomba asking for assistance to send his seven year old son to a school in Northern Rhodesia, and stated in his letter that, "owing to the present all round depression, I find myself unable to keep him [in school] without assistance…".[319]

These factors resulted in mounting pressure on the government to provide local state education, as the demand from parents who were struggling financially, and the population of European children increased. In response to the growing pressure, and Hubert Young's plea as Governor of Nyasaland for greater provision of European education in the Protectorate, a letter from Downing Street in 1933 agreed to give the government in Nyasaland a set amount of financial assistance that was to be allocated among European families who were unable to afford their children's school fees.[320] In 1934 this was made official through a bursary scheme introduced by the Nyasaland government, which was aimed at supporting European children between the ages of 11 and 15 years to go to school in Southern Rhodesia (also a British colony which had far more educational provision than Nyasaland did at the time). In conjunction with this scheme the government in Southern Rhodesia agreed to remit the school fees of European children from Nyasaland, and to charge them the same boarding fees as were paid by local white

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[318] Nyasaland Select Committee on European Education [1933] *A Report upon the Primary Education of European Children,* p. 32

[319] G.B Chevallier [1932] *Letter to the Director of Education in Nyasaland requesting financial aid for school fees,* [correspondence] European Education: Remission of school fees and grants in aid of European schools, p. 3, S1/86/32, Malawi, MNA

[320] British Government [1933] *Letter from Downing Street to Governor of Nyasaland,* [correspondence] European education in Nyasaland, p. 18, S1/1587^{II}/27, Malawi, MNA

Rhodesian families. In 1939, the Education Department in Nyasaland commented that without this 'friendly' gesture from Southern Rhodesia the education of European children in Nyasaland 'would present an extremely grave problem.'[321]

At this point, some 70 children (most of whom were over the age of 10) from Nyasaland were attending European schools in Southern Rhodesia of whom 54 were taking advantage of free school fees and were enrolled as boarders in Rhodesian government schools.[322] A number of European children from Nyasaland were also attending schools in South Africa and Europe, although this was not subsidised by the government. By this time, the Church of Scotland mission had also set up a new school in Blantyre in 1938, called St. Andrews. This school replaced Mr Wratten's school that had been struggling financially for many years. The level of involvement that the government had in this school is unclear, although it appears to have received more assistance than other primary schools in the protectorate.[323] Consequently, St. Andrews later grew to be the largest and most successful European school in Nyasaland, but only as late as 1957 was it actually extended to become a secondary school as well.[324] This was only after the Director of Medical Services in Nyasaland declared in 1953, that it was no longer considered dangerous to European children's health to stay in the Protectorate beyond the age of 12.[325]

These circumstances surrounding the provision of education for European children in Nyasaland led to the normalisation of children being sent away to school, often in other countries, prior to the late 1950s. This resulted in European children's common experiences of long journeys to and from school and extended periods of separation from their families and homes in Nyasaland. The following sections will explore their experiences of traveling such long distances, often on

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[321] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1940] *Nyasaland Protectorate Report of the Education Department for the year 1939*, p. 3

[322] ibid.

[323] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1939] *Report of the Education Department for the year 1938*, [Report], Education, p. 16, Box 102, Malawi, SoM

[324] St Andrew's High School [1961] *St Andrew's High School Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 3,* [Periodical] p. 3, Malawi, MNA

[325] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1954] *Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Year ended 31st December, 1953,* [Report] Education, p. 10, Box 102, Malawi, SoM

their own, and the impact of leaving home at such young ages to go to boarding schools, located both within and outside of the Protectorate.

6.2.2 Journeys to and from School

Alongside the bursaries that European families received to send their children to school, they also benefitted from reduced train fares granted to children travelling to and from school in Southern Rhodesia.[326] At the beginning and end of school terms, children would all board the train together, such that this particular service run by the railways became known as 'the school train.' Barbara was one of the children who travelled on the school train to Southern Rhodesia in the early 1940s. She went to school in Umtali (now Mutare, Zimbabwe) and recalled in her interview that it took them two days on the train (including two overnight journeys) to reach her school. She would leave Limbe with her brothers at midday on Saturday, and reach the port town of Beira in Portuguese East Africa (now the Republic of Mozambique) at around six o'clock the next morning. The children would then spend the whole of Sunday in Beira and board the train again in the evening, along with the Portuguese children who were also travelling to school in Southern Rhodesia. They then travelled overnight from Beira to Umtali, and arrived at their destination on Monday morning. At this point Barbara, her brothers and the other children who attended their school would disembark from the train. Barbara commented that they were lucky because Umtali was the first stop in Southern Rhodesia.[327] The children who went to schools in Salisbury (now Harare), Gwelo (now Gweru) and Bulawayo would stay on the same train and carry on their journey further inland. The distances that the children travelled to school in Southern Rhodesia therefore ranged between approximately 600 and 1000 miles (see figure 6.1).

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[326] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1940] *Nyasaland Protectorate Report of the Education Department for the year 1939*, p. 3
[327] Barbara, lines 405-426, pp. 13-14

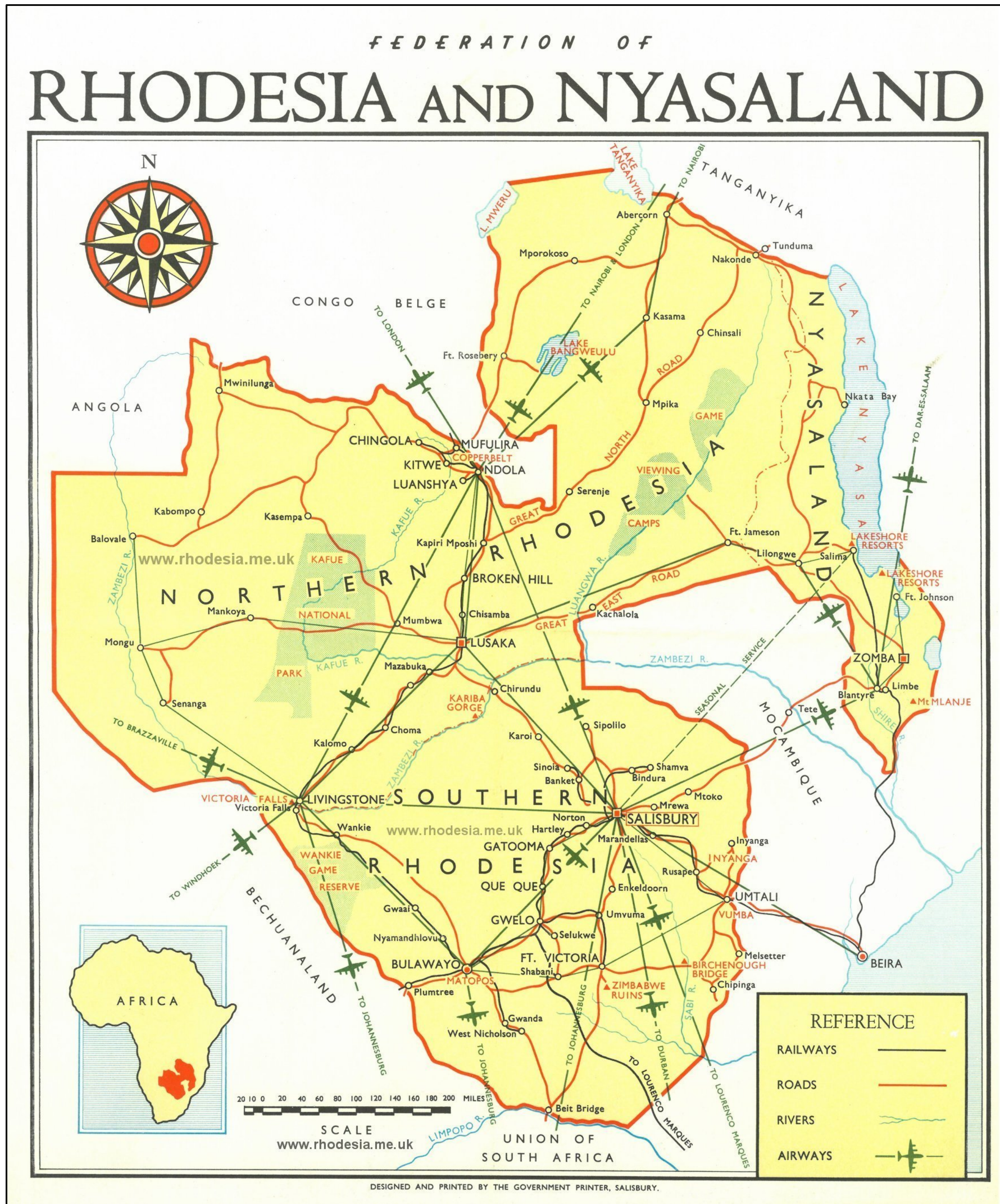

Figure 6.1 "Map showing Railway routes c. 1953-63 (shown by the black line on map) from Nyasaland to various locations of European schools in Southern Rhodesia, via Beira in Portuguese East Africa (now Mozambique)" *Source:* Federation Government Map [1953-1963] *Rhodesia & Nyasaland Rail Map* http://www.rhodesia.me.uk/images/Rhodesia_and_Nyasaland_Map_final3.jpg [Accessed on: 30/08/17]

Harry also described his journeys to and from Umtali Boys High School, which included an extra day and night of travel before beginning the journey with all the other children in Limbe. He recalled how his journey began from Mapale, in the north of Nyasaland, and described the route that he and his brother took to get to school in Umtali a few days later:

> '…first of all we were taken by car to Dowa, which was a Boma [small town/area where colonial headquarters were located] in Dowa, a district which is in the hills, there we got the North Charterland lorry which took us down the escarpment to Salima - there was the train - we arrived in the evening, we got on the train, the train didn't move, we slept on the train, just a few of us, [brother] and myself and there may have been one or two others. The next morning the train got going and tootled down to Limbe, to Blantyre and to Limbe, that afternoon we got the train from Limbe and we headed off down to Chiromo and Port Herald all the way down, slept on the train overnight, woke up the next morning in Beira, had the day in Beira, we either mooched around- this was all school boys right, I was 10 at the time, just over 10, but there, you know, Limbe of course we picked up quite a lot of kids - mooched around in Beira, went for a swim possibly, that evening got on the train again overnight and woke up in the morning at Umtali because it was on the border, and the train went on to Salisbury for those kids who were going to school in Salisbury.'[328]

Some children who were sent to school in South Africa embarked on even longer journeys that would take up to six days to complete. Julian recalled his journeys to and from Johannesburg in great detail in his memoirs. In December 1945, he and his family went on holiday to Jeffrey's Bay in South Africa and on the way back the family stopped in Johannesburg for a few days to drop him off at school, before continuing the train journey back to Nyasaland without him; '…then with a quick kiss and hug goodbye, my parents left me there … I was on my own, all 8¼ years of me.'[329] Only a few months later, during the Easter holidays in April of that year, he was required to do the return journey on his own. He recalls that his father sent him a 'two-page typewritten sheet of instructions telling [him] what to do each step of the way.'[330] At the end of the term, along with the other boys who did not live in South Africa, he boarded the train home. However, he was the only pupil from Nyasaland attending this particular school and consequently he remembers that the amount of time he spent traveling, meant that his holidays were cut significantly shorter than the other boys who lived closer to

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[328] Harry, lines 539-553, pp. 17-18
[329] Julian, [u.d] *Can I Carry your Suitcase?,* Unpublished memoirs, p. 34
[330] ibid., p. 35

Johannesburg. His journey began with an overnight train from Johannesburg to Bulawayo. Once they had arrived in Bulawayo the next morning, he would have to wait at the station until the late afternoon to catch the next train to Salisbury. In his memoirs he recalls how he passed the time:

> 'My father had given me spending money for the trip with which to buy meals and beds on the train, but by missing out on some meals and eating cookies and biscuits instead, I had some extra money left over when we arrived at Bulawayo, so I was able to go to the newsstand kiosk on the station and buy some comics to read to pass the time.'[331]

After a long wait the train would then depart at 4:00pm and embark on another overnight journey to Salisbury. Julian makes a particular effort in his memoir to describe the sleeping arrangements on the train, which consisted of six bunks per compartment. He remarked that children were nearly always placed together in one compartment, although occasionally children and adults were mixed. This sometimes led to problems as children usually wanted to stay up late to chat and play, causing some consternation amongst the adults who wanted to go to sleep early. Julian described the spatial layout of the shared sleeping compartments on the train, and some of these antics that he and his companions would get up to:

> 'Our second-class compartment had six sleeping bunks, three to each side. At night the backrest from the lower bunk would fold upwards to form the middle bunk, and the top bunk folded out from the top of the wall. The top bunk was the most sought after because you had a little more headroom there, while the middle bunk was the least desirable because it had the least headroom. The smallest or most junior boy always had to take the middle bunk. There was no ladder to climb up to the top bunk, and certainly children did not need a ladder … [however] to facilitate climbing into the top bunk, the compartment was fitted with two canvas covered ropes strung across the top of the compartment, and the idea was that you could grab hold of these, and pull yourself into the top bunk. As children we enjoyed just swinging on these pretending we were monkeys.'[332]

All being well, the train would eventually arrive in Salisbury the next morning, where Julian would be met by the concierge of The Grand Hotel. He recalled that his father wrote in his instructions that once he had arrived at Salisbury station, he was to look out for 'a man with Grand Hotel embroidered on his peaked cap'[333] who would take him to the hotel, and help him to check in and find his room. After this he was left on his own. Julian remarked that it was a very trusting

[331] ibid., p. 36
[332] ibid., pp. 35-36
[333] ibid., p. 36

environment, as the hotel would simply give him the bill the next morning for him to pass on to his father, who would then send a cheque in the mail as payment.

As Julian was the only boy from Nyasaland who attended his school in South Africa, at this stage of the journey he was left to travel the remaining distance alone. His overnight stay in Salisbury was a solitary one, he remembered how he would spend the rest of the day going to watch 'cowboy' films in the Palace Cinema, or going to a small amusement park that was nearby and had a few rides such as a merry-go-round and dodgem cars:

> 'For me, it was a world of fun and excitement, so after having eaten my early dinner, I would wander round, and spend my money as carefully as I could, having a few rides, and making sure that there was enough money left over to buy some candy floss, which I would slowly eat while walking back to the hotel, trying hard not to get myself too sticky and covered in strands of sugar. I went to bed about 9:00pm.'[334]

In the morning Julian would catch a long distance taxi with two or three other passengers back to Blantyre, rather than the longer option of continuing the rest of the way along the railway route. However, the journey in the taxi from Salisbury to Blantyre was still spread over two days. The taxi passengers would all spend the night in a hotel in Tete, in Portuguese East Africa, before continuing to Blantyre the next day and finally arriving at about 2:00pm. At this point, Julian was met by their family driver, who picked him up in the car and drove him back home to Salima. This final leg of the journey – which lasted the rest of the day – completed the five days and five nights that Julian travelled to and from school in South Africa, from when he was as young as eight years old (figure 6.2).

[334] ibid., p. 37

Figure 6.2 "1920s Map showing the train route that Julian travelled to boarding school in Johannesburg in 1945, via Mafeking in Bechuanaland (total distance is approximately 1,500 miles)" *Source:* Publisher unknown [u.d] *The position of the Rhodesias in Relation to Southern Africa* http://sandmarg.tumblr.com/post/33234726484/1920-map-of-rail-connections-around-rhodesia#notes [Accessed on: 30/08/17]

European children had little choice or opportunity to exercise agency over the decision to be sent away to boarding school. The long migrations between school and home were culturally accepted as necessary among white colonial communities, and were subsequently enforced upon children "for their own good." In his interview for this research Julian recalled that his father chose not to send him to a government school in Rhodesia, despite that fact that school fees were free and it was closer to home, because he wanted his children to have a good private education like the one that he had received in England:

'…my father and uncles all went to good schools in England, good public schools in England, uncle at Charter House, my Father at Wellington, […] you know they went to good schools and they all went to Cambridge and so my Father wanted to give me a similar education.'[335]

A similar (albeit more extreme) sentiment, expressed by the District Commissioner of Mulanje at the time, was included in a Government report on the issue of European children's education in Nyasaland:

'I am emphatically of the opinion that all children should leave this country by the time they are nine years of age; in the case of parents who were themselves born and brought up in South Africa they can perhaps be sent there but in the case of parents whose home is in the United Kingdom it is not fair to the children to have them educated anywhere but in the United Kingdom.'[336]

It is clear that there was little regard for the child's emotional needs or feelings in parental or government decisions about European children's education in Nyasaland. Despite this – or perhaps *because* they had little choice in the matter – children showed huge resilience in undertaking these long journeys alone. They found ways to shape the time that they spent on the trains and carve out their own spaces of play and entertainment along the route, measuring the distances that they travelled by the number of nights they had spent on the journey, and learning the stages of the journey by the different things that they were able to do at each stop-over. Julian's example of saving up his food money to buy comics in Bulawayo and then to go to the amusement park and cinema in Salisbury, illustrate this. Similarly, Susan remembers that she knew when they had reached the border with the Bechuanaland Protectorate (now Botswana), as 'there was a little dancing arena and the music would be blaring so you could get out and have a nice little dance.'[337] George looked forward to stopping at Headlands, a bush station in Southern Rhodesia; '…the main thing was we could buy cigarettes there you see, because we all smoked like troopers at the age of nine.'[338] Harry also recalled that some of the boys would pass the time by smoking, and recounted a fateful occasion when he joined in:

'…some of the chaps, the younger chaps who were with me started to smoke and so I smoked, and then fortuitously to my horror suddenly my brother opened the door – my older brother – and, [whispers] dead silence, absolute silence. He didn't

[335] Julian, lines 565-570, p. 18
[336] Nyasaland Government Correspondence [1930] *European Education*, pp. 45-46
[337] Susan, lines 449-450, p. 14
[338] George, lines 428-430, p. 14

say a thing, none of us said a thing, then one little boy said to my brother, "Look what your little brother is doing," and A.F just looked at me straight in the eye and he said, "He can smoke if he wants to." But the look in his eye said, don't let me ever catch you smoking again. So you know I admired him enormously for that, I mean he protected me publicly but at the same time he told me never to do it again and I never did.'[339]

As this quotation illustrates, it appears that older siblings would often take responsibility for younger siblings' behaviour and well-being on the trains. George recalled the first time that he and his sister caught the train to school to South Africa, he was nine years old and she was only six. The station he had to get off at was before hers, and so he remembers asking other passengers on the train to make sure she got off at the right station:

> 'I'd look out and see the signpost [for his station] there … and I'd say "you two" sitting over there, please will you make sure my sister gets out at St James if you see the nuns on the platform, and luckily the nuns were always on the platform, and they met [her] and took her in. Six months later we met going the other way, and we came back here [Malawi].'[340]

However, the lack of adult supervision on the trains quickly became a problem and could not be left to the responsibility of the older children. In 1936 the children's behaviour became such an issue that the Director of Education at the time, Mr A. Lacey, wrote to the Chief Secretary of Nyasaland asking for funding to provide supervisory escorts on the children's train journeys. He suggested in the letter that the Nyasaland Council of Women might be able to coordinate this, but that the Nyasaland government and the Railways would need to cover costs;

> 'Each term some seventy children leave by train and it is quite natural that their high spirits should lead them to mischevious pranks. Futhermore occasions might arise when sudden illness or accident would call for instant care. […] It is, I consider probable that the Railways might in their own interests, grant a free return ticket to an adult who escorted the children. Apart from this expense only incidentals such as food on the train and possible hotel expenses for a day or two would have to be met.'[341]

Even Julian – whose journey was either in a small group with other children at school in South Africa, or on his own – alluded to the kinds of mischief that he and other boys would get up to, for example, swinging from the ropes in their

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[339] Harry, lines 633-641, p. 20

[340] George, lines 481-485, p. 15

[341] A. Lacey [1936] *Letter entitled "Conduct of European Children Attending Schools in Southern Rhodesia" from the Director of Education in Nyasaland to The Chief Secretary in Zomba,* [Correspondence] European Education in Nyasaland, p. 183, S1/1587[II]/27, MNA, Zomba, Malawi

sleeping compartments. As Mr Lacey's letter suggests, this was exacerbated amongst the larger groups of children who travelled together to schools in Southern Rhodesia. Even with escorts present, children continued to get up to mischief on the trains. Harry recounted one such incident when he got into trouble with the escort who happened, on this occasion, to be his uncle:

> '…at the end of this very hot day, a couple of us got out onto the platform and it wasn't much of a platform you know, it was very low, much lower than the steps into the carriage, and we were walking up and down and then as we walked between the two carriages, somebody said what's that chain hanging down there – there was a chain hanging down with a sort of T-piece handle on it – "no idea", "no idea", "no idea", I pulled it, nothing happened so that was fine we carried on walking and then we were just about to go off and the train hooted, it tooted and so we all piled on and off the train went, but only half the train went because I had disconnected the carriages! Well the train wouldn't go, there was a huge inquisition, "Who had done this? What had happened?" and eventually I had to own up to Uncle that it was me and he just looked at me and said "you _______" [Harry implies his uncle used an expletive] and off he went again [laughs].'[342]

George recalled a very similar incident when he and some other 'terribly naughty' boys who joined the train at Salisbury, intentionally disconnected the train carriages so that when the train pulled away part of it was left behind. He described the aftermath of their actions:

> '…it would take them a little while to find out and the train would have to go back, so then they tried to find out which horrible little monster had done it, then we did it a second time, and then we did it a third time […] and after the third time they locked all the children in the van, until the train got going, and then after – it was a real scary place in lion country – they let us out to walk back down the train to our compartments, but it was fine.'[343]

John Clements recalled in his memoir that one of the children's favourite activities was shooting catapults from the train windows to try and hit the driver's information boards at the side of the train line. He said that this would often incur the wrath of railway officials, leaving the escort to try and uncover who the culprits were (Baker, 2012: 113).

A report in 1945 shows that even under the keen gaze of the escorts the children's behaviour was still getting out of hand. In the report the Nyasaland Council of Women highlight some of the difficulties faced by escorts saying, 'the escort's job is not an easy one, but with patience, understanding and tact they

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[342] Harry, lines 568-580, p. 18
[343] George, lines 444-462, pp. 14-15

contrive to keep order, often with the co-operation of the older boys and girls.'[344] They make a particular note of the damage caused to Railway carriages by catapults, and decide to forbid catapults from being used on the train, instructing escorts to confiscate them from the children for the duration of the journey, and hand them back to the children at the end. Another rather unusual issue that came to the attention of the Nyasaland Council of Woman was the 'smuggling of pets' back into the country:

> 'The smuggling of pets, such as white mice, kittens etc, into this country was becoming a menace and had to cease. The Director of Education was asked for his help. He wrote to the Rhodesian Education Authorities asking them to circularise all schools, banning the import of pet animals.'[345]

It emerged through the interviews and memoirs that this troublesome behaviour on the trains was predominantly caused by boys. This does not necessarily suggest that girls did not misbehave, but perhaps that they were more closely surveyed by the escorts. Cynthia Magee recalled from her journeys on the school train that boys were sectioned off to one end of the train whilst girls were kept to the other end. She wrote that 'no sooner had the train whistled off, than the boys disregarded the locked communication doors and found their way to the girls, climbing through windows and over the train roof top' (Baker, 2012: 123). Susan recounted a similar story in her interview, saying that quite a lot of the boys would climb on the outside of the windows, while the train was moving, to try and see the girls.[346] These examples imply that girls were somehow 'protected', locked in, and kept under closer surveillance than the boys were. This was confirmed by Barbara, who begrudgingly remembered having less freedom than her brothers on the school train journeys:

> 'I thought Beira was hellish. Well, we had escorts. We had a woman escort to look after the girls and a man to look after the boys. The boys had a lot more freedom than the girls, and so we- most of us were sort of herded onto the beach, which was filthy, it was a horrible place.'[347]

These examples show that the European children had gendered experiences of the school train. It appears that the spatial restrictions that girls

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[344] Nyasaland Council of Women [1945] *NCW Annual Report School Train, 1945,* [Report] Societies/Organisations, Box 203, p. 7, Malawi, SoM
[345] ibid.
[346] Susan, line 451, p. 14
[347] Barbara, lines 412-415, p. 13

experienced on the journeys to school were largely a new phenomenon, particularly for girls who, like Barbara, had never been denied the same freedoms as their brothers at home. However, the emerging differences between the treatment of girls and boys was indicative of the gendered school curricula and twentieth-century attitudes towards girls' education that they would go on to experience at school. This will be explored further later in the chapter, but provides an important early indication of the heavily gendered system of education that European girls and boys entered into when they were old enough to go to school.

However, as time moved on so did advances in technology which made travelling quicker, easier and more reliable. After the Second World War, in the late 1940s, air travel became more accessible and was used instead of the trains to transport children to and from school abroad (see earlier figure 3.8). Edward recalled that virtually the whole plane that they flew on was full of children wearing the distinctive red blazer that was part of the uniform of their school in Salisbury.[348] William described his very early memories of the first planes that were used to take children to school in Rhodesia:

> '...when I started going to school in Rhodesia when we were in Mzimba [...] the Beaver, the De Havilland Beaver landed on the golf course in Mzimba – even though there were only about half a dozen expatriates there, they did have a golf course and a club – and all you had to do was just, the Beaver had to fly over and make sure there was no one on the golf course [laughs] and it would land there. [...] I flew from there to Lilongwe – this was the first time I flew down in the Beaver, and then I flew in a De Havilland Rapide from Lilongwe to Chileka [Blantyre Airport], the De Havilland Rapide is a biplane, and we sat in wicker-work chairs that were screwed to the floor [laughs], this was Central African Airways, and then we flew from Chileka to Salisbury in either a Dakota or a Viking, it depended which trip we did, and then we had an overnight train from Salisbury to Umtali…'[349]

Undertaking all or part of the journey by plane significantly cut the time that the children spent travelling to school. Susan said that her journey to school in South Africa was cut by half, from six days to just three, after they began catching flights for parts of the journey. However, this was still a big undertaking for young children, who were sent from as young as six years of age, to navigate their journeys to school alone. Hugh was sent to school in Britain in 1950 when he was

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[348] Edward, lines 70-72, p. 20
[349] William, lines 135-150 p. 5

eleven years old, and travelled there by plane with his brother. He recalled that the flight was usually through Nairobi where they would stay overnight, but that there were also a number of refuelling stops along the way, which caused the journey to be spread over a few days:

> 'I went with my brother the first time, we made our way out to the school which was in Hertfordshire on our own, and then we came back once a year, we didn't come back every term, it wasn't affordable. And the following year was a bigger plane and then I travelled on my own. From the age of 12 I was travelling on my own. […] we could fly to Nairobi, stay the night […] and it would be a non-stop flight from there, but it would take just over 24 hours from Nairobi to London. So, we landed maybe three times. […] we'd land Cairo- Wadi Halfa [in the north of Sudan] or Cairo- then I think there was one more stop, I can't remember– yeah Rome. Rome, and then London. And we were landing at Heathrow when it was wire runways from the war, you know, it didn't- it was just a concrete hut.'[350]

Compared to the children who went to school in Rhodesia, Hugh was not able to make the journey home very often, and consequently endured long periods of time away from his home and family in Nyasaland. However, his was a much-improved situation than that of the children who had previously made the journey back to Europe by sea, which took much longer. Although a number of participants in this study had, at some point, made the long journey to Europe to go school, the only participant who had done so before the availability of air travel was George. Initially he went to school in Cape Town because the Second World War had prevented him from travelling to the UK. When the war ended, he was not keen on his parents' decision to send him to Britain, recalling in his interview that he 'had to go to this funny place called Great Britain – where the hell was that?'[351] After the long train journey from Nyasaland to South Africa, he boarded a ship called the *RMS Mauretania* in Cape Town in 1945, and embarked on a journey of just over two weeks to get to the UK (figure 6.3). He vividly remembered the date that the ship landed him and the other passengers on British shores saying, '…how I remember it, I cried all day- my 14th birthday.'[352]

[350] Hugh, lines 490-509, p. 16
[351] George, lines 487-488, p. 15
[352] ibid., lines 497-498, p. 16

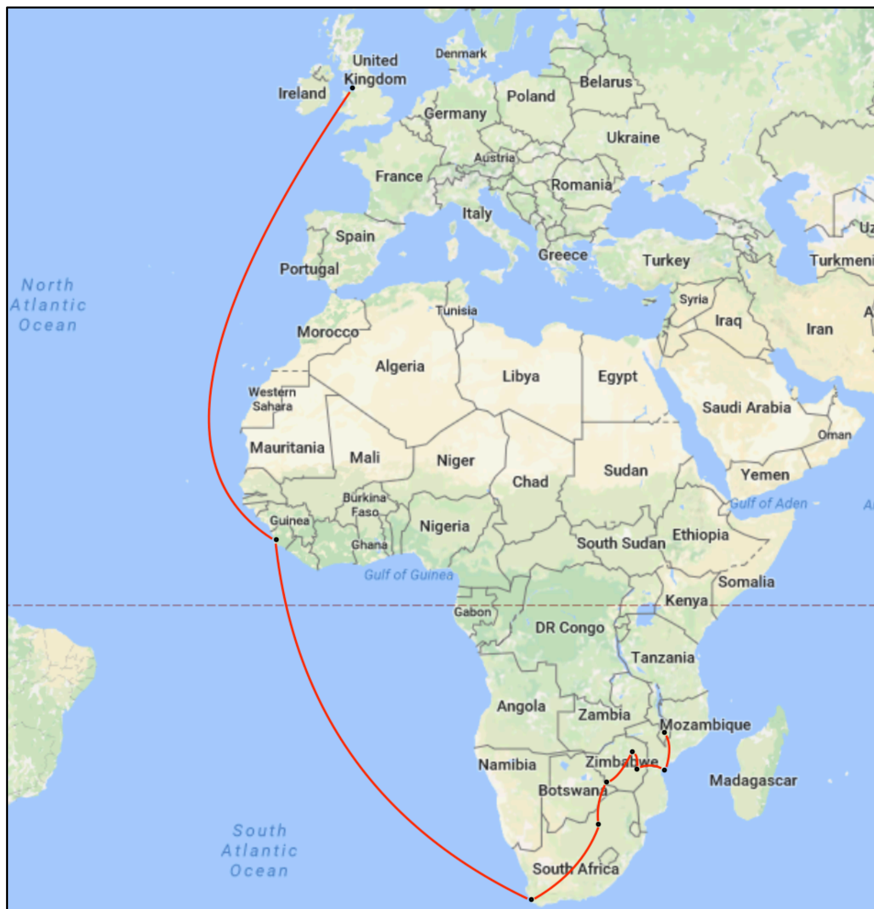

Figure 6.3 Images from top to bottom:
"The *RMS Mauretania*, which George travelled on to get to Britain in 1945" *Source:* Image of the *RMS Mauretania* taken in 1946, berthed on Princes Landing Stage in Liverpool, http://www.liverpoolships.org/mauretania_1939_cunard_line.html [Accessed on: 29/07/17] and "Map showing approximate route taken by George to get to the UK by train and boat when he was 13 years old (amounting to an estimated distance of 10,000 miles in total)" *Source:* Map reproduced by author on Google Maps: https://www.google.com/maps/place/Africa/@1.7400339,-16.2444486,3z/data=!3m1!4b1!4m5!3m4!1s0x10a06c0a948cf5d5:0x108270c99e90f0b3!8m2!3d-8.783195!4d34.508523

These very long and often costly journeys meant that many children who were sent to school in Britain seldom returned to Nyasaland – if at all – throughout their school years. The trauma of leaving home, and all that they knew in Africa, was evident in the emotion that George recounted when he was finally faced with his new life in Britain. The following section considers the impact that the extended periods of separation from the children's homes and families had upon their childhoods. It was evident throughout the interviews that this had had a profound effect on European children's lives, both for those who went to boarding school abroad and for those who stayed at boarding schools in Nyasaland.

6.3 Separation, Segregation and Assimilation

6.3.1 Abandonment and Life at Boarding School

These long journeys and the vast distances that the European children living in Nyasaland travelled for their education, provide a very physical representation of the strong sense of emotional separation that they suffered from their homes and families. In her study on the lasting psychological effects that boarding school can have on people's lives, the psychotherapist Joy Schaverien (2015: 163) describes this as an 'emotional sense of exile' which can carry on well into adulthood. She shows that this is particularly evident among people who went to boarding schools in different countries to where they grew up or to where their parents lived. One of the examples that she uses to illustrate this is the case of David, who left his colonial home in the Caribbean to go to boarding school in England when he was just seven years old. She points out that in his case he suffered the additional losses of his Caribbean nanny who cared for him, the sensory world – sights, smells and sounds – that surrounded him, and the warm climate to which he had become so accustomed. She eloquently argues that this sudden rupture in his life resulted in a very traumatic childhood experience. The trauma that he went through remained unacknowledged throughout his childhood and well into his adult life.

There were resounding echoes of David's traumatic experience scattered throughout the interviews conducted for this research. The most extreme

examples of prolonged separation resulted in children being sent to school in Europe at very young ages and only returning to Nyasaland once they had finished school at the age of eighteen (if they returned at all). Thomas recalled his father's story in his interview, explaining that he was born in Zomba in 1921 and grew up on the family's tobacco farm until he was eight or nine, at which point he was sent to Britain to go to school and did not return to Nyasaland even once, until he was eighteen.[353] Giancarlo gave a similar account for his father who was sent to Italy against his will when he was a young boy:

> 'No he basically spent his whole life at school including the holidays from what he told us [laughs]. My grandparents used to go over to Italy in the summer and they would go and visit him at school, while he was still staying at school [...] so I think he was quite bitter about that, even in his later years. [...] Yah, he actually even- I think he tried to run away, I think he was caught trying to get onto a ship- he was trying to stow away, coming back to Africa.'[354]

The unhappiness that Giancarlo's father experienced by being separated from his parents and all that he had known in Africa, clearly manifested itself enough in his adult life for his children to be acutely aware of the bitterness that he attached to his experiences of boarding school. His desperate attempt to run away and board a ship back to Africa, leaves no doubt that Giancarlo's father was not part of the decision that resulted in him being sent to school so far away in Italy. However, it does not need such extreme examples of separation to demonstrate that boarding school left a mark on the psyches of those who experienced it. Carol went to school in Southern Rhodesia and so came home relatively frequently compared to her older brothers who were both sent to school in Scotland. She recalled that they only came back to Nyasaland every two to three years, and her parents would try to go and see them in Britain in between time. However, because the holidays of Rhodesian and British schools did not coincide, she said that she never really got to know her brothers until they were all adults and she moved to the UK. She remembered how her youngest brother had initially refused to go to Britain, and so he stayed in Africa while he was in primary school but when it came time for him to go to secondary school, he was simply sent away to join his older brother

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[353] Thomas, lines 105-108, p. 4
[354] Giancarlo, lines 90-108, pp. 3-4

in Scotland. Carol said that she doesn't think he ever really forgave her parents for that decision.[355]

For many participants, the conversation about leaving their parents and their homes in Nyasaland was a difficult and emotive one. This was especially the case for those recalling the very first time that they had to leave for school elsewhere. For Mark, the first time that he left his home in Nyasaland was also the last. He was around fourteen years old when he was given very little warning that he would be joining his older brother to go to school in England. The plan had always been for his brother to leave, but at the last minute it was decided that he should also go. He was told on the morning of the same day that his brother was due to leave, that he would be joining him. He left Nyasaland later that day and never returned. Talking about this abrupt interruption in his childhood brought back difficult memories, and resulted in a very emotional response to a traumatic life event that had happened decades before. When he struggled through his tears to continue describing his last few hours in the country, he remarked, 'this won't stop, it's just clearly worse than I thought.'[356] In recalling this difficult event in his life, the reality of his sudden separation from his childhood home became incredibly stark. Mark recalled how he suddenly had to say goodbye to their family dog and to all the servants who worked for his family and who he had known for most of his life. In his own words he was 'wrenched out by the roots from everything [he] knew.'[357] Although Mark acknowledged that he eventually enjoyed his schooling in Britain, and furthermore that he highly valued the time he spent with his grandmother when he wasn't at boarding school, his emotional response to remembering the afternoon that he left his home in Nyasaland was a powerful one. Despite enjoying his new life in the UK, he explained how for many years he marked his life by the amount of time he had spent in Africa and the amount of time that he had been back in the UK. He always expected to return to Malawi one day, but his parents moved back to Britain while he was at boarding school, so he never did.

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[355] Carol, lines 252-298, pp. 8-10
[356] Mark, line 293, p. 10
[357] ibid., line 318, p. 10

Joanna had a very immediate response to the trauma that she went through when she left Nyasaland in 1964 when she was just nine years old. In 1964 Nyasaland was at the eve of its independence, leaving many British government officials without future job prospects in the country. Therefore, when Joanna's father was offered a job in the Caribbean, the family left. However, Joanna and her sisters never moved to the Caribbean with their parents, as they were promptly enrolled in boarding schools in England and left behind. Joanna described at length how this was a 'really bad time' in her life:

> 'My sisters and I were put into boarding school, so we never lived in the [Caribbean], we were in boarding school, but that was a terrible, terrible shock to me, it was just so far removed from how I'd imagined it to be- it was sort of cold and wet and miserable and I was a bit backward, certainly, and I had to have all sorts of extra classes and I got rather bullied, and I think I was a bit obnoxious because I'd been definitely one of the toughies in Africa […] And then we took our dog back with us – he was a black cocker spaniel – and that was really because every time the subject as to what was going to happen to the dog came up, both my sisters and myself and my mother would all dissolve into tears [laughs] […] He [the dog] ended up with my aunts, where unfortunately because he was used to a free and easy life roaming Zomba mountain whenever he felt like it, he got run over and killed quite quickly, and that was all within the first term that we were in school […] it was very traumatic, you know, our parents having gone to live in the [Caribbean] leaving us in this rather grim boarding school where we were bullied and life was just so different to how we'd imagined it to be and then our dog, which was our one real connection with our life, was killed- and no it was a really bad time actually.'[358]

Joanna had a very physical reaction to these extreme changes in her life. She said that having been a very active and energetic youngster in Nyasaland, she withdrew into herself at her English boarding school and became known for never taking part in sports and avoiding exercise. In hindsight she feels that she went through 'a sort of depression'[359] that was tied up in the move to England, which had caused such an extreme rupture in her young life. Schaverien (2015: 156) argues that these intense emotions felt by children who experience such acute separation, cannot be described by mere 'homesickness' as they so often are. Instead she suggests that the losses for which children grieve under these circumstances must be recognised by their proper name: 'mourning.'

This was certainly evident in the cases of participants who were sent to boarding schools in Europe, however, this research suggests that it did not

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[358] Joanna, lines 208-240, pp. 7-8
[359] ibid., line 251, p. 8

necessitate children leaving the country to experience this kind of traumatic separation, and to mourn the lives that they had lost by being sent to boarding school. Particularly in the time before the Second World War, travel *within* Nyasaland was also difficult. This was largely due to bad roads, which could be rendered impassable in wet weather conditions. Susan recalled her childhood fear of travelling on the rural roads in the wet season, saying that the roads would turn into 'really thick mud and I was absolutely terrified of skidding and for years it really was a trauma for me' adding that it 'stiffened her with fear.'[360] Therefore, European children whose homes were on rural farms and plantations seldom saw their parents during term time either, despite attending a boarding school in the same country. Andreas described the situation he was in when he started school in Blantyre:

> 'It was tough because you know, you never saw your parents, especially during the rainy season – I mean we were tobacco farmers, and it would- this time of the year where everybody's busy. There were years when three months used to go by and I would never see my parents [...] No it was alright, quite a tough life...'[361]

Cris was in a similar position, and hated parting with her parents to go back to the Convent at the beginning of each term. She gave a very emotional account of the first time that her parents dropped her off at school in Limbe:

> '...so January used to be the beginning of the school year, so I was just turned five when I went to boarding school- my parents drove me up to the front of the thing, and I hadn't a clue because my poor parents they hadn't a clue either, they came from Greece, we lived out in the bush, total bush [...] and they dropped me off and I started screaming and running after the car because suddenly I realised I'm going to be here forever you know, [...] I saw my mum crying but I didn't know why she was crying, I was only that small [signals a small height from the ground with hand] [...] I was a tiny little thing, so I started running after the car and the nuns grabbed me and put me inside, and for me it was- from day one, it was a total disaster.'[362]

At only five years old, Cris's understanding of her circumstances was that she was going to be left there *forever*. Her young mind could not comprehend the concept of boarding school, and this confusion as to why her parents were upset and why they were leaving her there is evident in the above quotation. This was coupled with a bad relationship with the nuns who, from the beginning, showed her very

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[360] Susan, lines 470-481, p. 15
[361] Andreas, lines 146-155, p. 5
[362] Cris, lines 46-64, pp. 2-3

little sympathy and which consequently led to a number of very difficult years in her childhood. Linda's parents eventually stopped sending her to the Convent in Limbe, as they couldn't stand her 'screaming and fighting with the nuns' every time that her mother dropped her off. She recalled that on one occasion she managed to escape and run into the car park but then remarked, 'I couldn't believe that my mother would have abandoned me, which she had.'[363] Alexia also remembered how she would suddenly be filled with dread when she realised that the holidays were coming to an end and her parents started to get her things together to go back to school:

> 'But I remember distinctly, [...] of course my folks had stores and what have you, I could see this big tin of Bluebird sweets – you know the liquorice bluebirds – when they used to get that tin ready, I knew it was time to go back to boarding school – because we were allowed tuck, and they used to have- we had only English stuff, and I remember that tin and my heart used to start pumping, bam bam bam bam, I knew it was time to go to school.'[364]

In addition to the difficult emotions that European children felt upon leaving home and being separated from their parents, they often faced extremely strict and emotionless environments at school. Boarding school did not generally respond well to children who were struggling emotionally with their change in circumstances. Visible expressions of emotion were often met with discipline, such that children learnt to suppress their feelings. The first time that Eve was dropped off at the Convent by her parents, aged only five, she learnt this the hard way. In her interview she recounted the harrowing moment when her world completely changed:

> '...when I first went to that convent, I chased the car- I was only five, and I wanted my mommy, so I chased the car and the nun got hold of me and I swore at her in the African language- because I knew- I couldn't speak English, and I knew she couldn't speak Greek, but I knew she could understand the African language, and I swore at her very badly, I said some swear words which a five year old shouldn't know, you know, she took me and put a whole bar of soap in my mouth – things like that you wouldn't dream about. And I was so distraught- my mother saw me running after the car- and the next day she came there and they didn't allow her to see me, but they put me in a parlour and she'd brought one of my dolls and I was playing with my doll and she looked through the window to see if I was okay.'[365]

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[363] Linda, lines 195-197, p. 7
[364] Alexia, lines 114-120, p. 4
[365] Eve, lines 150-160, p. 5

She went on to describe further unreasonable punishments that her and other children suffered at Limbe's Convent school, including humiliating repercussions for children who wet the bed:

> 'But it was really not a very good school [...] for instance, these nuns they were very very strict, and my brother unfortunately used to wet his bed, so they made him walk around with a sheet on his head! And it was so embarrassing- not only for him but for me because I was his sister!'[366]

Cris gave a similar account in her interview. She remembered that the girl who slept in the bed next to her used to wet her bed and commented that 'the more they [the nuns] screamed and shouted at her the more she wet it.' Cris vividly recounted the day when one of the nuns took the little girl's wet sheet and 'tied it round her head and made her walk around the school all day with that damn thing on her head,' adding, 'it affected me! How much did it affect the little girl?'[367]

A document in the archives detailing a government inspection in 1933 of the La Sagesse Convent in Limbe, confirms the extreme punishments that children received for wetting the bed. The report states that concerns had been raised by parents about 'instances of improper punishment having been meted out to certain children for the offence of bed-wetting.' It continues by indicating that the Director of Education had been presented with the evidence of these inappropriate levels of discipline being used at the school, and had been asked 'to instruct those responsible that such punishment should cease and that more enlightened methods be adopted.'[368] Both Eve and Cris attended this school in the 1940s, many years after this issue first came to the attention of the government, revealing that the school did very little to 'enlighten' their disciplinary approach towards the children.

Consequently, the children not only suffered the physical loss of their parents, but also endured the loss of emotional love or practical support from the adults in whose care they had been left. Andreas talked about how he had had to mature quite quickly saying that 'boarding school was tough, you had to grow up fending for yourself [...] make your own bed, look after your own clothes, you

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[366] ibid., lines 21-24, p. 1
[367] Cris, lines 99-125, p. 4
[368] Nyasaland Select Committee on European Education [1933] *A Report upon the Primary Education of European Children,* p. 28

know.'[369] Harry recalled how he had had to quickly learn the new etiquette expected from him at boarding school:

> 'I'd been brought up at Mpale where […] in the morning you got up, you put on your shirt and your shorts and went out to play, run around like little boys do – well I now found myself in a dormitory with other boys – first experience – and a nun sleeping in the dormitory supervising us. Well I was told that when the bell went we had to get up and get dressed, so the bell went in the morning and I got up, ripped off my pyjamas, started getting dressed, the nun came tearing across the dormitory, "Oh you can't do that, you can't do that!" I had to wrap my dressing gown around me and get undressed underneath the dressing gown, out of my shorts and shirt underneath the dressing gown!'[370]

When six-year-old Federico went to boarding school in Lilongwe, he found himself in a similar situation at bath time, left unsure of how to conduct himself in this strange new environment:

> '…Bishop Mackenzie [School] was my worst feeling- when I was at home on the farm my mother used to wash me and shower me- a typical Italian mother. Now at Bishop Mackenzie, they just threw you in this sort of bath area with all the other kids and you had to sort yourself out, and that to me was a massive shock to be in the nude with all these kids- you know, what the hell is going on here? Who's going to wash me? And I always remember that [laughs].'[371]

From a very young age, European children who went to boarding school had to quickly adapt to their new surroundings, as well as negotiate the trauma of separation from their parents and leaving behind all that was familiar to them.

Despite the evident emotional difficulties that European children faced, they were simply *expected* to cope with going to boarding school from a young age. Alexia expressed this in her interview saying, 'we just got on with it. I don't think you had a choice. None of this now, maybe they'll have a psychological whatever, there was no such thing, you just had to do it and you did it.'[372] Others expressed similar sentiments of a kind of resigned acceptance of their situation at school. Julian clearly articulated this in his interview:

> 'Going to school, at the age of nine, going so far away for school was not easy but it was something that everybody did […] I just knew that this was going to happen and my mother- my parents were not warm, huggy, lovey-dovey people, they were fairly British stiff-upper lip type people so, whether that helped me or not I don't know, […] I guess that meant going to boarding school made it easier, I don't know.

[369] Andreas, lines 144-145, p. 5
[370] Harry, lines 515-524, pp. 16-17
[371] Federico, lines 219-224, p. 7
[372] Alexia, lines 133-136, p. 5

> […] I just got on with it. Just got on with life, it was just something that I was expected- that was expected of me.'[373]

Duffell (2000) talks at length about this phenomenon in which children denied themselves the luxury of *feeling*, and says that in his own experience of boarding school he quickly realised he needed to dispose of his emotions, just like everyone else. In order to lock away his feelings, he came to the unconscious decision to 'cut off home and feelings with the same blow' (p. 143). He also acknowledges that until recent decades, emotional display was not deemed acceptable in the context of British homes, and although feelings were clearly unwelcome at school, they had 'all too often already been discouraged by the family' (p. 141-142). Julian's experience suggests that emotions were not so much discouraged, as much as they were perhaps not even readily acknowledged. As Alexia also recalled, there was no evident regard for any psychological or emotional difficulties that children might experience through their long distance separation from their homes and families. In fact, a report on the issue of the provision of European education in Nyasaland in 1930, even shifts the emotional and practical strain of sending children to boarding school onto the parents, without so much as acknowledging the impact that it might have had on the children. The report states that certain parents were, 'unwilling to make the sacrifice for their children's sake as so many others gladly do.'[374]

This became so intrinsic to colonial attitudes towards boarding school that sometimes the children even came to view their separation as their parents' sacrifice rather than their own. Brendon (2005) also picked up on this pattern of thought in her research with British people who had grown up in India and went to boarding school in Britain. One of her participants commented, 'it never occurred to us to blame our parents for leaving us … we were taught to be very proud of our parents' share in the Empire and to feel that we were doing our bit by being left behind' (p. 194). Another maintained that the long separation was 'worse for her parents than for her' (p. 205). Duffell (2000) suggests that this is a coping mechanism that helps children to rationalise their parents' decision to

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[373] Julian, lines 368-380, p. 12

[374] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1930] *European Education in Nyasaland Protectorate: Despatch from Governor of Nyasaland No. 286,* [Report/Correspondence] European Education, p. 46, CO 525/138/5, London, BNA

send them away to boarding school. Not wanting to come to the conclusion that their parents did not love them, children focussed on the fact that they should be grateful for the important, necessary and often costly education that their parents had arranged for them. Elisabeth alluded to this in her recollections of going to boarding school in the UK when she was about nine years old:

> '…it didn't come as a great shock and it wasn't horrid going to boarding school, it was always what I expected would happen and so when my mum took me to school and had to leave me, I'm sure it was worse for her than for me.'[375] […] '-and then my mum's first letter saying, "how's my big school girl?" and I'm sure she shed tears over having to write that, poor thing, didn't she.'[376]

Going away to boarding school was such a normalised practice that it became culturally accepted and *expected* by European children who grew up in empire. Boarding school was seen as an inevitable necessity in most European children's lives who grew up in Nyasaland – particularly before the establishment of a secondary school for Europeans in Blantyre in the late 1950s. However, the separation that the children endured from their families was not the only significant factor to shape their experiences of education. Another inevitable aspect of their schooling was that they would attend segregated whites only schools. For many European children, this would be the first time that they were put in an exclusively white – and usually English speaking – environment. Racial segregation was a project of the colonial state, designed to reinforce the ethno-class hierarchies upon which colonial governance was founded. White schools in Africa epitomised white privilege, and characterised colonial governments' ambitions for the future of the British Empire and the future of white children in Empire. The next section will consider how, if at all, children rationalised, comprehended and adjusted to their new and whitewashed learning environments, and how this contributed to the construction of their young white identities.

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[375] Elisabeth, lines 395-398, p. 13

[376] ibid., lines 799-801, pp. 24-25

6.3.2 Colonising White Minds: Learning Race, Place and Gender

In a report written by the Anglo-African Association in 1934,[377] regarding the government provision of education for children of a mixed race background in Nyasaland, they make the following statement; 'the school is the factory for building individuals into a race and nation.'[378] They make this statement in the context of arguing for better rights within the Protectorate for their children, requesting the provision of separate schooling from the "natives" with whom their children were then being educated. In this report they turn the colonial system's racial segregationist policy on itself, (re)claiming their European heritage and demanding the rights that privileged Europeans enjoyed under the colonial system. They passionately argue for the acknowledgement of their racial identity, stating that their race was born out of colonialism and that the Anglo-African 'made his appearance in this country simultaneously with the settlement of the European.'[379]

They further stake a claim over European rights by pointing out that the law recognised them as people of European origin, with the right to take their father's European surnames and nationalities. They therefore state that, 'in the presence of this law we are not Anglo-Africans but what exactly our fathers are regardless of the state of our birth, whether legitimate or illegitimate.'[380] The report is racially emotive, as the Anglo-African Association openly seek to distance themselves from the race of their black African mothers,[381] and to claim the rights and heritage of their white fathers. In fact, the report goes as far as to say that when European men 'marry our women, legally or illegally, […] the children of

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[377] Although the Protectorate government at the time commonly used the terminology 'Half-caste' to refer to people of a mixed race background, it appears that the community itself preferred to use the identifying term 'Anglo-African.' Later on in the 1950s, there is evidence that the government adopted the term Eurafrican instead, although it is unclear whether the colonial government or the mixed race community instigated the change to this terminology.

[378] The Anglo-African Association [1934] *Criticisms to Mr L. Z. Mumba's Memorandum,* [AGM Report] The Anglo-African Association. Memorial on the Education of Half-Castes, p. 35, CO 525/155/11, London, BNA

[379] ibid.

[380] ibid.

[381] It was predominantly the case that children of mixed race backgrounds during the colonial years in Nyasaland had black African mothers and white European fathers. It was rarely the case that the mother was white, and interracial relationships are only referred to this way round throughout the report.

better colour are born.'[382] This is an extreme and pertinent example of the intrinsic ethnoclass hierarchies that the authority of white colonial rule was built on. The Anglo-African Association recognised that in order to gain greater social mobility in a colonial society, they needed to 'whitewash' their identities and divorce themselves from their black African heritage in the eyes of white colonial officials.

The reaction to these demands from within the Nyasaland Protectorate government, only served to reinforce the highly racial strata upon which the colonial government relied for its continued authority. In response to the requests of the Anglo-African Association, a scrawled handwritten memo with an indecipherable signature reads:

> '…I consider that this matter of half caste children must be faced […] Nearly a thousand children, 837 to be exact, is a good number. It has been shown in various parts of Africa that the question is not solved by ignoring the difficulty and treating the children as far as their schooling is concerned as black. – To treat them as white is in my opinion equally wrong and even dangerous. –'[383]

The use of the word *dangerous*, whether consciously chosen or not, belies the colonial government's knowledge that the strict racial strata of colonial society could be easily undermined by a relaxation of the rules surrounding the racial segregation of schools. It reveals a telling insecurity surrounding the myth of white superiority, with which they justified their rule and the future rule of the British Empire. However, finally after over a decade of campaigning by the Anglo-African Association for a separate school for their children, the government eventually granted their request in 1947. Contrary to the Anglo-African Association's request, however, the school was not exclusively for Eurafrican[384] children, and in 1950 the government declared it open to 'non-whites' who 'were able and willing to be taught in the medium of English.' The school's intake grew to include 'Eurafricans, Indoafricans[385] and Indians.'[386]

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[382] The Anglo-African Association [1934] *Criticisms,* p. 36
[383] Author unknown [1934] *Correspondence between Nyasaland Government Officials,* [correspondence] The Anglo-African Association. Memorial on the Education of Half-Castes, p. 2, CO 525/155/11, London, BNA
[384] This is the term used to refer to people of a mixed European and African background in the archive correspondence at this time.
[385] This is the term used refer to children of a mixed Indian and African background in the archive correspondence at the time.
[386] Nyasaland Protectorate Government [1954] *Education Report for the Year 1953*, p. 5

By placing specific 'non-white' children in the same school, the colonial government openly matched children, from very different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, simply by the similarity of the colour of their skin. The government's attitude toward white schooling was similar – though otherwise not comparable – as white children of many different nationalities and backgrounds were all sent to exclusively white schools together. The following discussion endeavours to show how the colonial education system sought to unify them through their common whiteness.

Many of the participants who were interviewed for this research remarked quite honestly that they did not think to question their segregation from children of other races. James grew up in the relatively urban environment of Zomba, around many other European families and with a father who was in a very influential position in the Nyasaland government. He recalled that he never had any contact with black children, and could not recall getting to know anyone who was black, and not a servant, until he visited Malawi again later on in his adult life.[387] Therefore, going to an exclusively white school was not an unusual experience for him and he expected no different. However, even those who had grown up more rurally, still overwhelmingly accepted that in those days it was just 'one of those things'[388] or just 'kind of the norm.'[389] Andreas was an only child who grew up in an extremely rural area of Nyasaland near the Mozambican border. Andreas's closest friend was black, but he still recalled that it did not come as a shock when they were separated for school. When asked how he felt when he went to boarding school and his friend stayed and went to the local school, he just remarked, 'you know those days [...] difficult to answer. You don't think of it.'[390] Mark went further to say that he *did* think about it, in as far as he knew that he was 'privileged and different,' but continued to explain that although he was aware of the obvious divisions, he was not 'questioning or challenging them at that point.'[391]

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[387] James, lines 683-684, p. 21
[388] Paul, line 496, p. 16
[389] Mark, line 71, p. 3
[390] Andreas, lines 116-117, p. 4
[391] Mark, lines 151-153, p. 5

Because white children's rights and mobilities weren't restricted by their race, they did not have the same experiences of discrimination as non-white children and hence were less likely to feel the need to question the social inequalities around them. However, as children got older they did begin to notice anomalies in the system, which brought the issue of segregation into their sphere of attention. Harry illustrated this succinctly. He went to a church school in South Africa and remembered a Chinese boy who also attended their school. Harry remarked in his interview that under apartheid, 'you were either white or you were black and he wasn't white, so when the holidays came and he had to go home by train, he had to go third class.'[392] He also talked briefly about an incident when his school arranged a cricket match against an Indian school. He recalled that the 'master in charge' told the team that if anyone did not want to play against the Indian school, that their place in the first team would not be affected. Harry remembered this as unusual to him, as he frequently played cricket against Indian teams in Nyasaland.[393] Harry described this third hand contact with prejudice as the way that he experienced and came to realise 'the realities of apartheid.'[394]

Similarly, Linda distinctly remembers noticing, as a child, that 'the African children's school was down by the market square,'[395] which led her to question her father on why they went to separate schools:

> 'My father explained that we went to a whites-only school because we were being educated for life back in England, that this mysterious place was where we belonged. [I] didn't know any better- not much understanding either of England or the country we were living in.'[396]

However, this cultural explanation for segregation does not withstand the question of why non-British white children were therefore *also* being educated 'for life back in England.' In this quotation her father, intentionally or not, highlights the real and unspoken purpose of segregating children by race; to reinforce sentiments of racial identity and to affirm the colonial order of white racial superiority.

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[392] Harry, lines 1037-1042, pp. 32-33
[393] ibid., lines 1057-1068, p. 33
[394] ibid., lines 1065, p. 33
[395] Linda., line 257, p. 9
[396] ibid., lines 176-182, p. 6

Lester (1998) argues, as early as the 1820s, that the invention of a common 'white settler identity' was at the heart of the creation of white colonial society. His paper focuses on the contested and somewhat insecure territory of the British Cape Colony in the early nineteenth-century, and suggests that the common identity that the settlers came to share transcended, to some extent, the social divisions imported from their lives in Britain. In his concluding remarks, he observes that although the differentiating senses of social status, gender, religious affiliation etc. remained within the settler society, they now shared a common 'invented' past and mutual aspirations for the future. These were built upon concepts such as common enemies and the collective endeavour to civilise, which in turn contributed to the construction of a new common settler identity.

Although this thesis investigates the nature of colonial life more than a century later and in a very different context, it can be argued that British colonial education policy in Nyasaland was driven by a similar endeavour. The ambition of the colonials was to reinvent white identity collectively as a *British imperial identity*, loyal to the reigning British Monarch and the British Empire.

Consequently, for European children who lived in Nyasaland and had few tangible links with Britain, school was to be the beginning of a distant and abstract education, much like Linda alluded to in the last quotation. Lucy Ashley, who was a Provincial Commissioner's daughter in Nyasaland, also confronts this alien education in a section of one of her poems:

> 'Another book – 'The History of Britain'
> Was this my heritage;
> Roman roads, Drakes drum, and bombed and burning cities?
> Strong and stirring stuff,
> But I preferred the subtleties of the 'Long Grass Whispers':
> Stories collected from the ancients around the village fires at night.'
> (Baker, 2012: 121)

Not everyone thought to question their very British education whilst growing up, but many have since reflected on it extensively as adults. James, who went to primary school in Zomba, talked about how he never thought learning about Britain was strange when he was a child, because it was so consistent with the culture of his family. In his interview, he talked about the 'terribly missed

opportunity'[397] to learn about Africa at school, and recounted the kinds of things that they covered in class instead:

> '…we were taught as British people, so we were taught British history we were taught no African history at all. We were even taught British geography, you know, the names of the counties and the county towns, we were not taught any African geography, it was amazing how we managed to live our lives without any reference to this glorious place that we were living in, and my dad would encourage that, he didn't see any reason to make a fuss about Africa.'[398]

Edward went to school in Southern Rhodesia, and commented in his interview that they did learn about African history, but when pressed for details he described a *white* Southern African history; '…you know the Pioneer Columns and the Boer War, all that sort of thing, and the Great Trek…'.[399] He recalled that in his later years at school the focus turned to British history, which he said they 'weren't the slightest bit interested in' but had to learn for their exams.[400] Mark also remembered learning about African history but acknowledged that it was 'purely from a British perspective.'[401] He described one of the exercises that contributed to these lessons, 'I can remember hours and hours drawing – I wish I had it actually – an accurate map of Africa with all the countries in and colouring in all the pink ones, which seemed to be, even then, as I was about 10, 9 or 10, it seemed to be a bizarre thing to do….'[402] He concluded that this teacher must have been particularly proud of the fact that she was British and working in colonial Africa. However, it was not only Mark who talked about the strong focus on Britain and the conquered spaces of empire in the classroom. A number of other interviewees also commented on the British patriotic nature of the school system and how it affected them growing up. Most of these interviewees, however, were not of British origin.

All of the aforementioned participants came from families of British origin, and although they evidently still struggled to grasp the distant concept of Britain, at the very least they could reconcile it with their family heritage; this was not the case for non-British European children. For most of the Greek, Italian and

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[397] James, lines 443-445, p. 14
[398] ibid., lines 429-435, p. 14
[399] Edward, lines 417-419, p. 13
[400] ibid., lines 420-422, pp. 13-14
[401] Mark, lines 166-167, p. 6
[402] ibid., lines 167-170, p. 6

Portuguese children who attended white colonial schools, this was their first experience of hearing or speaking English. Alexia was only five when she started school and had previously been living a secluded life on a rural tobacco farm in Nyasaland speaking Greek, Yao and Chinyanja. She remembered what it was like when she first started at the Convent:

> 'I knew Greek and Chichewa, and when I went there of course I was like a fish out of water […] so the African nuns taught me English from Chichewa. They would say "mpando, chair" [points to a chair] you know, that's how I learnt my English, from the African nuns […] the African nuns were the maids, the staff. […] I remember every afternoon I used to go there and they would sit me down and tell me you know, words from Chichewa to English.'[403]

Cris also grew up on a remote farm with her Greek family and had a very similar experience when she got to school:

> 'I used to speak Chichewa and Yao, which of course in the old days it was called Chinyanja, not Chichewa. […] English was my fourth language […] But when I went to the convent I couldn't speak a word of English, so they used to have to bring the African nuns to me, and I would tell them, or the nuns would tell me.'[404]

This developed into a good relationship with the African nuns for Cris, who really hated school and the harsh discipline from the white nuns. She recalled how they would clandestinely let her off the hook when she could not finish her food:

> 'I hated the food so, you're not allowed to leave the table until you'd finished what was on your plate, so they- because I used to take so long to eat, because I couldn't stand it, everybody would leave and I would say to them in Chichewa [Quietly, lowers voice] "Take my plate" and they would take it and throw it out.'[405]

However, young children often learn languages quickly when immersed in new environments. Federico, who came from an Italian family, pointed out that because he was only seven years old when he went to school, he learnt to understand and speak English within the first few months that he was there.[406] Non-British children quickly learnt to adjust to their new linguistic environment in order to 'fit in.' However, these exclusively English speaking worlds were new to some of the British children too. Susan remembered showing off her fluent Chinyanja at school, but quickly learnt not to flaunt her African language skills, '…when I went to boarding school in Johannesburg, and I was quite proud of my

[403] Alexia, lines 88-110, pp. 3-4
[404] Cris, lines 17-25, p. 1
[405] ibid., lines 244-248, p. 8
[406] Federico, lines 213-214, p. 7

language I was actually mocked by the white girls in Johannesburg, and so I shut up soon about being able to speak an African language fluently [laughs].'[407] She said that speaking an African language was looked down upon at her school and so she began to hide it during term time, and then would quite happily revert back to speaking it when she went home to Nyasaland in the holidays.

This contributes to the evidence that any aspects of children's identities that veered from white British values were discouraged in a school environment. The heavy emphasis on British learning resulted in an assimilationist education that left children feeling unable to express 'difference' and required them to conform to the prescribed notion of 'Britishness' regardless of the diversity of their lives prior to starting school. The large majority of the participants from a non-British European background also talked about how this emphasis on Britain at school resulted in sentiments of British superiority among their peers. Additionally, many said that by the time they had finished school there was a part of them that felt British, despite having never been there and having no family connections to Britain. However, the journey to this self-recognition and identification was complex, and some spoke out about the prejudice and teasing that they faced, particularly in the earlier years of their education. They also commented on how this left them with little knowledge of their own history and cultural heritage, again highlighting the colonial education system's sweeping failure to acknowledge or encourage non-British identities.

Cris was adamant that the Greek children were looked down on at the convent school, explaining that because Nyasaland was considered British territory, anyone who was not British was made to feel a 'foreigner.'[408] She also recounted the taunting comments that she put up with from other children:

> 'Yes. So, and then you know we- everything was boiled- that's how we used to eat [at boarding school], boiled cabbage, boiled spinach, boiled potatoes, and I can't stand anything boiled. At home we always put a little bit of olive oil and lemon, so if we put- we had to bring our own little tin of olive oil to last us a term, and I if they saw you putting it on- "Oh you oily Greeks", always downed us.'[409]

[407] Susan, lines 31-33, p. 2
[408] Cris, lines 290-291, p. 10
[409] ibid., lines 299-303, p. 10

Federico also remembered how they would be singled out at school, but said that it only encouraged him to be more patriotic of his roots in Italy:

> 'It affected us, and that's what made us more patriotic to our nations, because then everything that we did at school was very antagonistic, it was always, "let's beat the British at this, let's beat the British at that." So it was good to give you the oomph, the adrenaline, it wasn't good because we thought we were all the same and we weren't treated the same […] we were called the spaghettis and things like that, oh no we were treated- but we didn't really care because at the end of the day we were tough, we were respected, and we had no problem.'[410]

These social hierarchies within school, founded on multiple white ethnicities, went largely unnoticed by British participants although a handful did mention it. Mark in particular recalled a specific incident in which an Italian boy in his class was being teased:

> 'I mean I would have thought some people […] would have felt [pause] definitely excluded on the basis of their nationality […] people were going on at him [Italian boy] because he smelt of garlic […] [I] had to defend his position which I did. But there was an awful lot of that kind of stuff going on […] this was in junior school. When I say an awful lot, it was mostly entirely harmonious, but this kind of discrimination was there and evident and it used to piss me off.'[411]

However, by the time that the children reached secondary school age, it emerged that much of this tension had been ironed out. There is a strong argument to suggest that by this stage the children had developed, to some extent, a collective identity grounded in experiences at school, such as shared knowledges, landscapes and living spaces. One of the most prominent factors that seems to have contributed to this change was the opportunity to participate in team sports. Orestis made specific reference to this saying, 'if you're a good sportsman you break many barriers.'[412] This was evidenced by the fact that he and his cousin Eve – both of whom are of Greek origin – were appointed as head boy and head girl in their final year at the school.

Eve was also a good sportswoman, but it was clear that sporting opportunities were more prevalent for the boys. Team sports were very gendered activities and the girls were largely restricted to hockey and netball. Eve mentioned this in passing during her interview; 'I used to love hockey. I think if they had introduced football then I would have played football, you know but girls

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[410] Federico, lines 366-376, p. 12
[411] Mark, lines 650-663, p. 21
[412] Orestis, lines 130-131, p. 5

didn't play.'[413] Linda alluded to the restrictions on girls' activities at school in Zomba, when she talked about the school playground saying, 'the boys played football, England v South Africa, and the girls wandered around. So did a few of the boys who weren't up to football – their state can't have been good.'[414] She also highlighted other gendered aspects of school life, saying how she, 'longed to play a drum in the class band but that was only for boys.' She remembered that she ended up playing the triangle, which, much to her dismay, 'was the smallest instrument.'[415] She regretfully recalled another incident in which her father discouraged her from going on a school trip in order to allow an extra space for a boy to go:

> '…the class was to go in a minibus to see a real train. The minibus only held 12, and the school decided that the first 12 to arrive at the school on the day would go. My father said I should volunteer not to go because I was a girl. I was desperate to see the train and didn't agree. I loved being shown round the train, a real steam engine of course.'[416]

As a consequence, she came to an early realisation that girls, and matters concerning their education, were considered inferior to that of boys.[417]

Girls' education was certainly treated differently from boys, ranging from the arrangements surrounding the provision of their education to the subjects covered in their curriculum. Cris recalled how much she loved domestic science and the sewing club at her high school, adding that it was only for girls. Girls' education was evidently oriented towards their future roles as mothers and wives in a way that boys' education was not. This is no doubt, to some extent, a reflection of the gendered trends in education in mid-twentieth century Britain. Amy regretted that she was encouraged to leave school and get married rather than fulfil her desire to become a nurse:

> 'So that's as far as my education went. I wanted to become a nurse, my father wouldn't hear of it. […] He used to say "Oh yah, get involved with everybody's blood, yah." And then I got engaged and I got married, so- got married quite young.'[418]

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[413] Eve, lines 577-579, p. 18
[414] Linda, lines 190-192, p. 7
[415] ibid., lines 187-188, p. 6
[416] ibid., lines 217-222, p. 7
[417] ibid., lines 371-372, p. 12
[418] Amy, lines 154-163, pp. 5-6

This attitude towards girls' education, which placed it in an inferior position to that of boys, was also tied in with colonists' future aspirations for the empire. As was implied by the quotation from the Nyasaland Times newspaper, which was referred to earlier in the chapter, education played an important role in making sure that boys were *impressed with the responsibility of their position.* Boys' education was clearly considered a priority in order to secure the continued white British rule of the empire.

A document in the archives affirms the stance that boys' education was considered a more pressing matter than education for girls. When the Marist Fathers wrote to the Nyasaland government in 1919 suggesting that they open a school, they acknowledged from the beginning that boys would likely be sent abroad in search of a better secondary school education. Consequently, they suggested that the school only cater for boys up to a certain age; 'Boys and girls will be admitted in, but boys only till the age of 12 years, as we think that the parents will prefer to send their boys to a college in Europe.'[419] Even in the 1950s Linda comments that there were few older children at the European school in Zomba because 'some, *particularly boys,* went away to boarding school, some to Salisbury in Rhodesia and some to England' [author's emphasis].[420]

There were clearly gendered implications that framed European children's educational experiences both within and outside of the classroom. Where a sense of duty to continue the governance and 'civilising mission' of empire fell to the boys, girls were expected to reproduce the everyday domestic empires of family and home making. However, the gender roles that were impressed upon girls were equally as bound up in British imperial ambitions as the boys' were, with the expectation that girls would fulfil their 'duty' to the future of empire as the next generation of good colonial wives and mothers.

6.4 Conclusion

In his contribution to MacKenzie's (1986: 73) edited volume, *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Bratton rightly points out the limitations of 'teaching as

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[419] Marist Fathers [1919] *Letter from Marist Fathers proposing a European school*
[420] Linda, lines 213-215, p. 7

indoctrination,' even in the case of Victorian boarding schools in Britain, where imperial propaganda extended 'beyond the classroom to the playing-field, the dormitory, and the whole ethos self-consciously created around the *alma mater*'. These pedagogical limitations have been illustrated at length in this chapter through the variety of additional factors that nuanced European children's educational experiences in the colonial setting of Nyasaland, and consequently their understandings of empire, race, ethnicity, gender and ultimately of themselves.

In contrast to the imperial propaganda exoticising far-flung corners of the empire that was meted out at the British schools of which Bratton writes, European children in the colonies were met instead with mythicised and romanticised images of Imperial Britain and 'Britishness.' However, as this chapter has shown, these assimilationist efforts were, at least in part, usurped by the children's personal experiences and lived realities of empire. Their exposure to African cultures, languages, environments and their close relationships with African people added a certain depth to their interpretation of an imperial education that was not, and could not, be afforded their metropolitan peers. Their extensive travel to other British colonies within Southern Africa for their schooling – and for some, to Britain and other European countries – gave them a unique spatial understanding of empire that nuanced their sense of simply 'belonging' to one nation and nationality. This contributed to a widespread rejection among the European children of both a confined sense of belonging and the homogenised Anglo-centric identity which was encouraged by whites-only schools.

Chapter 7

7. Conclusion: "White child of the red earth"

7.1 Overview of Preceding Chapters

The presence of European children in the British Protectorate of Nyasaland was significant, and their contribution to society had an undeniable impact on everyday British colonial life. It has been the central contention of this thesis to understand *how* European children experienced, understood and contributed to twentieth-century British colonialism in Southern Africa. This thesis has argued consistently that European children have not been included in the traditional histories of the British Empire, and that this has been to the detriment of a more nuanced understanding of how colonial society was lived and produced by the various social groups who constituted it. To make this argument, this thesis has explored a myriad of themes and provided in-depth discussions of the children's home lives, their intergenerational relationships with both Europeans and Africans, their interaction with the natural environment, their experiences of play, food, language, health, education and ideologies of nationhood, belonging and

‘home.’ It has considered how all of these factors contributed to European children’s identities and how their interactions with the socio-political spaces of colonial Nyasaland shaped their understandings of themselves and of those around them.

In doing so, this thesis responds to the need for more interconnected studies of Britain’s national and imperial histories (see: Burton 2000), and expands on Lester’s (2001) work that seeks to understand collective identity construction through imperial networks of knowledge across the British empire and between spaces of empire and the metropole. Through tracing the children’s movements and travels both within Nyasaland and across other colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as their real and imagined interactions with Europe, this thesis brings a nuanced contribution to this field of work. It introduces the important networks that children built across empire through their often-autonomous movements across imperial space and time, and how these contributed to their understandings of ‘home’, nation and empire and ultimately their own identities.

By placing children at the centre of this research and the analysis of colonial life in Nyasaland, this thesis makes a valuable contribution to the existing literature on imperial domesticity that uses family life and home spaces to revise traditional understandings of empire that are centred on the white male experience (see: Blunt, 1999; 2005; Buettner, 2004; Ha, 2014; Stoler, 2010). This field of research has been lacking an analysis of family life in the British colonies of sub-Saharan Africa and has placed much of its focus on colonial India. Through an analysis of both the material and imagined geographies of home (see: Blunt & Dowling, 2006) in European children’s lives in Nyasaland, the research presented in this thesis has brought new perspectives to the study of intimate spaces of empire and the ways in which imperial ideologies were reinforced, reproduced and resisted therein.

This thesis follows the important work of Elizabeth Buettner (2004) and Ann Laura Stoler (2010). Both have previously argued for more in-depth research into children’s participation (and absences) from colonial everyday life which reveal that children in themselves were important sites of socio-political contest and have the potential to reveal much about the production of colonial cultures and the everyday reproductions of imperialism. Furthermore, Buettner (2004)

asserts that the study of children in the colonies can reveal important details about colonial class divides, in particular through an analysis of their schooling. Her work focusses on an Indian context, but this thesis has consistently shown this to be the case in Nyasaland as well. The importance of where children went to school, as well as the numerous applications made by European families to the Nyasaland government for financial support for school fees, reveals much about a given family's financial circumstances and class status. It also sheds light on the colonial government's anxieties around the emergence of an illiterate class of poor whites that would undermine the colonial myth of white superiority upon which they relied for continued imperial rule.

This myth of white superiority is heavily bound up in ideas of 'whiteness' revealing the structures through which white privilege was produced and reproduced in the colonies. This thesis has contributed to the whiteness debate in its response to the wide body of literature in the field of Whiteness Studies that advocates for more critical deconstructions of racial whiteness along intersecting lines of race, place and gender (see: Ware, 1992) and additionally, as this thesis argues, *age*. Through the exploration of European children's constructions of their own whiteness in Nyasaland, this thesis shows that whiteness cannot be interpreted as simplistic, stable or monolithic, but rather it is disruptive and ever changing (see: Bonnett, 2000). The places in which the children's whiteness was often most stark was in the spaces, instances and relationships in which they transgressed this 'nature of whiteness' that they were supposed to embody.

Consequently, the preceding chapters have consistently shown that European children in Nyasaland were far from passive recipients of imperial ideologies, but rather they actively participated in, and sometimes undermined, the structures and expectations of colonial society. European children were often placed in spaces that were intended to be exclusively European. However, as this research has shown, children actively engaged in cross-cultural exchange, and even these – often segregated – spaces, became places in which the children's cultural hybridity was nourished. Spaces such as European homes became contested socio-political sites where children engaged with African culture and language, and where their presumed homogenous European identities were called into question.

While the participant sample interviewed for this research cannot be held to represent the experiences of all European children who grew up in British colonies in Africa, it does provide a basis upon which to acknowledge children as producers of their own cultures, and as vital contributors to the colonial societies in which they grew up. Not only did they shape their own spaces, but they also had an important effect on how European adults used and negotiated colonial space. European children's impact on spatiotemporal aspects of colonial life is not only visible through their own independent actions and choices, but can also be recognised in the *reactive* actions and decisions of adults, and particularly parents, in response to the perceived needs of their children.

This was starkly illustrated by parents' decisions to send their sons and daughters abroad, away from tropical climates and the perceived threat the tropics posed to their health and even to their physical and mental development. These colonial ideologies of racial degeneration, that were so acutely visible in adult attitudes towards white children, show that whilst on the one hand children often contradicted the racial and cultural hegemonies that were expected of them, on the other, they exemplified and embodied colonial justifications of racial ordering. In a bid to answer the research questions laid out at the beginning of this thesis (in section 1.3), chapters four to six have revealed, in detail, these everyday contradictions and intricacies of white childhood in colonial Nyasaland.

To address the first research question of how family life and the home environment shaped European children's experiences of colonial life and consequently influenced the children's understandings of home both within and outside of Nyasaland, chapter four engaged in an extensive discussion of the micro-geographies of domestic colonial life. It considered how the domestic environment impacted European children's construction of their identities and their sense of belonging, as well as how it contributed to their initial understandings of the structures of colonial society, and the roles that children played in the construction of the home environment.

This chapter found that children were able to actively make and unmake space in their home environments – albeit within parameters set by European parents and African carers. It revealed that participants' memories of home were often recalled in terms of sensory experiences within the home, and that these experiences were interconnected with the spaces in which they took place. These

spaces were then transformed into *children's places*, which had been constructed *by* the children for their own purposes and gain. These places often existed outside the prescribed adult spaces of the family house, although still within the bounds of the family grounds. For some it was a favourite tree, for others a den in the garden or a particular stream. For a significant number of participants it was a trip to the servants' quarters to eat with them and their families, and sometimes to play with their children.

As such European children began to attach their own meanings to spaces in and around their homes, which were unique to their use and understanding of their environments. These places often crosscut social boundaries of race, and subsequently exposed European children to cultures beyond those of their European homes. This in turn blurred the sociospatial boundaries of race that characterised British colonialism, and resulted in European children negotiating and straddling the separate worlds of 'black' and 'white' from an early age.

Chapter four argued that although colonial homes were modelled on gendered and racialised ideologies of home-making practices, in reality, they were often spaces where European children disrupted and unsettled colonial structures of white authority. The number of European children in Nyasaland rose with the progression of British colonialism into the early-mid twentieth century, and greatly reshaped the everyday lives of British colonial households. Participants' memories of their home environments reveal that their family houses were far from being sites of racial homogeneity. Even those children who grew up in families who were particularly aware of their 'superior' white social status had some interaction with African servants and found ways to engage (to varying degrees) with African culture.

Children's close relationships with African servants in the home was a particularly strong theme of domestic life in Nyasaland, and reveals the intergenerational, extrafamilial relationships that significantly contributed to the shaping of European colonial childhood. Within these intergenerational, interracial relationships, an additional dynamic of *age* crosscut existing dynamics of race, such that children experienced black adult authority from a young age. The close and unique relationships that children developed with their family's servants, blurred the boundaries of imperial racial hierarchies in ways that contradicted colonial ideologies of white racial authority. On the one hand the

servants' presence in the house was symbolic of the colonial racial hierarchies within which the children existed, and on the other, the servants were the very means through which the presumed homogeneity of the children's European identities was disrupted.

Part 1a) of the first research question asks how the spatial and social contexts of colonialism impacted European children's understandings of race, identity and national belonging. Drawing on existing studies of imperial domesticity, chapter four considered how ideas of home, nation and empire were constructed beyond the family house, as well as the extent to which European children participated in the (re)production of imperial ideologies through their engagement with domestic space. Consequently, it explored how the sociospatial strata of colonial society in Nyasaland was often expressed in a very physical manner. For example, people from various class backgrounds, nationalities or ethnicities invariably occupied different residential areas of the towns.

Crucially, it found that European children were acutely aware of these spatial representations of social difference and inequality. As such, European children were far from passive observers of colonial spatial ordering, but rather – as in the case of James and the black politician who came to his house – they were capable of actively (re)producing and reinforcing spatial rules as they perceived them to be. Despite the fact that this was the case, European children also frequently contradicted and transgressed the social and racial boundaries that framed everyday life in the colonies. Therefore, chapter four revealed that European children occupied a unique 'place' in society that permitted them to move across sociospatial boundaries, in ways that other social groups in colonial society could not. European children's privileged ability to cross socially constructed boundaries of race, class and nationality meant that they were able to experience multiple cultures across multiple spaces. This undermined imperial ideals of racial segregation and ideologies of homogenous whiteness, as European children learnt to employ different behaviours, languages and cultural practices according to the spaces in which they found themselves at any particular time.

Chapter five sought to investigate how European children interacted with the natural environment in order to answer the second research question of how their engagement with the African landscape shaped their everyday childhood experiences in Nyasaland. Specifically, it uncovered how the children's

relationships with the African landscape contributed to their understanding of the world around them and influenced the construction of their childhood identities. The chapter revealed that the environment was closely linked with the children's construction of consciousness and identity. It was in the natural environment that children often found respite from the structures of prescribed white adult authority over the spaces that they used.

Crucially, unlike European children in Europe, white colonial children were entering into a landscape that contradicted the European cultures of their home lives and their family heritage on a daily basis. Through their independent engagement with the outdoors, children became acquainted with indigenous African languages, culture and play. They also gained local knowledge of the environment, which included making toys out of natural materials, and gathering food sources. The latter was often framed as a recreational activity with African children, as in the case of Julian trying to get cicadas (large insects) out of the trees using a long stick with a blob of viscous resin on the end of it.

The more that white children engaged with the outdoor spaces of Nyasaland, the more that they began to express their own individual cultures that were developed outside of the structures and constraints of adult authority. This chapter identified these new cultural spaces as a physical example of Bhabha's 'Third Space'; in other words, spaces in which the emerging cultural contradictions of someone's identity can be articulated. As such, the environment represented a realm in which children's cultural identities in Nyasaland were shaped, and where European cultural homogeneity was called into question and often undermined. In this way, this chapter showed that the outdoor African landscape was a critical element of the hybridisation of young white identity in colonial Africa, and heavily contributed to the construction of European children's identities.

However, the fifth chapter did not stop at the often-nostalgic portrayal of children's relationships with outdoor life in Africa. It dug deeper into participants' memories of the environment, and explored themes of the dangers of wildlife and of tropical disease. It found that the anxieties surrounding both of these realities were largely expressed by the adults in children's lives, rather than by the children themselves. Although children were acutely aware of the risks posed to them by the environment, it was largely the precautions put in place by adults that

participants recalled in relation to how the surrounding natural environment impacted their daily lives. This was illustrated by examples such as the daily routines of taking anti-malarial prophylactic medication, having to be home and indoors before dusk, having to wear shoes and hats, and even the extreme of being sent far away from the 'hazards' of a tropical climate to boarding schools in other countries. In the latter example children had little to no agency over the decision to be sent away, even though this separation from their familiar environments had a significant impact on them. Chapter six explored this aspect of children's lives in detail, from the political decisions surrounding education, to the agency that children displayed within the confines of these decisions that were made on their behalf.

Chapter six responded to the third research question, which sought to understand the role that colonial education played in the construction of white colonial childhood. Through an extensive exploration of the educational experiences of European children who grew up in Nyasaland, chapter six shed light on the numerous ways in which education shaped the experiences of white childhood in Africa. It explored themes of separation, racial segregation, nationhood and gendered education, to find that colonial schooling had a profound psychosocial impact on the children who experienced it.

In doing so, it examined the foundations of decision-making by colonial adults, with regard to sending their children to boarding schools outside of Nyasaland. Although children had very little agency in the decision-making process regarding the location of their schooling, this chapter showed that they demonstrated huge resilience towards the long-term separation that they experienced from their homes and families. Children showed considerable agency in the ways that they were able to cope with the long journeys to and from school, and the long periods of time that they spent away from home. It showed how they were able to navigate complex journeys, often on their own or in small groups.

However, this separation had a significant emotional impact on participants' childhoods that many found difficult to recount in the interviews. At the time, the emotional impact of separation upon the children's lives did not appear to be a consideration of the colonial government, or indeed many of the children's parents. In fact, the emotional impact of children going to boarding school was often perceived as the parents' burden. This shifted the attention away

from the children's emotional needs, and instilled in them an expectation to simply get on with it. However, the emotional environment of the schools often left much to be desired, such that children suffered further emotional difficulties in their day-to-day school lives.

Furthermore, for many children the strong emphasis on British education and the racial segregation of colonial schools, was a new and alien experience. Chapter six argues that the racialised, segregated educational experience that colonial schools offered, was part of an agenda by the British colonial government to unify European children by virtue of their common whiteness. It found that the project of colonial education was both racialised and gendered, shedding light on colonial intentions to maintain a distinction between race, and gender roles within the colonies. Schools were therefore a training ground for the future of the British Empire. Boys were expected to carry the weight of their 'responsibility' to continue British Imperial rule as future colonial rulers and administrators, whilst girls were expected to carry the burden of colonial domestic life as future wives and mothers. In short, they were expected to sustain and reproduce the ideologies and fabric of the British Empire.

However, the crux of the sixth chapter showed that assimilating white minds to uphold the ideologies of colonialism was not that simple. It showed that there were strong pedagogical limitations to this kind of indoctrination through education. The colonial education system's attempt to unify children through their whiteness, and for them to share a profoundly British identity (even amongst non-British European children), was frequently usurped by the children's lived realities of growing up in Africa, and their exposure to multiple cultures. Participants often showed agency through the rejection of a confined sense of belonging and the homogenous British identity that was encouraged by colonial schools. This does not mean that children rejected the idea of British identity altogether, nor that they actively opposed and resisted colonial ideologies of race, but rather that they were able to subscribe to aspects of a variety of cultures, languages and identities selectively, as and when it suited them. This is what undermined the presumed British identities that were expected of them as a result of their colonial education, as they were unable to express a single sense of belonging to a single locality (namely Britain).

The European children's colonial educational experiences called into question their own understandings of a sense of belonging and identity, as they struggled to reconcile themselves with a very British education. Through their educational experiences, many children began to understand the racial and social hierarchies that framed the society in which they were growing up. Susan began to realise the reality of racial hierarchy, through the suppression of her own expression of African identity at school. As per the example given in chapter six, Susan hid the fact that she was able to speak an African language after being ridiculed by some of the white girls at her school for being able to do so. For many of the non-British children, this was also a time when they began to realise and experience the social hierarchies of various European nationalities within a colonial context of British rule, as they were immersed in the patriotic teachings of British colonial schools. As a result of their formal education and schooling, children began to gain an understanding of their 'place' in colonial society, and the social and ethnoclass hierarchies that formed the lines along which colonial life was structured. The colonial school can therefore be considered a 'site of recognition' in which sociospatial boundaries of race, gender and nationality were formed in children's spheres of consciousness.

7.2 Concluding Remarks: Privileged Hybridity

Space, as approached throughout this thesis, can be understood as something that is always changing, always unfinished, and in a constant state of flux (Massey, 2005). Such a description is echoed in the identities of those who encountered the multiple contested and multi-layered spaces that framed colonial life in Nyasaland, and which has been evidenced throughout the preceding chapters of this thesis. European children's identities were shaped by a range of material and imagined interactions with different spatial contexts, ranging from their homes, to their schools, to their interactions with the natural environment, and all of the complex social relationships that existed therein. This thesis has theorised European children's identities along these lines, reflecting the unresolvedness of the spaces that they encountered, and the consequent 'identities in flux' that they embodied. Beana (2009: 435) succinctly illustrated this when she wrote that the colonies produced 'generations of foreign-born

British children who dwelt in an *undefined place* between the English and native cultures' [author's emphasis].

This ambivalent, 'undefined place' which European children evidently occupied can be usefully identified as Bhabha's (2010) notion of the 'Third Space' which emerges from individual states of *hybridity*. As discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.4.1) of this thesis, hybridity is a term that has to be carefully employed as Young (1995) rightly warns of its essentialising nature which risks overestimating the extent to which categories of race and cultural identity in the past were fixed entities. As such, the term has been applied throughout the thesis within a specific context, and has critically engaged with imperial racial ideology as well as considering the cross-cutting dynamics of identity, culture and nationality.

Bhabha developed this concept of hybridity in order 'to describe the construction of culture and identity within conditions of colonial antagonism and inequity' (Meredith, 1998: 2). Meredith goes on to describe that hybridity, for Bhabha, is the process by which colonial authorities attempted to translate the identities of colonised people using a 'universal framework' of Western culture, but ultimately failing, and instead producing something that is 'similar, but new' (ibid.). For Bhabha (2010), the notion of the *third space* is a bi-product of hybridisation, and can be conceptualised as a productive space in which homogenising Western knowledges of culture are disrupted, interrupted and interrogated, producing new forms of cultural meaning and challenging our sense of culture as a 'homogenising, unifying force' (p. 54).

This thesis consequently argues that European children's experiences of colonisation in Nyasaland can be characterised by the postcolonial notion of *hybridity*, as they were the product of colonial societies' socialising attempts to translate their identities along lines of Western culture. As products of colonial education (as discussed in Chapter 6) and socialisation, European children also represent a failed attempt by colonial authorities to (re)produce homogenised Western culture, as they constructed their identities across multiple cultural spaces. They too represent the cultural production of something that is *similar, but new*.

Bhabha (2006: 156) argues that all interpretations of culture are constructed in this ambivalent third space of enunciation, and therefore any

'hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or "purity" of cultures are untenable.' Although she does not directly reference Bhabha's work, Antoinette Errante's (2003: 33) concluding remarks in her paper on the education of Portuguese settler children in Mozambique, clearly illustrate Bhabha's point:

> 'The colonial pathologies that whites transported to the colonies and how these subsequently played themselves out in Mozambique, determined the difference between what white settler children were supposed to learn about race, nation and colonial omnipotence in schools and what they actually learned. Within the broader context of colonial society, colonial schools enabled some … [white] children to formulate identities and conceptions of race and class that differed from those for which the colonial school was designed: the reproduction of Portuguese colonial hegemony. In the end, neither the schools nor colonial society at large could completely mask the realisation that the omnipotence myth was indeed a myth.'

Errante's 'omnipotence myth' refers to the intention of Portuguese colonial authorities to perpetuate – among white and black colonial subjects – the idea of hegemonic white Portuguese superiority. However, as she goes on to reveal, many white Portuguese children who stayed on in Mozambique, found a sense of Mozambican national identity in the very 'Africanness' that the 'myth' encouraged them to reject; namely, language, culture, relationships and attachment to the physical African landscape.

The quotation used in the title of this conclusion – 'white child of the red earth' – is an evocative phrase used by Lucy Ashley to describe herself in a series of poems about her childhood in Nyasaland (published in Baker, 2012). Despite spending her adult years away from Africa, this description exposes her lasting sense of attachment to the physical landscape of Nyasaland and exposes her life-long sense of belonging to the country in which she grew up. In his interview, her brother told the moving story of how she ended up taking her family to visit Malawi towards the end of her life:

> 'Later on she took both her sons out, she had been diagnosed with [a terminal illness] so she knew that she had sort of a month and a half or something, so she bundled them all out there [laughs] and grandchildren, […] so she took them all out and climbed Mulanje [mountain] with them and went round places and so on, as a final [chokes up] sort of homage I suppose.'[421]

[421] Bill, lines 1429-1436, p. 44

He added afterwards that his sister's story was an example of the ways in which the country could 'get under one's skin.'[422] It is also indicative of the hybridisation of European children's sense of belonging, which characterised so many of the interviewees' responses to questions about their identities.

However, it was often only after participants had recalled experiencing their 'imagined' culture of origin that they would begin to articulate a hybrid sense of belonging to Africa, as well as their European national heritage. It was at the *interface* of experiencing the realities of their 'imagined' homes in Europe that children began to articulate a sense of unbelonging and difference. This 'interface' of real and imagined identities could also be identified as Bhabha's *third space*, from which new meanings and understandings of the children's own cultural identities emerged. Bhabha (2006: 157) asserts that 'by exploring this hybridity, this "Third Space," we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of ourselves.'

When European children were eventually faced with their culture of origin, the illusions of their 'imagined' European identities were shattered because they were viewed by their peers with a 'Western gaze,' that made them feel somehow exoticised or 'other'; ironically, this is the same 'Western gaze' through which European children had been socialised to see people of colour as 'other' in the colonies. This disruptive idea of 'otherness' responds to Blunt's (1994: 160) proposition that ideologies of 'otherness' should be 'destabalised' to give voice to those who have been marginalised by strategies of imperial totalisations, such as, race, gender, class and age.

When interviewed, Patrick described this sense of 'otherness' through his experiences of going to primary school in a small town in the north of England, while his family were on home leave from Nyasaland in the UK. He said that he remembers that visit as the first time that he was 'aware of a difference' and felt that he was seen as 'slightly exotic' because he lived in Africa. Feeling uncomfortable with his 'difference', he recalled that his 'own accent changed a bit as [he] was keen to sort of camouflage.'[423] Even for those who did not explicitly acknowledge their sense of difference, it was evident in their recollections of

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[422] ibid., line 1437, p. 44
[423] Patrick, lines 339-343, p. 11

settling into life in Europe. James said that when he went to school in England, he 'just moved seamlessly into being a British boy because [he]'d been one all along.'[424] However, this was contradictory to an earlier comment that he had made regarding his adjustment into his English secondary school:

> 'I wasn't very good at socialising with the boys in the school because their experience of life- I mean we'd all arrived at the same time, aged thirteen, but their experience of life was English and *different* and I was conscious of the need to learn how to behave with them.'[425] [Author's emphasis]

Even for those, like James, who felt a strong sense of British identity, the differences between them and their peers were pronounced. Charles stated in his interview that even though he moved to England around 1954 when he was eighteen years old and has lived there ever since, he still feels that he is somehow different; 'Brits are on two lists, they are on the 'home list' or on the 'abroad list', and I became a fully qualified Brit, still on the abroad list [laughs] I could never be on the home list! [laughs].'[426]

Non-British European children in Nyasaland were further negotiating an additional layer of cultural space, which built upon the already complex, multi-layered influences at work in the construction of their childhood identities. When asked about his sense of national identity, Luis, a research participant of Portuguese descent, said, 'it was difficult, it was like you were in-between.'[427] Along with other Portuguese children living in Blantyre, he attended the British school, St. Andrews, in the morning and then went to 'Portuguese school' in the afternoon. He explained that, 'because there was a lot of Portuguese nationals, the Portuguese government says, no we're sending a teacher to teach, […] so you don't forget your roots, the language and all that. Yah so we had a Portuguese teacher here for quite a few years.'[428] Maria, who was interviewed jointly with her husband Luis, added to his comments saying that she had very 'mixed feelings' about her sense of national identity and belonging as a child. Orestis, whose family is of Greek origin, also expressed this in the ambivalent description of his identity and the multiple factors that have shaped it:

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[424] James, lines 588-589, p. 19
[425] ibid., lines 524-527, p. 17
[426] Charles, lines 909-911, p. 28
[427] Maria & Luis, line 752, p. 24
[428] ibid., lines 773-777, p. 24

> 'Yah. And remember the other thing, the other very very important factor for me in my life was, the British way of discipline and law and order you could say, at school, when you were told something you had to abide by it, when you got into line, you got in line and you didn't talk, and you didn't jump the queue. That was instilled in me, and if you go to Greece, they are rebellious, they're not like that, they've got a different spirit [...] so- Greece for me didn't really attract me at all, not at all, in fact my home is Malawi, more than anything else.'[429]

Cris expressed a similar sentiment to Orestis saying, 'I can't say it's home, I have no connection with Greece- [...] I feel like I'm not Greek, I don't know anything about the Greeks.'[430] On the other hand, Alexia expressed her identity as both Malawian *and* Greek when she talked about how she explains her origins to people when she visits Greece; 'they say, "where are you from?" we say Malawi [...] and they say, "oh what are you?" I say, "I'm a Malawian Greek!"'[431]

The fluidity with which many European children crossed these sociospatial boundaries of race, nationality and culture in Nyasaland, often left them with an ambivalent sense of identity that straddled the cultures in which they had grown up. Their constant negotiation of the 'real' (African) and 'imagined' (European) spaces to which they felt they belonged, resulted in complex and multi-layered identities that were frequently expressed – to varying degrees – by the participants of this research. The unresolvedness of participants' sense of belonging, can be articulated as the resultant hybridisation of identity that emerges from conditions of colonial inequity. It reveals a failure of the colonial authorities to reproduce, in European children, homogenised Western identities through education and the attempted (re)production of European, with a strong emphasis on British, culture in the colonies. This resulted in European children embodying cultures that were *similar* to those of their parents, but that were also *new*. This was articulated through disruptive notions of 'otherness' that children experienced when faced with the realities of life in Europe.

As a result, this thesis has shown that although *hybridity*, in its postcolonial sense, is known to be born out of the *social oppression* of colonised people, it can also be born out of *social opportunity* and can be identified in the European children of colonisers. However, the two must be carefully differentiated. Although the resultant ambivalent and fractured identities embodied by all those

[429] Orestis, lines 193-206, p. 7
[430] Cris, lines 380-383, p. 12
[431] Alexia, lines 647-648, p. 20

whose childhoods collided with a colonial encounter are similar, the process by which this *hybridity* and *otherness* occurs cannot be directly compared. As such, this thesis suggests that white colonial children underwent a process of *privileged hybridity* that resulted in an encounter with Bhabha's 'third space', and produced new expressions of identity that were embodied by European children. This was the result of European children's unique social mobility that allowed them to fluidly cross the colonial boundaries of 'black' and 'white', and which has not yet been documented in the experiences of any other groups of adults or children, of any race, in Nyasaland.

This confirms that white children's experiences of colonisation were unique from those of their European adult counterparts, and that their life stories shed new and original light on the nuances and intricacies of everyday lived experiences of British colonialism. Thus, children are deserving of continued research and academic attention within colonial and postcolonial narratives of everyday life in the British Empire.

7.3 Future Work

This thesis has evidenced the valuable contribution that an applied lens of children's historical geographies can bring to colonial and postcolonial studies. In doing so, it has also brought to light further silenced voices that have emerged alongside the narratives of European children in the colonies, and calls for further research into the lives of children of all races who grew up in colonial contexts. For example, there is a particular lack of research into the lives of Indian children who grew up in spaces of the British Empire but away from 'British India'. This research has revealed that there was a large community of Indians in Nyasaland, as well a significant number of mixed-race 'Indoafrican' children. Their experiences of growing up in Nyasaland as colonised people exist deep in the archives and live on in the memories of the elderly Indian community in Malawi. Future work of a similar nature to the research undertaken in this thesis, could uncover the valuable, fading experiences of this social group, who were segregated from both black and white communities (although often educated alongside 'Eurafrican' children). Their stories would greatly add to our

understandings of the complex layers of colonial society that have been explored at length in this thesis. The same can be said for children of other social strata and racial backgrounds, whose experiences have yet to be comprehensively studied. As stated in section 1.1 of this thesis, Lee (2010) has produced some archive-based work on the experiences of children from mixed European and African heritage in Nyasaland, but there is still much work that can be done through the collection of oral histories and their personal testimonies of growing up under imperialism.

Further areas of research that would open up this neglected field, would be to consider children of varying socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, in the contexts of other European colonies in Africa. Errante (2003) has initiated work on childhood in the Portuguese colonies, but there is significant scope for more work to be carried out in other European colonial territories, such as German Tanganyika, French West Africa and Italian North and East Africa. Increased research into the everyday lives of children in British colonies, also has strong potential to shed light on the nuanced differences between the larger British settler colonies of Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, for example, and the smaller British administrations such as Nyasaland.

However, perhaps the most stark and evident of the 'silenced' voices to permeate the narratives of European children's lives in the colonies, are those of the African domestic servants and their families. Although a limited number of studies exploring the lives of domestic servants in Africa do exist (for examples of research based in South Africa see: Cock, 1989; Gaitskell et al., 1983), their stories are largely absent from the historical literature and archives documenting Malawi's history. Throughout the interviews carried out for this thesis, African servants in the home were a consistent and integral part of European narratives of childhood in Nyasaland. It was within the remit of this research to explore this further and to seek an understanding of how white children's relationships with African servants impacted and nuanced the construction of European childhood. In doing so, it has opened up scope for further research to explore these intergenerational and interracial relationships from the perspective of African servants, and to try and gain a better understanding of how they perceived and negotiated the sociospatial structures of European colonial homes and societies.

Continued research of this nature would further increase our awareness of the micro-geographies of everyday life in the colonies, and would broaden our

understandings of the intricate workings and effects of colonisation on an individual scale. It would add to the critique of 'traditional' histories of Empire that this thesis has sought to counter from the start. This research has contributed new and broader understandings of British colonialism in the late nineteenth and early/mid twentieth centuries. In doing so, it has shown how the exploration of more variegated social groups who constituted colonial society, richly nuances the current social representation of imperial histories. In particular, it has exposed the voices of European children in Nyasaland, and demonstrated that their lived experiences can, and do, inform and enhance our understandings of British colonialism.

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Julian (2015), *Participant 2, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded SKYPE interview]. 8 July 2016, 17:00. USA

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Rupert (2015), *Participant 4, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 10 July 2015, 10:45. Surrey, UK

James (2015), *Participant 5, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 11 July 2015, 11:30. Surrey, UK

Joanna (2015), *Participant 6, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 12 July 2015, 12:00. London, UK

William (2015), *Participant 7, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 15 July 2015, 14:30. Devon, UK

Charles (2015), *Participant 8, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 17 July 2015, 11:00. Dartmouth, UK

Harry (2015), *Participant 9, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 20 July 2015, 11:00. Devon, UK

Linda (2015), *Participant 10, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Written answers and notes from interview]. 25 August 2015, 10:00. Pembrokeshire, UK

George (2015), *Participant 11, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 14 November 2015, 14:00. Thyolo, Malawi

Barbara (2015), *Participant 12, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 18 November 2015, 10:00. Limbe, Blantyre

Alexia (2015), *Participant 13, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 19 November 2015, 10:00. Blantyre, Malawi

Paul (2015), *Participant 14, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 20 November 2015, 10:00. Limbe, Malawi

Federico (2015), *Participant 15, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 4 December 2015, 10:30. Blantyre, Malawi

Edward (2015), *Participant 16, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 8 December 2015, 10:30. Zomba, Malawi

Carol (2015), *Participant 17, Growing up in Nyasaland,* [Recorded interview] 14 December 2015, 10:30. Blantyre, Malawi

John (2015), *Participant 18, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 15 December 2015, 10:30. Blantyre, Malawi

Richard (2015), *Participant 19, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 20 December 2015, 14:00. Thyolo, Malawi

Orestis (2016), *Participant 20, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 5 January 2016, 13:00. Blantyre, Malawi

Cris (2016), *Participant 21, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 6 January 2016, 10:00. Blantyre, Malawi

Hugh (2016), *Participant 22, Growing up in Nyasaland* [recorded interview]. 12 January 2016, 14:00. Zomba, Malawi

Thomas (2016), *Participant 23, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 13 January 2016, 10:00. Zomba, Malawi

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Amy (2016), *Participant 27, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 19 January 2016, 13:00. Blantyre, Malawi

Maria & Luis (2016), *Interview with married couple Maria and Luis, participants 28 & 29 respectively, Growing up in Nyasaland*, [Joint Recorded Interview] 20 January 2016, 14:00. Blantyre, Malawi

Andreas (2016), *Participant 30, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview] 21 January 2016, 14:00. Limbe, Malawi

Eve (2016), *Participant 31, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 27 February 2016, 12:00. Coventry, UK

Patrick (2016), *Participant 32, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded SKYPE interview]. 17 March 2016, 22:00. Adelaide, Australia

Teresa (2016), *Participant 33, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 11 April 2016. 14:00. Bristol, UK

Mark (2016), *Participant 34, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 15 April 2016, 10:30. Midlands, UK

Elisabeth (2016), *Participant 35, Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 21 April 2016, 10:30. Yorkshire

Mary (2016), Participant 36, *Growing up in Nyasaland* [Recorded interview]. 19 July 2016, 14:00. London, UK

Archive Collections

Britain

***London,** The British National Archives (BNA)*

CO 525/148/15	Government correspondence on the subject of European Education [1933] London, BNA
CO 525/148/16	European Education – School in Blantyre [1933] BNA, London
CO 525/131/14	Government correspondence on the subject of European Education [1929], London, BNA
CO 525/138/5	Nyasaland Government Correspondence on European Education [1930] London, BNA
CO 525/155/11	The Anglo-African Association, Memorial on the Education of Half-Castes [1934] London, BNA

***Oxford,** The Oxford Colonial Records Collection*

MSS/Afr/t/32	Photograph Albums belonging to Edward Price Roe from 1900-1921. Oxford Colonial Records Collection, Bodleian Library Special Collections, Oxford University

***Edinburgh,** The University of Edinburgh Library Archives (EUL)*

MS. 2503/3 (1)	Photographs c. 1873-1926, Edinburgh, EUL
MS. 2503/2 (2)	E. Booth Langworthy's original book transcript of 'Into Africa with Father, This Africa was Mine' [1939-1952] Edinburgh, EUL

Malawi

***Blantyre,** Society of Malawi Library and Archives (SoM)*

Box 036, Nyasaland/Malawi Burial records, SoM Blantyre

Box 102, Nyasaland Government Papers on Education, SoM Blantyre

Box 203, Societies and Organisations (inc. papers from the NCW), SoM Blantyre

British Central African Protectorate Blue Books 1905-1938, British Central African Protectorate/Nyasaland Government Records, SoM Blantyre

Digital Photograph Collection

Registrar's volumes of Births and Deaths, Album 200, Scan 0005, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

Bishops Family Photograph Collection c. 1950s, Society of Malawi Library and Archives Digital Photograph collection, Mandala House, Blantyre

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S1/1587^{II}/27 European Education in Nyasaland, MNA, Zomba

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Participant Profiles

No.	Name/ Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Father's occupation	Nationality	Places lived in Malawi
1.	Bill	77	M	Government Colonial Service	British	Zomba Nkotakota Mulanje Dedza Blantyre
2.	Julian	78	M	Agricultural Officer	British	Salima Ncheu Likuni Lilongwe Zomba
3.	Susan	75	F	Agricultural sector	British	Ncheu Salima Likuni Zomba Lilongwe
4.	Rupert	76	M	Agricultural Officer	British	Salima Ncheu Likuni Lilongwe Zomba
5.	James	64	M	Government Colonial Service	British	Zomba
6.	Joanna	60	F	Government Colonial Service	British	Zomba
7.	William	72	M	Colonial Service (Engineer)	British	Lilongwe Mzimba Njakwa (nr. Rumpi) Zomba
8.	Charles	79	M	Banker	British, S. African	Blantyre
9.	Harry	80	M	Farmer (Tobacco)	British	Mpale Estate (Mbabzi Estates) & Mbabzi Estate HQ nr. Lilongwe
10.	Linda	62	F	Government Colonial Service	British	Zomba
11.	George	85	M	Tea Planters	British	Thyolo
12.	Barbara	80	F	Accountant	British	Limbe
13.	Alexia	66	F	Farmers	Greek	Namwera
14.	Paul	70	M	Tea Planters	British	Thyolo Zomba Mulanje

15.	Federico	70	M	Farmers	Italian	Namadzi
16.	Edward	65	M	Tobacco farmers	British	Nr. Zomba
17.	Carol	60	F	Trade	British	Limbe
18.	John	64	M	Farmers (Tobacco)	British	Limbe
19.	Richard	67	M	Parents farmed, father also worked for colonial government (engineer)	British	Port Herald Chikwawa Mwanza Chileka Blantyre
20.	Orestis	70	M	Mangochi Fisheries	Greek	Mangochi Blantyre
21.	Cris	69	F	Farmers	Greek	Namwera
22.	Hugh	77	M	Farmers	British	Zomba
23.	Thomas	62	M	Tobacco farmers	British	Zomba
24.	Giancarlo	58	M	Tea Planters	Italian	Thyolo
25.	Jayne	78	F	Colonial Service, Engineer	British	Zomba
26.	An	77	F	Colonial Service, Engineer	British	Zomba
27.	Amy	60	F	Farmers	Greek	Namwera
28.	Maria	53	F	Traders	Portuguese	Dedza
29.	Luis	59	M	Construction	Portuguese	Blantyre
30.	Andreas	63	M	Farmers	Greek	Namwera
31.	Eve	69	F	Farmers	Greek	Namwera
32.	Patrick	69	M	Government airport manager	British	Chileka Blantyre
33.	Teresa	63	F	Government Colonial Service	British	Zomba Ncheu
34.	Mark	64	M	Government Colonial Service	British	Blantyre
35.	Elisabeth	69	F	Government Colonial Service	British	Lilongwe Mzimba Njakwa (nr. Rumpi) Zomba
36.	Mary	64	F	Government Colonial Service	British	Zomba

Appendix 2: Participant Pen-Portraits

For the interviewees who requested it, pseudonyms have been used to replace their first names. Some interviewees preferred for their real names to be used, and therefore, they have not been assigned pseudonyms in order to respect their wishes. However, in the interest of protecting the anonymity of those who requested it, there is no overt indication as to whose names have been anonymised and whose have not.

The participants of this research are part of a very tightly networked group of people who grew up together and many of whom are still in touch with each other. For this reason, the following pen-portraits have been kept necessarily brief in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity.

A handful of participants were related, either as siblings or cousins to others who took part in the study. However, again for confidentiality reasons this can only be stated overtly in cases where all related parties gave their permission for it to be noted. Even when using pseudonyms, highlighting family relationships across the participant group could be an identifying factor for some participants.

Bill Born in Nyasaland in 1938, his father worked for the Nyasaland Government as a District Commissioner. He had one older sister. His mother, a Cambridge graduate like his father, moved to Nyasaland with his father after they got married and took on the role of looking after the household. Given the nature of his father's job, they lived in a number of different places in Nyasaland. He was initially educated by his mother and a European governess at home in Nyasaland and then attended the Limbe Convent school for couple of terms, before being sent to boarding school in South Africa aged 8. When Bill was 13, he was sent even further afield to board at a secondary school in the UK. He spent a number of holidays with his aunt. By the time he left secondary school, his parents had moved back to the UK. Bill has since visited Malawi a number of times, but never returned to live there. He still lives in the UK.

Julian Born in Nyasaland in 1937, Julian's father worked as an Agricultural Officer for a cotton growing company. His mother and father were fellow students at Cambridge and moved to Nyasaland together in 1936. Due to his father's job, Julian and his family lived in largely rural areas. He had two siblings growing up in Nyasaland. When Julian was 8 years old he was sent to boarding school in South Africa having been homeschooled by his mother up to this point. He completed his whole schooling in South Africa before gaining a place at Cambridge University. The first time that he lived in the UK was when he left for University at age 18, and he has since moved to the USA where he lives now.

Susan Born in Nyasaland in 1940. Susan largely lived in rural areas of Nyasaland as her father worked in the agricultural sector. However, her family moved to Zomba when she was in her late-teens. By this

stage she was already at boarding school in South Africa, but she described a strong contrast between living in the rural and more urban areas of Nyasaland. Susan was schooled by her mother, alongside her two brothers, for her formative years before attending the Convent School in Limbe for a short while. After attending the Convent School, she moved to a boarding school in South Africa where she finished her schooling. After finishing school Susan moved to the UK for a couple of years to pursue a career, but soon chose to come back to Nyasaland where she met her husband, a colonial officer, and they got married and had children. Susan stayed in Nyasaland through independence into the mid-1970s. It was at this point when she moved with her family to the UK where she still lives now.

Rupert Born in 1939 in Blantyre, Nyasaland. Rupert was brought up mostly in rural Nyasaland as his father was an Agricultural Officer. He was schooled with his two siblings by his mother before going to both preparatory and secondary school in South Africa from around the age of 8. After school he went straight to work in Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia, now Harare, Zimbabwe. It wasn't until later on in his life that he moved to the UK for the first time and has stayed ever since.

James Born in Nyasaland in 1951. His father worked for the colonial Nyasaland Government. He only ever lived in Zomba as it was the colonial capital of the Protectorate. He attended a few years of preparatory school there before going to boarding school in Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, until he was 13. At this point he moved to England with his father and siblings where he attended secondary school. He has since been back to visit Malawi, but has not subsequently lived there. He still lives in the UK.

Joanna Joanna moved to Nyasaland with her family in 1958 when she was three years old. Her father worked for the colonial government in Nyasaland and so the family was solely based in Zomba while they were there. Her mother also worked intermittently as a secretary for government officials. Joanna attended Sir Harry Johnston School in Zomba with her two sisters until she left Nyasaland aged 10 to move back to the UK with her family where she also finished her schooling. Joanna has since visited Malawi numerous times, but settled and remained based in the UK where she still lives now.

William Born in the UK in 1943, but left for Nyasaland with his mother in 1946 to meet his father who had travelled there 6 months earlier. His father was an engineer by profession and worked for the colonial service whilst posted to Nyasaland. His family stayed there until 1955 when his father was posted to Nigeria. By this stage William was already in boarding school. He and his sister were initially schooled by their mother until 1951 when William was sent to Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, for his preparatory

schooling. In 1955 he left for the UK to attend the same secondary school that his father had been to. After training as an engineer in the UK, he moved back to Malawi with his wife and lived there with his wife and children until the early 1980s. When he left Malawi for the second time, he and his wife settled in the UK where they still live now.

Charles Born in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, in 1936. His father was a banker who worked for Barclays, DC&O (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas). By 1939 his father had been posted to Blantyre where Charles says he can recall his first memories. His parents were both born in South Africa, though his father was very connected to his Scottish roots and went to school in Scotland. He explained that his mother was more South African, born to an Afrikaans mother and English father. His mother was a legal secretary by profession but stopped work when she got married to look after the household. Charles left Nyasaland when he was 8 years old, at which point his family moved to South Africa. In the meantime, he had started school at St. Andrews Preparatory School in Blantyre where he stayed for a few years. Charles was subsequently educated in South Africa from 8-18, but moved to the UK after school and settled there. He still lives in the UK with his wife.

Harry Born in 1935 in England, but was taken back to Nyasaland soon after where his parents had already been living. He arrived in Nyasaland with his parents in 1936. Harry's father worked in the agricultural sector, so he grew up exclusively in rural parts of Nyasaland. Harry's mother and father met in Nyasaland, as his mother already lived there with her parents and brothers. His mother had moved to Nyasaland with her parents when she was in her late-teens and got married to his father in 1929 in Blantyre before going back to the UK for a short while, in which time Harry was born. Consequently, Harry grew up with much of his wider family present in Nyasaland. Around 1944/45 Harry went to boarding school in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe to continue his preparatory education. Up until this point he had been home schooled by his mother. He spent three years at school in Southern Rhodesia before moving to a school in South Africa to finish his education. After school he moved to the UK for the first time to study at Bristol University and subsequently stayed to pursue a career in the UK. He still lives in the UK now.

Linda Born in the UK in 1953, and moved to Nyasaland with her family when she was aged 5 in 1958, and left just before her 11th birthday in 1964. Her father worked for the colonial government and her mother did secretarial work. She was sent to board at the Limbe Convent for a short while but had such a terrible time that her parents brought her back to Zomba to go to school at Sir Harry Johnston School, which her younger sisters also attended. Despite

having a very difficult time settling back into UK life aged 11, Linda never moved back to Malawi, and has lived in the UK since.

George Born in 1930 in Nyasaland to parents who met and settled in Nyasaland after the first world war. However, George's wife's family moved to the Central African Protectorate, as it was known then, in 1898, and so the family are now known for being an established settler family in Malawi. They still live in Malawi and continue to run the plantation that was established by George's father. George's father initially came to Nyasaland to find agricultural work, but soon started his own plantation farming a different crop. George didn't start school until he was 9 years old due to the lack of education establishments in Nyasaland at the time. It had been planned that George would go to school in Scotland aged 9, however this coincided with the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 and so he wasn't able to go. Consequently, he went to school in Cape Town, alongside his younger sister, instead until the war was over. In 1945 he was sent to Britain aged 15 to finish his schooling there. He secured a place at a British Polytechnic College at 18, but decided to move back to Nyasaland instead to manage the family estate with his father. He has lived in Nyasaland/Malawi ever since.

Barbara Born in 1935 in Nyasaland, Barbara lived in Limbe with her 5 siblings and her parents. Her father was an accountant whilst her mother looked after the six children at home. Barbara started her schooling at the Convent School in Limbe where she was able to walk to and from school, so did not need to board. After her preparatory schooling in Limbe, Barbara was sent to a girls' boarding school in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, with her two younger sisters. Her brothers attended the equivalent boys' school. After school Barbara moved back to Nyasaland, got married and had children, who were also brought up in Nyasaland/Malawi. She still lives in Malawi now, and though she has visited the UK, she never chose to live there.

Alexia Born in 1949 to Greek parents. Her father moved to Nyasaland in 1932 to join his brothers who had already moved out and started a business near Lake Malawi. However, he soon moved on from the business and started a farm near the Lake where there was a growing Greek farming community. Consequently, Alexia and her sister grew up in a very rural part of Nyasaland. At age 5 Alexia started boarding school at the Convent School in Limbe, only going home between term-time in the holidays. This is also where she learnt English for the first time. At around age 13, Alexia and her sister moved to another Convent School in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, where her parents also moved a couple of years later. Alexia got married to a fellow Greek man and had children who they brought up in Malawi. At one stage her and her husband tried to move to the Greek island that their families came from, but found it

too hard to settle and moved back to Malawi shortly afterwards. They still live in Malawi.

Paul Born in 1945 in Nyasaland to parents who were both born and brought up in India. His father's family had been established in the tea industry in India, but many of the family chose to move after the war when India was heading towards gaining its independence. Consequently, his father sought a career in the tea industry in Nyasaland. His mother also worked as a teacher in one of the Indian schools local to where they lived. Paul lived in both rural and urban areas of Nyasaland, attending two different preparatory schools for European children before being sent to boarding school at St. Andrews High School in Blantyre. After school he pursued a career in Nyasaland, which by then was just on the brink of becoming Malawi, and he has lived in Malawi ever since.

Federico Born on Madeira Island in 1946 where his Italian parents found themselves during the war. His father had been working in Nyasaland but was travelling back to Italy during the war and had been stopped from going any further by the British. His mother was already on Madeira working for the Italian Embassy. After the war ended his parents, now married with a son, travelled back to Nyasaland to work for Mr Conforzi, an Italian settler in Nyasaland who had done very well planting tea and tobacco. Federico and his sister grew up in very rural parts of Malawi as a consequence, and when it was time for Federico to go to school aged around 6 or 7, he had to go straight to boarding school. He spent most of his schooling in Nyasaland, before going to sixth form in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. Federico has had an international career, living in a number of countries, including moving back to Italy at one stage, but now lives and works in Malawi.

Edward Born in 1947 in Nyasaland to parents who had already spent some time in Africa. His father came to Nyasaland in 1926 to pursue a career in farming, and his mother originally moved to Nyasaland in the 1930s as a nurse before meeting his father and getting married. When the war broke out, his father joined up to the British army, and his mother became a driver for the Air Force in Nairobi. After the war they both returned to Nyasaland where they bought a farm and grew a variety of crops. They settled and had three children, one of whom was Edward. Edward grew up in part on the farm, but his father also took a job in Limbe at one stage working the tobacco auction floors. For this period of time he lived in a more urban setting, and attended the Convent School until he was 8 years old. At this stage his parents moved back to the farm and he was sent to a Catholic boarding school in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, for the duration of his schooling. Edward initially embarked on a military career in Britain, but soon decided to return to Nyasaland, by now Malawi, to take over the family farm, where he still lives.

Carol Born in 1955 in Nyasaland. Carol's paternal grandparents had moved to Nyasaland from South Africa in the early 1900s. Her grandfather was British but had fought in the Boar war and then stayed on in South Africa where he met Carol's grandmother. Carol admitted that she knew little about her grandmother's family history. Her grandparents had 10 children in Nyasaland, one of whom was Carol's father. He grew up in Nyasaland where he stayed and brought up his own family. When the war broke out her father joined the British Army and was sent to Mombasa in Kenya, where he met Carol's mother who had joined the Women's Royal Navy Service (WRENS). After the war her father returned to Nyasaland, and her mother returned to Scotland before travelling out to join and marry Carol's father in Nyasaland. They had three children, one of whom was Carol. Carol initially attended the Convent School as a day-scholar as her parents had moved to Limbe. She subsequently attended school in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, as she refused to go to school in the UK. After studying for a degree in the UK she moved back to Malawi, which was by now independent, where she got married and pursued her career. She still lives and works in Malawi with her husband.

John Born in 1951 in Nyasaland. John's father arrived in Nyasaland from England in the early 1930s to take up work in the tobacco industry. John's mother was Irish, and moved to Nyasaland to marry John's father whom she had met in the UK. John lived with his siblings and parents in Limbe and as such he started school as a day-scholar at the Limbe Convent School until he was 7 and deemed old enough to go to a Catholic boarding school in Southern Rhodesia. After school John had a fairly international career, but eventually settled and had his own family in Malawi where he still lives.

Richard Born in England in 1948 in London. His mother brought him back out to Nyasaland at just a couple of months old. His parents ran a building business in Blantyre but also owned a farm further out of town where Richard spent a lot of time with his older brother. Richard attended both St. Andrews Preparatory and High Schools in Blantyre, and was unique in the sense that he had not experienced boarding school. After school Richard took up work in the tobacco industry and lived in a number of East African countries working for the same company. Eventually he and his wife settled back in Malawi where some of his children and grandchildren now lived.

Orestis Born in 1947 in Nyasaland near Lake Nyasa, now known as Lake Malawi, where his father and uncles had set up a business. His parents were both Greek and he was born into a strong Greek community. One of his cousins, Eve, also took part in this study. They were the same age and grew up together in Nyasaland, even being fellow head-girl and head-boy at secondary school. His father and uncles moved to Nyasaland in the 1930s and started up a fishing business near Fort Johnston, an area now known as Mangochi. In his

formative years, he and his sister were taught by a neighbor called Mrs Dally, who was a former teacher. He was later sent to a boarding school in South Africa for a year when he was 9, but was then brought back to Nyasaland when St. Andrews was opened (now expanded to include a secondary element) in the late 1950s. He still boarded at St. Andrews given that his parents lived far from Blantyre. After school, Orestis worked for the family's fishing business and he has remained in Malawi as a successful businessman since.

Cris Born in Greece in 1946, Cris arrived in Nyasaland with her parents when she was just 2 years old. Her parents began farming in Namwera where there was a substantial Greek farming community. She had a brother who was much older than her. He was around 14 years old when the family moved. When Cris was 5 years old she started boarding school at the Convent in Limbe which was a difficult time for her. She had much fonder memories of her time boarding at St. Andrews Secondary School when she got older. Cris stayed in Malawi where she raised her own family and still lives now.

Hugh Born in 1939 in Nyasaland, Hugh's father had already lived in Nyasaland since 1921. His mother, an accomplished pianist who had studied at Oxford University, joined them later in the 1930s. Her family were Irish immigrants to South Africa and had moved there in the 1850s. Eventually his father bought a farm near Zomba and this is where Hugh grew up alongside his brother and sister. Hugh began school in the small European School in Zomba which later became Sir Harry Johnston's School. From there he went to boarding school in Southern Rhodesia until he was 11, and was then sent to boarding school in the UK. At 16 it was decided that he would leave school go back to Nyasaland to work with his father. He remained in Nyasaland/Malawi ever since, bringing up his own family there. His children now run the family farm.

Thomas Born in 1953 in Nyasaland, Thomas was born into an established planter family. His grandfather arrived in the early 1900s from the UK and bought the land that they still farm as a family today. After fighting in the First World War, Thomas' grandfather returned to the UK to marry Thomas' grandmother, who then travelled back to Nyasaland with him. Thomas' father was an only child and inherited the running of the farm. In his early 20s he fought in the Second World War before returning to Nyasaland where he met Thomas' mother, who was visiting relatives in Nyasaland from South Africa. They settled on the farm and had three sons, one of them being Thomas. Thomas never went to school in Nyasaland, instead spending his whole school life in Southern Rhodesia, returning home just three times a year in the holidays. After school he went to the UK to study Agriculture and then worked in the sector around

the world, before returning to farm with his father. He has subsequently taken over the family farm and runs it with his sons.

Giancarlo Born in 1958 in Italy, he was taken back to Nyasaland at just a couple of months old. Giancarlo was born into an established Italian planter family. His grandfather had arrived in 1907 and quickly became a very successful farmer and businessman. He and his wife had a son, Giancarlo's father, who was educated entirely in Italy including his university degree, and so spent very little time growing up in Nyasaland. However, after his degree, and after fighting with the allies in the Italian resistance movement in the Second World War, he moved back to Nyasaland with his wife, who he had met in Italy, to join the family business. Giancarlo grew up with his older brother and sister on the tea estates in the south eastern region of Nyasaland. He went to boarding school in Southern Rhodesia for the duration of his school life before returning home to work in Malawi, which was by now independent. He married and had his own family in Malawi and still lives there now.

Jayne Born in the UK in 1937, Jayne was already 14 when her family moved to Nyasaland in 1951. Her father got a job as an engineer in the colonial service and the whole family moved with him to Nyasaland. Jayne's younger sister An also took part in this study (see below). Jayne had already been in school in the UK and joined the Convent School in Limbe when she arrived in Nyasaland. After school Jayne started to work for the local newspaper in Zomba, before getting married and having a family of her own in Nyasaland, later Malawi. She still lives in Malawi.

An As stated above, An is Jayne's younger sister by a year. She was born in 1938 in the UK and arrived in Nyasaland in 1951, aged 13 due to her father's job. She also attended the Convent School in Limbe, but after school returned to the UK to study Accountancy in Bristol at a commercial college. After her course, she returned to Nyasaland and became a farmer. She has lived and farmed in Malawi ever since.

Amy Born in 1955 in Nyasaland, Amy's parents had moved from Greece to Nyasaland in the 1950s in search of a more prosperous life. Her father started out working on tobacco farms, but spent a period of time working for the Greek fisheries business on the lakeshore as well. Amy's family lived in largely rural areas due to the nature of the farming work that her father took on. From a very young age Amy went to the Convent School in Limbe and completed her schooling there. She wanted to study to become a nurse but this was not well received by her father. Instead she married young and had children in what was by then Malawi, and has lived there ever since.

Maria Born around 1962 in Nyasaland, Maria is the youngest of the participants. She has little recollection of life before independence,

but as a member of the Portuguese community in Nyasaland she was able to reflect on what life was like for her family at that time. Like many Portuguese people who lived in Nyasaland, her family had connections with Mozambique, the neighboring Portuguese colony. Her grandparents lived in Mozambique, and her father moved from there to Nyasaland trading in Portuguese goods and opening a store selling Mediterranean produce. Her mother later opened a successful restaurant. She attended both St. Andrews Preparatory and Secondary schools, with short stints at school in Beira in Mozambique as well. However, she also joined a number of other Portuguese children in the afternoons at 'Portuguese School' which was a long-standing provision of the Portuguese government for the Portuguese community in Nyasaland/Malawi. They had a teacher who taught them the Portuguese language, history, geography and culture so that they would remain connected to their roots. Maria stayed in Malawi after her education, and got married and had children there. She still lives there now. Maria's husband Luis also took part in this study.

Luis Born in 1957 in Nyasaland, Luis was also born into the Portuguese community in Nyasaland. His father also came to Nyasaland via Mozambique where he originally worked until he was offered a job with a Portuguese construction company in Nyasaland instead. Luis also attended the St. Andrews Preparatory and High schools in Blantyre, as well as the Portuguese school described above. After he finished school in Nyasaland he went to college in Mozambique for a year, but had to leave due to the Mozambican war of independence which ended in 1975, when Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal. He has since stayed in Malawi where he got married to Maria and had a family.

Andreas Born in 1951 in Nyasaland, Andreas was born into the Greek community. His father arrived in Nyasaland in the 1940s and began farming, after which he married Andreas' mother and they had their only child in 1951. Andreas went to both St Andrews Preparatory and High Schools where he boarded. His parents lived very rurally and so it was not realistic to be a day-scholar. After finishing school Andreas stayed in Malawi where he married and had his own family. He has lived and worked there ever since.

Eve Born in 1946 near Lake Malawi in Nyasaland, Eve was born into the Greek community. Her father initially worked for the Greek fishing business but while Eve was still very young they moved about 20 miles from there to start tobacco farming. Most of Eve's life in Nyasaland was spent on the rural farm, apart from when she was at boarding school. Eve attended the Convent School in Limbe from the age of 5, where she received her preparatory education, and where she first learnt to speak English. She then moved to St Andrews Secondary School for her secondary education, where she thrived. She had a lot of family in Nyasaland, notably her aforementioned

cousin Orestis, alongside whom she was Head Girl of the secondary school. When Eve was 26 she left Malawi to pursue a career in the UK and has lived there ever since. She still visits Malawi as she still has many friends and family there.

Patrick Born in Scotland in 1948, Patrick moved to Nyasaland with his parents when he was around 2 years old. His father was stationed at the airport near Blantyre as the airport manager, and his mother worked at the pharmacy in Blantyre. Patrick attended both St. Andrews Preparatory and High Schools in Blantyre, with a short stint in between at Sir Harry Johnston's in Zomba when his father changed jobs. He largely experienced the more urban colonial lifestyle, spending most of his everyday life in Nyasaland in the towns of Blantyre and Zomba. By 1963, before Malawian independence, Patrick had left for boarding school in the UK. He lived with relatives during the holidays as he was not able to fly back and visit his parents very often. After finishing school he attended York University and had a diverse and international career thereafter. He now lives in South Australia.

Teresa Born in 1954 in Nyasaland, Teresa was the daughter of a District Commissioner in the colonial service. She was only 4 years old when she began boarding school in Lilongwe and was the youngest child at the school. Later when her father was posted to Zomba, she was able to attend Sir Harry Johnston's school as a day-scholar. After her primary education in Zomba, she left to go to boarding school in the UK to complete her secondary education. At 19, not long after she'd left school, she returned to Malawi to work. It is unclear exactly how long she stayed for, but she did eventually move back and settle in the UK where she still lives.

Mark Born in 1950 in the UK, Mark was just a baby when he travelled by boat with his mother and brother to Nyasaland to meet his father who was already there. His father had taken a job as a mechanical engineer in Nyasaland in the early '50s. Mark's family lived predominantly in Blantyre, meaning that he was able to attend both St Andrews Preparatory and Secondary schools as a day-scholar. It was not until 1964, the eve of Malawian independence, that Mark was quite suddenly sent to boarding school in the UK. It was a sudden and somewhat traumatic departure from his life as he knew it. His parents also returned to live in the UK soon after, meaning that he never went back to Malawi. He still lives and works in the UK.

Elisabeth Born in 1947 in Nyasaland. Elisabeth's father was an engineer and had moved to Malawi with her mother and older brother in 1946. They lived mostly in rural areas while Elisabeth was very young, but by the time she started school they had moved to Zomba where she attended Sir Harry Johnston's School as a day-scholar. However, when Elisabeth was 9 years old her father received another colonial

posting in West Africa. At this stage they decided that it was better for Elisabeth to attend boarding school in the UK. Another 2 years later, her parents also moved back to the UK, and although she stayed at boarding school she was able to see them much more frequently. After school she stayed and settled in the UK, and still lives there now. She did go back to visit Malawi in her adult life when her brother moved back to Malawi with his wife for a short while.

Mary Born in the UK in 1951, Mary's father was posted to Nyasaland in 1960 when she was 9 years old. Her father worked for the British Government's colonial service. Mary spent a year at boarding school in Lilongwe while her father worked in a rural area near the lake, until he was posted to Zomba where she was able to attend as a day-scholar at Sir Harry Johnston school. However, her father moved with work again shortly afterwards to work in two very rural areas in the south of Malawi, and so Mary was sent to boarding school in Blantyre where she attended both St Andrew's Preparatory and High Schools until she was 14. At age 14 she was sent to boarding school in Edinburgh. After finishing school she travelled for a year before university and spent some of that time in Malawi. Since then she has returned to visit other countries in Africa, but not Malawi. She now lives in the UK.

Appendix 3: Participant Information Letter and Consent Forms

Date:

Dear

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of my PhD research. It is important that I make clear to you how your contribution will be used over the course of this project and in the future.

My main aim is to produce a PhD thesis, reconstructing and analysing the ways in which European children experienced and understood their lives in the colonies and as a part of colonial society. Your contribution to this project will be a valuable resource, but it is important that I comply with your wishes in terms of how it will be used.

As such, I must seek your written permission to record and use the interviews for my purposes. There is the possibility that in the future, extracts from your interview could appear in publications, broadcasts, lectures or other public formats if you allow it.

I also anticipate depositing the final set of recorded interviews in archival collections based at the Malawi National Archives in Zomba, and in the UK. This will make the data available to researchers in the future, and will be a unique and valuable addition to the colonial archive, which is dominated by political records. It is important to note that it is possible for the storage of the recordings in the archives to remain anonymous at your request. If you would not like your recording to be contributed to the archives after the study, then it can be irretrievably deleted upon completion of my PhD.

I will also give you the opportunity to remain anonymous in my thesis and all future publications. Should you choose to remain anonymous, it is only myself and my three supervisors at the University of Hull who will have access to the recordings for the duration of the study. During my PhD the recordings will be stored securely on password protected personal electronic devices.

If you decide to continue participating in the research, I will give you a consent form alongside this letter, which will enable you to permit and restrict how I use the recording. If you choose to permit the use of the recording in my thesis and publications or broadcasts in the future, this will allow me to use the information held in the recorded interview without having to seek your permission every time I quote or publish your words. You should only continue to participate if you would like to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. You have the right to withdraw from being interviewed at any given time and without giving a reason.
I will keep you up to date about my research and publications via your preferred mode of communication.

If you have any concerns about the way that this research is being conducted, please contact Dr Elsbeth Robson (Ethics Officer) by email: e.robson@hull.ac.uk or telephone: +44 (0)1482 465353.

I very much look forward to meeting you. In the meantime, please don’t hesitate to contact me with any further queries.

Kind Regards,

Bronia Chichlowska

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UNIVERSITY OF HULL, ORAL HISTORY RECORDING CONSENT FORM

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">PROJECT TITLE: Producing the Geographies of Childhood in Colonial Africa: Children’s Lives in Twentieth-Century Nyasaland</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">NAME:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">DATE OF RECORDING:</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td>Comments/Restrictions</td></tr>
<tr><td>I consent to an audio recording of the interview.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I consent to an audio-visual recording of the interview</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give my permission for the content of the recorded interview to be used in the current research, culminating in a PhD thesis.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give my permission for the content of the recorded interview for museum purposes, including display, publication and broadcast.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give my permission for the contents of the interview to be used in public lectures or talks.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give my permission for the content of this interview to be used in future academic publications.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give my permission for the content of this interview to be used in print or internet publications (e.g a blog/webpage) and audio or video productions.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give my permission for the content of the recorded interview to be broadcast on the radio, television or internet.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give consent for the recorded interview and transcript to be deposited in a publically accessible archive.*</td><td>YES/NO</td><td>*If you would like to specify a time restriction before the information is made publically available in an archive, please state it here;</td></tr>
<tr><td>I consent to my full name and age being mentioned in any of the above formats.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I consent to my initials and age being used in any of the above formats.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Please tick the box if you DO NOT wish your name to be revealed in association with the recorded interview in any of the above formats.</td><td>☐</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I agree that any personal papers that I have given the researcher access to, may be referred to and quoted in publications.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>I give permission for a photograph of myself and/or other photographs that I have allowed the researcher to copy to be used in any of the above formats.</td><td>YES/NO</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Participant's Statement:

I ___________________________ agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the consent form and the information letter, and understand what the research study involves. I understand that I am giving the researcher (Bronia Chichlowska) the right to use and the right to make available for others to use – unless stated otherwise – the content of the recorded interview in the ways specified above.

Signed: ______________________________ Date: ______________________________

Investigator's Statement:

I, Bronia Chichlowska, confirm that I have carefully explained the nature and demands of the proposed research to the participant. I understand that I have been given the right to use the content of this recorded interview, **only** as stated in the above consent form and on the understanding that it will not be used in a derogatory manner. I hereby state that the author of the contribution will be correctly identified in all uses of it (except where they have requested to remain anonymous).

Signed: ______________________________ Date: ______________________________

Contact details of investigator:

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