Teacher Mobility and Transnational, “British World” Space: The League of the Empire's ‘Interchange of Home and Dominion Teachers’, 1907-1931

Jody Crutchley

Institute of Humanities & Creative Arts, University of Worcester, Worcester, UK

Jody Crutchley, Graduate Research School, University of Worcester, Henwick Grove, Worcester, WR2 6AJ.

Email address: j.crutchley@worc.ac.uk

Jody Crutchley is a History PhD candidate at the University of Worcester. Her doctoral research explores the role of empire in curricula for British public elementary schools between 1902 and 1931.

Teacher Mobility and Transnational, “British World” Space: The League of the Empire's 'Interchange of Home and Dominion Teachers', 1907-1931

This article explores the experiences of teachers who participated in the League of the Empire's ‘Interchange of Home and Dominion Teachers’ scheme through a tripartite approach to “British World” space. First, it identifies the mechanisms through which exchanges were established. It analyses the patterns of teacher mobility and axes of movement evident in the exchange data from the 1,932, predominately female, teachers who were involved in exchanges between 1919 and 1931. Second, it examines participants’ reflections on their experiences to recover their various conceptions and imaginings of the spaces they traversed. Third, it considers the local aspect of imperial exchange and demonstrates that specific colonial sites played a part in shaping participating teachers’ mobility. Although the framework of multiple, overlapping British *worlds* is relatively new, this article demonstrates that it has immense value to historians of education in illuminating the complex British, and transnational, space in which educational networks operated.

Keywords: Interchange; League of the Empire; teachers; mobility; British World

In 1907, at Caxton Hall in Westminster, the League of the Empire convened its first Imperial Education Conference of the Education Departments in the Empire.[[1]](#endnote-1) At this conference, one of the only formally adopted resolutions was 'that financial and administrative arrangements should be made for enabling teachers and inspectors to acquire professional knowledge and experience in part of His Majesty's Dominions other than their own'.[[2]](#endnote-2) The resultant “Interchange of Home and Dominion Teachers” scheme, gradually developed by the League over the next twelve years, meant that a British teacher spent 12 months in a selected Dominion, taking the place of a colonial teacher who, in turn, spent the year teaching in the place of the British teacher. This arrangement articulated the organisation’s conception of a transnationally mobile, and interchangeable, schoolteacher community extending across Britain and the white, self-governing Dominions. Consequently, as research in the history of education has shown, the dynamics of mobility and reciprocity envisaged by the League of the Empire are not easily described by conventional distinctions made between “centre” and “periphery”.[[3]](#endnote-3) Binary divisions of imperial space marginalise the contribution and importance of the old colonies of settlement and the wider British diaspora to the history of education and empire and also fail to address the transnational features of the imperial endeavour.[[4]](#endnote-4) Instead, in interpreting these kinds of dynamics, historians of education have sought to engage with analytical lenses that ‘place metropole and colony in one frame’ and recognise ‘connections across empires’.[[5]](#endnote-5) In doing so, these historians display greater interest in the role of space in imperial encounter; a concern paralleled by movements in historical geography which seek to explore the ‘inherent materiality and spatiality of global human experience’.[[6]](#endnote-6) In this context, therefore, the recent resurgence of the idea of the “British World” within British imperial historiography suggests the increased significance of this approach for the history of education and the British Empire. By focusing on mass “dispersal” from the British Isles, the ties made ‘by intricate and overlapping networks and associations of all kinds’ and Dominion involvement, the British World concept can offer an integrative framework through which real, and imagined, connection, such as that embodied in the League’s “Interchange” scheme, can be conceptualised.[[7]](#endnote-7) Furthermore, imperial historians have shown that the attraction of this concept lies not only in its retrospective explanatory utility, but also in the contemporary invocation of the term to describe the ‘common origins, culture and identity’ of British diasporas.[[8]](#endnote-8)

Yet, the articulation of a consistent British World methodology has not been straightforward. In particular, scholars have struggled to formulate the discrete historiographical contribution of the approach.[[9]](#endnote-9) Initially advanced by historians from the former Dominions who desired to understand the ‘role played by the empire in the history of the Dominions and of the Dominions in the history of the empire’, the focus on settler connection gained broader academic popularity as imperial historians recognised that the British Empire had been partly bound together by a shared sense of British identity, both at home and overseas.[[10]](#endnote-10) From the outset these divergent methodological approaches proved difficult to reconcile with any consistent notion of what the British World was; while the former stressed the importance of the British connection to specific national and regional communities, often in the form of case studies, the latter tended to focus on the construction of ideas that helped frame a more expansive British world space.[[11]](#endnote-11) This methodological division between “local” and “global” studies persisted in subsequent British World literature. For example, within the history of education, Marilyn Barber’s study of teachers from the British Isles in Saskatchewan rural schools broadly addresses the local expression of a wider British connection,[[12]](#endnote-12) whereas Kay Whitehead addresses the broad shaping of transnational discourses of race by stressing the pervasiveness of notions of white settler superiority among British and Dominion exchange teachers.[[13]](#endnote-13) Although each approach adds to historical understanding of education and empire, neither clearly expresses how they interrelate. In addition, both of these traditions have been criticised for their reductive use of British tropes to describe the reality of multi-ethnic and polyglot societies.[[14]](#endnote-14) British World frameworks therefore need to be able to also consider how local sites and cultures ‘shaped the currents of people and goods, ideas and feelings moving in and out of them.’[[15]](#endnote-15) Collectively, these issues have led to much methodological ambiguity within British World research.

In addition, the existing scholarship has also struggled to respond to wider historiographical developments. For example, the growth of the “new” imperial history, and the subsequent focus on Britain’s domestic experience of empire, has refocused attention on the limited, partial and particular ways in which imperial networks operated, as well as the situated and complex way in which meaning was produced and understood.[[16]](#endnote-16) British World approaches therefore need to explicitly reflect on the specific, intricate mechanisms through which connection was established and maintained, because, as Simon Potter has shown, even global communication technologies were 'marked by an unevenness... that shaped the nature and the extent of connections between different parts of the world'.[[17]](#endnote-17) Additionally, the expansion of transnational history has also begun to impinge on the boundaries of British World scholarship.[[18]](#endnote-18) For instance, research can often focus on wider teacher mobility across other national, but not imperial, boundaries.[[19]](#endnote-19) This has made drawing the boundaries of the British World, as distinct from other forms of transnational and bilateral connection, more difficult and has raised questions about its relationship to other global and transnational networks. The interrelation of these approaches is especially apparent in the recent invocation of the British World concept in relation to historical theories of globalisation.[[20]](#endnote-20) In a similar way, British World scholarship has also struggled to articulate a distinct identity in the face of subsequent bodies of work—such as of that on settler colonialism or race—which all borrow heavily from its ideas about the commonalities and shared values that connected Britain and its dominions. [[21]](#endnote-21)

 Nevertheless, Tamson Pietsch has argued that a reconceptualisation of the British World framework can help to circumvent many of these academic challenges.[[22]](#endnote-22) In her 2013 article, *Rethinking the British World*, she contends that developments in geographical theories of the social and material construction of space offer an opportunity to ground the British World in the ‘relationality of space-time, rather than of space in isolation’.[[23]](#endnote-23) In this analysis, space becomes dynamic and plural as, according to the geographer David Harvey, space can be ‘neither absolute, relative or relational in itself, but it can be one or all depending on the circumstances’.[[24]](#endnote-24) Building on established ideas of “relational space”, the idea that there is no such thing as space and time outside of the processes that define them,[[25]](#endnote-25) Pietsch explains that 'historians of Britain and its empire need to think not of a singular British world, but rather of multiple, produced British spaces' that overlap and spill into each other.[[26]](#endnote-26) Thus, the conceptualisation of multiple British worlds offers historians of education ways to think 'about the limited, affective and often exclusionary spaces' that imperial migration produced.[[27]](#endnote-27) In her analysis Pietsch posits three, distinct kinds of transnational, British World space that can be explored: first, the *networked* or material world which can be identified through tracing the mechanisms and patterns of experienced interconnections; second, the *imagined* or ideational world which can be mapped through ideas and emotions; and, third, the *productive* or local British World that can be seen in the specific conditions of colonial sites of empire and how their local context helped shape the British World. This tripartite approach circumvents many of the shortcomings that has been analysed in previous British World research, as well as containing analytical capacity to explore the influences of other transnational networks.

This article will therefore apply Pietsch's tripartite framework, as outlined above, to the mobility and experience of the 1,932 British and colonial teachers that participated in the League of the Empire's Interchange scheme between 1907 and 1931. In doing so, it will elucidate the complex transnational and British World space which the participants in the Interchange scheme both embodied and produced. Following the structure proposed by Pietsch, the first section of this article will begin by exploring the mechanisms of Interchange, as well as the destinations and demographics of a specific set of 1,932 teachers and their movements as they participated in the scheme, to highlight the material networks that ultimately connected some Dominions more than others. The second section will then analyse the 'imagined world' of participants involved in teacher exchanges. Although the League specifically sought to foster bonds of sympathy and understanding across the empire and to promote imperial unity through the Interchange scheme, this section demonstrate that participants’ reflections on their experiences actually articulated multiple, imagined British worlds. The boundaries of these worlds were not always consistent, but drew on tropes of friendship, travel and self-realisation. Finally, the third section of this article will examine the local educational conditions of exchange sites to highlight instances where the nature of the ties instituted across transnational space was influenced by specific colonial circumstances. As Kay Whitehead has shown, 'whatever the contexts in which they lived and worked, teachers were implicated in the transfer of knowledge across national borders'.[[28]](#endnote-28) In the Interchange scheme, teachers were expected to return to their “home” countries at the end of their exchange year and disseminate to pupils their 'lived experiences'.[[29]](#endnote-29) Thus, the teachers’ specific experiences and imaginings were implicated back into the further shaping of the Interchange scheme and this recurring process highlights the dynamism of the spatial processes involved, as well as the interrelation of the different kinds of transnational, British World space.

# Teacher mobility and the networked 'British World'

Over the past decade, scholarship has emerged within the history of education which has begun to explicitly explore transnational patterns of educational, and academic, mobility in the early to mid-twentieth century.[[30]](#endnote-30) These studies have helped to recover the actual, uneven connections established by individuals’ professional movements, especially in the early twentieth century. Yet, to date, the mechanisms of connection in the Interchange scheme have received less scholarly attention. In Matthew Hendley's recent work on the patriotic and imperialist leagues of the Edwardian period, he posits that the teacher exchange scheme was central to the League of the Empire's successful adjustment to the interwar climate, but the processes involved in teacher exchange are given only minor consideration.[[31]](#endnote-31) On the other hand, Kay Whitehead outlines the general functioning of the Interchange scheme and gives some indication of the relative axes of mobility in her investigation of exchange teachers; however, the comprehensive mapping of the patterns of movement of the first participants is outside the scope of her article.[[32]](#endnote-32) This section will, firstly, explore the League’s development of the scheme mechanisms through which Interchange was able to operate and then, secondly, consider the actual movements of the teachers to map the tangible flows of people which characterised the participants’ networked British World.

 The League of the Empire was founded in 1901 by Mrs Elizabeth Ord Marshall, who nominally led the organisation until her death in 1931, with the aim to increase interaction among the people of the British Empire.[[33]](#endnote-33) Like those involved in the 'national efficiency' movement in education, Ord Marshall’s imperialistic patriotism arose as fears for the future of the British Empire were aggravated by the military failures of the South African Wars.[[34]](#endnote-34) Membership fees were kept low—five shilling for ordinary members[[35]](#endnote-35)—and this meant that, unusually for imperialist organisations at this time, the League had a rank and file membership of predominately female schoolteachers.[[36]](#endnote-36) Although the League had a fairly inauspicious start, as most of its original activity centred on a children's correspondence club, by 1907 the League had begun to focus more directly on fostering imperial unity and co-operation through education. Early initiatives included: empire-wide essay competitions on imperial subjects, support for Empire Day celebrations and the publication of educational materials on the empire. Fairly early in its life, therefore, the League became adept at employing diverse strategies within a heterogeneous educational system. Yet, tellingly, the topics it proposed for discussion at the 1907 Imperial Education Conference revealed its desire for a more unified system across the empire. The agenda included: closer educational co-operation; closer conformity in curricula across the empire; and the implementation of a common 'Empire Certificate' for teachers to help facilitate greater teacher mobility within the British Empire.[[37]](#endnote-37) Unfortunately for the League, these ideas did not meet with unanimous agreement from the members of the Education Departments at the Conference, although they did remain subjects for discussions in the subsequent 1911, 1912 and 1913 conferences, but the support that was garnered for professional exchange meant that the League began to formalise its existing ad hoc work.[[38]](#endnote-38)

Thus, after 1907, the League began to facilitate exploratory visits in schools around the empire: it used its Information Bureau to provide introductions and arrange possible appointment; it sent circular letter to Educational Departments to encourage periods of release for exchanges; it let teachers' associations around the empire affiliate with it; and in 1912 at the newly established Imperial Conference of Teachers held in London, it also gained their approval for the initiation of an imperial Interchange scheme. According to Hendley, the League used these activities to work out the practical operation of a scheme which responded to the twin problems of expense and administrative organisation.[[39]](#endnote-39) Their solution to these issues had a voluntary and informal character, but also meant that the League assumed a quasi-official role in facilitating the exchanges on behalf of the Board of Education, who supported the scheme.[[40]](#endnote-40) After the war, the League began its own exchange efforts in earnest and wrote to all Education Departments and Local Education Authorities in its official capacity to request their participation in the scheme. However, dependence on these individual, and voluntary, agreements meant that its adoption was slow. In 1921, for example, a report by the League declared that formal involvement in the scheme was limited within Britain to the London County Council and the Middlesex Education Committee, with Newport, Mansfield and Kent poised to join.[[41]](#endnote-41) Financially, the League was also unable to practically contribute to the workings of the scheme, despite being resolved of the ‘desirability of providing for the easy passage of elementary school teachers from one part of the empire to another’.[[42]](#endnote-42) Teachers who wished to exchange therefore needed to have sufficient money to cover the cost of their travel and relocation overseas, but the League envisaged that the salary that they received for their work would cover the cost of board, lodgings, clothes and holidays during the year. In reality, however, exchanges were still substantially affected by issues concerning teachers’ pay and pensions. Interchange initially relied on teachers to be paid by the institutions that received them for the 12 month period of exchange, but discrepancies between the rates of pay and cost of living in the different regions meant that teachers were frequently unwilling to accept the overseas rate. For instance, in 1926, a teacher from the Transvaal in South Africa withdrew from her side of the Interchange to Northampton as she was not willing to accept the salary they offered her.[[43]](#endnote-43) From 1925, a “new scheme” therefore came into operation whereby the 'home' department continued to pay their teacher's salary for the period while they taught abroad; however, the application and administration of this proved tricky, and it took some time for the process to be in full operation.[[44]](#endnote-44) Moreover, this modification still did not solve all salary issues. In 1931, after Britain had left the Gold Standard and devalued the pound, teachers such as Dorothy Edith Coote contemplated returning to England. She did not cut short her exchange in the end, but only because the Canadian authorities in Verdun ‘endeavoured to relieve the financial embarrassment of the English teachers’.[[45]](#endnote-45) These examples illustrate how teachers’ dependence on the participation of regional education authorities and their economic vulnerability to differences in rates of pay thus shaped the material conditions of their movements. The voluntary nature of the organisation and funding of the scheme meant that the networks of connection created by the League did not extend uniformly everywhere, but were partial and patchy.

 Study of the teachers’ individual journeys can also offer insight into the networked British World they inhabited. Between 1919 and 1930, 1,932 teachers were involved in the Interchange scheme including 914 British teachers and 1,018 Dominion teachers.[[46]](#endnote-46) Although the individual Interchange reports that the teachers were required to write on completion of their exchange were lost in the bombing of the League's headquarters during the Blitz, the organisation’s record cards from the period under investigation have survived through the League's successor organisation, the League of Exchange for Commonwealth Teachers.[[47]](#endnote-47) These files are therefore a significant source for the transnational mapping of Interchange, but there is varying availability of biographical sources across records. In particular, information about British participants has been recorded more thoroughly than for their colonial counterparts and so less information is detailed about the teachers from the Dominions. Nevertheless, statistical analysis of exchange destinations for the British teachers and departures for the Dominion teachers elucidates the network of imperial educational cooperation which evolved through the Interchange scheme (see Table 1). Despite some requests for alternative destinations, realised exchanges in this period took place between Britain and Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The League’s identification of South Rhodesia (modern-day Zimbabwe) as a Dominion is unusual, as it never had the constitutional status of the other Dominions. However, it was administered through the Dominion Office, not the Colonial Office, after its formation in 1923. Southern Rhodesia was therefore part of the networked British World of Interchange and was actually a more popular choice for British teachers than the three exchanges in this period imply; the lack of a suitable or interested opposite number meant that the applicant was often sent to South Africa instead.[[48]](#endnote-48) The distribution of the other exchanges shows that Canada sent and received the most teachers, followed by Australia. The relative volume of people who entered and left these countries therefore reveals distinct routes of material connection. However, despite Tamson Pietsch’s analysis that as 'new connective infrastructures linked some part of the world they created fresh alignments of exclusion and isolation', here, exclusion implicit in these itemised destinations is not the full picture.[[49]](#endnote-49) Many teachers took advantage of the further travel opportunities which the trip to and from their destination afforded, or used their school holidays to visit further afield. [[50]](#endnote-50) This meant they visited colonies as diverse as the Falklands, Singapore, Siam, Ceylon and the West Indies. In some cases, teachers also expanded their travels beyond the British Empire to visit China, Japan and the United States. On one occasion, a British teacher even arranged a brief period of study of Batik art work in Java, Indonesia.[[51]](#endnote-51) Although not part of the imperial British World that the League delineated, teachers exercised their own agency to organise visits to other schools and institutions. These individual travels consequently demonstrate how the materiality of Interchange also lay in the behaviour of individual teachers as they moved around their own networked British World.

[Table 1 around here]

Finally, the transnational mechanisms through which Interchange operated were also indirectly gendered. Participation in the League's Interchange scheme was supposed to be democratic, but the data suggests that the majority of the teachers involved in the scheme were unmarried, female elementary schoolmistresses. Although men were outnumbered in the teaching profession at the time,[[52]](#endnote-52) the involvement of male teachers was still proportionally low at only 4% of the total British and 7% of the total Dominion teachers across all of the twelve years investigated (see Table 2). Contemporary reports from the League of the Education at the time express a wish to engage male teachers more significantly in the scheme, and they looked into the operation of the scheme to identify obstacles that might have hindered male mobility.[[53]](#endnote-53) The League identified that the initial financial workings of the scheme, where teachers were paid by the education departments of the countries they were visiting would often result in an off-putting reduction in annual salary for male teachers. In their analysis, female teachers did not stand to lose nearly so much in comparison. However, it can be seen that the number of male participants did not substantially increase after 1926 when the new scheme was introduced. Instead, the few surviving comments on wages illustrate a salary range among this group from £185 per annum to a maximum of £344, which is consistent with lower class incomes.[[54]](#endnote-54) This means that these women were unlikely to have had access to imperial travel before, especially at the relatively low costs the scheme allowed.[[55]](#endnote-55) Indeed, in her comments on her year in Calgary, Mabel Annetta Haywood remarked that 'The Interchange Scheme offers opportunities of travel hitherto only enjoyed by our friends more blessed with this world's goods'.[[56]](#endnote-56) This meant that a significant number of single women may have actually brought their own family networks to bear on the operation of Interchange to enable them to visit loved ones living in the Dominions, such as in the exchange of Helena Fenton who applied for Windsor, Canada in 1927 where her brother was living.[[57]](#endnote-57)

 [Table 2 around here]

 Focus on the precise operation of Interchange has highlighted the way in which the participants moved around the networked British World. Mapped by the tangible flow of people, this world was both uneven and partial as it was rooted in the ad hoc arrangements which the League were able to set up with educational authorities. In addition, the scheme’s reliance on participant’s to self-select and then fund their own journeys meant that the functioning of the scheme was also significantly influenced by personal connection. Teachers travelled to places outside the Dominions and outside the empire and their movement was also influenced and determined by wider family networks.

# Participants’ reflections and the imagined British World

From Eliza Reidi's study of the implicit ideological prescriptions which implicated teachers sent to South African War concentration camps in the British consolidation of that colony,[[58]](#endnote-58) to the propaganda inherent in the organised 'Empire tours' of the Overseas Education League and the Royal Empire Society[[59]](#endnote-59), the ideas behind educational and imperial movements are increasingly becoming the subjects of historical research. The League of the Empire has also been considered within this research. In an early study, James Greenlee meticulously detailed the activities of the League and showed how they formed part of a wider educational movement for imperial unity; but he gave the role of the Interchange scheme significantly less consideration.[[60]](#endnote-60) More recently, Kay Whitehead has examined some existing testimony from the participating exchange teachers to show how their activity bolstered and affirmed white settler identities through a transnational discourse of whiteness; however, her research focused mainly on the perspectives espoused by teachers in newspapers and magazines.[[61]](#endnote-61) This section will therefore use surviving comments on participants’ record cards and some personal correspondence to reveal how participants’ emotions, feelings and ideas helped construct multiple and overlapping imagined British Worlds.

 The League’s justification for Interchange was predicated on the value placed on acquiring first-hand knowledge of one or more of the overseas parts of the Empire. A teacher so equipped was thought to:

...be able to impart to his (or her) pupils information about the Dominions not as mere text-book statements, but as the result of real and vivid experience, while the pupils will catch from the teacher something of the spirit of the country which is the subject of the lesson, and a living and more or less intimate knowledge of the ways of life and modes of thought and expression of those who inhabit it.[[62]](#endnote-62)

In this way, the school lesson was imagined as a means of fostering bonds of 'sympathy and understanding' across the empire and as a way to generate increased imperial unity. Unlike Frederick Ney’s ‘pilgrimage’ conception of empire tours—where teachers were expected to fulfil ambassadorial duties in their host country, attend arranged receptions and generally act as 'advertisements' for the imperial relationship[[63]](#endnote-63)—the League conceived of a more long-term propaganda role for their teachers. Accordingly, in the report that the League made to the Board of Education in 1926, the value of the 12 month Interchange period was presented as being substantially less than the longer-term benefit of receiving a returned teacher ‘improved in outlook and experience’.[[64]](#endnote-64) The rhetoric evident in this conception of the League's scheme therefore envisaged that Interchange would help foster greater understanding, promote closer association and establish ties of familial kinship within the empire. As Daniel Gorman has recently highlighted, these ideas were some of those that fed into contemporary perceptions of broader notions of “imperial citizenship”.[[65]](#endnote-65) The ideas of Britishness and citizenship that were implied within conceptions of imperial citizenship were diverse even with British society, but an extensive historiography has also sought to draw emphasis to the way in which the Dominions also contributed to the development of myriad notions of British and Dominion identity.[[66]](#endnote-66)

The reflections of Interchange participants on their experiences reveal that some teachers’ imaginings of the British World they traversed also articulated conceptions of imperial citizenship. Those involved in the process of Interchange implicitly visualised themselves as members of a world that extended out from the British Isles and incorporated the Dominions they had visited. The assumed similarity and shared concerns of the occupants of this imagined world is also evident in some teachers’ perceptions. Thus, Rose Harriet Monk wrote from Montreal in 1925 that: ‘I am glad the League's work is growing for it supplies the kind of peaceful propaganda and the unifying force that we need’.[[67]](#endnote-67) Responding to her own feelings of belonging during her experience of temporary relocation, Monk therefore conceived of herself as part of an interconnected world with shared objectives. Furthermore, for many of the teachers, membership of this world was also perceived to come with associated obligations. Participants frequently framed the value of the insight they had gained from their travel in terms of its significance to both their civic knowledge and their work. Thus, Eunice Foster wrote in 1921 that the experience had ‘certainly enlarged and deepened my conception of the British Empire’ and, in 1926, Linda Lowe commented: ‘Since coming home I have felt the benefit of the wider experience’.[[68]](#endnote-68) The interplay between the political and professional consequences of Interchange is best seen in the remarks recorded by Annie Solan, who was exchanged from London to Natal in South Africa in 1929. At the end of her experience, she reflected: ‘I certainly feel a wiser citizen and so in a broad way a better teacher’.[[69]](#endnote-69) Her statement suggests that some teachers did conceive of themselves as citizens of a wider British world and, like many of the other teachers, Solan’s notions of shared civic sensibilities were extended by the feelings of sympathy and understanding she acquired through first-hand knowledge of the Dominions. Yet, the constituent emphasis on the different outlooks which teachers had acquired not only reflected their civic obligations, but also echoed the Edwardian trope of travel as self-realisation.[[70]](#endnote-70) In this imagining, exploring other places deepened and broadened their own perceptions of themselves, as well as their imperial understanding.

However, although some teachers did imagine common bonds of citizenship similar to the League's conception, there is less evidence to indicate that they also replicated the explicitly racial definitions of the League’s imagined British world. Rather than reference empathy for the 'great branches of the British race overseas',[[71]](#endnote-71) as the League did, the teachers, instead, alluded to their own notions of an expansive British community in their emotions towards the friends and family members who were constituent of their own personal British networks.[[72]](#endnote-72) In the record cards for the participating teachers, almost every surviving entry mentions the friends which the exchange teachers made during their year overseas. For some, the bonds forged during Interchange remained so strong that they resulted in subsequent trips; so, for example, in 1929 Beryl Marjorie Toms revisited the friends she had made six years previously during her year in Regina, Saskatchewan.[[73]](#endnote-73) Similarly, many teachers also spoke of the kindness and hospitality that they had received during their stay; their emotions towards these real experiences of people behaving in ways familiar to them from “home” also posited distinct forms of similarity and connection across British world space. In addition, the records also show that the feelings of love and longing attendant on the teachers’ loved ones’ previous migrations to the Dominions was a large factor in the self-selection of many of the participants in the scheme. Requests to travel to areas where family members already lived were frequent in interchange applications and therefore demonstrate how this imagined world influenced the networked mechanisms of Interchange. Likewise, emigrants’ own feelings of loss could also prove the impetus for an Interchange. In 1930, for example, the brother of Frances Isabel Hopson, from Willesden, convinced E. Hayes in Revelstoke, British Columbia to apply for the scheme so that he might have his sister come and work with him for a year in Hayes’ place.[[74]](#endnote-74) For many of the teachers involved in the Interchange scheme, then, their imagined British World was peopled with parts of their self, in the shape of friends, relatives and colleagues and this created a more personal perception.

Alongside this emotional and personal imagining, some of the participants also envisioned an educational world that was connected through the opportunities it offered to reflect on different educational structures and pedagogical methods. This idea, as it appeared in the remarks of Interchange teachers, assumed that knowledge of different education systems would help teachers to improve their own practice.[[75]](#endnote-75) The implicit assumptions made about the value of transnational experience therefore correlates with the development of what Joyce Goodman has identified as ‘a more dynamic model [of exchange] in which colonial experience was thought to enhance metropolitan professional identities’ in the empire exchange programmes of the Association of Headmistresses after the turn of the twentieth century.[[76]](#endnote-76) However, while Goodman analyses that the Secondary School Headmistresses were interested in gaining a fuller knowledge of the educational situation of the world, the Interchange teachers referenced the acquisition of Dominion experience in relation to what it could teach them about the nature of British education in a way similar to their other ideas about self-realisation. According to Lloyd Clitheroe, who was exchanged to Edmonton, Alberta in 1928, the opportunity for learning about different forms of educational systems gave him the prospect of ‘seeing our own system of education from a different angle’.[[77]](#endnote-77) In the same way, Hilda Hallam Walker, exchanged from Torquay to Woodstock, Ontario in 1928 remarked that: ‘Merely to look back at one's own country and to see it from the other fellow's point of view is an experience’.[[78]](#endnote-78) Where the Headmistresses did not have any intention of bringing back ideas from the colonies, the Interchange teachers tended to adopt a more comparative approach. Thus, for Daisy M. Heron who was exchanged to Australia, it was ‘interesting to compare organisation and methods with those at home’.[[79]](#endnote-79) These feelings of being able to learn from education elsewhere again reflected Edwardian tropes of travel by postulating colonial experience as a site of self-learning.

In this educational view of the world, the United States had a distinct place in the imaginings of the Interchange teachers, despite being outside the borders of the British Empire. As another site of English-speaking education, it offered an additional location to gain comparative perspective on education practices and to help a teacher develop their work. For instance, after her exchange year in Canada, Foster (see above) taught in New York and studied at Colombia University. Writing in 1929 she reflected that: ‘It has been quite interesting being in New York and having the opportunity to compare England, Canada and the USA.’[[80]](#endnote-80) In the same way, Frank Nickson, who was exchanged from Eastbourne to New Zealand in 1928, visited schools and institutions in the United States on his way back home. Both these examples show how teachers valued the perceived increase in self-reflection that wider travel gave.

The teachers who participated in the League’s Interchange scheme therefore imagined many different, interrelated British worlds. Although many were influenced by the rhetoric of the League, they also understood and expressed the transnational space that they occupied in ways that reflected their own ideas of travel and self-realisation. It is interesting that the participants’ conceptualisation of geographical proximity and distance was also shaped by their own imagined worlds. Thus, teachers overseas in Canada could legitimately write home the request that: ‘As I am so near I should like to use what may be my only opportunity to visit friends in Australia’.[[81]](#endnote-81) Although these ideas were themselves shaped by the steamship passages and routes to the Dominions available at the time, it still illustrates the importance of the imagined dimension of transnational, British world space.

**Local contexts and the productive British World**

Traditional British World approaches have frequently focused on the way in which Britishness was translated onto Dominion soils, but have not always considered how the local conditions also *affected* the development of Britishness.[[82]](#endnote-82) This section of the article will therefore explicitly consider both the local and the productive nature of Interchange. The individual movements made by teachers revealed a British World of multiple and divergent educational sites. Connecting not only nations and people but also schools and educational systems, the networks, and participants’ experience, of Interchange were influenced by the diversity of specific school settings and educational conditions. Thus, in many ways, this local British World was characterised by educational heterogeneity across the empire.[[83]](#endnote-83) Yet, significantly, these variations among the schools involved in the scheme did not just consolidate the existing British World in discrete colonial spaces, but also helped to disrupt and construct it. In particular, the various ways in which exchange teachers were received and integrated into educational life in the Dominions had an impact on how connections were shaped and mediated by particular local circumstances.

The specific local contexts of the exchanges figured predominately in the records of individual exchanges. British teachers who travelled to the Dominions were wont to emphasise the specific climatic and lifestyle changes that they experienced in their new situations, often in comparison to their previous employment in Britain. For example, Mary Isabel Griffiths, exchanged in 1930, wrote: ‘I am enjoying exceedingly my year in sunny Alberta- it is a delightful change from Manchester’ and Sarah Jane Chubb, exchanged in 1922, wrote of her exchange to Regina in Saskatchewan: ‘the school board authorities there were very kind indeed but I think the climate was altogether too severe for me’.[[84]](#endnote-84) For these women, and their fellow British teachers, the specific colonial site and conditions of their Interchange were therefore fundamental to their own reflections on their experience, and could not easily be separated from the actual practice of Interchange. Similarly, some participants’ also displayed an awareness of the limitations of their own particular and bounded experiences. In her letter to the Hastings Education Committee, dated 5 May 1925, Doreen Kate Munford writes: ‘I do not think you can judge it [Canada] altogether from a small town in Ontario, which is the oldest part and very conservative’.[[85]](#endnote-85) The conscious recognition of the specificity of her experience demonstrates that some participants, at least, were aware of the practical variation in experience which Interchange allowed. On the other hand, for the Dominion teachers who travelled to Britain, their experience was affected by their proximity to London. Those who were able to access the capital could take advantage of the League of the Empire’s small residential building for exchange teachers, their library of imperial information and their frequently arranged lectures.[[86]](#endnote-86) In the Easter holidays the League also arranged trips from London to European cities for visiting teachers.[[87]](#endnote-87) Evidence from the League also suggests that the proportions of applications to come to London from Dominion teachers were disproportionately high.[[88]](#endnote-88)

Furthermore, the participation of individuals from all over the four nations of the United Kingdom in the Interchange scheme also coloured the kind of transnational connection engendered. Historians have increasingly recovered the role that various national and regional groups played in the history of the British Empire and how their identities were consolidated, and developed, by these imperial interactions.[[89]](#endnote-89) Evidence from the League’s records suggests that the distinct nationalities and regionalities of some teachers also seemed to affect their experiences during their year away, as Welsh authorities became involved from 1921, Scottish from 1922 and Northern Irish from 1929. In 1930, Mary Jane Roberts was exchanged from the Penegoes Church of England School in Wales to Galt in Ontario. While on her exchange year, she took the opportunity to give several instructional talks on Wales at different Canadian institutions.[[90]](#endnote-90) In this example, Roberts’ Welsh identity clearly influenced how she understood her identity in Canada; but for other teachers this identity could also mediate how they were understood in the colonial settings they visited. For instance, when Elizabeth Mary Jones was exchanged from Montgomeryshire in Wales to Ontario in Canada in 1928, she was perceived as a specifically Welsh emissary. On leaving Canada, Jones was presented with a volume of Canadian poems by the teachers from St. Catherine’s School, Ontario who felt that they had ‘been brought into closer touch with the people of Wales’ from Elizabeth’s visit.[[91]](#endnote-91) Although Aled Jones and Billie Jones have demonstrated that the Welsh involvement in the British World was a multi-faceted phenomenon, still these examples point to the maintenance of some kind of a separate Welsh identity by these individual teachers whilst abroad.[[92]](#endnote-92) In a similar way, Agnes Canham, exchanged from Hull to Camrose, Alberta in 1926, was also regarded as a direct link to a specific British region. When writing a report on Canham's work, the Principle of Camrose School wrote ‘I believe something has been done to create a better understanding between the people of Hull and the people of our town’.[[93]](#endnote-93) This demonstrates that, for the School Principal at least, this Interchange represented a direct link forged between two distant regions of the British Empire. Moreover, the way in which the identities of both Jones and Canham were translated to, and understood within, Dominion contexts illustrates that the sites of interchange often represented, to those involved, the encounter of two, distinct local cultures that combined in different, and quite specific, ways.

In this context of local variance, the diverse school settings which participants’ confronted also mattered. In both Britain and the Dominions, teachers had varied exposure to the school systems depending on local employment conditions. Although the Interchange scheme was supposed to provide only for direct exchange, in reality the logistics of people swapping places across long distances meant that vacant positions were often filled by other members of staff before the exchange teacher arrived. This meant that, for example, Alice Anne Alexander from New Zealand was placed on the Warwickshire county supply staff in 1923 and taught in a variety of elementary schools within the county, either as a head or assistant teacher.[[94]](#endnote-94) Likewise, Thomasina Carmichael also gained experience in several schools while she was in Victoria, Australia between 1925 and 1926.[[95]](#endnote-95) Each of these unique postings meant that the teacher gained an individual experience of overseas classrooms and local educational conditions. Thus, in a letter dated 1 May 1927, Hildred Lois Rand, who was exchanged from Hastings to Edmonton in Alberta in 1926, was able to express her concerns about the high truancy rates in Edmonton.[[96]](#endnote-96) The importance of these local circumstances can be shown through one further example. According to Maureen Robinson and Pam Christie, developments after the Union of South Africa in 1910, including the expansion of teacher training, meant that the number of qualified native teachers had greatly increased.[[97]](#endnote-97) This meant that teachers like Edith Mary Jane Ferguson, exchanged in 1923, and Mary Fox, exchanged in 1929, were appointed to the “Relieving staff” in Cape Town. In this capacity, they taught across a wide variety of schools during their time in South Africa, including stints teaching in ‘Coloured’ and ‘partly Coloured Schools’.[[98]](#endnote-98) Although, exchange teachers usually taught in predominately white schools,[[99]](#endnote-99) in this instance, the local conditions of employment in South Africa actually determined the boundaries of the British World space which these women encountered.

 The productive nature of local contexts is again evident in the way in which Canada responded to Roman Catholic exchange teachers. Information about the religion of participants was only recorded by approximately 34% of British participants, and not at all for Dominion teachers. However, while the available data does suggest that most British exchange teachers were Protestant, the records also demonstrate that at least 52 participants between 1919 and 1931 identified as Roman Catholics.[[100]](#endnote-100) Of these people, 21 were successfully exchanged to Canada. Roman Catholics often had to be accepted by specific Roman Catholic education boards across the Dominions, with which the League needed separate relationships and agreements of cooperation. Nonetheless, Paula Hastings has shown in her study of Anglo-Saxon constructions in Canadian society that Roman Catholic political power was seen as a particularly serious threat to British identity in Canada and that animosity towards French Catholics was ‘a uniquely Canadian sentiment’ within the British Empire.[[101]](#endnote-101) Surviving testimony suggests that Roman Catholic teachers were not always warmly received by the Canadian authorities. Problems with Interchange were first encountered in Canada in 1922 when Isabella Scott Norwell arrived in Toronto. The League reported that Toronto had not previously raised the question of her religion, but that Norwell experienced considerable difficulty after her arrival in Canada.[[102]](#endnote-102) A report in the *Toronto Star* on 24 March 1923 explains that Isabella was removed from her teaching post at East Haig School when the trustees discovered that she was a Roman Catholic. Attempts were made to find her a teaching post in another public school and with a different school board, but these were unsuccessful. Eventually, she was given a post as a temporary school secretary at Davenport High School by the separate Roman Catholic Board. These issues continued with other teachers’ exchanges. When Mary McBennett applied for a Canadian posting in 1924, the lack of agreement with the separate Catholic Boards in Canada at the time meant that her actual exchange ended up taking place in Western Australia.[[103]](#endnote-103) Then, in 1927, two more teachers had their intended exchanges with Montreal cancelled and rearranged elsewhere because they were Roman Catholic.[[104]](#endnote-104) These examples point to the way in which Dominion contexts mitigated and moderated the transnational axes of mobility through which the Interchange scheme operated. Owing to Canadian domestic fears and concerns, the currents of teachers moving into the country were effectively circumscribed through the criteria of religious belief.

 The large variation in the local sites of Interchange is not surprising, given the enormous range of provinces which the British Empire comprised. Teacher's exchanges occurred within local conditions and were therefore influenced by Dominion contexts, just as they were by the participants’ own imaginings or by the mechanisms which structured their movements. However, the analytical importance of this part of the picture can be seen most clearly in the experience of other races which the Cape Town supply teachers had and in the nature of the restrictions put on the movement of Roman Catholic teachers by Canadian educational authorities. Each of these cases reveals the productive potential of local conditions in expanding or limiting British World space. Ultimately, every Interchange was realised in absolute, local spaces which contributed their own multi-faceted character of colonial settlement and educational conditions.

# Transnational, 'British World' Space

This article has shown how investigations of the mobility, imaginings and local experiences of the League of the Empire's exchange teachers help to illuminate the overlapping British worlds they constituted. The operation of the Interchange scheme defined the spaces between which teachers could move, extending to some place, but excluding others; the participants’ multiple imaginings of their experiences within their own ideas of travel variously consolidated and redefined this space; and local educational and political conditions shaped the ways in which the space was understood by constructing and reconstructing its boundaries. Taken together, these transnational spaces therefore illustrate the true nexus of the networked, imagined and productive British worlds of the teachers who participated in the Interchange scheme.

 While this article has used Pietsch's tripartite framework to explore the Interchange scheme specifically, this does not limit the scheme's relationship to other migratory networks and circulations of ideas, money and objects. Some reference has been made in the text of the relationship to wider educational and academic migration and also to earlier patterns of settler migration. These transnational spaces were complex, so these references are not to suggest that other educational boundaries, peripheries and centres can simply be mapped on top. Instead, there is a complex interplay between the development of these multiple Worlds, and this relationship is one which deserves further scholarly attention.

The author would like to thank Rebecca Webster at the UCL Institute of Education Archives for all her help and would also like to thank Stephen Parker and the anonymous reviews for the *History of Education* journal for their useful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

Table 1. Destination and Departure 'Dominions' by year for ‘Home’ and ‘Dominion’ teachers participating in the “Interchange” scheme between 1919 and 1931.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Year** | **British Teachers' Countries of Destination** | **Dominion Teachers' Country of Departure** |
| **Australia** | **Canada** | **New Zealand** | **Southern Rhodesia** | **South Africa** | **Total** | **Australia** | **Canada** | **New Zealand** | **Southern Rhodesia** | **South Africa** | **Total** |
| 1919 | 1 | 1 |   |   |   | 2 |   | 4 |   |   |   | 4 |
| 1920 | 2 | 1 |   |   |   | 3 | 6 | 16 | 1 |   |   | 23 |
| 1921 | 5 | 13 | 2 |   | 3 | 23 | 16 | 74 | 3 |   | 3 | 96 |
| 1922 | 14 | 36 | 3 |   | 4 | 57 | 19 | 36 | 4 |   | 5 | 64 |
| 1923 | 22 | 27 | 8 |   | 4 | 61 | 26 | 25 | 8 |   | 4 | 63 |
| 1924 | 29 | 44 | 4 |   | 5 | 82 | 30 | 43 | 4 |   | 5 | 82 |
| 1925 | 15 | 48 | 2 |   | 2 | 67 | 15 | 48 | 2 |   | 2 | 67 |
| 1926 | 44 | 47 | 4 | 1 | 22 | 118 | 43 | 49 | 4 | 1 | 20 | 117 |
| 1927 | 30 | 49 | 2 |   | 12 | 93 | 30 | 49 | 2 |   | 12 | 93 |
| 1928 | 40 | 47 | 5 |   | 15 | 107 | 42 | 45 | 5 |   | 15 | 107 |
| 1929 | 40 | 40 | 7 | 1 | 23 | 111 | 41 | 39 | 7 | 1 | 23 | 111 |
| 1930 | 31 | 54 | 1 |   | 14 | 100 | 32 | 54 | 1 |   | 14 | 101 |
| 1931 | 5 | 59 | 10 | 1 | 15 | 90 | 5 | 59 | 10 | 1 | 15 | 90 |
| **Total** | **278** | **466** | **48** | **3** | **119** | **914** | **305** | **541** | **51** | **3** | **118** | **1018** |

Table 2. Number of 'Home' and 'Dominion' teachers by given 'Title' between 1919 and 1931.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Year** | **British Teacher** | **Dominion Teacher** |
|  **Miss** | **Mr** | **Mrs** | **Total** |  **Miss** | **Mr** | **Mrs** | **Total** |
| 1919 | 2 |   |   | 2 | 4 |   |   | 4 |
| 1920 | 3 |   |   | 3 | 23 |   |   | 23 |
| 1921 | 23 |   |   | 23 | 89 | 6 | 1 | 96 |
| 1922 | 53 | 2 | 2 | 57 | 60 | 3 | 1 | 64 |
| 1923 | 60 | 1 |   | 61 | 55 | 6 | 2 | 63 |
| 1924 | 81 | 1 |   | 82 | 81 | 1 |   | 82 |
| 1925 | 64 | 2 | 1 | 67 | 62 | 4 | 1 | 67 |
| 1926 | 110 | 7 | 1 | 118 | 109 | 8 |   | 117 |
| 1927 | 85 | 5 | 3 | 93 | 86 | 7 |   | 93 |
| 1928 | 99 | 6 | 2 | 107 | 97 | 8 | 2 | 107 |
| 1929 | 108 | 2 | 1 | 111 | 109 | 2 |   | 111 |
| 1930 | 91 | 9 |   | 100 | 92 | 9 |   | 101 |
| 1931 | 81 | 7 | 2 | 90 | 76 | 14 |   | 90 |
| **Total** | **860** | **42** | **12** | **914** | **943** | **68** | **7** | **1018** |

1. For more on the agenda and hopes for these conferences, see Maxine Stephenson, ‘Learning about Empire and the Imperial Education Conferences in the Early Twentieth Century: Creating Cohesion or Demonstrating Difference?’, *History of Education Review* 39, no.2 (2010): 24-35. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. 'Official Report of the Federal Conference on Education convened by the League of the Empire, May 24th to June 1st, 1907, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster', (League of the Empire: London, 1907), British Library, 5-8. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Gary McCulloch and Roy Lowe, ‘Introduction: Centre and Periphery- Networks, Space and Geography in the History of Education’, *History of Education* 32, no.5 (2003): 459. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. See, for example, Geoffrey Sherington and Craig Campbell, ‘Introduction: Education and Ethnicity’ *Paedagogica Historica* 37, no. 1 (2001): 10-14. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. Joyce Goodman, Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, ‘”Empires overseas” and “Empire at Home”: postcolonial and transnational perspectives on social change in the history of education’, *Paedagogica Historica* 45, no.6 (2009): 700. [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. Lindsay J. Proudfoot and Michael M. Roche, 'Introduction: Place, Network, and the Geographies of Empire' in *(Dis)placing Empire: Renegotiating British Colonial Geographies*, ed. Lindsay J. Proudfoot and Michael M. Roche (Ashgate Publishing Limited: Aldershot, Hampshire, 2006), 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World' in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, ed. Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (Frank Cass: London, 2003), 11. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)
8. For example, see Tamson Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World', *Journal of British Studies* 52, no.2 (2013): 442-3; Bridge and Fedorowich, ‘Mapping the British World’: 10-11. [↑](#endnote-ref-8)
9. See Tamson Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World': 445. [↑](#endnote-ref-9)
10. Phillip A. Buckner, 'Introduction: The British World', *History of Intellectual Culture* 4, no.1 (2004): 2. [↑](#endnote-ref-10)
11. Tamson Pietsch, ‘Rethinking the British World’: 445; 447; 461. [↑](#endnote-ref-11)
12. Marilyn Barber, ‘Nation-building in Saskatchewan: Teachers from the British Isles in Saskatchewan rural schools in the 1920s’ in eds. P. Buckner and R. Francis, *Canada and the British World: Culture, migration and identity* (UBC Press: Vancouver,2006), 215-233; Eliza Reidi, 'Teaching Empire: British and dominions women teachers in the South African War concentration camps', *English Historical Review* 120 (2005); 1316-1347. [↑](#endnote-ref-12)
13. Kay Whitehead, 'Exchange Teachers as "another Link in Binding the [British] Empire" in the Interwar Years', *Social and Education History* 3, vol.1, (2014): 1-24. [↑](#endnote-ref-13)
14. See, for example, Saul Dubow, ‘How British was the British World? The Case of South Africa’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 37, no.1 (2009): 1-27; Kay Morris Matthews and Kuni Jenkins, ‘Whose Country is it Anyway? The Construction of a new Identity through Schooling for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand’, *History of Education* 28, no.3 (1999): 339-350; Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, 2001). [↑](#endnote-ref-14)
15. Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World': 461. [↑](#endnote-ref-15)
16. See, for example, Catherine Hall, Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867, (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2002); Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915,* (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, NC, 1994). [↑](#endnote-ref-16)
17. Simon J. Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2003), 622. [↑](#endnote-ref-17)
18. Stephen Constantine and Marjory Harper, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010); M. A. Jones, 'The Background to Emigration from Great Britain', in *Dislocation and Emigration: The Social Background of American Immigration*, ed. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA, 1974), 33– 34. [↑](#endnote-ref-18)
19. See, for example, Joyce Goodman, Andrea Jacobs, Fiona Kisby and Helen Loader, ‘Travelling careers: overseas migration patterns in the professional lives of women attending Girton and Newnham before 1939’, *History of Education* 40, no.2 (2011): 179-196; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 2006). [↑](#endnote-ref-19)
20. See in particular John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009). [↑](#endnote-ref-20)
21. See, for example, Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native', *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006), 387–409; Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, ed., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006); *Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2008). [↑](#endnote-ref-21)
22. Pietsch, ‘Rethinking the British World’: 447-450; 457-462. [↑](#endnote-ref-22)
23. David Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Toward a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* (Verso: London, 2006), 123. [↑](#endnote-ref-23)
24. Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism*¸ 125; see also Eric Sheppard, 'David Harvey and Dialectical Space-time' in eds. Noel Castree & Derek Greogroy, *David Harvey: A Critical Reader* (Blackwell Publishing Limited: Oxford, 2006), 121-141. [↑](#endnote-ref-24)
25. “Relational space” is a metaphysical concept most famously associated with the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, but it was taken up as a method of post-structuralist spatial analysis by geographers from the 1960s. Broadly speaking, the concept of relational space is a theory which states that space only exists in interactions between objects; thus the concept of space does not exist outside of the processes and objects that define it and these spaces are constantly being made, unmade and remade. For more on this, see, for example, Jonathan Murdoch, *Post-structuralist Geography: A Guide to Relational Space* (SAGE Publications Limited: Thousand Oaks, California, 2006); Doreen Massey, ‘Space-Time, 'Science' and the Relationship between Physical Geography and Human Geography’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 24, no.3 (1999): 261-276. [↑](#endnote-ref-25)
26. Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World': 447. [↑](#endnote-ref-26)
27. Ibid. [↑](#endnote-ref-27)
28. Kay Whitehead, 'Exchange Teachers’: 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-28)
29. 'Report of the League of the Empire’, 1919-1920', (League of the Empire: London, 1920). [↑](#endnote-ref-29)
30. See, for example, Tamson Pietsch, ‘Wandering Scholars? Academic Mobility and the British World, 1850-1940, *Journal of Historical Geography* 36 (2010): 377-387. [↑](#endnote-ref-30)
31. Matthew Hendley, *Organised Patriotism and the Crucible of War: Popular Imperialism in Britain 1914-1932* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012). [↑](#endnote-ref-31)
32. Kay Whitehead, ‘Exchange Teachers’: 4-5. [↑](#endnote-ref-32)
33. Geoffrey R. Searle, *The Quest for National Efficiency a Study in British Politics and British Political Thought, 1899-1914* (University of California Press: Berkley, CA, 1971*)*: 207-216. [↑](#endnote-ref-33)
34. Frederick Pollock, 'The League of the Empire', *United Empire: Royal Colonial Institute Journal* 6 (1915): 740. [↑](#endnote-ref-34)
35. Greenlee, *Education and Imperial Unity*, 57-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-35)
36. 'Report of the Interchange of Teachers Scheme, 1907-1923', (League of the Empire: London, 1923). [↑](#endnote-ref-36)
37. Hendley, *Organised Patriotism*, 212. [↑](#endnote-ref-37)
38. 'Report of the Interchange of Teachers Scheme', 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-38)
39. Hendley, *Organised Patriotism*, 180-4. [↑](#endnote-ref-39)
40. 'The Story of the League, 1901-1991', (League of the Exchange of Commonwealth Teachers: London, 1991). [↑](#endnote-ref-40)
41. ‘Report of the Advisory Committee on Interchange of Teachers’, 1921, ED 121/80, The National Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-41)
42. Ibid. [↑](#endnote-ref-42)
43. ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'L', LECT/2/12 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-43)
44. For more on the difficulties involved in the administration of the scheme, see ‘Interchange of Teachers: Extension beyond one year and effect on salary and status’, 1922, ED 121/83, The National Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-44)
45. ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'C', LECT/2/3 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-45)
46. ‘Exchange Lists- Record Cards’, LECT 1, UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-46)
47. For more on the loss of these reports, see Hendley, *Organised Patriotism,* ‘Note on Sources’, 305-306. [↑](#endnote-ref-47)
48. For example, see the case of Claude Stanley Whittle who was sent to Natal instead in 1927. ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'W', LECT/2/22, UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-48)
49. Pietsch, 'Rethinking the British World', 450. [↑](#endnote-ref-49)
50. Evelyn Bengough, 'Re: Interchange to Canada', *The Woman Teacher*, 10 October 1924. [↑](#endnote-ref-50)
51. ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'R', LECT/2/18 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-51)
52. See, for example, Asher Tropp, *Jews in the professions in Great Britain 1891-1991*(Maccabaeans: London, 1991). [↑](#endnote-ref-52)
53. ‘New arrangements for the Interchange of Teachers’, 1925, ED 121/82, The National Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-53)
54. Dina Copelman, *London’s Women Teachers: Gender, Class, and Feminism, 1870–1930* (Routledge: New York, 1996). [↑](#endnote-ref-54)
55. Joyce Goodman suggests that geographical mobility had largely characterised the careers of highly educated women. See, Joyce Goodman, 'Their Market Value must be Greater for the Experience they had Gained': Secondary School Headmistresses and Empire, 1897-1914’ in eds. Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin, *Gender, Colonialism and Education* (Frank Cass Publishers: London, 2002), 175-176. [↑](#endnote-ref-55)
56. ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'A', LECT/2/1 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-56)
57. ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'F', LECT/2/6 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-57)
58. Eliza Reidi, 'Teaching Empire: British and dominions women teachers in the South African War concentration camps', *English Historical Review* 120 (2005); 1316-1347. [↑](#endnote-ref-58)
59. Marjory Harper, '"Personal contact is Worth a Ton of Text-Books': Educational Tours of the Empire 1926-39, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History,* 32, No. 3 (2004): 48-76. [↑](#endnote-ref-59)
60. James G. Greenlee, *Education and Imperial Unity, 1901-1926* (Taylor & Francis: Oxford, 1987). [↑](#endnote-ref-60)
61. Whitehead, ‘Exchange Teachers’: 1-24. [↑](#endnote-ref-61)
62. 'Report of the Interchange to Teachers Scheme', 3. [↑](#endnote-ref-62)
63. Harper, 'Personal Contact is Worth a Ton of Text-Books':48-76. [↑](#endnote-ref-63)
64. 'Report of the Interchange to Teachers Scheme', 5. [↑](#endnote-ref-64)
65. Daniel Gorman, *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2010). [↑](#endnote-ref-65)
66. Felicity Barnes, ‘Bringing another Empire Alive? The Empire Marketing Board and the Construction of Dominion Identity’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, No.1 (2014): 70. [↑](#endnote-ref-66)
67. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'M', LECT/2/14,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-67)
68. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'L', LECT/2/12 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-68)
69. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'S', LECT/2/19 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-69)
70. See Indepal Grewal, *Home and Harem: Nation, Gender, Empire and the Cultures of Travel* (Duke University Press: Durham, North Carolina,1996); Goodman, ‘Their Market Value must be Greater for the experience they had Gained’: 177. [↑](#endnote-ref-70)
71. ‘Report of the Advisory Committee’, ED 121/80, The National Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-71)
72. Pietsch, ‘Rethinking the British World’: 460. [↑](#endnote-ref-72)
73. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'T', LECT/2/20,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-73)
74. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'H', LECT/2/8 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-74)
75. For example, the comment on Dorothy Isaac’s record is: ‘I have learnt much which is helping me in my work’. See ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'I', LECT/2/9 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-75)
76. Goodman, ‘Their Market Value must be Greater for the experience they had Gained’: 185. [↑](#endnote-ref-76)
77. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'C’, LECT/2/3,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-77)
78. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'W', LECT/2/22 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-78)
79. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'H', LECT/2/8 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-79)
80. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'F', LECT/2/6 ,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-80)
81. Letter from Hildred Lois Rand to Mr Buswell, the Secretary of the Hastings Education Committee, 1 May, 1927, R/E 4/25/22, East Sussex Record Office at The Keep. [↑](#endnote-ref-81)
82. For example, see Tony Ballantyne, ‘Thinking Local: Knowledge, Sociability and Community in Gore’s Intellectual Life, 1875-1914’, *New Zealand Journal of History* 44 (2010): 138-156. [↑](#endnote-ref-82)
83. For more on the lack of coherent formal policy across British colonies, see Clive Whitehead, ‘The concept of British education policy in the colonies 1850-1960’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 39, no.2 (2007): 161-173. [↑](#endnote-ref-83)
84. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'C', LECT/2/3,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-84)
85. Letter from Miss Doreen Kate Munford to Mr Buswell, the Secretary of the Hastings Education Committee, 5 May 1925, R/E 4/25/22, East Sussex Record Office at The Keep. [↑](#endnote-ref-85)
86. Board of Education, ‘Education in England and Wales: Being the Report of the Board of Education for the School Year 1925-1926’, 1927, HMSO, Cmd. 2866, Parliamentary Papers: 8-9. [↑](#endnote-ref-86)
87. See Request from Miss H Graham (Canadian teacher) to attend an educational tour to Italy and France at Christmas, R/E 4/25/22, East Sussex Record Office at The Keep. [↑](#endnote-ref-87)
88. ‘Report of the Advisory Committee’, 1922, ED 121/80, The National Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-88)
89. John M. MacKenzie, ‘Irish, Scottish, Welsh and English Worlds? A Four-Nation Approach to the History of the British Empire,’ *History Compass* 6, no. 5 (2008): 1244-1263. [↑](#endnote-ref-89)
90. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'R', LECT/2/18,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-90)
91. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'J', LECT/2/10,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-91)
92. Aled Jones and Billie Jones, ‘The Welsh World and the British Empire, c.1851-1939’ in Bridge and Fedorowich, *The British World,* 58-61; see also Aled Jones and Bill Jones, ‘The Welsh world and the British empire, c.1851–1939: An exploration’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31, no.2 (2003): 57-81. [↑](#endnote-ref-92)
93. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'C', LECT/2/3,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-93)
94. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'P', LECT/2/17,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-94)
95. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'C', LECT/2/3,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-95)
96. Letter from Hildred Lois Rand, R/E 4/25/22, East Sussex Record Office at The Keep. [↑](#endnote-ref-96)
97. Maureen Robinson and Pam Christie, ‘South Africa’ in eds. Tom A. O’Donoghue and Clive Whitehead, *Teacher Education in the English-Speaking World: Past, Present and Future* (Information Age Publishing: United States of America, 2008), 142. [↑](#endnote-ref-97)
98. See, for example Miss Mary Fox’s record. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'M', LECT/2/14,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-98)
99. Whitehead, ‘Exchange Teachers’: 10-13. [↑](#endnote-ref-99)
100. See ‘UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards’, LECT 2, UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-100)
101. Paula Hastings, ‘”Our Glorious Saxon Race Shall Ever Fill Earth’s Highest place”: *The Anglo Saxon* and the Construction of Identity in Late-Nineteenth century Canada’ in ed. Buckner and Francis, *Canada and the British World*, 103. [↑](#endnote-ref-101)
102. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'N', LECT/2/15,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-102)
103. UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'Mc', LECT/2/13,UCL Institute of Education Archives. [↑](#endnote-ref-103)
104. Miss Teresa Bridget Coffey and Miss Edna Gladys Whetmore each wished to go to Montreal, but this could not be arranged owing to their religion. They were respectively Interchanged to Winnipeg and Vancouver. See, UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'C', LECT/2/3,UCL Institute of Education Archives; UK Applicants Pre-1960 - Record Cards Surname beginning 'W', LECT/2/22,UCL Institute of Education Archives.

 [↑](#endnote-ref-104)