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Being observant and observed: embodied citizenship training in the Home Guard and the Boy Scout Movement, 1907-1945

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ABSTRACT

Building upon recent studies by geographers and social scientists on the everyday practices of (scientific) observation, this paper focuses on the role of two distinct, yet similar organisations that held observation as an essential and 'automatic' embodied skill. Utilising the examples of Home Guard camouflage and the Boy Scout movement, the paper critically examines how these organisations sought to articulate the individual as both observer and observed, thereby exposing a much more complex entanglement of different visual positions and practices hitherto neglected in studies of observation. Moreover, the paper emphasises the importance of the act of 'not-being-seen' as a complementary and fundamental aspect of (non-)observational practice, accentuated and promoted by civic institutions in terms of duty and responsibility. Finally, the paper considers the evolutionary aspects of observation through the lifecourse, revealing a complex, relational geography of expertise, experience and skill that crossed age-distinctions.

Keywords: Observation; Pedagogy; Citizenship; Home Guard; Boy Scouts

Geographers have had a long-standing interest in the visual - be this through the interpretation of cartographic material, the effect of new media technologies on our understandings of space, or representations of difference and place. Inspired by parallel developments in Visual Culture Studies, it has recently been argued that ‘there has been something of a “visual turn” in the discipline...nourished in large measure by a broader “cultural turn”’.¹ Elsewhere, geographers have contributed to key academic discussions about the different modes of ‘vision’; for instance work which has examined the ‘gaze’ and the historical geographies of surveying and mapping.² These contributions have highlighted that particular types of vision need distinction and investigation. For us, a necessary part of understanding the visual and visualities is the comprehension of the processes and techniques of observation.

This paper explicitly focuses on observation as an embodied practice, shaping the behaviour and everyday interactions of individuals. Building upon recent studies by geographers and social scientists on everyday practices of (scientific) observation,³ we contribute a more detailed discussion of the influences behind particular observational pedagogies, examining how proficiency in observation was communicated to the audiences of two organisations that upheld observation as an essential embodied skill. Through an explicit focus upon the two examples of Home Guard camouflage and the Boy Scout Movement, we add an original discussion of the different types of observational practices which these organisations fostered: observing nature and the physical environment, observing ‘Others’ in various contexts to construct ideas of difference, and observing one’s self, position and behaviours. While on the one hand, these different types of observation produced a viewing subject who was primarily an ‘observer’ (of nature and others), on the other, the observer was often the subject of observation themselves, and, as a result, attempted to subvert such ‘gazing’ through not-being-seen or concealment. In this paper, we consider how these two distinct, yet similar organisations articulated the individual as both observer and the observed, examining an additional layer to studies on observation through showing how not-being-observed was articulated as another dimension of (non-) observational practice, accentuated in terms of duty and responsibility. Finally, we highlight the important evolutionary aspects of observation over the lifecourse and some of the similarities and differences in how observation has been encouraged for various social groups across age boundaries.

This paper is structured into four sections: the first positions this article with respect to the literature on observation, visualities and citizenship. The second section justifies our case studies and gives a broad overview of their rationales, audiences and our methodological approach. We then take each case-study in turn and provide an analysis of the techniques of observation taught as part of their training programmes before finally offering some concluding remarks.

CULTURES OF OBSERVATION

Over time, observation has been a powerful visual strategy to inhibit movement, as well as to reinforce power relations and spatial difference; from Bentham's panopticon to the contemporary use of CCTV and gait recognition technologies in airports.⁴ These forms of extreme observation demonstrate the often explicit political and social dimensions of the practice of observing. In historical analyses of observation, geographers and social scientists have primarily considered the relationships between observation, leisure and (outdoor) citizenship education;⁵ observation, amateur science and everyday knowledge production;⁶ observation and optical technologies;⁷ and observation, nationhood and militarism.⁸ These studies have importantly connected the practice of observation with broader social and political projects, changes and transformations, as well as emphasising the role of organisations and institutions in emphasising particular cultures of observation. Building upon these studies, this paper aims to make three original contributions to research on the historiography of observational techniques and cultures of observation that have hitherto been neglected.

First, we highlight the role of embodiment in observational practices and performances. Extending arguments articulated within much broader work on embodied, everyday and banal visual encounters,⁹ this paper contends that observation is not simply a different 'way of seeing', but that it requires other embodied actions and behavioural aspects: the ability to record, reflect, judge and respond. In line with Lynch and Law, who discuss observation in the context of birdwatching, we recognise that observation is not 'a single kind of act or process ... [but entails] an array of different perceptual activities: looking for, looking at, peering, spotting, inspecting, perusing, seeing as, and seeing-at-a-glance'.¹⁰ In addition to these different perceptions, there are other elements to observing. For example, Helen Macdonald stresses the role of investigation and identification in her research on the inter-war culture of amateur ornithology:

Bird *observing* was not bird *watching*; it implied a specific investigative telos. The observer was actively investigating – identifying, recognising, recording: information was being sought and being obtained for a purpose, ostensibly the gathering of data as part of a collective effort for scientific knowledge.¹¹

In this paper, however, we offer examples that specifically illustrate the embodied performances of observant individuals alongside these perceptual and investigate elements. We consider the reactions of people that belonged to uniformed organisations to certain situations, to think through how observance as a habituated mode of being was taught and adapted to different environments as part of wider social and political agendas rather than individual scientific pursuit. These organisations trained their respective members to observe in particular ways, to record, make critical assessments of scenarios and respond through embodied actions: to run or stand still, to shout or be silent, to stand out or blend in, to write down or memorise.

Second, we contend that observation is a two-fold act of being observant and being observed and we use this paper to extend conceptualisations and understandings of observation as an assemblage of various observational practices. Indeed, much of the current literature focuses on individuals being observant, but has failed to acknowledge the processes of observation they themselves are subjected to. In this paper and through our examples of institutionalised observation, we show how on the one hand, individuals are trained and encouraged to become effective and proficient observers (of nature, of others, of self), whereas on the other hand, they themselves become subjects of observation. As we go on to show, critical assessments of their effectiveness and of their behaviour was to come from a variety of sources, be it by the enemy, the general public, or indeed even by the organisations to which members belonged as uniformed individuals. Such judgements are alluded to in Peter Adey's work on 'aerial life' and his examination of the presence of the Air Raid warden as an 'instrument of social control' in 1930s and 1940s Britain and Germany. While on the one hand, Air Raid wardens were individuals who were responsible for overseeing civil defence preparations, on the other, their uniformed presence and being seen to be carrying out their role as a warden positioned them as icons of hope who inspired confidence through calm behaviour; these individuals became constructed as the 'super-citizen'.¹² In the context of our examples, we consider how these 'super-citizens', whilst often positioned as bastions

of hope, were often instructed to hide (Home Guard) or were subject to processes of critical negative observations by members of the public themselves (Boy Scouts). This paper therefore contributes a unique focus on how ‘not-being-seen’ and concealing true intentions or bodies were also considered to be part of these individuals’ sense of duty and responsibility in their service to the nation. Overall, this paper importantly draws out these distinctions between being observant and being observed and argues that this relationship is significant not least because it reveals a complex entanglement of different visual positions and practices. We therefore consider how observation is not disconnected from the individual subjective experience, nor removed from the wider social context and people’s everyday lives or scopophobic (and scopophilic) experiences.¹³

Finally, literature on observation has thus far tended to neglect specific observational training for youth. Here, we want to extend debates surrounding cultures of observation through thinking about the ways in which young people, in addition to adults, were positioned and educated about observation. This is part of a much broader argument in the geographical discipline about children and young people being taken seriously and brought into all manner of geographical enquiries.¹⁴ David Matless has briefly discussed the observational practices of scouting in terms of broader walking cultures, visual leisure and citizenship,¹⁵ but here, we focus explicitly on the broader ideas about youth becoming observant and the habituated and embodied modes of being observant, as well as observed. Influenced by recent theoretical engagements by geographers with the ‘lifecourse’, this paper considers the stretching of age-based roles and responsibilities.¹⁶ For example, how Scouts were afforded an emasculated version of citizenship to perform whilst young people, waiting for the ‘real thing’, with the expressed intention that these skills would be carried through into their adult life. Conversely, the example of the Home Guard demonstrates how adults are seen to require re-educating, or re-skilling in the face of specific contexts (i.e. wartime), often despite previous military experience. Overall then, our examples of the Home Guard and Boy Scouts may have been designed for particular age groups, but there were more complex, relational geographies of expertise, experience and skill that crossed age-distinctions. We also show how despite these philosophical ideas about the elongation of the lifecourse and responsibility, essences and traces of age-based approaches are still evidenced in the pedagogical methods and ‘rewards’ of effective observation.

THE HOME GUARD AND THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT: CITIZENSHIP, OBSERVATIONAL PRACTICE, METHODS.

Having outlined the conceptual contribution of this paper, this section exemplifies the significance of the case studies in extending debates to this existing literature on geographies of observation. This paper emerges from discussions around two separate research projects on the cultural-historical geographies of camouflage and the cultural-historical geographies of youth movements in twentieth century Britain. Whilst these projects differed in their subject areas and particular type of geographical investigation, over the course of our studies, we began to see a continued emphasis on observation, observational practice, and embodied forms of learning. In bringing these discussions together in more concrete form, we draw on empirics of two specific organisations: the Home Guard and the Boy Scout Movement. This comparative approach allows for a discussion of the disparate elements of observational practice and training across the lifecourse, enabling the highlighting of both the similarities and the differences in the ways in which these organisations deployed and encouraged an embodied mode of being observant as well as how members themselves were observed by others.

In many ways, these two organisations provide unique and complementary comparative case studies. Firstly, they shared particular political and philosophical agendas. Both stressed notions of duty, individual responsibility and ‘service’ to the nation, and, as later sections go on to show, these organisations emerged out of specific concerns regarding the security and future of the British nation at different points in time. However, this sense of duty and the role of the individual in the preservation of the nation was articulated in rather different ways; for the Home Guard, this was against Nazi invasion, whereas for the Boy Scouts this was to create a stronger body of male youth capable of protecting Britain and her empire. Despite these differences in terms of the perceived ‘threat’, the *raison d’être* for both organisations was nevertheless driven by self-improvement and the enhancement of the skill-sets members possessed for the good of the nation. Whilst these aims manifest themselves in instructions for self-improvement and a focus on individual progress, members of these schemes were also positioned as part of a much wider collective of Britons who were duty-bound to their local and national communities. Following on from this, these two organisations share further similarities in terms of how they both bore traces and echoes of military observational practice. This was articulated through uniformed membership, and regulated spaces and structures with their own set of standardised methods and pedagogical

techniques.¹⁷ On the one hand, the Home Guard was an explicit, determined militaristic organisation and part of a much broader network of official armed militaristic spaces, yet was comprised wholly of civilians who had volunteered. On the other, the Boy Scout Movement was independent of state-control and consistently denied accusations of militarism, despite its pseudo-militaristic elements such as uniform, drill and flag-bearing.¹⁸ Whilst there are clear divergences in their contexts, status and membership, these common features and the centrality of observation in their training schemes make them worthy and useful examples to explore cultures of observation.

In the following two sections, we take each organisation in turn. In the first part, we specifically focus on the Home Guard and the practice of personal camouflage during the Second World War, where observation was framed within mentalities and strategies of disguise, mimicry and invisibility. In the second part, we explore the early formative years of the Boy Scout Association in Britain between 1907 and 1939, where the foundations and justifications for training youth in observation were most clearly expressed. For both case studies, we interrogate the discourses that these two organisations produced surrounding observation at the national level; in part, this is shaped by the absence of archived material pertaining to the performance of observational training at either the local or regional scale. Moreover, our analyses of these two organisations examines how their respective members were instructed to be both observant, as well as being aware of being observed.

The material this paper draws upon is taken from a range of sources and archival collections. For the Home Guard, two contemporary sources published during the middle of the Second World War and procured as part of one of the author's personal archives, were consulted in detail. While there is a wide range of Home Guard training literature from this time period available, both in archival and library repositories, these two key texts were selected for their explicit focus on camouflage training. Furthermore, as these texts were produced by popular publishing houses and written by key figures within the Home Guard training set-up at the national level, their wider availability and 'authoritative' status position them as significant, historically embedded objects containing the main messages surrounding the observational techniques that Home Guardsmen were to attain. Additional secondary sources were also utilised, primarily accounts produced by former Home Guard personnel, to provide contextual insights into broader training regimes and practices. In terms of the Scout Movement, the majority of the material was accessed at the archival collection at Gilwell Park, the headquarters of the Scout Association in Chingford, Essex, UK. This ranged from

handwritten notes and the original *Scouting for Boys* text, correspondence between Baden-Powell and various individuals, newspaper reports, and textile badges. Junior Scout novels – adventurous stories for youth members published by the organisation– were also consulted. These were, however, sourced and purchased off eBay as originals are not kept at the archives.¹⁹ This engagement with a diverse range of material for both case studies reflects the different pedagogical methods of each organisation, an aspect discussed later in this paper.

‘LOOK, DUCK AND VANISH’: THE HOME GUARD, OBSERVATION AND CONCEALMENT

Since the war began, the government have received countless inquiries from all over the kingdom from men of all ages...who wish to do something for the defence of their country. Well, now is your opportunity.

These words, broadcast to the nation by Anthony Eden, Secretary of State for War on 13th May 1940, signalled the formation of what is commonly referred to as ‘the greatest citizen army Britain has ever seen’; the Local Defence Volunteers (LDV) or Home Guard.²⁰

Composed of male volunteers aged between 17 and 65, this was an organisation whose ‘membership’ never fell below 1 million until its disbandment in December 1944, peaking at 1.8 million in March 1943.²¹ Mobilised due to the threat of invasion and widespread anxieties about German paratroopers and fifth columnists following the fall of France, the exploits of the Home Guard have been the subject of countless representations.

Immortalisation through the BBC TV series *Dad’s Army* has no doubt influenced the popular imagining of the Home Guard as overly enthusiastic, resolute, and determined; as a group ‘of untrained civilians setting out to confront the invader with golf-clubs, carving knives and pitchforks’.²² Despite these enduring stereotypes, the Home Guard was a military institution in which its recruits were in fact proficient in military tactics and the use of weaponry which matched that of the Army; this was particularly the case following the increased formalisation of its organisational structure and training programme in Spring 1941. As Brophy writes, the Home Guard were a ‘modern infantry, specialized in the sense that they were prepared to fight first and foremost in their own localities, which four years of field exercises taught them to know thoroughly, yard by yard, in the blackout as well as in daylight’.²³

Although the LDV would later evolve into this ‘efficient fighting force’, when it was initially established in May 1940, it was recognised that there was a great disparity in the military skill-sets possessed by its new recruits. Although a large number of its volunteers were Great War veterans or ex-servicemen, there was an equal proportion who had extremely limited or even no experience of military service.²⁴ This difference in military knowledge put a heavy precedent upon Home Guard units to carry out instruction and ‘hands-on’ training which would not only introduce Home Guardsmen to new military skills, but would also enable the rejuvenation of pre-existing and archaic knowledge in veteran recruits.²⁵ In doing so, it was contended that each Home Guardsmen would be equipped with a standardised set of embodied military skills that would enable them to perform their duty as ‘defenders of the nation’. As part of the Home Guard programme, therefore, every Home Guardsmen was to undertake essential training in a variety of areas: this included, amongst other things, ‘weapons training;...fieldcraft; map reading; patrolling and sentry duties; bombs and hand grenades;...anti-gas training and first aid; enemy tactics; ...[and] leadership and discipline’.²⁶ Training in all of these different skills would take place in diverse pedagogical spaces. For instance, some Home Guard volunteers attended ‘training schools’ which had been set up at various locations around the U.K. The first of these opened in July 1940 at Osterley Park, Middlesex, where trainees received instruction in the art of ‘ungentlemanly warfare’.²⁷ Many of the lecturers at Osterley had recently returned from the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), where they had either been combatants or had had experience of the fighting which had taken place there; this included individuals such as Tom Wintringham, Hugh Slater and Roland Penrose.²⁸ Through interactions with these instructors, Osterley Park became a site in which ‘the alluring ideas of guerrilla warfare spread like an encouraging gospel’ amongst Home Guardsmen.²⁹ Training in military skills and techniques was not, however, solely confined to schools such as Osterley Park, but also included a variety of other educational environments, from Travelling Wings which consisted of ‘a team of half a dozen officers and NCOs...who spent a week in an area providing intensive training every evening and on Saturday afternoon and Sunday’, through to ‘Battle Inoculation Schools’, where the intention was to prepare Home Guardsmen for the affective conditions and visceral atmosphere of conflict.³⁰

While these diverse training environments represent more ‘institution-centred’ arrangements, the majority of Home Guard training was undertaken at the local level, through the medium of lectures, demonstrations and field exercises arranged by individual unit

commanders themselves. In order to guide Home Guard commanders as to the educational programmes they should adopt for their own units, a plethora of official and unofficial training literatures was published to support instruction. Literatures such as John Langdon-Davies's *The Home Guard Training Manual* (1940) and Wintringham's *New Ways of War* (1940), often produced and made available through 'popular' publishers such as Penguin Books and Routledge, combined elementary knowledge about generic military practices such as drilling and weapons maintenance, with skills, tactics and training programmes tailored for guerrilla warfare.³¹ While these broader training guides provided a general overview, special issues devoted to specific skills were also available for consultation, with activities such as signalling and map-reading being catered for. One of the key attributes for a Home Guardsman which was fostered through both sets of literature was that of ideal modes of observation, and in particular cultures of observation which would aid concealment.

From the outset, effective observation as a practice was envisaged as a fundamental part of being in the Home Guard.³² Aside from repelling an invasion, Home Guardsmen were also tasked with 'looking out' for enemy paratroopers, 'watching' for Luftwaffe aircraft, as well as 'as keeping an eye out' for Fifth Columnists and spies. It should be highlighted that these observational tasks were not confined solely to the Home Guard, but can be acknowledged as part of a much broader wartime culture of watchfulness and vigilance associated with other defence organisations such as the A.R.P. and the Observer Corps, as well as the wider public.³³ To facilitate 'effective' and 'efficient' observational skills amongst their men, unit commanders would draw upon the elementary knowledge contained within the emerging body of training literature, enabling them to shape their lectures at the evening or weekend parade meeting. For instance, a section of *The Home Guard Training Manual* is devoted to 'Observation and Messages', presenting the Home Guard reader with information on the 'types of observation' expected to be performed (at Observation Posts, as part of everyday routine, or while searching for invaders), suitable sites from which to observe from, how to 'scout' as well as providing detailed demonstration exercises that commanders could use to train their units.³⁴ Utilising such knowledge and ideas, the lecture or demonstration at the parade meeting, therefore, acted as an initial site of tuition before the Home Guardsmen went out into the field. Such lectures actively promoted critical observation whilst on patrol, with Home Guardsmen being instructed 'to watch the open countryside for enemy paratroops...[and] to observe and report any such landings'.³⁵ Within the training literature, however, instruction in observation was not confined solely to making

observations of the enemy, but also stressed the importance of 'being observant', 'not-being-seen' and avoiding the enemy 'gaze' while observing. This establishment of a culture of continuous analytical observation of the self as well as the enemy 'other' may well account for the rise of the popular nickname for the Home Guard as the 'Look, Duck and Vanish Brigade'.³⁶ Through an engagement with training literature and instruction from their commanding officers, Home Guardsmen were, therefore, taught to employ a critical observational stance in the field of not only themselves and their position within the landscape, but also the activities of those around them. In doing so, Home Guardsmen were encouraged to discipline both their own appearance and movements through space, thereby enabling themselves to perform their 'duty' as a member of the Home Guard. In the *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, instructor Roland Penrose highlighted that:

to an old soldier, the idea of hiding from your enemy and the use of deception may possibly be repulsive. He may feel that it is not brave and not cricket. But that matters very little to our enemies, who are ruthlessly exploiting every means of deception at the present time to gain their spectacular victories.³⁷

It is clear here that not only was not-being-seen a necessary skill if the Home Guard was to operate effectively as a defence force, but the importance of observing oneself, the others in one's troop, as well as meticulous observational attention to the local environment, were all an integral part to their survival.

Two main points can therefore be drawn out through analysing examples from the camouflage training literature. Firstly, that Home Guardsmen were taught to 'be observant' about nature and natural environments in order comprehend aspects of concealment. Secondly, that the Home Guard literature stressed the need to understand their own particular movements and how these would 'be observed' by the enemy; this necessarily rendered the observation of self and other as an essential everyday and embodied skill.

Being Observant

Camouflage training literature called for recruits to make observations of nature and encouraged them to examine the behaviour and defensive techniques employed by various animals. In many ways, Home Guardsmen observing nature served to simplify the pedagogical process outlined earlier and enabled a more comprehensive understanding of camouflage at work. Nature was constructed as providing a wealthy source of knowledge

about how to conceal oneself. Although camouflage was described as ‘the exercise of common sense, imagination and attention to detail...what is most important [is] an appreciation of how Nature assists its creatures in self-preservation’.³⁸ The constructed ‘naturalness’ and ‘everydayness’ of camouflage for animals was utilised to convey the significance of concealment as a technique to be used by the Home Guard. Certainly, parallels are drawn between concealment and survival, and if the Home Guard were to perform its civic duty of home defence, concealment was a necessary talent. As Lieutenant-Colonel Cyril Smith writes in *Camouflage Simply Explained* (1942), ‘concealment is a primitive instinct among wild creatures...it is an automatic habit – because upon the individual ability to do so effective[ly] depends their very existence’.³⁹ Here, the idea is conveyed that camouflage should be a continuously enacted process, requiring repetitive reflection through critical self-observation of one’s actions.

Observations of well-known creatures making themselves conspicuous was also employed as a pedagogical technique to enable Home Guard recruits to interpret how their own actions could render them noticeable. Penrose, for example, used the mole to forewarn the dangers of spoil: ‘the mole is an animal which we rarely see, but unfortunately for him he is unable to conceal the spoil thrown up by his burrowing...the spoil is a sure indication of his whereabouts to the mole catcher’.⁴⁰ More importantly, though, was the necessity to observe natural creatures concealing themselves. The most frequently used example within camouflage training literature was the illustration of the disruptive patterning of the zebra (see Fig. 1), emphasising how ‘the stripes on his body help him to merge into the background of the land he inhabits’.⁴¹

[Fig 1: Image removed due to copyright]

Indeed, camouflage training literature identified other concealing techniques through the establishment of connections with different ‘wild’ creatures, with examples being predominantly being drawn from native species that the Home Guard would be more accustomed with. The technique of counter-shading, for example, was commonly associated with fish such as mackerel (Fig. 2), whereas conceptions of immobility and disciplined behaviour were associated with indigenous birds;

the bittern...when taken by surprise on its nest sits bolt upright, holding its beak in the air, the reason being that it nests among reeds which form a vertical background and by so doing it attains a remarkable degree of concealment.⁴²

[Fig 2. Image removed due to copyright]

Teaching the Home Guard to observe the mannerisms of wildlife provided a particularly effective educational strategy, to allow them to see camouflage at work, to comprehend how it operated to make something appear 'invisible' and to stimulate the 'camouflaging imagination'. Indeed, the camouflage training manuals encouraged a habitual mode of being observant, to mimic animal behaviour, and provoked Home Guardsmen to appreciate more fully how they themselves could be concealed.⁴³

Being Observed

In addition to lessons on being observant and cultivating a trained eye, camouflage training literature made Home Guardsmen aware of the modes of observation placed upon him by the enemy and to comprehend what exposed him as an individual. In developing an elementary knowledge about conspicuousness and how to deal with 'being observed', the Home Guard were taught to make these observations themselves, to critique their activities based on these observations and to deploy strategies to help conceal themselves. It is contended, for instance, that the observation of the Home Guardsmen takes place from all directions and that, as a result, the devising of concealment techniques should accommodate for this. As well as the Home Guardsmen facing horizontal observations from enemy troops on the ground, they were also confronted by a new nemesis, this being the vertical, downward-looking visualities enabled by aviation:

The aeroplane...is the eye of the modern army. Its invention makes camouflage more urgent, more difficult, and involves much wider areas; it can pry into the secrets of defences and supplies which, formerly, were well hidden in the rear.⁴⁴

Penrose's manual on camouflage, for example, identifies specific signs of military activity looked for by aerial observers. These included concentrations of men and equipment, badly sited defensive positions, barbed wire defences, spoil and tracks.⁴⁵ These materialities of military presence needed to be obscured or mitigated in order to prevent exposure, and as is

communicated in the training literature, prevent the ‘destruction’ of the individual and his unit. The consequences of such negligence in track discipline and being observed by the enemy, for instance, were acutely outlined. The *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage* communicates this through an anecdotal example of a German position in World War One, where a disregard for observational thought and practice and maintaining track discipline, was ‘sufficient to cause suspicion about [an] otherwise innocent piece of wood’, leading to ‘heavy shelling by our artillery caus[ing] the Germans to loose the best part of a battalion. This story is a severe warning against negligence in track discipline’.⁴⁶ To counteract the revealing of a military position, it was contended that ‘track discipline is something that Home Guards must learn’; as Smith describes in *Camouflage Simply Explained*:

as they have a semi-static role which necessitates their taking up positions in pill-boxes, slit trenches, weapons pits and certain other sites...in going to and fro from these positions unless great care is taken they will be disclosed even though the posts themselves are concealed.⁴⁷

Home Guardsmen were, therefore, encouraged to think about how to avoid being observed, to adapt their routes from one point to another without leaving visible traces of their mobility. This would require them to look at their surroundings, to examine the natural features which could provide them with the necessary cover and to utilise that to greatest effect. A suggestion made in *Camouflage Simply Explained*, as illustrated in Fig. 3, was that ‘tracks to positions should follow along hedges, ditches and fences, and where possible be on the shadow side’.⁴⁸

[Figure 3 – Image removed due to copyright]

In critically observing and transforming the ways in which they performed these movements, the Home Guard would be carrying out an important act of self-preservation, to avoid being observed by enemy others, enabling them to continue to perform their civic duty. In many ways, this contrasts with understandings of uniformed military personnel being ‘visible’ on the streets as icons of hope. In this context however, not-being-seen was communicated as a necessity and an individual’s responsibility.

Overall, this section has shown how members of the Home Guard were able to perform their role as ‘defenders of the nation’ through being observant, as well as

simultaneously considering how they were being observed by others. Inspired by nature, as well as considering the latest aeronautical technologies, a Home Guardsman was encouraged to critique and govern their own embodied actions, prolonging their 'survival' against the enemy. Furthermore, they would carry out their civic responsibility to the nation by not-being-seen through countering the process of being observed by others. Indeed, the 'hostile' environment of the Second World War highlighted the importance of observation as part of Home Guard duties and the need for a short-term, immediate formation of duty-bound citizens.

'LOOK WIDE': BOY SCOUTS AS OBSERVANT-CITIZENS

Young people have historically been encouraged to observe and improve their visual skills in a number of contexts. Formal settings such as the school, with lessons in science and physical education introducing concepts of sight, speed and distance, and other schemes for youth, utilised the countryside for nature study and training in observation.⁴⁹ Geographical fieldwork also played a role in encouraging young people to observe through mapping the world 'out there', including, for example, geographer Dudley Stamp's Land Utilisation Survey which enlisted two hundred and fifty thousand school children to observe, classify and map local land-use in the early 1930s.⁵⁰ Many of these activities were connected to ideas of citizenship, nationhood, and developing young people as 'citizens-in-the-making'. Ideas about particular behaviours of 'good' and 'bad' citizens were formalised in state-based schemes and translated to young people using various material objects. For example, the Country Code and its various material forms, designed to encourage visitors (and young people as future adults) to self-govern their own conduct and engagements with the countryside.⁵¹

There have been, however, a number of more informal spaces in civil society that have instructed young people in the techniques of observation. Youth movements, as volunteer-based programmes of activities such as the Boys' Brigade and Church Lads' Brigade, were designed to encourage physical and moral development through outdoor education and often religious instruction.⁵² The underlying philosophies and features of these youth organisations have varied, yet the types of lessons and skills they have deemed as being 'useful' to British youth have been remarkably similar. A focus on camping, woodcraft, map-making, navigating - and crucially observation - can be seen as part of a much broader fascination in early twentieth century Britain with outdoor-leisure, hiking and open-air

culture.⁵³ David Matless has discussed schemes such as the Youth Hostels Association and indeed Boy Scouting in these contexts, yet much of the focus is on walking and hiking cultures.⁵⁴ This section, however, draws on the different types of observation encouraged within the Boy Scout scheme to illustrate how this skill was communicated as a series of embodied practices as part of a broader project to create useful, duty-bound young citizens. Although observation has always been a central feature of the movement, and remains so today, these arguments are seen most clearly in the early and formative years of the Scout Movement (1907-1939) that this section focuses upon.

The Scout Movement is the largest youth organisation in the world with national associations in over two hundred countries. Founded by Robert Baden-Powell (B.P) on his return from the Boer War (1899-1902), scouting was devised as an informal citizenship-training scheme and response to perceived fears over the deteriorating strength and abilities of male British youth to protect national and imperial ambitions and established social order.⁵⁵ Following the trialling of B.P's ideas at an experimental camp in 1907 and the publication of *Scouting for Boys* the following year, the movement began to capture the imagination of young boys with its promises of adventure. The philosophy of scouting encouraged loyalty, efficiency, a 'clean mind and body', as well as obligations encapsulated in the Scout Promise. This pledge required Boy Scouts to 'do their best' and 'help other people' as well as a wider commitment of duty to self, others and God. The notion of 'duty to others' – neighbours, communities, the nation – was often utilised by leaders and headquarters to present particular scouting skills and activities as worthwhile.

One component of this skill development was enhancing and cultivating techniques of observation, which B.P defined as 'a splendid discipline for the formation of character'.⁵⁶ The Chief Scout expressed concerns over the failures of the schooling system to develop this particular skill, declaring:

observation and deduction are among the most important qualities in any man in any rank of life and yet they are subjects entirely omitted at present from the school curriculum. By encouraging their practice by attractive steps we find the boys and girls fully responsive to the idea and we have had good results from this training.⁵⁷

This emphasis on observation as a life-skill important to any man (or woman) regardless of social class illustrates the outlook of the Boy Scout Movement in terms of the time-spaces of citizenship. B.P's scheme was to educate youth in certain characteristics, the knowledge of which would remain with them through the life-course: 'once a scout, always a scout'.⁵⁸

Conversely, we saw in the previous section how observation was seen by the Home Guard as a skill limited within the spaces and specific contexts of war-time Britain as a response to known threats. For the Boy Scouts, observation was a more encompassing aspect of the 'model' Scout who would take these skills forward into their adult life. Other people associated with the movement such as the Scoutmasters themselves were mostly in agreement with B.P that observation played a vital role in its citizenship training. Indeed, one scoutmaster wrote to congratulate the Chief Scout that 'one of the main objects of the scout movement [is] the formation of the habit of observation. I have found this scheme a valuable means to do that...knowing what to look for and where to look for it'.⁵⁹

Scoutmasters played a vital role in the training and experiences of Boy Scouts. Through their instruction, Scouts were assessed on their proficiency in certain skills, including observation, and then rewarded with Scout badges - an important part of the pedagogical framework and culture of scouting. The 'pathfinder' and 'observer' badges shown in Fig. 4 were designed to concretise observational skills as part of the scouting method and to reward good observation:

[Fig. 4 - Image removed due to copyright]

The requirements for each of these badges drew on specific visual skills, recall abilities and embodied 'follow-up' actions. For example, scouts were tested on their ability to recall the types of trees on their street or the colour of their school's gate and were then tested on their ability to communicate this information to another (adult) person, via signals and later through telephone calls. Particular sets of embodied knowledge about observation were therefore solidified through practice, repetition and the successful demonstration of these skills under (adult) examination. This is also an example of the different ways training in observation was rewarded by the two organisations. For Boy Scouts, the consequences of failing to observe properly (not receiving a badge) were far less severe than those of the Home Guardsmen, for whom failure to observe could potentially be dangerous, resulting in the loss of life. The subsequent display of badges on Scout uniforms indicated a proficient trained (young) observer and celebrated their achievement.

The following subsections now discuss how Boy Scouts were encouraged to be observant, as well as how they were often the subjects of observation themselves. In doing so, this example illustrates this paper's broader argument about the complex entanglement of

different visual positions and practices that individuals who belonged to these organisations were embedded within.

Being Observant

As with the previous example of the Home Guard, nature was used as part of the Scout Movement's observational pedagogy – encouraging Boy Scouts to 'be observant' as well as to 'be prepared'.⁶⁰ The art of tracking – spotting and identifying marks, or traces, left behind in the ground – is one illustration of how nature was used to train Boy Scouts in observation. Most lessons in tracking focused on tracing the past movements of animals in woods and fields and noting the differences in species and environmental conditions, though there were also extensions to include urban settings and technologies, such as the examination of bicycle tracks and motorcars. Importantly, tracking was to be developed in tandem with accurate memory and recall abilities so that both could be used by Scouts to notice unusual or 'out-of-place' objects or features in the landscape. B.P called these 'signs' and described them as 'any little details such as footprints, broken twigs, trampled grass, scraps of food, a drop of blood, a hair, and so on; anything that may help as clues in getting the information they [scouts] are in search of'.⁶¹ Whilst this training was used primarily to improve a Boy Scouts observational technique, there was a practical and moralistic application as these observations were presented as potential clues to help identify something untoward or dangerous. Equipped with a keen eye, a Boy Scout could proficiently direct a member of the public, or indeed a policeman, to any foul play. Indeed, observing a 'sign' then required a Boy Scout to complete a series of embodied movements, actions and activities in response. B.P implored his youth membership to 'let nothing be too small for your notice, a button, a match, a cigar ash, a feather, or a leaf, might be of great importance'.⁶² These potential scenarios were communicated to Boy Scouts through Junior Scout novels where observation was often crucial in exposing or identifying criminal or immoral behaviour. For example, in *Hazard Hike*, two fictional Scouts are trying to clear an innocent man of a crime he did not commit and are successful as 'good scouts' through being observant:

'What is it?' said Paul, dropping beside him.
John pointed to a dark stain in the centre of the patch of green.
'Someone *was* in that car and was pretty badly hurt,' he murmured. 'That's blood.'
Paul bent closer to investigate.
'Blood it is,' he said, and rose quickly to his feet.

‘This is where the fellow stood to bathe his wounds,’ he said. ‘He chose this spot because the subsidence provided him with a place on which to stand and within easy reach of the water.’

‘Good scouting,’ approved John.⁶³

Interestingly, natural ‘signs’ that B.P discussed were extended to humans, with Boy Scouts taught to observe physical appearance, clothes, unusual behaviours, body language, turns of phrase or characteristics of feet. It is in this respect that we can identify a focus on observing ‘Others’ within the Scout Movement and see how observation was not just about various perceptual abilities, but a series of subsequent embodied actions that could be called-upon to assist others. *Scouting for Boys* outlined the human characteristics Boy Scouts should train themselves to look out for. These descriptions of human features were often xenophobic and drew on physiognomy, for example the ‘shape’ of a man’s face was seen to reveal character.⁶⁴ Again, these observations of adults by young people were communicated to Boy Scouts as being potentially useful, one-day, in apprehending criminal activity or assisting policemen. To stress this aspect of their duty as (young) citizens, B.P requested that ‘The Elson Murder’, a ‘mainly’ true story, ‘should be given by the Instructor’ to illustrate ‘the duties of a Boy Scout’.⁶⁵

In this yarn, the murderer was ‘caught, convicted and hanged chiefly through the scoutcraft of a shepherd boy’,⁶⁶ Robert Hindmarsh, who had passed a tramp sitting on the ground (see Fig.5) and used the following skills:

[Fig. 5 – Image removed due to copyright]

OBSERVATION: The boy in passing noticed his appearance, and especially the peculiar nails in the soles of his boots.

CONCEALMENT: He did not stop and stare, but just took these things in at a glance as he went by without attracting much attention from the man, who merely regarded him as an ordinary boy not worth his notice.

DEDUCTION: When he got home, he came to a crowd round a cottage, where they had found the old woman...who had inhabited it lying murdered. All sorts of guesses were being hazarded as to who had done the deed, and suspicion seemed to centre on a small gang of three or four gipsies...The boy heard all these things, but presently he saw some peculiar footprints in the little garden of the cottage; the nailmarks agreed with those he had seen in the boots of the man on the moor, and he naturally deduced from these that the man might have something to do with the murder.⁶⁷

B.P.'s retelling of the story raises several points: firstly, it connects Hindmarsh's use of observation to chivalry, pluck, self-discipline, health and strength (the boy was 'a strong, healthy hill-boy' and so when he returned with the police 'he did the journey rapidly'⁶⁸), but most of all duty to others. Secondly, it highlights the issue of stereotyping and how particular 'types' of people needed to be observed, in this case tramps and gypsies.⁶⁹ Indeed, this small example hints at the broader moral geographies of scouting, particularly surrounding Edwardian discourses of class and deviancy, and the perceived role of scouting in addressing the moral panic surrounding youth in early twentieth century Britain.⁷⁰ Finally, and perhaps most importantly, it is noted by B.P that 'the boy [Hindmarsh] did every part of the duty of a boy scout without ever having been taught'.⁷¹ For the Chief Scout, the story of an uneducated and yet responsible shepherd boy enabled him to imagine and communicate the potentialities of the trained Boy Scout in similar situations. He wanted Boy Scouts to be superior in observation skills, that this was their role as young citizens, with the stark message that 'a scout always considers it a great disgrace if an outsider discovers a thing before he has seen it for himself'.⁷² Here, we can see how ideas about 'Others' – both 'undesirables' and non-Scouts – were communicated to members of the organisation. It also highlights the responsibilities afforded Boy Scouts in their roles as observant young citizens on the road to adulthood and full citizenly engagements.

Being Observed

Whereas the previous example of the Home Guard illustrated how individual members could be observed by (enemy) others from all angles and therefore required them to 'not-be-seen' in various spaces, in the Scout Movement, 'being observed' had different meanings and understandings. There was indeed a similar (but less vital) emphasis on Boy Scouts being able to reflect critically on their own position in various scenarios and concealing their location in extreme circumstances. For example, in *Hazard Hike*, 'not-being-seen' was key to the fictional pair of Boy Scouts eventual success in apprehending the real criminals:

The two Scouts had been on many adventures together. They took pride in their Scouting and were well up in tracking and stalking, so it was comparatively easy for them to keep the men in sight without being seen.⁷³

However, more interestingly perhaps, Boy Scouts were critically observed by others in various sites and settings. This was a more encompassing and explicit series of observations by adults within the organisation, and indeed the wider public in civil society. Scouts were being observed and judgements made over their appearance, behaviour and conduct, and by extension, the Movement as a whole was being subjected to a specific ‘gaze’, connected to its wider reputation.

Scouts were encouraged to be a visible and an identifiable presence on the streets of Britain, particularly through schemes such as Bob-a-Job Week, parades and doing ‘good turns’. However, members of the public often felt compelled to write to Headquarters after observing (and judging) uniformed Scouts behaving ‘badly’ and not ‘as expected’. Examples include Scouts not standing up for ladies on the London underground,⁷⁴ and in particular, their behaviour on camp. One report in the *Daily Dispatch* from 1922, for instance, criticised Boy Scouts on camp, asserting that ‘Boy Scouts are getting an unenviable reputation for dirty camping’ following an observation that one Scout camp had ‘...made their ground a veritable slum. They even put latrines on the public footpath!’.⁷⁵ More serious incidents of Scouts being observed camping ‘badly’ threatened relationships with third party organisations. This is particularly clear in a record by the District Secretary of the Boy Scouts of Kent writing to Baden-Powell about a farmers’ complaint in 1919:

I have spoken to Mr. Fisher [the Farmer] who is a friend of mine, and he says he allowed a troop from Peckham to camp in a field called Botany Bay at Chislehurst during Camping Season 1918. Owing to lack of control, and a very low type of boy, great damage was done to Hay Stacks and Fences, and two cows were allowed to stray into a field where poisonous Yew was growing, and as a result the cows died from eating some.⁷⁶

In this particular example, the loss of the camping on Mr Fisher’s farms due to the ‘low type’ of Boy Scout had much wider implications, resulting in the local Camping Club also being turned away. The national organisation of the Camping Club then wrote to B-P, reflecting how camping as a broader leisure pursuit was affected by the activities, misdemeanours and ultimately Scouts being ‘spotted’ behaving badly.

I should esteem it a favour if you could bring some pressure to bear on your Scoutmasters to impress upon Scouts when camping, the necessity for tidiness and refraining from causing damage, for the good name of the Sport generally.⁷⁷

B.P subsequently reminded Scouts as often as possible that conduct on camp was intrinsic to the reputation of the Movement, with the Chief Scout stating ‘Remember when camping or hiking that a good deal is expected of Boy Scouts. You have to keep up the good name of the Movement’.⁷⁸

We can therefore see how at the same time that Boy Scouts were being encouraged to ‘be observant’ and read ‘signs’ and ‘clues’ to assist policemen and do their ‘duty to others’, they were also being critically observed by members of the public. Observation was envisioned as a key attribute of the ideal scouting citizen and was taught by instructors to encourage Boy Scouts to routinely govern their own behaviour and become observer-citizens in their everyday surroundings. This section of youth was encouraged to enter into a wider national collective body of observant-citizens and ‘look wide’. However, this example of the Scout Movement has also highlighted how Boy Scouts, although afforded these responsibilities, were still subjected to processes of observation and regulated as youthful bodies that needed adult supervision and guidance.

CONCLUSION

This paper has importantly highlighted the complex, relational geographies of expertise, experience and skill regarding ‘observation’ through tracing its role within two organisations. The messages and training of both Home Guard camouflage and the Boy Scout Movement were not simply about perceptual cognition, but in individuals recognising and performing the ‘follow-on’ actions required in order to be responsible citizens carrying out their duty at various scales. We have stressed that observation is a two-fold act of being observant and being observed, highlighting that one cannot be separated from the other. In using examples from the Home Guard and Boy Scouts, we have sought to extend conceptualisations and understandings of observation as an assemblage of various observational practices and provide one example of this type of study. Furthermore, this paper has importantly highlighted the role of young people in cultures of observation in the first half of the twentieth century. In this conclusion, we reflect on three separate points and suggest possible future directions for research in this area. Firstly, observation can be clearly seen as a form of embodied knowledge with different ‘modes’: of self, others and nature. Indeed, as we have already highlighted at the start of this paper, observation is a specific visual skill, and that it is not only simply about ‘looking’, but also involves other capabilities such as the capacity to record and recall, judge and deduce, and critically assess one’s own situation. Both

organisations required its participants to improve their observational skills and, in doing so, perform their duty to their local community or, at a larger scale, the nation-state. The performance of this embodied knowledge was the proliferation of a moral geography, reinforcing ideological behaviours and bodies cultivated by the state. There were, however, significant divergences in the consequences of failing to observe properly; for young Boy Scouts, the implications were far less severe than those of the Home Guardsmen, for whom failure to observe could potentially be dangerous, resulting in the loss of life.

Secondly, this paper has demonstrated how a more expansive sector of society was encouraged to observe the world ‘out there’ as part of their responsibilities as citizens. However, we wish to draw attention to the different times and spaces of citizenship in play here within these two organisations, which reflect their citizenship formation projects. On the one hand, the Scouts purported claims about the future abilities of citizenry it hoped to create, framing its youth membership as hopes for the future. Therefore, the training that Boy Scouts received from their leaders was intended to remain with them throughout their lives. On the other hand, the Home Guard was an extreme model of observational citizenship, mobilised to deal with very real threats posed by the Second World War. In line with this, the training they received in terms of observation, and indeed, other generic skills they acquired, were only meant to serve them for their immediate and specific purpose, namely the defence of the country. These different contexts both drew upon the skill of observation, and recognised the value of its members having ‘trained eyes’. These intentions, hopes and objectives, however, did not always translate into the realities and experiences of its memberships. The messages reaching Boy Scouts and Home Guard were disseminated by volunteer instructors with varying levels of enthusiasm, knowledge and ability. In sum, the ideals and actualities of these citizenship projects were varied, complex and often contradictory.

Finally, from our examples, it is evident that the organisations which we have chosen to focus upon have been predominantly male and, it could be argued, that the pedagogical practices that we have selected are therefore highly masculinised.⁷⁹ We would argue however, that practices and processes of observational pedagogy cross gender boundaries, as well as refracting other aspects of social and cultural difference. Although knowledge of observation may be embodied and performed in different ways, the actual techniques of pedagogy remain essentially the same. In relation to our case-studies, it is worth highlighting that Girl Guides, B.P.’s parallel organisation for female youth, were also encouraged to

observe in similar ways to Boy Scouts, and were taught to perform particular roles in society through observational practices.⁸⁰ Furthermore, there are also ‘unofficial’ examples of female Home Guard units practising equivalent skills and exercises, again emphasising the argument that pedagogical practices are not contained to particular set times, spaces or audiences, but can be adapted and appropriated by other, perhaps unintentional, users.⁸¹ Considerations of how being observant/being observed are translated and refracted through categories of gender and class (as well as other markers of social and cultural difference) merit further examination.

In conclusion, this paper has provided a historical examination of two organisations – the Boy Scout Movement and the Home Guard. Each of these schemes deployed observational pedagogies in order to improve and articulate their visions of ideal British citizens. In both examples, a number of methods and materialities were used to encourage a ‘trained eye’. Through these training regimes, Boy Scouts or Home Guardsmen could be called upon to perform critical observation which would serve the purposes of the local community and the nation-state. Complex citizenship formations were embedded and articulated in and through observational pedagogies of both these organisations. Though distinct schemes, they reflected popular beliefs during the first half of the twentieth century about nationhood, duty and belonging; to observe was to contribute to the collective body of citizenry and to take one’s place in civic society.

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⁸ P. Adey, *Aerial Life: Spaces, Mobilities, Affects*, Oxford, 2010.

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¹⁰ Lynch and Law, Pictures, texts and objects, 339.

¹¹ Macdonald, What makes you a scientist is the way you look at things, 61. Original emphasis.

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²¹ It should be noted that there were men outside these age-limits who served, mainly due to the military knowledge they could offer. Furthermore, the 'volunteer' nature of the Home Guard was transformed in November 1941, when conscription was introduced.

²² N. Longmate, *The Real Dad's Army: The story of the Home Guard*, London, 1974, 29.

²³ J. Brophy, *Britain's Home Guard*, London, 1945, 41.

²⁴ Figures range from 40% to 75% of the Home Guard being composed of veterans and ex-servicemen, although MacKenzie has argued that this latter figure was greatly exaggerated. See S.P. MacKenzie, *The Home Guard: A Military and Political History*, Oxford, 1995.

²⁵ Certainly, it could also be argued that, particularly in the early months of its existence, educating Home Guardsmen in military tactics was a means of passing the time, justifying their presence while they awaited an invasion that never came.

²⁶ C. Graves, *The Home Guard of Britain*, London, 1943, 107.

²⁷ While Osterley Park was initially established by Lord Hulton, proprietor of *Picture Post*, independent of any state involvement, it was later taken under the wing of the War Office, amid concerns that the instructors such as Tom Wintringham (1898-1949) were spreading communist sentiments (in fact, they were branded the 'Osterley Reds' in government circles). The school was eventually wound down in favour of much smaller training camps.

²⁸ Both Wintringham and Hugh Slater (1906-1958) had fought in the British Battalion of the International Brigade; Wintringham had been its first commander. For further details on Osterley Park, see T. Wintringham, *The Home Guard Can Fight*, *Picture Post*, 21st September 1940.

²⁹ Brophy, *Britain's Home Guard*, 46.

³⁰ Longmate, *The Real Dad's Army*, 89.

³¹ It should be noted that, as with the instructors at Osterley Park, writers of such training literature were also exclusively veterans of the Spanish Civil War. John Langdon-Davies (1897–1971), for example, had been a war correspondent for the *News Chronicle* during the conflict and his experiences informed his training courses at the South Eastern Command Fieldcraft School for the Home Guard, where he was Commandant. He, unlike Wintringham, would be awarded with an MBE for his services to the Home Guard.

³² In historical debates which focus on the formation of the Home Guard, this 'observational' role emerged coincidentally. An initial lack of available arms meant that, in the event of an invasion, the Home Guard would have been reduced to merely observing and reporting to the armed forces on enemy troop movements. See MacKenzie, *The Home Guard*, 42.

³³ Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, and J. Taylor, *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist Imagination*, Manchester, 1994.

³⁴ J. Langdon-Davies, *The Home Guard Training Manual* (2nd ed.), London, 1942, 59-76.

³⁵ Storey, *The Home Guard*, 16.

³⁶ This is by no means the only interpretation of this nickname. In other historical accounts, this title is accounted for in terms of cowardice, whereby it was popularly imagined that the Home Guard would rather run away than face an invading enemy.

³⁷ R. Penrose, *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, London, 1941, 4. Roland Penrose (1900-1984) was a surrealist artist and, during the interwar years had forged significant ties with many influential artistic figures, from Max Ernst to Pablo Picasso. In 1936, he had visited Spain, collecting photographs and information on events taking place during the conflict. When France was invaded in May 1940, he found himself isolated from those he worked with. Being a pacifist, Penrose began to apply his trade to the problem of camouflage, commencing with 'industrial camouflage' before becoming an instructor at the Home Guard Training Centre at Osterley Park. Once Osterley was closed, he became a civilian lecturer in Home Guard camouflage for the War Office.

³⁸ Lt. Col. C.H. Smith, *Camouflage Simply Explained*, London, 1942, 2-3. This pocket handbook was published as part of Pitman's 'Simply Explained' series, which encouraged proficiency in a variety of skills, from flying and aviation, to wireless operation.

³⁹ Smith, *Camouflage Simply Explained*, 1.

⁴⁰ Penrose, *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, 10.

⁴¹ Smith, *Camouflage Simply Explained*, 3-4.

⁴² Penrose, *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, 22-23.

⁴³ While emphasis has been placed upon using the observation of Nature as a pedagogical tool, discussions on wildlife in Home Guard training literature were also extended to 'watching out' for animals which could also expose the Home Guardsmen. This included such things as being stared at by cows, bird song, and the sudden movement of animals. See Langdon-Davies. *The Home Guard Training Manual*, 58-59.

⁴⁴ Penrose, *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, 6. It should be noted that affective responses to the 'downward looking' perspectives of the aviator within 1930s and 1940s Britain were extremely varied. Although those in the military expressed their concerns about the 'exposure' of military hardware, other contemporaries, such as architects and archaeologists, praised the aeroplane for its ability to 'expose' bad urban planning and previously hidden ancient features in the landscape. See Le Corbusier, *Aircraft*, London, 1935; K. Hauser, *Shadow Sites*, Oxford, 2007; AUTHOR, 'Concealing the Crude': air-mindedness and the camouflaging of Britain's oil

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⁴⁵ Penrose, *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, 9.

⁴⁶ Penrose, *Home Guard Manual of Camouflage*, 51-52.

⁴⁷ Smith, *Camouflage Simply Explained*, 19.

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⁵³ Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*.

⁵⁴ Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, 73-77.

⁵⁵ On the Boy Scout Movement, and sister organization the Girl Guide Movement founded in 1910, see T.M. Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*, Philadelphia, 2002; T.M. Proctor (Uni)forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-1939, *History Workshop Journal* 45 (1998) 103-134; A. Warren, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, The Scout Movement and citizen training in Great Britain, 1900-1920, *English Historical Review* 101 (1986) 376-398; T.M. Proctor and N. Block (Eds), *Scouting Frontiers: Global Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Cambridge, 2009.

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- ⁵⁶ Scout Association Archive (hereafter SAA) TC/44/Observation and Deduction/‘The Value of Observation’, Robert Baden-Powell, 1915.
- ⁵⁷ SAA/TC/44/Observation and Deduction, Letter, Robert Baden-Powell, Chief Scout to Mr Coste, 20 September 1937.
- ⁵⁸ This is a popular phrase in scouting literature, first attributed to a speech by Lord Kitchener, British Field Marshall, at a Scout Rally in Leicester in 1911.
- ⁵⁹ SAA/TC/44/Observation and Deduction, Letter, J. Knowles to Robert Baden-Powell, Chief Scout, 20 September 1937.
- ⁶⁰ ‘Be Prepared’ is the official motto of the Scout Movement.
- ⁶¹ R. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, London, 1908 [2004], 65.
- ⁶² Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 72.
- ⁶³ F. Hayden Dimmock, *Hazard Hike*, London, 1939, 66.
- ⁶⁴ These connections were commonly held ideas in early geographical thought and anthropological studies, for example the work of H.J.Fleure. See P. Gruffudd, Back to the Land: Historiography, rurality and the nation in interwar Wales, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19 (1994) 61-77.
- ⁶⁵ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 28.
- ⁶⁶ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 28.
- ⁶⁷ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 29-30.
- ⁶⁸ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 30.
- ⁶⁹ On the representations and stereotypes of gypsies and tramps see T. Cresswell, *The Tramp in America* London, 2001; D. Sibley, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* London, 1995.
- ⁷⁰ On moral geographies, see F. Driver, Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 13 (1988) 275-287; T. Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, London, 1996.
- ⁷¹ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 31.
- ⁷² Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 66.
- ⁷³ Dimmock, *Hazard Hike*, 4.
- ⁷⁴ SAA/TC/432/Criticisms, Correspondence, Secretary of the King George and Queen Mary Club for Overseas Forces to Robert Baden-Powell, 19 February 1918.

⁷⁵ 'Undisciplined Boy Scouts', *Daily Dispatch*, 24 August 1922.

⁷⁶ SAA/TC/43/Camping 1916-1922, Letter, Mr H.E.Spencer, County Secretary, Boy Scouts of Kent to Robert Baden-Powell, 29 September 1919.

⁷⁷ SAA/TC/43/Camping 1916-1922, Letter, P. Julian Maddock, Camping Club to Robert Baden-Powell, 18 September 1919.

⁷⁸ R. Baden-Powell, *Adventuring to Manhood*, London, 1936, 91.

⁷⁹ On the gendered constructions of citizenship education, see V. Foster, Feminist Theory and the Construction of Citizenship Education, in: K. J. Kennedy (Ed), *Citizenship, Education and the Modern State*, London, 1997, 54-64.

⁸⁰ On the Girl Guides, see A. Warren, Mothers of the Empire? The Girl Guides Association in Britain, 1909-1939, in: J.A. Mangan (Ed), *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialization, and British Imperialism*, Manchester, 1990, 96-109; T. Proctor, *Scouting for Girls*, Oxford. 2009.

⁸¹ See P. Summerfield and C. Peniston-Bird, *Contesting Home Defence: Men, Women and the Home Guard in the Second World War*, Manchester, 2007.